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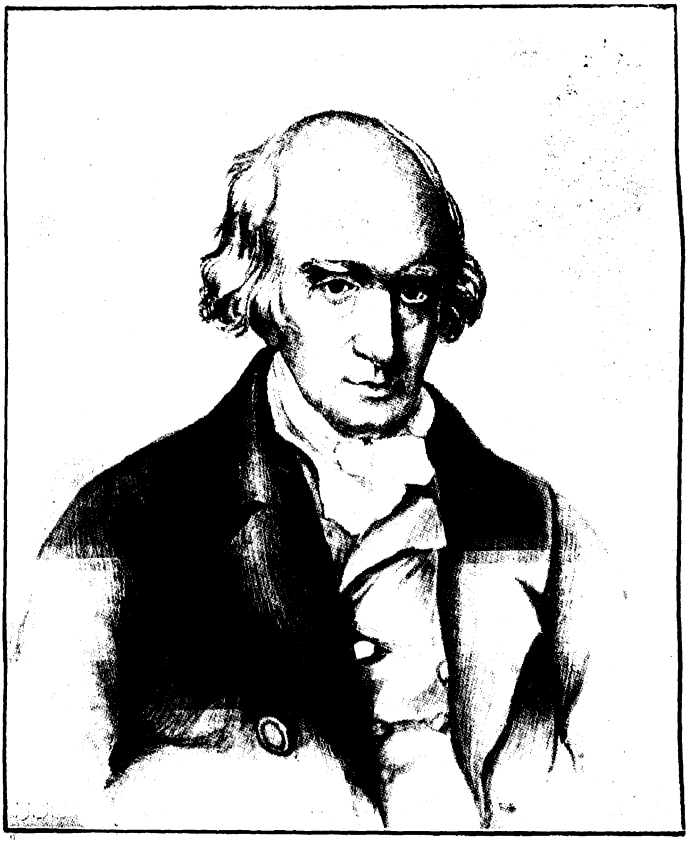


Fig21. *To face p. 287*

WARREN HASTINGS

OUTLINES

OF

INDIAN HISTORY

FOR THE USE OF

MATRICULATION STUDENTS IN INDIAN HIGH SCHOOLS

BY

A. YUSUF ALI

C.B.E., M.A., LL.M. (CANTAB.)

Author of "The Making of India," "India and Europe," etc. etc.

With 11 Maps and 25 Illustrations



LAHORE

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PREFACE

In writing a text-book of Indian History for Indian High Schools, many facts have to be taken for granted and many elementary explanations have to be inserted as necessary, which would be superfluous if the book were addressed to a different class of readers. We have too long delayed placing before our rising generation a commonsense national view of history. To do this it is necessary to avoid all legitimate grounds of offence to any section of our people, and yet to place the results of the critical research of scholars in simple language before our young students in such a way as to lead them to think for themselves, to judge independently, and to form a common tradition in facing the facts of the chequered history of our country.

In this spirit I have tried to write, and in this spirit I hope the gentle reader will try to read and the candid critic to judge.

Even at this elementary stage it is good for the student to examine portraits, coins, and legends,—all the raw material out of which artistic history is fashioned. I have therefore introduced these without hesitation into my story and laid emphasis on them. The eleven sketch-maps, specially designed for this book, will help them with matter which they will not find in ordinary atlases. They are not in any sense intended to supersede the use of a good atlas or a large-scale map of India. The complaint that our Indian student is ignorant of geography is I fear too true. No history can be properly studied or taught without the use of good maps, and every teacher should insist upon his pupils possessing a

good atlas, and should constantly refer to maps in the class-room.

The List of 92 books in Appendix III requires a word of explanation. They do not of course pretend to be a bibliography. A bibliography of Indian history would cover many volumes. They do not even include the books on which I have relied: I have relied on some that are not in the List, and do not rely on some that are! I have used original sources wherever possible, just as if I were writing for the most advanced students. But it is not necessary to parade all these sources before schoolboys. I have merely given the names of a few easily accessible books for further study. To the criticism that a schoolboy is is not going to read so many extra books I have two replies. In the first place, I know the latent capacity of the Indian schoolboy. His intellectual curiosity is ever greater than that of the older college-boys. Place a few *readable* books that follow up a train of thought in a lecture or text-book, within *easy* reach of the students. A certain proportion will always follow up that trail, especially if you do not make it a question of regulation! If only one or two do it and freshen their point of view, they will lead their class. One may be interested in Rajputs. He will just take up Tod and revel in his old-world speculations, with the corrections supplied in the edition I have named. Another may be fascinated by a quotation from Kalidas. He will want to know where he can read the Shakuntala in an easily accessible form, and my List will help him. A third may turn to John Buchan's Life of Minto, and find a modern life-sketch as fascinating as the romance of the Newcomes. Each will just take up the trail that interests him and no more. So much for the students. But I have held in view a second and even more im-

portant object—to help the teacher. The day is gone by when a teacher can teach a text-book, even in India, with no further reading beyond the text-book itself! Half the inertia of our school teachers is due to want of guidance and opportunity. I trust that my List will help them a little, and that their school libraries and committees will supply them with the opportunity of supplementary reading.

History can be a very unobtrusive guide in many of the modern problems that puzzle us. Let us read it aright and see that our children understand it aright.

Lahore, September 1927. A. YUSUF ALI.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE.

		PAGES.
What is India?		1
Physical Features		1—12
Mountain Systems	1—4	
River Systems	4—9	
The Sea-Coast	9—10	
Rainfall and Climate	10—12	
How Physical Features influence National Character		12—15
Burma	12—13	
Northern India	13—14	
Peninsular India	14—15	
The Country and its Products		15—17
Food-stuffs	16	
Other Agricultural Produce	16	
Animal Products	17	
Mineral Wealth	17	
The People and their Classification		17—18
Political Divisions		18—19

CHAPTER II

THE ARYANS.

Who were the first Inhabitants of India?		20—21
The Dravidians		21
The Aryans		22—26
The Indo-European Languages	22—23	
The Aryan Group	23	

PAGES.

Indo-Aryans 23—24
Indo-Aryan Languages 24—25
Original Indo-European Home 25
Indo-Aryans in India 25—26
Sacred Literature of the Indo-Aryans 26—31
The Rig Veda 26—28
The other Vedas 28—30
Other Sacred Literature 30
Sumerian and other Civilisations 30—31

CHAPTER III

Buddha and his Religion.

India in the time of Buddha 32—33
Life of Buddha 33—36
Youth 33—34
Asceticism 34—35
Teaching and Preaching 35—36
Budha's Philosophy 36—38
Problems stated 36
The Noble Eightfold Path 37
Spread of Budhhism 38—39
Decline and Transformations 40
Mahavira and Jainism 40—41

CHAPTER IV

Early Kingdoms and Greek Invasions.

New Kingdoms along the Gangetic Valley 42—43
Kosala 43—44
Early History 43
In Buddhist Times 43
Boundaries and dates 44
Magadha 45—47
Early Origins 45

		PAGES.
Buddhist Magadha	45—46	
Subsequent History	46—47	
Greek Invasions		47—55
Indus Country as a Persian Province	47—48	
Alexander the Great	48	
Geography of Indian's Border-land	48—50	
Alexander at Taxila	50	
Fight with Porus	51	
Alexander's horse Bucephalus	51—52	
Meeting with Chandragupta	52—53	
Retreat and death	53	
Influence on Western and Central Asia	53—54	
Alexander's Character	54—55	

CHAPTER V

THE MAURYA EMPIRE.

Origin of the Maurya Dynasty		56—62
How Chandragupta won the throne	56—57	
Conflict with Seleucus	57—58	
Extent of Chandragupta's Empire	58—59	
Internal conditions—King and Court	59	
The Fighting Forces	59—60	
Civil Administration	60—61	
Local Government	61	
The People	61—62	
Asoka		62—68
Early life	62—63	
Conquest of Kalinga	63—65	
Asoka as Buddhist monk and preacher	65—66	
His religion	66—68	
Decline of Buddhism		68—69

CHAPTER VI

Greek Influences.

		PAGES
Greek or semi-Greek Kingdoms		70—72
Taxila	70	
Bactria	70—71	
Saka-Parthians	71—72	
The Kushan Empire		72—74
Duration and extent	72—73	
Religion	73	
Art	73—74	
Greek Influences on India		74—77

CHAPTER VII

Golden Age of Brahmanism.

Revival of Brahmanism		78—79
The Gupta Empire		79—84
Beginnings	79—80	
Samudra Gupta's accession	80	
His conquests	80—81	
Foreign relations	81—82	
Horse Sacrifice	82—83	
Accomplishments	83	
Later Guptas	83—84	
Gupta Capitals	84	
Revival of Literature and the Fine Arts		85—87
Kalidas	85	
Luxury of the age	86	
Fine arts	86—87	
Harsha Vardhara		87—90
His family	87—88	
Life as Prince	88—89	
Reign and conquests	89	
Religion and character	90	

PAGES.

Chinese accounts of India 90—92
- Politics and Pilgrims 90—91
- Fa-Hien 91—92
- Yuan Chwang 92

CHAPTER VIII

THE RAJPUT CLANS AND THE NORTHERN KINGDOMS.

Consequences of Hun Invasions 94—95
- How Huns were absorbed 93
- Gujars and Jats 93—94
- Rajasthan 94—95

Rise of the Rajputs 95—100
- New Functional Group 95—97
- Traditional account 97
- Fire-born tribes 98
- Thirty-six royal races 98—99
- Principal Surviving Rajput Kingdoms 99—100

Kingdoms in Northern India 100—110
- Panjab and Kashmir 100—101
- Kanauj 101—102
- Noted Kanauj Kings 102—103
- Legends of Jai Chand 103
- Delhi and the Chauhans, Rai Pithora 103—104
- Chandels at Mahoba 104—105
- Bardic Legends: Alha and Udal 105
- Chauhan Invasion 105—106
- Alha obdurate 106
- Honour of the Rajput 106
- Mother's Appeal 107—108
- Heroes fight against odds 108—109
- Pa'as and Sens 109—110

CHAPTER IX

Early Muslim Conquests.

		PAGES.
Conquest of Sindh		111—115
Arabs in India	111—112	
Muhammad Qasim	112—113	
His Policy	114	
Later History of Sindh	114	
House of Ghazni		115—124
Origins	115—116	
Sabuktagin	116—117	
Sultan Mahmud	117—119	
Expeditions into India	119	
Panjab conquered	119	
Ghor	119—120	
Kanauj	120	
Somnath	121	
Persia	121	
Mahmud's character	122	
His Policy	122—123	
Its results	124	
Ghazni and Ghor	123—124	

CHAPTER X

Hindu Civilisation on the eve of the Muslim Conquest.

Sources of our knowledge		125—126
Bards	125	
Dramatists	126	
Al-Biruni	126	
Rajput military honour		126—128
Brahmans and other castes		128—129
Literature, science, and art		129—130
Villages and rural economy		130—131
Three rival Rajput Kingdoms		131

CHAPTER XI

The Delhi Sultanate.

		PAGES.
Muslims conquer Northern India		132—138
The Ghori Brothers	132	
Shihab-ud-din's first failure	132—133	
Ultimate victory; Prithiraj killed; Ajmir taken	133—134	
Kutb-ud-din Aibak	134—135	
Delhi made capital: conquest of Kanauj and Gujarat	135	
Muhammad Khalji. how he conquered Bihar	135	
Conquest of Bengal	136—138	
Fruitless expedition to the Himalayas	138	
The Slave Kings		138—143
Sultan Altamish	139—140	
Sultan Raziya	140—141	
Balban	141—142	
A cultured Court	142—143	
Deccan added to the Empire		143—150
Khalji Sultans	143—144	
Ala-ud-din Khalji	144—145	
Mongols at Delhi	145—146	
Ala-ud-din's ideas	146	
Economic Projects	146—147	
Malik Kafur	147	
Tughluq Sultans	148—149	
Muhammad Tughluq	149	
His schemes	149	
Firoz Tughluq	150	
Decline of the Sultanate		151—153
Taimur and his Mughals	151—152	
Taimur in Delhi	152	
Saiyids and Lodis; Babar	152—153	

CHAPTER XII

PAGES.

State of India under the Delhi Sultanate 154—164
Theoretical Muslim State 154
Actual political conditions in India 154—156
Land Revenue and economic conditions 156
Trade and Industry 156—157
Employment 157
Prices and wages 157—159
Communications 159
Wedding and other customs 159—160
Thought and Literature 160—161
Amir Khusrau his love of India 161—162
Hindu Philosophy · Vaishnava movement 162
Architecture in Delhi 162—163
Local architecture in other centres of Muslim culture 163—164
Deccan architecture 164

CHAPTER XIII

Independent Kingdoms carved out of the Delhi Sultanate.

Kingdoms in Northern India 165—168
Break-up of Delhi Sultanate 165—166
Why Panjab and Sindh formed no independent kingdoms 166—167
Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur 167
Purbi (Eastern) Kings of Bengal 167—168
Kingdoms in Central and Western India 168—172
Malwa 168—169
Gujarat: its sea connections 169—170
Capital and Port 170—171
End of the kingdom 171—172
Faruqi Kings of Khandesh 172

PAGES.

Kingdoms in the Deccan 173—182
- Deccan conditions 173
- Bahmani Kingdom 173—174
- Bidar and Barid-Shahi Dynasty 174—175
- Imad-Shahi Kingdom of Berar 175
- Nizam-Shahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar 176
- Chand Bibi 176—177
- Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur 177—178
- Qutb-Shahi Kingdom of Golkanda 178—180
- Vijayanagar 180—181
- Recapitulation 181—182

CHAPTER XIV

The Mughal Empire in its vigour.

Babar 183—188
- His early life 183
- Conquest of India 184
- His purpose and policy 185
- He overcomes opposition 186
- His death 186—187
- His character 187—188

Humayun 188—190
- His campaigns 188—189
- His wanderings 189—190
- Sher Shah Suri 190

Akbar 190—195
- His minority 190—191
- How he conquered against difficulties 191—192
- Annexations 192—193
- Policy for the unification of India 193—194
- Administrative Reforms 194—195

Jahangir 195—197
- Character of his reign 195—196
- Nur Jahan 196—197

PAGES.

Shah Jahan 197—200
- Events and personalities 197—198
- Taj Mahal 198—199
- Shah Jahan's sons 199
- War of the succession 199—200

Aurangzib 200—202
- Early events 200
- Chief interest of reign 201—202

CHAPTER XV

Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire.

Elements of Dismemberment 203—214
- Later Mughal Emperors 203—204
- Viceroys and adventurers seize power 204—205
- Asaf Jah and the Deccan 205—206
- The Oudh Dynasty 206—207
- Bengal and its revolutions 207—208
- The Rohillas 208—209
- Persia and Nadir Shah 209—210
- His invasion of India 211—212
- Ahmad Shah Abdali 212—213
- Third Battle of Panipat 213—214
- His retirement 214

Mughal Civilisation on the eve of the British Conquest 214—218
- General view of Muslim society 214—215
- The Court 215—216
- Literature 216—217
- Architecture 217
- Painting, arts, and crafts 217—218
- Economic conditions 218

CHAPTER XVI

The Marathas.

		PAGES.
Shivaji		219—223
Maratha Home-land	219	
Shivaji's early life	219—220	
Conflict with the Mughals	220—221	
Establishes a State	221—223	
His son and grandson	223	
The Peshwas		223—232
The term and the office	223—224	
Ba'aji Vishvanath	224—225	
Baji Rao I	225—226	
Maratha Commanders	227	
Ba'aji expansion in the North	227—228	
End of united Maratha nation	228—229	
Madhav Rao Ballal and Nana Phadnavis	229—230	
Enemies in the Deccan	230—231	
Marathas at Delhi	231—232	
Later history	232	

CHAPTER XVII

Early European Transactions in India.

Expansion of Europe		233—234
European rivalry for sea-power and trade	233	
Want of Indian sea-power	233—234	
Portugal in the East		234—238
Portuguese come by the Cape route	234	
Objects of the Portuguese	235	
The Portuguese at Calicut	235—236	
Their career of plunder and conquest	236—237	
Albuquerque: Portuguese command of the Eastern Seas	237—238	

PAGES.

Their decline in India 238

Dutch in India 239—241

Rise of the Dutch 239—240

Dutch conquests and settlements 240—241

England in India 241—249

England on the scene 241

Foundation of the East India Company 241—242

Company's trade and profits 242—243

Its need for settlements 243—244

Surat and its factory how Presidencies arose 244—245

East coast factories Masulipatam 245—246

Madras 246—247

Company's position in England 247—248

Jealousies rival Company and amalgamation 248—249

French Rivalry 250—254

Rivalry of the French: Pondicherry and Dupleix 250

French and English in conflict: Madras lost and restored 251

Fights in succession disputes 251—252

Clive's Karnatik war 252—253

Dupleix defeated and disgraced 253—254

CHAPTER XVIII

BENGAL AND THE COMPANY'S RISE TO BE A RULING POWER.

Early settlements 255—257

Growth of Bengal 255

From Madras to Orissa and Bengal 255—256

Relations with the Mughals: Calcutta founded 256—257

Policy of Conquest 257—262

Favourable conditions in Bengal 257—258

	PAGES.
Nawab Siraj-ud-daula	258—259
Attacks and captures Calcutta	259
Clive's counter-stroke	259—260
French expelled from the Bengal · Plot against the Nawab	260—261
Battle of Plassey	261—262
Company obtains pre-eminence	262—268
Mir Jaafar Nawab his position	262—263
French turned out of Madras	263—264
Mughals at Patna	264—265
Dutch defeated on the Hugli	265
Fresh changes in Bengal Mir Qasim	266—267
Battle of Baksar	267—268
Formal grant from the Emperor	268—270
Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa	268—269
Oudh brought under control	269
Emperor's position	269—270
Company's Rule	270—273
Company's servants: presents and private trade	270—271
Services reorganised	271—272
Clive's character	272
Famine and chaos	272—273
Warren Hastings as Governor	273—276
Internal reforms	273—274
Oudh and the Rohilla War	274—275
The Regulating Act	275—276

CHAPTER XIX

THE COMPANY'S FIRST GOVERNORS-GENERAL: WARREN HASTINGS TO WELLESLEY.

Warren Hastings as Governor-General	277—287
His Executive Council	277—278
Their Hostility to Hastings	278
Judicial Reforms	279

PAGES.

Begams of Oudh and Chait Singh 279—280
First Maratha War 280—281
Peace made through Sindhia 281—282
Fighting in Madras 282
The French defeated 282—283
Haidar Ali. First Mysore War 283—284
Second Mysore War 284—285
Pitt's India Act 285—286
Warren Hastings his impeachment: his work and character 286—287

Lord Cornwallis 288—292
Chief features of his administration 288
Internal Reforms 288—289
Permanent Land Revenue System 289—290
Arguments for and against 290—291
Third Mysore War Tippu Sultan 291—292

Sir John Shore 292—293
Lord Wellesley 293—298
Administrative Reforms 293—294
Fourth Mysore War· end of Tippu Sultan 294—295
Oudh 295
The Marathas 295—296
Second Maratha War 296—297
Lord Wellesley's retirement 297—298

CHAPTER XX

Lord Minto to Lord Dalhousie.

British supremacy recognised 299—306
Strengthening Britain's position in Asia 299
Four Embassies 299—300
Charter of 1813 300—301
Nepal War 301—302
Pindari and Maratha Problems 302—303

	PAGES.	
Third Maratha War	303—304	
Reform Movements	304	
First Burmese War	304—305	
Its results	305—306	
Storming of Bharatpur	306	
Moral and material development		306—309
Bentinck's Reforms	305—307	
Feudatory States	307—308	
Charter of 1833	308—309	
Expansion in the North-West		309—316
Aggressive Policy	309—310	
Aims in Afghanistan	310—311	
The First Afghan War	311—312	
Disaster	312	
Withdrawal	313	
Opium War with China	313	
Conquest of Sindh	313—314	
Gwalior army reduced	314—315	
First and Second Sikh Wars: Panjab annexed	315—316	
Annexation and Departmental Organisation		316—321
Lord Dalhousie's Policy: Second Burmese War	316—317	
Doctrine of Lapse: Nagpur annexed	317—318	
Oudh annexed. Hyderabad and Berar	318—319	
Dignities and Pensions curtailed	319	
Charter of 1853	319—320	
Administrative and Economic Reforms	320—321	

CHAPTER XXI

History of the Sikhs.

As a Religious Sect		322—325
Guru Nanak	322—323	
His ten successors	323	
Assumption of military character	323—325	

PAGES

As a Militant Community 325—329
Sikhs and Marathas: analogies and contrasts 325—326
Conflict with Mughal Empire 326
With Ahmad Shah Abdali 326—327
Rise of Patiala 327—328
Sikhs as a ruling power 328
Separate chiefs and Mis'ls 338—329
Ranjit Singh 329—333
Family and early career 329—330
Re'ations with the British 330—331
Conquests and consolidation 331
Army and French generals 331—332
Death and character of Ranjit Singh 332—333
After Ranjit Singh 333—339
Khalsa army all-powerful 333—334
First Sikh War 334—335
British victory 335—336
Panjab brought under the control 336
Intrigues and Insurrections 336—337
Second Sikh War 337—338
Panjab annexed 338—339

CHAPTER XXII

The Great Mutiny.

Its significance 340
Nature and Causes 340—344
Mutiny or Rebellion? 340—341
Feeling in the civil population 341—342
Political discontent 342—343
Military causes 343—344
Narrative of Events 344—352
Meerut and Delhi 344—345
Capture of Delhi 345—346
Cawnpore 346—347

	PAGES.
Lucknow: siege of the Residency	347—348
First Relief	348—349
Second Relief	349—350
Central India campaign	350—351
Successful results	351—352
End of the Mutiny	352
Reconstruction and Reform	**352—357**
Policy of conciliation	352—353
India transferred to the Crown	353—354
Queen Victoria's Proclamation	354—355
Councils in India	355—356
Financial and Legal Reforms	356—357

CHAPTER XXIII

The Viceroys: Lord Canning to Lord Irwin	**358—381**
Three well-marked periods	358
Lord Elgin I and Sir John Lawrence	359—360
Lord Mayo	360—361
Lord Northbrook	361—362
Lord Lytton	362—363
Second Afghan War	363
Its sequel	364
Lord Ripon	364—365
Lord Dufferin: Upper Burma annexed	365—366
Progress in India	366
Lord Lansdowne. Currency Legislation	366—367
Constitutional Reforms	367—368
Lord Elgin II. Anarchical Crime	368
Lord Curzon: foreign policy	368—369
Internal affairs	369—370
Partition of Bengal	370—371
Lord Minto II	371—372
Minto-Morley Reforms	372—373
Revolutionary Crime	373

PAGES.

Royal Darbar 1911 373—374
Lord Hardinge the Great War 374—375
Lord Chelmsford. India' s new status 375—376
Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.
Provincial Councils 376—377
Government of India 377
Devolution of Power 377—378
Non-co-operation movement 378
Lord Reading 378—379
Lord Irwin 379—380
Prob'ems before the country 381

APPENDICES

PAGES.

I. Landmarks in Indian History 383
II. List of Governors-General 384—385
III. Books for Further Study 386—396

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGS.		FACING PAGE.
1—5	*Racial Types*	31
6	*Buddha seated on Lotus Throne*	40
7	*Sculpture from railing at Bharahat (Bharhut), about Asoka's time*	66
8	*Bactrian Coin (of Diodotos)*	71
9	*Kushan Coin (of Huvishka)*	73
10	*Gandhara Fragment*	74
11	*Gupta Coin (Ashwamedha type)*	83
12	*Coin of Mahmud Ghaznavi (Sanskrit inscription)*	~~122~~
13	*Mihrab of Kutb Mosque*	162
14	*Tughluq Shah's Tomb, (Old Delhi)*	163
15	*Perforated Window in Sidi Saiyid's Mosque, Ahmadabad*	163
17	*Portrait of Akbar*	195
18	*Coin of Jahangir*	196
19	*Shahi Mosque, Lahore (1674)*	217
20	*Mahadaji Sindhia*	227
21	*Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General*	287
22	*Golden Temple, Amritsar*	323
23	*Lord Ripon*	365
24	*Victoria Memorial, Calcutta*	370
25	*His Excellency Lord Irwin*	379

LIST OF MAPS

Map.		Facing page.
1	*Rainfall*	11
2	*Products of India*	16
3	*The Buddha Country*	33
4	*Gandhara, Bactria, and Saka Country*	49
5	*Delhi Sultanate, 1310*	166
6	*Hindu and Muslim Kingdoms, 1398*	166
7	*British Settlements before the grant of Diwani*	260
8	*British Settlements after the grant of Diwani*	268
9	*British India, 1819*	304
10	*British India after Dalhousie, 1856*	319
11	*Political Boundaries, 1927*	376

CHAPTER I.

The Land and the People.

What is India?

When we speak of India, we generally mean that large tract of country which is under the political control, direct or indirect, of the Government of India. It includes the Provinces of British India and the territory included in the Indian States. The area of British India is 1,094,300 square miles, and that of the Indian States 711,032 square miles. This vast area of 1,805,332 square miles—more than twenty times the area of Great Britain—really consists of two geographical units, united for political purposes, *viz.* India Proper and Burma. The island of Ceylon, which is geographically connected with India, is politically separated; and the little settlement of Aden, which has geographically nothing to do with India, was until recently a part of British India, and is still so administered for certain purposes.

Physical Features.

Mountain Systems.—The Himalayas are the biggest feature in the physical geography of Northern India. They are the source of all the

rivers of that region. They intercept the clouds, winds, and moisture from the southern seas, and affect the climate and rainfall of the whole Indian region. The agricultural soils of the Indo-Gangetic plains are derived from this great mountain mass, while the eternal snows on its heights supply the perennial rivers and make canal irrigation possible in the dry season. The Himalayan range contains the highest mountain peaks in the world. Mount Everest is over 29,000 ft. high. Three parallel mountain chains may be distinguished. The northern chain is the southern wall of the plateau of Tibet. The southern chain is the snowy range visible from the plains, and from it issue the great rivers of Northern India. Further south are the series of low hills called the Siwaliks. The Himalayas cut off India proper from the rest of Asia.

In the north-west of India the mountain zone assumes a somewhat different character, though it may in a sense be considered as connected with the Himalayas. It consists of the mountains of the Afghanistan and Baluchistan region, which are less lofty, and enclose wider and more open valleys. A number of passes in these mountains have been the gates through which India has been accessible from Central Asia. Among the passes may be mentioned the Khaibar Pass, which is now traversed by a short railway, and guards the road to Kabul; the Kurram Pass, leading to Kabul or Ghazni, from the British frontier post

of Kohat; the Gomal Pass, in the south Waziri country, the oldest trade and caravan route to India, especially when Multan was the chief frontier city and trade emporium; and the Bolan Pass traversed by the railway on the road to Quetta, and offering the easiest means of communication with Kandahar.

Before we leave the mountains to the north-west, we may notice a small but interesting range, the Salt Range, beginning in the Jhelam District of the Panjab, and stretching west across the Indus. Geologists tell us that the upheaval of this range took place about the same time as the Himalayas, and its immense deposits of rock-salt supply a rich source of mineral wealth to India.

To the north-east the mountain system effectually shuts off India Proper from Burma and the rest of Asia. The range which begins with the Upper Assam Valley leaves no gap in the north-east for access to China. Running through Manipur and Lushai it comes close to the sea north-west of Arakan. On this side there has been very little land communication between India and Mongolian Asia, though the sea communication (coasting) with Burma is easy. We can trace the gradation of Mongolian features between Eastern Bengal, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, and China.

The mountain system of Central and Southern India differs from that of the Himalayas. Geologically it is much older and more stable, while the Himalayas are still in the process of uplift and

formation. The Western and Eastern Ghats are merely the raised edges of the great Deccan Plateau, whose northern boundary is marked by the Vindhyan range, the Narbada river to its south, and the Satpura hills between the Narbada and the Tapti. There are other mountains in the south, such as the Nilgiris, in which is situated the beautiful hill station of Ootacamund, the summer capital of the Madras Presidency. Another very old range of hills is the Aravali, whose spurs reach Delhi in the north and the plains of Gujarat in the south. Its highest peak is Mount Abu (5,650 ft.), crowned with some beautiful Jain temples and sculptures.

The River Systems.—The river systems of India are characterised by the same stupendous size and the same variety as her mountain systems. The three chief river basins of Northern India are those of the Indus, the Ganges with the Jamna, and the Brahmaputra. They cover an area of 300,000 square miles of plains, stretching in an irregular curve from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. These are the most densely inhabited tracts of India, with a population of 160 millions. The plains of Northern India may be said to have been made up of deposits brought down and spread out in fine particles by the action of water from the Himalayas

The Indus rises from glaciers round the Kailas peaks, near the Mansarowar Lake, not far from the sources of the Brahmaputra. After a

long and tortuous course through the Himalayas it issues into the plains near Attock, and receives two important tributaries bringing in the drainage from the hills of Afghanistan. On the east side it receives the united waters of the Pachnad, the five Panjab rivers, the Jhelam, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas, and the Satlaj After that it receives no important tributaries, but flows through many mouths into the Arabian Sea. It is to the Province of Sindh what the Nile is to Egypt,—the source of all agricultural wealth through irrigation in what would be otherwise a sandy desert. The water power of the upper rivers of the Indus system not only supplies the wonderful irrigation works of the Panjab but is a potential source of hydro-electric energy, whose development is still in its infancy. The total length of the Indus including its bends is about 2,000 miles, and for a great part of its length in the plains it has been navigable by small river boats from the most ancient times.

The twin sacred rivers, the Ganges and the Jamna, may be considered together. They both rise at no great distance from each other, in the lower Himalayas, at the sacred shrines of Gangotri and Jamnotri, over 10,000 ft. above the sea-level. They flow through the plains of the United Provinces at an average distance of about 50 miles from each other, and unite at Prayag, or Allahabad, where a celebrated Hindu bathing fair is held every year. The Ganges issues into the plains at

Hardwar, which is also a sacred bathing centre. The Jamna issues more to the west, and flows along the south of the Ganges, passing the great cities of Delhi and Agra, and the sacred precincts of Mathura, the centre of Krishna worship The Ganges receives a number of tributaries from the north and the Jamna a few from the south. The most notable among the latter is the Chambal, which brings some of the drainage of the Vindhya mountains through the fertiles plains of Malwa. The united stream below Allahabad retains the name of the Ganges and flows past Benares, the ancient and modern centre of Hindu learning. Among the chief affluents received by the Ganges below Benares are the Gogra, the Gandak, and the Brahmaputra (locally called the Jamna) from the north, and the Son from the south. Among the more important cities on its banks below Benares, are Patna, Monghyr, and Calcutta. About 220 miles north of the Bay of Bengal, begins the Ganges delta: the river now breaks up into innumerable streams interlacing each other, and finding their way through the swamps of the Sunderbans to the Bay of Bengal. The easternmost of the streams of the united waters of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra pours into the Bay through the estuary of the Meghna, while the westernmost stream of the Ganges is the Hugli, on which is situated Calcutta, the capital of British India till 1911. The Ganges has a course of 1,500 miles and is the most sacred river

of India. The Hugli is navigable for large steamers as far as Calcutta, 90 miles from the sea. The Gangetic delta covering an area of about 30,000 square miles, is so intersected with streams that river boats are the only channel of communication and serve nearly every village in that area. The Ganges was an important line of communication between the Bay of Bengal and Upper India as far as Allahabad and Cawnpore until the advent of railways. Through the Jamna, the cities of Agra and Delhi could also be reached by water. Even now heavy produce moves in considerable quantities along these two rivers and their fine canals, though the latter have been primarily constructed for irrigation.

The Brahmaputra has its origin in glaciers in the northern chain of the Himalayas, and more than half of its course of 1,800 miles lies in Tibet and Eastern Bhutan. It has a remarkable navigable reach at an altitude of over 13,000 ft. in regions north of Mount Everest. After passing through some unexplored country it enters the plains of Assam as a broad majestic river, whose floods, 30 or 40 ft. high, fertilise enormous tracts of rice and jute. After it joins the Ganges streams, it becomes part of the Ganges Delta. Regular steamer communication is maintained on this river from its mouth to the upper valleys of Assam.

The river systems of Peninsular India are of a different character. They are not fed from the snows, and none of them is navigable

to any great distance from its mouth. The Narbada and the Tapti flow from east to west through well-defined valleys without deltas. The main drainage of the Peninsula is carried by the Godavari, the Krishna, and the Kaveri, which rise from the highlands of the west coast and carry the drainage right across the Peninsula, to the east coast. At their mouths they all form deltas, which are used for irrigation purposes. This feature is also common to the Mahanadi river, which rises from hills in the Central Provinces (Bastar State) but also through its tributaries carries part of the drainage of the Chhota Nagpur plateau. It is a rapid river, and for its size it discharges an enormous quantity of water, some of which is utilised for irrigation in the deltaic canals of Orissa. The irrigation system of the Peninsula is quite different from that of the Indo-Gangetic system, where water is drawn from snow-fed rivers in the higher reaches of their courses. In the south a dam (or anicut) is thrown across the river at the head of the delta, and the abundant flow of water is mainly used for inundating rice fields. On the Deccan plateau the irrigation is from tanks, whose conservation and repair form an important feature in rural and agricultural life.

The Burma rivers are the Irawadi, the Sittaung, and the Salwin, all flowing from north to south, and discharging into the Indian Ocean. The Irawadi has an extensive delta. Though it is 1,300 miles long, its whole drainage area is

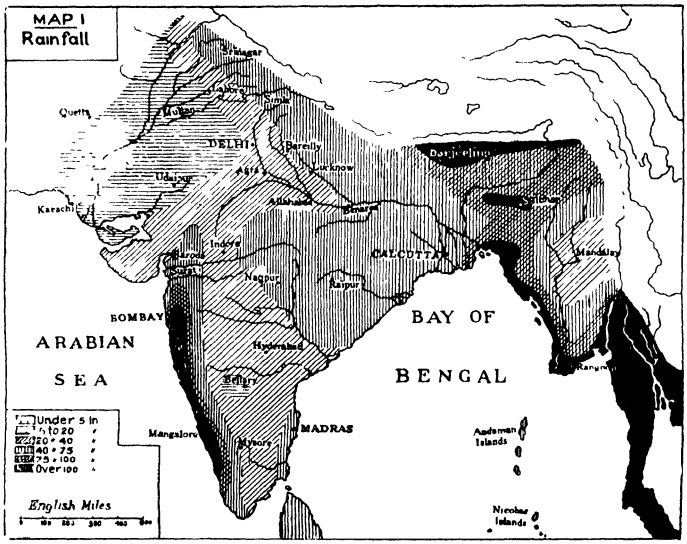
within British Burma. It is navigable right up to Bhamo and Myitkyina. The Irawadi Flotilla Company, which works on Burmese rivers, has a fleet of over 550 steamers. The Sittaung is also a purely Burmese river, but the Salwin, which flows through the Shan States, has its sources in Tibet.

The Sea Coast.—The coast line of British India, from Karachi to the end of Tenasserim, is little short of 6,000 miles. The best harbours have always been on the west coast The two modern first-class harbours are Karachi and Bombay. Near the site of Karachi there has always been a harbour from the most ancient times, and in Muslim times there was much communication through Sindh between India on the one hand and Persia, the Persian Gulf, and Arabia on the other. Cambay, in the Gulf of that name, by the Peninsula of Kathiawar, was also an important seaport in Muslim India, communicating with Arabia, the Red Sea, and East Africa. Bombay is now the most important seaport in India, and a fine triumphal arch in its harbour commemorates its character as the "Gateway of India." The East Coast is not so favourable for harbours on account of the surf and storms of the Bay of Bengal, but the artificial harbour of Madras—a British creation—maintains a certain amount of sea-traffic. Calcutta, on the Hugli, 90 miles from the sea, ranks next to Bombay as the most important port of India, and Rangoon

in Burma comes third, with a close rival in Karachi. The sea-faring population is to be found in the vicinity of these and smaller ports, and now that India is to have a navy of her own, it is to be hoped that the sea-faring instincts of this section of the population will find further outlets.

Rainfall and Climate.—In a vast area like that of India, the seasons, the rainfall, and the temperatures vary greatly, but a few general statements may be made, which hold good with local variations. The well-marked seasons are the Cold Weather from October or November to about March, the Hot Weather from about March or April to June or July, and the Monsoons* from about June (in the south) or July (in the north) to about September or October. In the cold weather the winds are feeble, from the north-west in Northern India and the east in Peninsular India. There are some thunderstorms, and gentle showers (the winter rains) may be expected about Christmas. The mean temperature in the Plains in January ranges from about 78° in the extreme south to about 50° in the north, and much lower temperatures and occasional frosts occur at night. The day temperatures increase rapidly in the hot weather, especially in inland tracts, and 110° to 120° Fahrenheit are recorded towards the end of May. In May the wind

*The word "Monsoon" is used both for the season and for the prevailing winds of the season.


MAP I
Rainfall
Srinagar
Simla
Quetta
Multan
DELHI
Bareilly
Lucknow
Agra
Udaipur
Allahabad
Karachi
Indore
Baroda
Surat
Nagpur
Raipur
CALCUTTA
Mandalay
BOMBAY
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
Hyderabad
Bellary
Mangalore
MADRAS
Mysore
Andaman
Islands
Nicobar
Islands
Under 5 in
5 to 20 "
20 • 40 "
40 • 75 "
75 • 100 "
Over 100 "
English Miles

conditions gradually change, and the sea winds assert their supremacy over the country. Near the sandy plains dust storms are frequent. The south-west winds, laden with the moisture of the Indian Ocean, sweep over Southern India early in June. The Arabian Sea current is stronger than the Bay of Bengal current, and, crossing the Western Ghats, brings rain over the Peninsula, and crossing Kathiawar, brings rain over Rajputana and Central India. The portion over Sindh is feeble, and Southern and Western Panjab is practically rainless, the annual average rainfall being only about 5 inches. A portion of the Bay current passes over Burma and Assam, and another portion, thrown back by the barrier of the Eastern Himalayas, gives rain to Bengal, Bihar, and the United Provinces, meeting the tail-end of the Arabian Sea current in Eastern Panjab. The zones receiving the largest amount of rain (over 100 inches a year on the average) are the region of the Western Ghats, the sea-board of Burma, and Eastern Bengal and Assam, while the driest areas are Rajputana, Sindh, and Southern and Western Panjab. (*See map 1.*)

The character of the Monsoon—strong or weak, early or late, steady or fitful,—determines the whole economic condition of agricultural India, and its variations in all these respects from year to year are very marked. The cultivator's Kharif crops, which grow during the monsoons, are directly dependent on the monsoon rains: a

defective monsoon means a famine in the areas in which it is defective. Even the winter crops, which profit by the winter rains, are affected by the monsoon: a late monsoon may leave enough moisture in the soil to counteract a defect in winter rains, while an early cessation of the monsoon may make the Rabi sowings a failure before the winter rains come.

The conditions of moisture and heat, combined with sanitary or insanitary surroundings and personal hygiene, are responsible for the health of the people. It is now known that malaria is spread by a species of mosquitoes. Unfortunately malaria occurs in nearly all parts of India and is responsible not only for a very large death-roll but also for weakened vitality in a large proportion of the population. Epidemics of plague, cholera, influenza and small-pox, frequently break out, and find a favourable soil in the insanitary conditions of crowded areas, in tainted sources of water supply, and in the prevailing ignorance on questions of health and hygiene.

How Physical Features Influence National Character.

Having considered the physical features of India, we are in a position to review the natural divisions of the country and how they influence the character of the people.

Burma.—In the first place the physical features of Burma make it a distinct unit separate

from India Proper. The easy-going, light-hearted Burmese character is partly due to the influence of race and religion (the Burmese are Buddhists), but it is also partly due to the influence of a sparsely inhabited country where the competition between man and man has hitherto been less severe than in more densely inhabited tracts. Nature is profuse in Burma, and Burmese Buddhism is gay and joyous, in strong contrast to Tibetan Buddhism, which is gloomy and fantastic like the dreary land of Tibet.

Northern India.—The next great natural division is the low moist tract in North-Eastern India, included in the provinces of Bengal and Assam, with a heavy rainfall and abundant harvests of rice and other produce. The population is dense, and the mass of the people are poor, with an upper stratum of wealthy men. usually descendants of immigrants from more hardy climates. The national character is soft and subtle. As we move up the Gangetic valley, the country becomes less moist, and the climate less feverish; the winters are longer; the physique of the people becomes more sturdy, and the character of the people becomes more martial, with the corresponding virtues and defects of a martial character more in evidence. We can trace a gradation in these matters through Bihar, the United Provinces, and the Panjab. In the Panjab itself, we can see the contrast between the sturdy peasants of the dry areas and the softer and more sophisticated people

in the areas reclaimed by irrigation. The delightful Valley of Kashmir was isolated by its surrounding hills for centuries: this isolation has left its mark on the soft and unenterprising character of its people, gifted though they are with great intellect and artistic taste. The hot sandy plains of Sindh were in the occupation of the Arabs for some centuries; the later incursions of Biloch and Afghan from the hills have resulted in their absorption and the production of a desert type, which may yet be modified by the development of irrigation on an extensive scale from the Sukkur barrage. Rajput chivalry of a marked type has been developed in the deserts of Rajputana.

Peninsular India.—The Aravali, Vindhya and Satpura ranges, as well as the hills further east, together with the forests on or near them, hold aboriginal races which have not yet got beyond the stage of bows and arrows. Until a century ago the hills and forests of Central India interposed a barrier which made communication between Northern and Southern India difficult, and the people in these two tracts developed their history and character on separate lines. The Western and Eastern Ghats have also their aboriginal races, but as they have easy communications with the Deccan plateau and the eastern sea-board, they are less isolated, and the intermixture of races and cultures has gone on for some centuries. The Marathas have their home districts in the upper reaches of the Godavari river,

but they have spread themselves west and north, and in the days of their struggles with the Mughal Empire, the backbone of their armies was derived from the mountaineers of the Western Ghats and the industrious cultivators of the Deccan. The Telugu and Tamil races occupy the country further south and east, and have an ancient Dravidian culture, which, mingled with the imported Aryan culture, has moulded their character in harmony with their physical surroundings. The alluvial coast-strips, from Kathiawar round by Konkan, Malabar, and Cape Comorin to Orissa, have various physical features modified by their proximity to the sea; and these again are shown in the character of a sea-faring, fish-eating, but not very martial section of the population.

Thus India Proper has an infinite number of variations in its physical features and a corresponding variety in the character of its people. And yet its geographical unity as a whole has gradually tended to produce a certain cultural uniformity which we must not lose sight of in the bewildering differences of race, language, customs and traditions. Its political unity, in which Burma is included, may further tend to produce a national consciousness under wise leadership and guidance.

The Country and its Products.

Northern India is sub-tropical, and Peninsular

India is mainly tropical, but the different heights of the mountains and the stupendous atmospheric changes due to the monsoons, enable India to produce fauna, flora, and scenery of unusual variety. Alpine scenery, trees, flowers, birds, and animals are common in the Himalayas, while there are no tropical products that cannot grow in Southern India. In some places the palm and the pine will grow together. (*See map 2.*)

Food-stuffs.—Among food-stuffs India produces for her own consumption gram, the millets, maize, sugar, and vegetables and fruits of many kinds, while wheat, barley, pulses, rice, oil-seeds and oils (both vegetable and fish oils, as well as petroleum), tea and coffee are produced both for home consumption and for export.

Other agricultural produce.—Among fibres, cotton and jute are produced in large quantities both for the home and foreign markets, and in jute India has a virtual monopoly. Her wool is of minor importance both in the home and foreign markets. Tobacco is a growing industry in the south. Drugs, spices, and opium are produced both for home consumption and export. Her voluntary abandonment of the revenue from the exports of opium to China is a fine instance of international philanthropy on her part.

Animal products.—Among animal products may be mentioned the enormous quantities of agricultural stock bred in the country. Very little of this is exported, but hides and skins and bones

for manure form an appreciable item in exports. In lac production, also, India holds an important place.

Mineral wealth.—India's mineral wealth has not been fully exploited. Apart from the production of gold and diamonds, in which India no longer holds an important place in the world, her coal industry is increasing rapidly, especially in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. In iron and steel she depends largely on imports, but the Protection recently afforded to this industry may enable it to establish itself firmly. In the production of manganese ore, used in the making of high-grade steels, India now occupies the second place in the world. The production of salt is a State monopoly, and the sources of supply are the Salt Range, the Sambhar lake in Rajputana, and salt works on the coast, in which salt is obtained from the evaporation of sea water.

The People and their Classification.

The population of India at the census of 1921 was 319 millions, of which 286.5 millions dwelt in villages and only 32.5 millions in towns. The numbers in British India were 247 millions, and in Indian States 72 millions. The two biggest towns are Calcutta, which with its suburbs contained 1.3 million inhabitants, and Bombay with 1.2 million inhabitants. The capital, Delhi, came ninth on the list of towns, with only 304,000 in-

habitants. By religion the distribution was as follows: Hindus 216 millions; Muslims 69 millions; Buddhists (nearly all in Burma) 12 millions; Animists* 10 millions; Christians 5 millions; Sikhs 3 millions; and others 4 millions. The Hindu population was divided into a large number of castes, of whom the Brahmans numbered 14 millions and the Rajputs 10 millions. Divided by occupations, as many as 231 millions or 73 per cent. were engaged in the production of raw materials. The ratio of literacy was very low, being only 8.2 per cent. excluding children under 5.

Political Divisions.

British India is divided into nine major Provinces, and six minor administrations. The major Provinces are governed each by a Governor, with an Executive Council and Ministers, and a Legislative Council. These are: Bengal, Bombay, and Madras (which are also called Presidencies, whose Governors are usually statesmen sent out from England); Assam, Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Panjab, the Central Provinces, and Burma. The Governors of the last six are usually appointed from the Indian Civil Service. Among the minor Administrations two may be specially mentioned; they

*Animists are certain aboriginal tribes, with no other religion but magic, superstition, and a belief in spirits haunting all nature and life.

have both been carved out of the old Province of the Panjab. The Province of Delhi is a small area less than 600 square miles, containing the Imperial Capital of Delhi and the land immediately surrounding it. It is governed by a Chief Commissioner directly under the orders of the Government of India. The North-West Frontier Province is similarly governed by a Chief Commissioner under the direct orders of the Government of India, as the intricate problems of the frontier of Afghanistan require the special attention of the Governor-General in Council. The Government of India is presided over by a viceroy sent out specially from England, assisted by an Executive Council of seven members, of whom three are Indians. The legislative work of British India is done by a Legislature consisting of two Chambers. The Upper Chamber is called the Council of State. It is a small body, containing a large proportion of nominated members, official and non-official. The elected members are elected on a higher franchise than the elected members of the Lower House, which is called the Legislative Assembly. This is the more important of the two Houses. There is also a Chamber of Princes, which is a consultative body, in which the Rulers of the Indian States may (if they choose) be represented, and questions of common interest to the States may be discussed.

CHAPTER II.

The Aryans.

Who were the First Inhabitants of India?

It is difficult to say which were the earliest aboriginal races of India The evidence of language points to traces of Malay, Polynesian, Chinese, and Tibetan influences in the frontier tracts and islands. But they do not materially affect the mass of the population of India proper. The Santals of Chhota Nagpur, who speak Munda dialects allied to primitive dialects of the Pacific, seem to belong to what is called the "Dravidian" race, which is the prevailing race in Peninsular India.

The Dravidian languages of Southern India are spoken by certain southern races, which have well-marked physical characteristics. We cannot connect these languages with other languages of the world, nor have we any clear indications of these races having ever come into India from without. We may therefore assume that the "Dravidian" races were the earliest races to inhabit India. Aboriginal tribes like the Gonds are akin to them in race. Practically the whole population of Peninsular India belongs to that race-type, or shows an admixture of Dravidian

with other blood. Even in Northern India, there is Dravidian admixture in the United Provinces and the Plains further east. Kashmir, the Panjab, and Rajputana, are the only areas in which any considerable traces of Dravidian blood are not found. A Dravidian dialect is spoken in Baluchistan. It is probable that the Dravadians once lived all over India until the Aryan invasion, of which we shall speak hereafter.

The Dravidians.

We must not suppose, because certain very primitive forest tribes speak Dravidian, that the Dravidians had no civilisation of their own. On the contrary some of their ancient customs and institutions link them with an ancient Mediterranean civilisation. They were a short dark race compared with the Aryans, but they had settled agriculture, and their gentle and emotional nature endowed them with artistic gifts. Some authorities believe that the share of the Dravidians in the evolution of Indian culture was very considerable. Tamil is the most advanced of the Dravidian languages, and its literature contains some poetry of a very high order. But it cannot be denied that the Dravidians were physically less vigorous than the Aryans, and that their whole culture was so much influenced by Aryan culture after their clash with the Aryans that it is legitimate to speak of the influence of Aryan culture being now universal in India.

The Aryans.

The Indo-European Languages.—Who were the Aryans, and when and how did they come to India? The evidence of language shows that many thousand years ago there was a group of people who spoke a common language, which afterwards split up into a number of branches. Nearly all the modern European languages, as well as the classical European languages, Latin and Greek, belong to this old stock. But it is also found that the language spoken in old Persia, of which we have literary specimens preserved in the Avesta, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, also belongs to that stock, and that modern Persian, in spite of its later admixtures and developments, looks to the same source. Similarly Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and the modern vernaculars of India (except those that are Dravidian), are derived structurally from the same source. This ancient common language, of which we can trace a great number of roots, is called Indo-European, and the languages descended from them are called the Indo-European family of languages. Not only have they common roots going back to the ages when their speakers lived together, but their basic structure is one, and distinguishes them from other groups of human languages. Compare the words for "father" and "mother" in the following languages:—

English	Father	Mother
Latin	Pater	Mater
Greek	Pater	Meter
Sanskrit	Pitar	Matar
Hindi	Pita	Mata
Persian	Pidar	Madar.

The Aryan Group.—A careful comparison of the Indo-European languages shows that the changes in the form of words and their pronunciation follow definite laws, which have been carefully studied in Philology, *i.e.* the science of language. At the time when the Indo-European family of languages was one, they could not count above a hundred: these languages have no common word for "a thousand." The word "hundred" itself appears in one form in one group of languages and in another form in another group, and this enables us to make the first subdivision of the Indo-European family. Another subdivision gives us roughly the Aryan group and the European group. The Aryan* group is represented by languages spoken in the Indian and Iranian (or Persian) areas. From very early times these two branches used the word "Arya" as meaning something honorific, and therefore the word may fitly be applied to this group.

Indo-Aryans.—The relation between the two early languages in the Aryan group were much

*Sometimes the term "Aryan" is applied to the whole Indo-European Group, but it is usually restricted to the Indo-Iranian family, as here.

closer than the relations between any two other members of the Indo-European group. The language of the Avesta is very close to the language of the earliest Veda, in vocabulary, grammar, and versification. From this we draw the conclusion that the Aryans had separated from the other Indo-European groups for some time before they split up into Iranian and Indian, and that this split had been quite recent when the earliest Veda (the Rig Veda) was composed. The Indian branch of the Arayan languages is called Indo-Aryan, while the Iranian or Persian branch is called Iranian. "Iranian" itself is another form of the word "Aryan." Their speakers may well be called Indo-Aryans and Iranians, respectively.

Indo-Aryans Languages.—The earliest Indo-Aryan language of which we have any literary records is Vedic Sanskrit, though it may be supposed that some sort of spoken dialects may have been used concurrently in every-day affairs of life. These dialects were the Primary Prakrits. From one of these Primary Prakrits was evolved a highly polished Sanskrit, whose rules were elaborated by a succession of able grammarians, and in which a rich and remarkable body of literature was written in the classical age of Sanskrit literature. On the other hand, a parallel growth of Prakrits resulted in the development of Secondary and Tertiary Prakrits, and ultimately the modern Aryan vernaculars of India, *i.e.* prac-

tically all the important vernaculars except those which belong to the Dravidian family in the south. The Indo-Aryan languages thus comprise Vedic, classical Sanskrit, the Prakrits, and the Indo-Aryan vernaculars. The Vedic language enshrines not only the sacred literature of the old Indo-Aryans, but the most ancient records of Indo-European speech now extant in literary form.

Original Indo-European Home.—When we come to enquire where the original home of the Indo-Europeans was situated, and when it was that they dispersed in the different directions in which we find their speech still current, we are thrown back on conjecture, and there is no complete agreement among the authorities. Central Asia, Northern Europe, and Central Europe have been suggested as the original home, but we may accept as most probable the theory that it was in the plains of Hungary or of Southern Russia. As regards their dispersion from their original homes, a date about 2500 B.C. may be accepted as possible.

Indo-Aryans in India.—The Indo-Aryans invaded India in different waves somewhere between 2000 B.C. and 1000 B.C. Here again the dates are conjectural. Their routes were mainly through the passes of Afghanistan, but some of their tribes may have come through the mountain regions near the Pamirs. When the Indo-Aryans came into India, they had only recently separated from the Iranian Aryans, but the two branches de-

veloped their religion and institutions on entirely different lines. The Rig Veda, the oldest of the Vedas, was probably composed mainly in or near the Panjab, the Land of the Five Rivers, the latest possible dates being the period between 1200 and 1000 B.C. The latest hymns of the Rig Veda may have been composed later, and the collections of the other three Vedas and the earlier Commentaries put together by about 800 B.C. Gradually the Indo-Aryans spread eastward into the Gangetic valley, and formed a definite idea of the sacred land of Arya-Varta, which excluded Peninsular India. The Western region round Hastinapur (modern District of Meerut) now became the chief centre of Aryan interest, and the scenes of the events celebrated in the great war of the Mahabharat are laid in the tract round Meerut, Delhi, and Panipat.

Sacred Literature of the Indo-Aryans.

The Rig Veda.—We have seen what an important place Vedic Sanskrit* occupies in the history of the development of Indo-European speech. To us it is even more important as the source of the religion and the sacred institutions of Hinduism. There are four Vedas. The Rig

*There is an advantage in restricting the term 'Sanskrit" to the classical form as seen for example in Kalidas, but I follow the Indian practice in including in the term the earlier Vedic language.

Veda takes us back to the very threshold of Aryan thought and religion in India. It contains invocations to the gods, who are personified forms of the forces of nature. There is in it some beautiful poetry. The hymns were probably used for sacrifice. The universe is conceived of as earth, air, and sky. The gods dwell in the sky, but act in all these three worlds. The earth is the special home of man. The gods of lightning, rain, and wind claim the air as their domain, in which there are also demons who war against the gods. The Sun (*Surya*) reigns in the sky, and the goddess of Dawn (*Ushas*) is a radiant maiden beloved of him. Contrasted with her is her dark sister Night. Clothed with light the Dawn appears in the East, in her chariot of ruddy horses, day after day, never failing in her appointed task. Her blessings are many, and she marks out the way for the Sun to tread.

Indra is the thunder god, constantly fighting with the demon who obstructs the water. Armed with thunder and lightning, and braced to the fight with the stimulating Soma juice, he releases the clouds and the rivers so that the waters flow freely. One of the hymns* runs:—

> I will proclaim the manly deeds of Indra,
> The first that he performed, the lightning-wielder.
> He smote the dragon, then discharged the waters,
> And cleft the caverns of the lofty mountains.

*Rig Veda I. 32, as translated by Macdonell, in his Sanskrit Literature, p. 86.

Impetuous as a bull, he chose the Soma,
And drank in threefold vessels of its juices.
The bounteous god grasped lightning for his missile,
He struck down dead that first-born of the dragons.
Him lightning availed not, nor thunder,
Nor mist nor hailstorm which he spread around him:
When Indra and the dragon strove in battle,
The bounteous god gained victory for ever.

The rivers named are the Indus and its tributaries, and the Saraswati, and they are personified as goddesses. The Saraswati is specially celebrated. The modern Saraswati is an unimportant stream between the Satlaj and the Jamna, and loses itself in sand. In those days it may have been a bigger river, with a longer and independent course, or it is just possible that the name may really have been applied to one of the larger rivers of the Panjab. Agni, the god of fire, is the most important of the gods of the earth. The whole ritual of the Veda centres round fire, and the god is pictured with hair of flame and a tawny beard. His flames are like the roaring waves of the sea, and a pillar of smoke is his banner. He is fed with sacrificial ghi. His forms are many, and he dwells in many places, and yet he is one. He conducts the sacrifices to the gods, and is benevolent to the households of men.

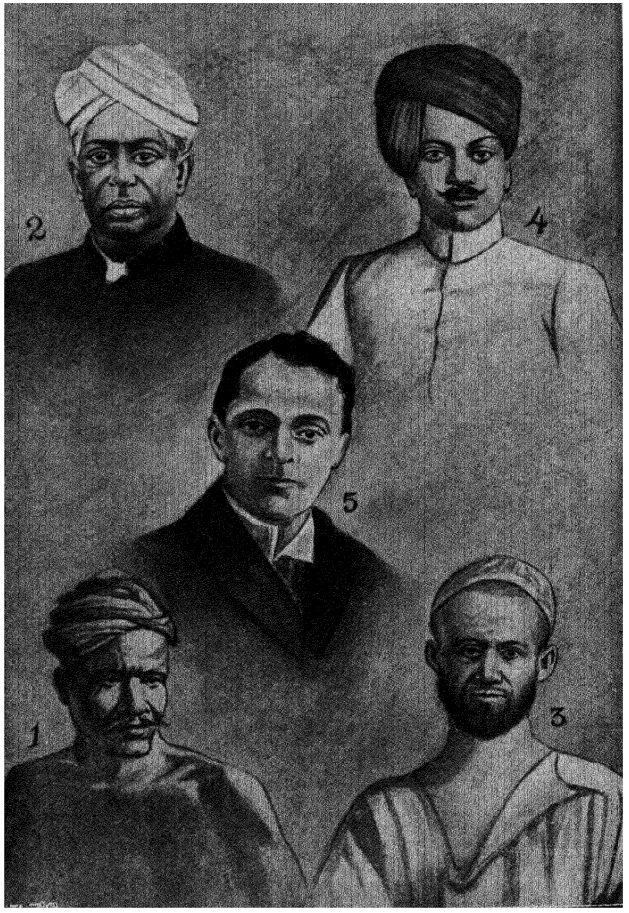
The other three Vedas.—The Rig Veda attaches great importance to sacrificial rites, and this fea-

ture is specially emphasized in the other three Vedas, and in the later literature connected with the Vedas. The Sama Veda consists mainly of matter taken from the Rig Veda, and arranged specially with reference to the chanting of priests at the performance of sacrificial rites. The Yajur Veda gives us a picture of social and religious life at a later stage than that which is assumed in the Rig Veda. The Indo-Aryans had now moved further East from the Panjab, and the priestly caste had become more closely differentiated. The sacrificial rites had also become further elaborated. Different priestly schools for the study and interpretation of ritual were being formed, and we have thus two distinct manuals of sacrifice in the White Yajur Veda and the Black Yajur Veda. Part of the material of the Yajur Veda is taken from the Rig Veda, but as the number of rites multiplied with the occasions for sacrifice, and the sacrificial formulas were further elaborated, new Mantras were found necessary, and were supplied by the new Veda. The fourth and last Veda was the Atharva Veda. It contains, besides some philosophic hymns, charms and incantations connected with domestic rites such as birth, marriage, and death; political rites such as the coronation of kings; and such ordinary incidents as the warding off of diseases, the reconciliation of enemies, the invocation of luck; and imprecations against demons, sorcerers, and the enemies of priests. Some schools of Brahmans

do not recognise the Atharva Veda. The Yajur and the Atharva Vedas contain both verse and prose.

Other Sacred Literature.—As the priestly schools of study multiplied and progressed in their speculations, prose commentaries were produced explaining the origin and meaning of the various rites, and giving further directions for their correct celebration, as well as speculating on the larger questions of the universe, man's relation to it, and man's final destiny. The more practical part of the Commentaries are the Brahmanas, and the more speculative, the Upanishads, which may be considered to be continuations of the Brahmanas. Each of the Vedas has its own Brahmanas and Upanishads. The philosophical doctrines of Hinduism are expounded with great force in these Commentaries, and especially in the Upanishads, which have appealed to many minds outside the fold of Hinduism. In them may also be traced some of the germs of the later Hindu schools of philosophy, and the speculative side of Buddhism. For the Upanishads discuss in great detail the nature of the world soul and the individual soul and the relations between the two. This body of literature may be called the theology of Brahmanism, and was composed in the "Middle country," *i.e.* the tract between Sirhind and Oudh, but it presupposes the extension of Aryan influence all over the Gangetic valley.

Sumerian and other Civilisations.—We have



Figs. 1—5 RACIAL TYPES *To face p. 31*

1. GOND
2. DRAVIDIAN (TAMIL)
3. KASHMIRI
4. RAJPUT
5. EUROPEAN

hitherto spoken of Dravidian and Aryan civilisations. Recent excavations in lower Panjab (Montgomery District) and Sindh (Larkana District) have revealed the existence of buried cities, whose highly developed culture raises new questions about early civilisation in India. These ruins may go back to 3500 or 2500 B.C. They show well-built brick houses with drainage systems, and have yielded many objects of great archæological value, such as copper vessels, earthen jars, plain and painted pottery, artistic jewellery, and engraved seals of stone, ivory, and paste (*i.e.* imitation precious stones). The style connects them with Sumerian civilisation, which was the basis of the Babylonian civilisation of the Euphrates valley, one of the oldest civilisations of the world, dating back to 4000—3000 B.C. The exact relations of Sumerian with Aryan or Dravidian civilisation, or with Semitic or Chinese civilisation have not yet been worked out But we now know definitely that there was communication between the Indus civilisation and the Euphrates civilisation many centuries before the Aryans came to India. It is probable also that the Indian alphabets, Aryan and Dravidian, as well as the European alphabets, are derived ultimately from Semitic sources. Thus there has been the mingling of many civilisations in India from the most ancient times, and the mingling process is still going on in our day. (*See Figures 1—5 for racial types.*)

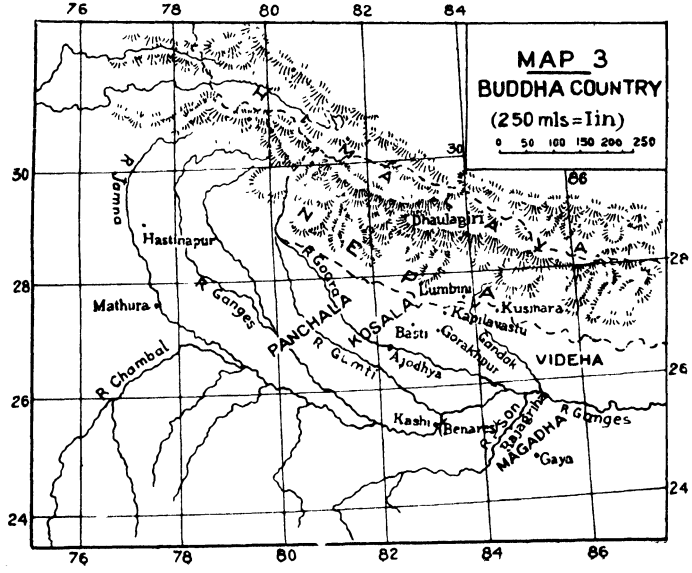
CHAPTER III.

Buddha and his Religion.

India in the time of Buddha.

By the middle of the sixth century B.C., Indo-Aryan influence and culture had come to predominate in the Jamna-Ganges Doab and further east as far as modern Bihar. The Aryan tribal organisation still remained, and there was local tribal government, with headmen or chiefs in each tribe, like the tribal Maliks on the North-West frontier at the present day. But larger and more powerful States were being formed, with extensive territory and a monarchical form of government. The Panchalas had a king, and their territory was round about modern Bareilly and Kanauj. They also had Imperial ambitions. East of them was the kingdom of the Kosalas, whose territory roughly corresponded to that of modern Oudh. South-east lay the kingdom of Kashi (modern Benares), with a flourishing capital, which was the scene of Buddha's early preaching. Further down the Ganges, round about modern Patna, was the kingdom of Magadha, whose population had a thinner strain of Aryan blood, as was natural in tracts so far from the old Aryan centres.

But local republics still remained, with areas


MAP 3
BUDDHA COUNTRY
(250 mls=1in)
0 50 100 150 200 250
76
78
80
82
84
86
30
28
26
24
R Jamna
Hastinapur
Mathura
R Ganges
R Chambal
PANCHALA
R Gumti
Ajodhya
KOSALA
Bastu
Gorakhpur
Kapilavastu
Kusinara
Lumbini
Dhaulagiri
Gandak
VIDEHA
Kashi
Benares
R Son
R Sapta
MAGADHA
R Ganges
Gaya

of a few square miles round a small capital. Such was the republic of the Sakya tribe (Gautama clan), with its capital at Kapilavastu. Its site may be placed in the submontane tract in the north of the modern District of Basti. It is a moist tract at the base of the Himalayas, with a great deal of rice cultivation. The great snow-peak of Dhaulagiri, 26,826 feet high, is visible from certain points of vantage. The landscape is monotonous and gloomy, and leads to a contemplative mood. A chief of the tribe was Suddhodana, and to him was born a son Siddhartha, who afterwards became the famous Sakya Muni, "the Buddha" (the "enlightened one"). The date of his birth is not known with precise accuracy, but it may be put at about 563 B.C. The actual place of birth, the Lumbini Grove, has been identified by the discovery of a pillar set up there more than three centuries later, by Asoka. It is only a short distance east of Kapilavastu.

Life of Buddha.

Youth.—Buddha's mother was going to her parents' house, but was delivered on the way, at the Lumbini Grove. An old Pali* hymn thus describes Buddha's birth:—

"The wisdom-child,

*Pali is the name of one of the old Prakrits, and is the sacred language of Buddhism.

That jewel so precious,
That cannot be matched,
Has been born at Lumbini,
In the Sakya land,
For weal and for joy,
In the world of men."

The boy was brought up with tender care in his father's house, but he showed an early disposition towards contemplation. He was screened from all sights of decay, disease, and death, and at nineteen his marriage was celebrated with his cousin Yasodhara. For six years he lived a happy married life, but his mind was busy with great thoughts about man's chain of past births, his sorrows, and his future destiny. The first crisis of his life came with the birth of a son to him. While the whole town of Kapilavastu rejoiced in the event, his mind dwelt on the great problems of life, and he resolved immediately to renounce the world, its joys, and family ties, and wander about as a beggar in order to penetrate by contemplation the profound secrets that troubled his soul. He was then 29 years of age.

Asceticism.—The lonely pilgrim wandered east and south. A few followers gathered round him, struck with admiration for his asceticism. South of the Ganges was the country of the Magadhas, with its capital at Rajagriha (south of the modern Patna), ruled over by King Bimbisara, who listened to his message after his enlightenment. But the years passed, and the renunciation in itself brought

no peace of mind,—no solution to the mysteries of life, evil, sorrow, birth and re-birth. Here was a country of low hills, gentle streams, and lonely woods, and here were many ascetics who like him were mortifying their flesh in search of salvation, but finding none. At last, after sharing in the sorrows of men, women, animals, and all life, and meditating on the ignorance and passions of the multitude, he saw that fasts and vigils and the torturing of the body were vain, and that the true light came from things even more difficult than asceticism At this his few ascetic friends also left him But he felt more and more secure now in his own mind. He felt that he had conquered all temptation and seen the light. This enlightenment was at Gaya, under a spreading Pipal tree, the Bodhi tree, of which a remnant is still shown. He was now 35 years of age.

Teaching and Preaching.—The philosophy which seemed to the Master to answer his profoundest questions we shall discuss later. Having obtained peace in his own mind, he felt it his duty to announce the happy tidings to suffering humanity and show them also the way to peace. Many mocked at him, but he had obtained Nirvana, freedom from passion and suffering, and he could go calmly forward on his mission. He walked to Benares, the centre of learning and philosophy, and expounded his system in the Deer Park, where now stand the ruins of Sarnath. A number of followers now gathered round him, whom he

instructed and prepared for the teaching of the people. The teaching was in the vernacular,—in the local dialects spoken in the different localities to which he and his disciples went. After a time he came back to Rajagriha, where the King gave him a bamboo grove, in which he and his disciples could live in the rainy season, and prepare themselves for their preaching again in the cold weather He also visited his father and wife and his people at Kapilavastu, but now he was not of them, as his spiritual kindred called him to other duties. His favourite mode of teaching was by questions and answers, and he took his illustrations from every-day life, so as to make himself intelligible to the meanest of his hearers. In this manner he lived, travelled, and taught for 45 years. The end came when he was 80 years of age, at Kusinara, not far from his native place. He passed away as he had lived,—in gentle peace,—as it were a "dew-drop that slips into the shining sea."* The date may be taken to be roughly 483 B.C.

Buddha's Philosophy.

Problems stated.—It is not possible to explain Buddha's philosophy in a few words, but we shall get some idea of his teaching by examining the problems which faced him and the directions in

*Sir Edwin Arnold, "Light of Asia."

which he finally discovered their solution. There is profound suffering in this world. Birth is painful; life is full of pain; all our desires unsatisfied leave a legacy of pain; even in death there may be no freedom, but the terror of a re-birth and the turning round again of the wheel of existence We have first to realise the fact of this suffering. That is the first truth we have to learn. The second truth is as to the cause of this suffering. The cause of suffering is desire—whether for material good, wealth, power, etc., or for a future life. The third truth relates to the destruction of this suffering, which can only come with the annihilation of wrong Desire. The fourth truth is as to the true path which will lead to the annihilation of this Desire. This is the Noble Eightfold Path, which was sketched out in the Deer Park and amplified later. Under this philosophy we need not assume the existence of God or even of the soul. We only postulate ignorance and the possibility of enlightenment, and proceed on the path that leads to freedom from suffering.

The Noble Eightfold Path.—The Eightfold Path shows the practical stages by which Nirvana may be obtained. First, we must hold right views. Ignorance is one of the most effective obstructions to the seeker after peace. Secondly, we must have right aspirations or desires. It is incorrect to say that Buddhism wants the annihilation of *all* desires. It is the evil desires that have to be des-

troyed, and the good desires to be created. The third and fourth stages, right speech and right conduct, are easy to explain. The fifth, right livelihood, means that we must not follow a calling or profession that causes hurt to ourselves or to others, *e.g.* selling intoxicating articles, or hunting. The sixth, right endeavour, calls attention to the fact that it is not enough to attain moral progress; a constant effort should be made to maintain it, to keep the ground won, and to make further progress. The seventh, right contemplation, is the inward taking stock of our thoughts, actions, and motives. There is no prayer in the Buddhist system, but this right contemplation takes its place. The eighth and last stage is right rapture, the feeling of joy in concentration, the ecstasy of Sufis and Mystics, but not centred in anything eternal.

Spread of Buddhism.

We saw that Buddha sent out disciples to preach his doctrine. The three pillars of his system may be said to be: Buddha, Dharma, and Sangha: *i.e.* the Teacher, the Doctrine, and the Community. The monastic orders, of men and women, followed as a natural consequence. But these orders were not for life, and any person might take them for two or three years, as still happens in Buddhist lands, and then revert to ordinary lay life. This was the only organisation

which Buddhism had, until Asoka gave it the dignity of a State religion more than two centuries after Buddha's death. Even then Buddhism remained a system of ethics and philosophy, among the many schools of thought that flourished side by side in India. In Buddhism itself there grew up different sects, in spite of the efforts made in General Councils to remove doubts about doctrine and give the stamp of authority to one set of interpretations of the Master's teaching. In Asoka's time Buddhism was established in Ceylon by a mission sent out by Asoka himself. Two centuries later, when there was much intercourse between Central Asia and India, Buddhism spread to Central Asia and to China, where it became (as it remains) a system of philosophy among other competing systems of philosophy and religion. Chinese influences gave it to Korea and Japan. On the other hand, by way of Ceylon and the sea it went to Burma, Siam, and Indo-China, from which it met Chinese Buddhism again. In Tibet its introduction was comparatively late, about the seventh century of the Christian era, but it took on an entirely new form and organisation, known as Lamaism, suited to the genius of the people and the country of Tibet. To-day the whole of Eastern Asia, except the islands of the Eastern Archipelago, reveres Buddhism, though in China and Japan it is far from being a national religion.

Decline and Transformations.

This wide geographical expansion in itself tended to produce a diversity of forms suited to local conditions and predilections. Buddhism absorbed many of the local cults, and became mixed up with spirit-worship and ancestor worship. In countries like China and Japan, where great thinkers contributed their intellectual talents to its development, and searched out original sources to find or explain the pure doctrine, many refined schools of thought arose and still flourish. The two great schools of the Hinayana and the Mahayana may be mentioned. The Hinayana (the Little Vehicle) is nearer to primitive Buddhism, but the Mahayana (the Great Vehicle) has adopted the worship of a long series of Buddhas and Bodhisatvas (*i.e.* beings on the way to become Buddhas). Its philosophy also comes nearer to the doctrine of Vedanta. In India itself, the land of its birth, it had to contend with the well-organised priesthood of Brahmanism. After varying fortunes it became absorbed in Hinduism. The process was gradual, but by the eleventh century of the Christian era it had only become a name in India.

Mahavira and Jainism.

A religious leader contemporary with Buddha, though in many ways opposed to him, was Maha-

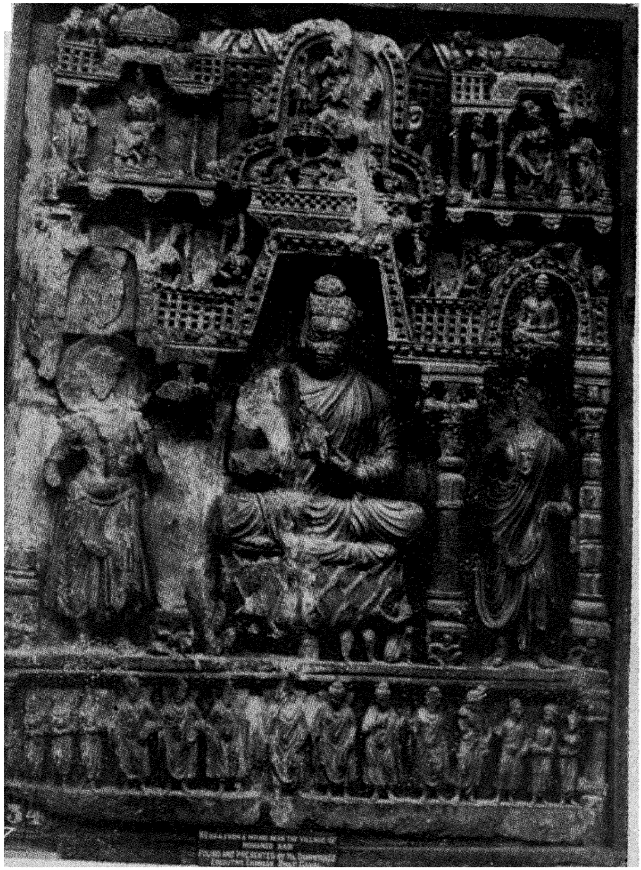


Fig. 6

To face p. 40

BUDDHA SEATED ON LOTUS THRONE
(Lahore Museum 1134)

vira. He is sometimes called the founder of Jainism, but the system is probably older, though he reviewed and restated its characteristic doctrines. The Jains believe in twenty-four Tirthankars, or incarnations, who have appeared at different times They have a very fervent belief in the sanctity of life, and see a soul in everything, even in things inanimate. They have such a horror of taking the life of insects even unconsciously that they wear muslin over their nostrils and mouths to protect the insects from being injured. They have a strong belief in self-mortification. "Subdue the body," says their doctrine; "chastise thyself, weaken thyself, as fire consumes dry wood." Their early scriptures are in a slightly different form of Prakrit from Pali; but they have a considerable body of Sanskrit literature dating from after 1000 A.D. Their religion is professed mainly among the commercial classes in Western and Northern India, but they are found in small numbers in all parts of India. Their number, as recorded in the census of 1921, was over a million.

CHAPTER IV.

Early Kingdoms and Greek Invasions.

New Kingdoms along the Gangetic Valley.

The Kuru Kingdom round the upper Jamna was destroyed in the great fratricidal war between the Kurus and the Pandus But new kingdoms arose farther and farther east along the Gangetic valley. The Panchala Kingdom, with its capital in a site in the modern district of Bareilly, was also called Kuru-Panchala, and was practically an offshoot of the Kurus. East of it was the Kosala Kingdom (modern Oudh) and further east the Videha Kingdom (modern Tirhut). Further south were the kingdoms of Kashi (now Benares) and Magadha (now South Bihar). These included a mixed population. The Indo-Aryans were probably at the top, but no doubt the vast mass of the earlier local populations were absorbed in the kingdoms. Many of the free Indo-Aryan republics were also absorbed, though they probably preserved some sort of autonomy under the Imperial suzerainty of the enlarged kingdoms. The ruling houses of these kingdoms intermarried, and this made for further enlargements and amalgamations. They also fought against each other, and thus absorbed territories by means of conquest. These

kingdoms were outside the Middle Country, the country of the Jamna-Ganges Doab whose language and institutions were long considered to set the standard for Aryan India. Two of these kingdoms played a large part in the ancient history of India, *viz.* Kosala and Magadha, and we might trace their fortunes a little more in detail. (*See Map 3*).

Kosala.

Early History.—The scene of the Ramayan is laid in Kosala, with its capital in Ayodhya (modern Ajodhya) The Solar race of Kshatriyas—the race of Raghu—ruled here The epic describes the condition of the city in ideal terms,—the rulers kind and pious, and the people happy and contented. But the father of Rama had more than one wife, and the jealousies between them gave rise to the exile of Rama and the series of adventures which are described in the Ramayan. Rama married a princess from the neighbouring kingdom of Videha. This was Sita, the pattern of wifely duty in Hindu literature. She voluntarily shared her husband's exile, and she sacrificed herself for the State on Rama's return.

In Buddhist times.—From Buddhist literature we get many glimpses of Kosala just before Buddha's time and during his life. The free republic of the Sakyas, the tribe of Buddha's people, as well as other such republics and tribes, were absorbed in the Kosala Kingdom with certain

autonomous rights. Its capital was in Buddha's time no longer at Ajodhya, but at Sravasti, which has been identified with a ruined site 80 miles further north. This may have been due to the constant warfare with the southern kingdom of Kashi, which once conquered Kosala and was eventually conquered by Kosala. Buddha preached for many years in the kingdom of Kosala, which was then the leading kingdom of Northern India. The king of Kosala also often listened to his teaching. In fact Kosala was the home country of Buddha. It had matrimonial alliances with Magadha, in which it was finally absorbed shortly after the death of Buddha.

Boundaries and dates.—At its greatest extent the boundaries of Kosala were the Himalayas in the north and the Ganges in the south. In the east, including little autonomous states, it touched the river Gandak where it met the kingdom of Videha. In the west its boundary was probably similar to the boundary of modern Oudh, and its neighbour in that direction was the older kingdom of Panchala. As regards dates no precise statements are possible, but we may well suppose its rise to have been about the middle of the seventh century B.C., say 660 B.C., and its absorption into Magadha about two centuries later, say about 460 B C.

MAGADHA.

Early Origins.—The kingdom of Magadha attained much larger proportions and was in the forefront of history for many more centuries. In the Atharva Veda the Magadhas are spoken of in terms which imply that as late as about 800 B.C. they were considered to be among the most distant of known peoples. Their speech was also, in much later times, considered less purely Aryan than the Prakrits of the west. As we approach the time of Buddha, we find that the kingdom of Magadha becomes more and more important. Later it rivalled and outstripped the glories of Kosala. Its natural boundaries were the Ganges in the north, the Son in the west, the forests reaching to Chhota Nagpur in the south, and the territory of Anga* (East Bihar) in the east.

Buddhist Magadha.—We have seen that Buddha attained Nirvana in Magadha, and Bimbisara the King of Magadha listened to his message and presented him with a bamboo grove near his new capital at Rajagriha. Magadha therefore is holy ground in a special sense to Buddhism, and Magadha and Bimbisara fill a large place in Buddhist literature. Bimbisara took to himself queens from several tribes: one of them was a sister of the King of Kosala, and another came from the far-

*Anga and Banga are spoken of together in the Indian Middle Ages as meaning Bihar and Bengal.

off Panjab. Magadha was thus establishing its prestige far and wide, and in the next generation its boundaries were greatly extended. Bimbisara seems to have incorporated the kingdom of Anga (Monghyr and Bhagalpur) in his empire of Magadha. He had a long reign, after which he was put to death by his own son Ajatasatru, about eight years before Buddha's death

Subsequent history—This wicked Ajatasatru seems to have been, in many other ways, of an aggressive character. He laid the foundations of the fort and city of Pataliputra (modern Patna), which was described two centuries later as "the capital of India" He also added Kashi, Kosala, and Videha to his empire, about 460—450 B C. The empire of Magadha continued to expand, though there were revolutions and changes of dynasty. In the fourth century B.C. there was a dynasty of Nandas, of which the later rulers were base-born and were called Sudras. In their time the distant territory of Kalinga (modern Orissa) was annexed, but it soon broke away, and was not reconquered till the reign of Asoka, as we shall see subsequently. The rise of the dynasty to which Asoka belonged (the Mauryas) is connected with the Greek invasion of Alexander the Great, which we shall presently consider. The Maurya dynasty broke up as an Imperial dynasty not long after Asoka's death in about 237 B.C. The weaker successors of Asoka were not able to hold the outlying Provinces which their more

vigorous ancestors had held. The Mauraya territory became more and more contracted. The Maurya dynasty was superseded at Pataliputra about 184 B.C., and various other dynasties from the south and east held sway in Magadha. Its central position gave them importance, while scions of the Maurya house continued to exercise local authority as chieftains as late as the seventh century. The Imperial glories of Magadha were again revived by the Gupta Dynasty, about 319-320 A.D. This dynasty began to decline about the middle of the fifth century, but already, about a century earlier, the capital had been moved to Ajodhya, and Magadha began to occupy a less and less important place in history. In spite of its many dynasties and its varying fortunes, we may look upon the kingdom of Magadha as having remained on the stage of Indian history for the extraordinarily long period of twelve centuries.

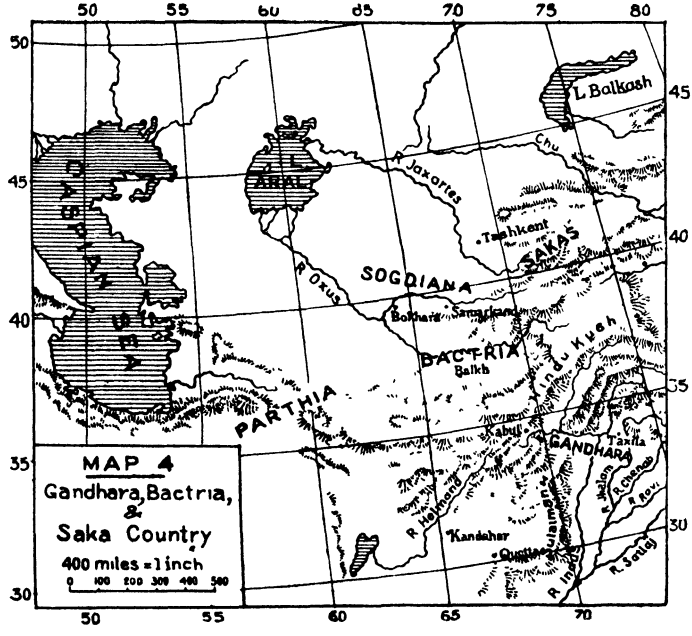
Greek Invasions.

Indus Country as a Persian Province.—While Buddha was preaching his gospel of gentleness and contemplation in the middle of the Gangetic valley, the Indus valley was the scene of foreign invasion. On the Persian throne was an ambitious monarch, Darius the Great, 521—485 B.C., who ordered a naval exploration of the route to India and the Indus valley and occupied Sindh and Western Panjab. In the west he attacked

Macedonia, which was strictly considered outside the limits of Greece proper. In his son's subsequent invasion of Greece Indian archers formed a part of the Persian mercenary army. Greece was able to repel his invasion by the hardy valour of her sons. Macedonia was not only able to throw off Persian supremacy, but began to expand in power till she became supreme in Greece.

Alexander the Great.—When Alexander succeeded to the throne of Macedonia, 336 B.C., at the age of 20, his country was the leading power in Greece, although it needed his strong character and military genius to put down rebellions and enable him to carry out his ambition of conquering the Persian Empire. His education had been entrusted to the great philosopher Aristotle, from whom he imbibed his love of natural history and exploration. Alexander loved his tutor not less than his own father. From the one, he said, he derived the blessing of life; from the other the blessing of a good life. Quite early in life he showed military genius, which further stimulated his desire for foreign conquests. His first victory against the Persians was in May 334 B.C. He conquered Egypt, and marched finally against the Persian King Darius III, the last king of his line, whom he defeated in Oct. 331. He was now master of the Persian Empire, but its outlying Provinces still remained to be subdued.

Geography of India's Border-land.—Two of the outlying Provinces of the Persian Empire were


50
55
60
65
70
75
80
45
40
35
30
L. Balkash
R. Jaxartes
Chu
Tashkent
SAKAS
SOGDIANA
R. Oxus
Bokhara
Samarcand
BACTRIA
Balkh
Hindu Kush
PARTHIA
Kabul
GANDHARA
Taxila
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
R. Sutlej
R. Indus
Kandahar
Quetta
R. Helmand
MAP 4
Gandhara, Bactria,
&
Saka Country
400 miles = 1 inch
0 100 200 300 400 500

in India. We saw that their conquest had been effected by the Persians by the sea-route, but the Persians were not distinguished for naval power, and as their dominion extended through Parthia into Central Asia, the communications between Persia and India had been maintained mainly by land. It is very doubtful whether the Persian dominion amounted to anything more than a collection of tribute with more or less regularity, the real administration being left in the hands of native rulers. Alexander's interest was in both the Central Asian and the Indian territory, and he came by the land route. As the north-western border-land of India and the country and peoples beyond play an important part in Indian history for some centuries after Alexander, it is well that we should study its geography (see map 4). The north-western tract of the Panjab and the present Frontier Province formed the kingdom of Gandhara, with its capital at Taxila (near modern Rawalpindi). It is possible that Taxila had a separate local ruler in Alexander's time. The Province of Gandhara included the Kabul valley up to the Hindu Kush. Beyond the Hindu Kush, and south of the Oxus was the territory of Bactria, in which is situated the modern town of Balkh in Northern Afghanistan. The country between the Oxus and the Jaxartes is a fertile plain. The province was called Sogdiana, in which are situated the modern towns of Samarkand and Bokhara. To the east of Sog-

diana we come to the mountain country inhabited by the "Scythians," who were called Sakas in India. To the south-west of the Oxus lay the Parthians, who form the true link between Persia and Central Asia. Alexander conquered Parthia, Bactria, and Gandhara, in which Greek or semi-Greek Kingdoms flourished for some centuries afterwards. These, and the Sakas who were mixed up with them, influenced Indian history for more than eight centuries after Alexander.

Alexander at Taxila.—Alexander spent three years and a half (Oct. 331 to April 327) in subjugating Parthia, Bactria, Sogdiana, and the Scythians. He married a Bactrian princess, and adopted on many occasions Asiatic manners and dress. He encouraged his Greek officers and soldiers to follow his example, but with little success. In the summer of 327 B.C. he turned towards India from his headquarters in the Hindu Kush. In the spring of 326 B.C. he crossed the Indus near Attock. His meeting with the King of Taxila was the occasion of a trial of wit between them. "Why fight?" said the King of Taxila; "if I am richer than you, I am willing to give you a part of my possessions; if I am poorer, I have no objection to sharing in your bounty." Alexander was charmed with his frankness, and did not want to be outdone in generosity. He received large presents, and gave away still larger presents in return. They formed an alliance, and Taxila was left as a friendly power in Alexander's Empire.

Fight with Porus.—Alexander now marched eastwards, keeping to the base of the Panjab hills. His next encounter was with Porus, a chieftain of the Puru tribe, who either held independent power or was subordinate to some Indian Empire further east. The territory of Porus was between the Jhelam and the Chenab. Porus disputed the passage of the river by the Greeks. The battle must have been near the site of the modern town of Jhelam, and was won by Alexander's superior strategy. Porus was a tall handsome man and fought mounted on a faithful elephant. When he lost the battle and was taken prisoner, he was asked by Alexander how he wished to be treated. "Like a king," was his reply. Asked if he had any other request to make, he said: "No, for everything is comprehended in the word king." Alexander treated his gallant foe with great generosity. He not only left him his dominions to govern under him, but added other rich territories to them.

Alexander's horse Bucephalus.—It was here that Alexander's favourite horse Bucephalus died at the age of thirty. Alexander grieved much over his death. He buried him honourably and built a city which he called Bucephalia or Bucephala after his name. He had been a faithful friend and companion in many lands, and master and horse understood each other thoroughly. When Alexander was a boy, the horse was brought to his father for sale, and a price equivalent to over 3 lakhs

of rupees was demanded for him. The horse seemed vicious and ungovernable, and would not allow any one to speak to him, much less to mount him. He was being rejected with scorn, when Alexander reproached the Court with want of skill and spirit, mounted the horse himself, took him for a gallop, and brought him back obedient to his will. His father was so struck with the exploit that he not only gave him the horse but said: "Seek another kingdom, for Macedonia is too small for you."

Meeting with Chandragupta.—After the defeat of Porus, Alexander crossed the Chenab and the Ravi, and reached the Beas, still keeping close to the hill country. Beyond the Beas his army refused to go. He had heard of a great "Eastern" Empire in the Ganges valley, and a further kingdom, rich, populous, and powerful in the Ganges Delta. The "eastern" empire was probably that of Magadha whose territories extended west as far as the Panjab. It is not clear whether Porus had been tributary to Magadha, but it is not unlikely. But Alexander came face to face with Chandragupta, who afterwards became the founder of the Imperial Maurya dynasty of Magadha. He was related to the reigning Nanda King of Magadha, but had left his Court discontented and come to the Panjab. The Nanda King was unpopular, as he was supposed to be of low birth and profligate morals, and it is quite possible that if Alexander's soldiers had not got tired of the heat and strange-

ness of the new country they were in, Alexander might have made an easy conquest of the Ganges valley.

Retreat and death.—Alexander suffered much disappointment at the attitude of his army, but had to turn back He returned to the Jhelam, where he filled out a naval expedition to march down the Jhelam and the Indus. He and his army marched by land and subdued Lower Panjab and Sindh When they reached the sea, he sent his admiral to sail to Persia, and he and his army marched back by land. He had many hair-breadth escapes himself, and the whole army suffered much from heat and thirst in the dry country between Baluchistan and Persia. He left Indian territory in the autumn of 325 B.C. (say October) and arrived at his Persian capital in May 324 B.C. He died of fever at Babylon in June the following year, at the young age of 33. He had entered India with 120,000 foot and 15,000 horse; and he did not bring back to Persia a quarter of his great army. His generalship was completely successful, but neither his army, nor his country, nor his people profited by his great conquests.

Influence on Western and Central Asia.—In the state of communications then existing, India itself could not be kept directly in touch with Persia or Greece, and the political tie was severed in a few years. But the chain of cultural bonds between the fragments of his empire was kept active for many centuries. Alexandria in Egypt, Syria.

Western Asia, Persia, Parthia, Bactria, and Gandhara, were links in the chain of Greek civilisation. This was used by the less cultured Sakas when they invaded the Greek principalities in Central Asia and India. They made settlements among them, and were themselves absorbed in their composite civilisation. Alexander made Greek civilisation the common property of Western and Central Asia. What the influence of Greek civilisation was in India we shall attempt to estimate in a later chapter.

Alexander's character.—It would be well to dwell upon the character of this remarkable man as drawn for us by a famous Greek biographer.* He had a handsome presence and most agreeable manners. His eyes had remarkable power and quickness. Though passionate by nature, he was indifferent to bodily pleasures and usually moderate in his tastes. His courage and quickness of decision were tested on many occasions and brought him through many crises. In military virtues he was supreme; he was never selfish enough to enjoy an advantage which he could not share with his soldiers. To honourable foes he was generous to a fault, though some acts of cruelty and haste have been recorded, which sully his fair fame. While devoted to science and philosophy, he was not free from superstition, especially in later life. Simple in personal habits, as

*Plutarch in his Life of Alexander.

became a Macedonian warrior, he yet loved show after he became master of the luxurious Persian Empire. He fills a large space in ancient history, and he impressed the imagination of west and east alike. Although his personal ambition of fusing the races of his vast empire was not realised in his lifetime, the subsequent centuries show a remarkable fusion of races and civilisations by a natural process over the great area which his conquests had covered. His unfulfilled dreams were even more magnificent than the work which he actually set out to do. He had planned a wonderful cruise of exploration. He intended to sail in person from the Euphrates with a great fleet, go round Arabia and the east and west coasts of Africa, enter the Mediterranean through the straits of Gibraltar, and thus get back to Western Asia. If he had been able to achieve this, he would have had the unique distinction of having attained supreme power both by land and sea in the whole of the world as known to him.

CHAPTER V.

The Maurya Empire.

Origin of the Maurya Dynasty.

The Magadha Empire at the time of Alexander's invasion of the Panjab was both extensive and powerful. But the ruling Nanda dynasty was discredited and unpopular. A movement was on foot for supplanting that dynasty. The leader of that movement was Chandragupta, aided by a Brahman minister named Chanakya or Kautilya. Chandragupta himself had been Commander-in-chief under the Nandas, and was interested and experienced in military affairs. What more natural than that in his exile he should go to see the greatest military commander of the age, and learn from Alexander's tactics and strategy and the Macedonian military organisation? He profited so well by his opportunities that he was able to return to Pataliputra, overthrow the Nanda dynasty, assume the reins of the Magadha Empire, and raise it to a glory which it had never known before. His family was known as Maurya, from which the dynasty takes its name. The greatest rulers of the dynasty were Chandragupta himself and his celebrated grandson Asoka.

How Chandragupta won the throne.—Alexander

had found the Panjab divided into a number of small principalities. He had consolidated them into three or four good-sized kingdoms under his own suzerainty. Taxila was left a strong kingdom in immediate contact with Central Asia. Porus had been left in charge of a large kingdom touching Taxila at the Jhelam and probably bordered by the Jamna in the east. It is possible, if Porus had been a feudatory or ally of Magadha, that he was won over to the rebellious party of Chandragupta and had a hand (he or his son) in setting Chandragupta on the throne. But there was also a king of the hill district of the Himalayas, who helped Chandragupta in overthrowing the Nandas. The subsequent events are not quite clear, but there is a suggestion that Chandragupta was not quite fair to his allies. Having got the power and resources of Magadha, he embarked on a series of conquests, until he became the supreme authority in Northern India, trampling over the minor principalities and incorporating their territories in his empire. We may roughly date the accession of Chandragupta at about 322-21 B.C.

Conflict with Seleucus.—Besides the Indian rulers whom Alexander had left under his protection in the Panjab, he had left Greek officers in the Southern Panjab and in Sindh. Cut off from the Greek army and Greek resources, they were soon wiped out. In the division of Alexander's Empire, Seleucus got the eastern provinces,

which comprised Syria, Persia, Central Asia, and India. He tried to consolidate his power and reached the Indus about 305 B.C. By that time Chandragupta had consolidated his own power: he had learnt the lessons of Greek military power, and he had the advantage of fighting in his own country. He must have won a victory, for the Treaty with Seleucus (303 B.C.) provided for the cession of the territory right up to the Hindu Kush to Chandragupta, who also received a Greek princess in marriage, while he gave only a present of 500 elephants to Seleucus. A Greek envoy Megasthenes also came to stay at Pataliputra, and he wrote a detailed account of the city and country, of which fragments have still been preserved.

Extent of Chandragupta's Empire.—Before he died or abdicated about 298-297 B.C., Chandragupta had greatly extended the dominions of the Magadha Empire. His sway extended over Afghanistan east of the Hindu Kush, Sindh, the Panjab, and the Ganges valley right down to the Bay of Bengal. The rich province of Malwa, with its capital at Ujjain, is easily accessible from the Jamna-Ganges valley. It had had dealings with Magadha before, and was probably now absorbed by Chandragupta. The road to the western sea lay through Gujarat and Kathiawar, and we have the evidence of inscriptions to lead to the inference that Chandragupta's suzerainty at least was recognised in these distant Provinces. His empire therefore extended in the west to the mouths of the

Indus, and the ports of Kathiawar and Gujarat; in the east, to the mouths of the Ganges; in the north-west it included the Kabul valley; in the north its boundary was the Himalayas and in the south the Vindhyas, with possibly some influence beyond.

Internal conditions: (*a*) *King and Court.*—For the internal conditions of the empire we have the evidence of Greek writers as well as the recently discovered Sanskrit work, the Artha-Shastra, which was probably composed by Kautilya, the Brahman minister, to whom Chandragupta owed his throne. The king's power was absolute; but the privileges of the Brahman caste had already been defined and recorded, and in practice they did what they liked, as the ministry and the higher offices were in their hands The royal palace, though constructed of wood, was fitted up with splendour, and basins and goblets of gold, richly carved chairs of state, copper vessels inlaid with precious stones, and gorgeous embroidered robes were in evidence at public ceremonies. Elephants were used for long marches or on occasions of state, and formed one of the arms of the fighting forces. The system of spies was freely used, and women were employed for this purpose as well as men. Women were also freely employed as armed guards about the person of the king. They were often obtained by purchase from foreign countries.

(*b*) *The Fighting Forces.*—There was an enormous standing army maintained by the State, and

well equipped. The infantry is said to have numbered 600,000, the cavalry 30,000, and the elephants 9,000. Chariots were also freely employed in warfare. The mounted soldier was armed with two lances and a buckler. The chief weapon of the infantry was the broad-sword, but they also used javelins and bows and arrows. The chariots were drawn by either four or two horses, and were manned by two soldiers besides the driver. The elephants carried three archers besides the Mahout. The war office was organised in departments on an elaborate system: one of the departments looked after boats, presumably for river service.

(*c*) *Civil Administration.*—There was a council of ministers to advise the king, and the Provinces were administered by Viceroys, who were usually members of the royal family. The Treasury was an important branch of administration, and received due attention. All land belonged theoretically to the crown, which levied an assessment of about one-fourth as rent, and a varying amount as water-rate averaging about another fourth. Irrigation dams and works were carefully looked after by the State. Gifts were expected from wealthy people to the State, which bestowed ranks and honours in return. All commercial sales were strictly regulated, and a toll levied on them, which formed an important item of revenue in fortified towns. A rate of 10 per cent. seems to have been levied on sales, and as evasion was easy, the penalty prescribed for eva-

sion was death. There seems to have been a poll-tax levied annually, in connection with which a system of registration of births and deaths was maintained. Legal punishments were generally very drastic. Wounding by mutilation was punished by a corresponding mutilation of the offender, in addition to the amputation of his hand. False evidence was punished with mutilation of the limbs. Injury to a sacred tree was punished with death.

(*d*) *Local Government.*—In a vast and varied empire like that of Chandragupta there must have been many conquered States left more or less autonomous on a feudatory basis. Village autonomy under headmen was recognised. The government of the capital, Pataliputra, was the special care of a Commission. The city covered an area 9 miles in length and a mile and a half in width. Instead of a stone or brick or mud wall, it was defended by a timber palisade, with 64 gates and 570 towers, and was encircled by a broad and deep moat filled from the river Son

(*e*) *The People.*—Greek observers pay a tribute to the general honesty and law-abiding character of the people. Thefts were rare. News was transmitted by officials from the outlying parts to the king in his capital. Artisans were supposed specially to be in the king's service and were protected by special laws. Trade and commerce, both home and foreign, are noticed, and a fair number of foreigners must have been in the habit

of visiting the capital. They were closely watched, but on the other hand there were definite provisions for their care and comfort. Any of them that died were properly buried, and their estates administered officially. The better class of the people dressed in fine muslin. They wore beards and seldom cut the hair of the head. In religion Buddhism and Brahmanism were on an equal footing. The worship of Krishna was already established in Mathura, and the cult of Shiva was specially strong in the hill regions.

Asoka.

Early Life.—Of the son of Chandragupta, who succeeded him, we do not know very much. He just kept the Mauryan Empire going. But his grandson Asoka is a striking figure in ancient Indian history. His external history can be told in a few words. But the inscriptions which he has left for us, carved on rocks and stone pillars, in widely scattered spots in India, give us a picture of his thoughts and ideals, which bring home his personality vividly to us after the lapse of twenty-two centuries.

Asoka was a younger son, and the tradition that he supplanted and killed his eldest brother to get the throne, may or may not be true. But it is certain that there was a crisis in his life after he came to the throne, which may be termed "conversion" in the highest religious sense of the

term. In his youth he no doubt pursued the pleasures of the chase and other pleasures usual with princes of his position in a great empire. He seems to have served as viceroy in the outlying province of Taxila and in the central province of Malwa (capital Ujjain). Between the time of his attaining power as emperor (about 274 B.C.) and his formal coronation (about 270 B.C.) there was an interval of four years, which may have been due to a disputed succession. In the ninth year from his coronation (about 262 B.C.) he conquered the distant province of Kalinga, which had already once belonged to the Magadha Empire. The horrors of the war brought home to him the moral aspect of his rule, and completely changed his character.

Conquest of Kalinga.—This is how he describes the Kalinga war in his own words in his famous 13th Rock-Edict*:—

"When His Majesty had been anointed eight years, Kalinga was conquered by him.

One hundred and fifty thousand in number were the men who were deported thence, one hundred thousand in number were those who were slain there, and many times as many those who died.

After that, now that Kalinga has been taken, His Majesty is devoted to a zealous study of

*I take the text as it appears in the Kalsi Inscription, as translated by Hultzsch, but slightly abbreviated.

morality, to the love of morality, and to the instruction of people in morality.

This is His Majesty's repentance on account of his conquest of Kalinga.

For this is considered very painful and deplorable by His Majesty that while an unconquered country is being conquered, slaughter, death, and deportation of people are taking place there.

But the following is considered even more deplorable.

To the Brahmans or Sramans (Buddhist ascetics), or other sects, or householders, who are living there, and among whom the following are practised: obedience to high officers, obedience to mother and father, obedience to elders, proper courtesy to friends, acquaintances, companions, and relatives, to slaves and servants, and firm devotion,—to these happen injury or slaughter or deportation of their beloved ones.

Or if they are themselves well provided for, the misfortunes of their loved ones become an injury to these themselves.

A share of these injuries falls on all men, and this is considered deplorable by His Majesty .....

Therefore even the hundredth part or the thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died, and who were deported, would now be considered very deplorable by His Majesty.

[His Majesty] desires towards all beings [abstention from hurt], self-control, impartiality, and kindness.

* * * * * *

Firm becomes this satisfaction, *viz.* the satisfaction at the conquest by morality.

But [even] this satisfaction is indeed of little consequence.

His Majesty thinks that only the fruits in the other world are of great value.

And for the following purpose has this rescript on morality been written, *viz.* in order that the sons and great-grandsons who may be born to me, should not think that a fresh conquest ought to be made; that if a conquest does please them, they should take pleasure in mercy and light punishments; and that they should regard the conquest by morality as the only true conquest.

Such conquest bears fruit in this world and in the other world.

And let all their pleasure be the pleasure in exertion.

For this bears fruit in this world and in the other world."

Asoka as Buddhist monk and preacher.—This remarkable edict, inscribed on rocks in many distant places in India, bore witness to Asoka's true repentance of the slaughter of war, and his turning for conquest and satisfaction to the joys of religion and morality. Henceforward we may imagine him as a saint, who walked " with inward glory crowned." His whole life was now devoted to religion and morality, to teaching and preaching, and to the use of the whole machinery of the State

for the advancement of the happiness of the people "in this world and the next," for, as he says in another edict,* "all men are my children." We hear no more of wars or conquests, but a great deal about his endowments and gifts to religious men of all sects, his visits to the sacred places of Buddhism, his admonitions and pleadings about unity in that church and the toleration of all forms of religion, his attention to all forms of healing for man and beast, and his commands to his State officials to supervise the State teaching of morality, and to carry out his orders about the saving of the lives of animals. Although no stress is laid in Buddhism on heaven and the next world, these occupied Asoka's thoughts and are frequently referred to in his Inscriptions. From his accession to the Kalinga war was a period of about 12 years. His definite assumption of the Yellow Robe may be dated about two years later, and his period of religious activity extended for about 22 or 23 years, making up a reign of about 36 or 37 years. The date of his death may be taken to be approximately 237-236 B.C.

His religion.—There can be no question about Asoka's zeal for Buddhism. It is attested by many monuments which still exist. His name and memory were revered by Buddhists in many lands for centuries afterwards, and many legends gathered round his name. He sent religious missions abroad, and there can be no doubt that it

*First Separate Rock Edict, Dhauli.

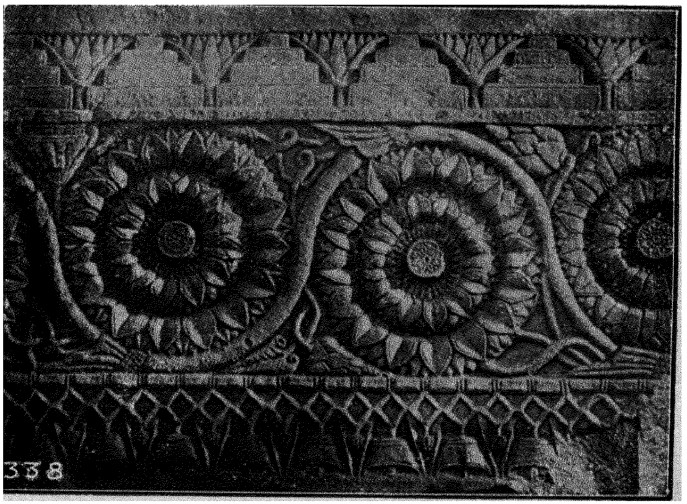


Fig. 7 *To face p. 66*

SCULPTURE FROM RAILING AT
BHARAHAT (BHARHUT) NEAR
SATNA,

About Asoka's Time

was he who planted Buddhism in Ceylon, and that among missionaries sent there were members of his royal family, men and women. Disputes about Buddhist doctrines had arisen, and sects and heresies had grown up, for whose suppression he took measures after calling a Council of the Church at Pataliputra.

But his own personal religion was of a very practical and universal nature. He did not believe much in ceremonies, although he does not prohibit them. He refers to many domestic ceremonies as "vulgar and useless." "Ceremonies," he says, "should certainly be practised, but these ceremonies bear little fruit indeed." It is the practice of morality which bears fruit. This includes proper courtesy to slaves and servants, reverence to elders, and gentleness to animals. Good and helpful deeds of various sorts are enjoined in his edicts. Get herbs beneficial to men and catle. Import and produce useful roots and plants. Dig wells and plant roadside trees. Visit the sick and look after the aged and infirm. This seems to have been his code of state morals, which he tried to enforce not only in his own Dominions, but also to recommend by embassies to his friends and allies as far as his missions could penetrate.

On the subject of toleration his twelfth Rock Edict is explicit. He honoured all sects, both ascetics and laymen, with gifts and dignities, and he wished to promote the essentials necessary for the intercourse of all sects. Among these essentials he gave the first place to restraint in speech:

we must not praise our own sect or blame other sects without considering the time and occasion, and in all cases our praise should not be vainglory nor our blame immoderate. Moderation and self-restraint are not only good for others; they promote the reputation and the good of our sect. The man who loses his self-control hurts most of all his own sect. Asoka would like to see all sects both full of learning and pure in doctrine. It is the virtues of men that promote the interests of the doctrines they preach, and commend them to others. This universality and toleration of Asoka won for him the respect of the Jains and Brahmans as well as of the Buddhists, whose own church he established on a firm basis in India and recommended to countries abroad.

Decline of Buddhism.

But there was a danger in this very universality. If all doctrines and sects were right, where was the need for the propagation of any particular set of doctrines? It is true Buddhism arose as a protest against some of the doctrines and the priestly organisation of Brahmanism. But it presupposed many of the philosophical ideas current in the popular religions of India, and gradually drifted into some of those very features which had called for the original revolt. Its practical morality was overlaid with a mass of speculative doctrine and elaborate ceremonies. Asoka in attempting to

rescue it from these features brought the whole weight of State machinery to bear on it, but as soon as his earnest personality was removed from the scene, it tended to merge more and more into the popular religions that surrounded it. Its monasteries and foundations ceased to fulfil the practical purposes for which they had been instituted. Gradually, in India proper, Buddhism, changed from its original simplicity, became again a local sect and then got gradually absorbed into the mass of the national ideas which arose in the Gupta Empire. On the other hand, the social structure of caste became stronger and stronger, and enabled the Brahman priesthood to reassert its supremacy and build up the institutions of Hinduism in the form in which we find them in mediæval India. The Central Asian tribes who invaded India from the north-west accepted Buddhism and spread it through Central Asia and eventually to China. These Scythians and Kushan Turks made a blend of their own ideas with Greek civilisation and Indian Buddhism, and thus evolved a form of Buddhism which was quite foreign to the Indian mind, and which gradually died out in the country in which Buddha had lived and preached.

CHAPTER VI.

Greek Influences.

Greek or semi-Greek Kingdoms.

Taxila.—After Alexander left India, his Empire broke up, but its fragments retained Greek civilisation, even though their populations belonged to other races. In the Panjab his Greek and Persian officers were soon either killed or absorbed, and while the Mauryan Empire was strong, it included the Panjab within its boundaries. But after Asoka's death the Maurvan Empire itself broke up, and the Panjab must have been under a number of petty Indian principalities. These were directly in touch with the Greek kingdoms on the north-west frontier. The fortunes of these kingdoms directly affected the history of the Panjab, and through the Panjab, that of India, for many centuries. The border kingdom of India was Gandhara, with its capital at Taxila, and the history of Taxila reflects the rise and fall of the semi-Greek kingdoms beyond the border till the fourth century A.D.

Bactria.—If we turn to map 4 again, we shall see that just beyond the Hindu Kush was the country called Bactria (now North Afghanistan). In this country a number of Greek colonies had



Fig. 8 *To face p. 71*

GOLD COIN OF DIODOTOS, KING OF BACTRIA, ABOUT 245 B.C.
OBVERSE, HEAD OF KING.
REVERSE, ZEUS WITH THUNDERBOLT

been planted by Alexander, and it was here that Greek civilisation in Central Asia flourished most. Bactrian Greek coins* are beautiful works of art, and both in technical execution and in their life-like portraiture, reflect the Greek spirit in a remarkable manner. When the Bactrian kingdom became independent of the Greek kingdom further west, it expanded in all directions. Eastwards it spread over the Kabul Valley and established its supremacy over Taxila and a great part of the Panjab and Sindh. Some of the Bactrian Greek Princes actually ruled at Taxila, and thus spread Greek art and Greek culture through the Panjab.

Saka-Parthians.—Beyond the Bactrians to the north were the Sakas (Scythians) and to the west were the Parthians. In the movements of population which were then (second century B C.) taking place in Central Asia, these Sakas were mixed up with the Parthians. The Parthians themselves were heirs to both Persian and Greek civilisations, and as the Greek type had become dominant on account of Alexander's victories, the Parthians (with the Sakas) themselves became a semi-Greek power. They attacked India through Sindh and spread themselves to the Panjab, where they destroyed the Bactrian power and themselves ruled at Taxila. They were at the height of their power a little before the beginning of

*See Fig. 8.

the Christian era, and expanded their dominion in India beyond the limits of the Panjab. They were a vigorous race and were afterwards absorbed in the population of India.

The Kushan Empire.

Duration and extent.—A Turkish race followed in the wake of the Saka-Parthians and overthrew their power. These were the Kushans, who established their supremacy in Northern India about A.D. 78, which marks the beginning of the Saka era. Their Empire lasted about three centuries and a half, and extended at its zenith over Kashmir, the Panjab, the Jamna-Ganges Valley, Sindh, Malwa, and Western India. Their capital was at Taxila and later at Peshawar, and they ruled distant provinces by means of Governors who were called Satraps. This was a Persian title for "Governor," which had become familiar in the Panjab from the days of Persian rule. It was taken over by the Greeks and the Saka-Parthians. It was the dispossessed Saka princes who ruled in western and central India as Satraps to the Kushan Empire. The later "Satraps" were possibly quite independent. The Kushan Emperors usually took the Persian titles of "Great King," "King of kings" (Shahan-Shah). They settled down in India and adopted Indian civilisa-

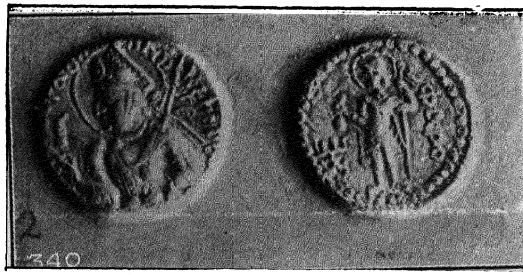


Fig. 9 *To face p. 73*

KUSHAN COIN OF HUVISHKA, WITH PEAKED HELMET. REVERSE, GOD OF FIRE, PURSE IN RIGHT HAND, AND SCEPTRE IN LEFT

tion. Their coins* sometimes have their titles in the languages of the three civilisations which they combined in themselves, *viz.* Greek, Persian, and Indian (*Maharaja, Rajadhiraj*), and they had relations with the Chinese and the Roman Empires.

Religion.—As in the case of titles, the Kushan religion was also a blend of three civilisations, Greek, Persian, and Buddhist. But as they settled down in India, their religion took more and more the form of Buddhism, although greatly modified to suit their mentality and their surroundings. Their king Kanishka, whose date may be placed somewhere about the end of the first century A.D., was after Asoka the greatest patron of Buddhism in Indian history, and he called a Council of Buddhists to settle controversies about Buddhist doctrines and rites. It was through the Kushans that Buddhism received a great impetus both in Central Asia and China. To them also we may attribute the great development of the Mahayana school of Buddhism (the Great Vehicle), with its picturesque rites and ceremonies and its appeal to the popular mind through its statues and sculptures, and its conversion of Buddha into a personal god, caring for his people, with innumerable other gods in his spiritual kingdom.

Art.—The famous specimens of the art of Gandhara mainly belong to the Kushan period.

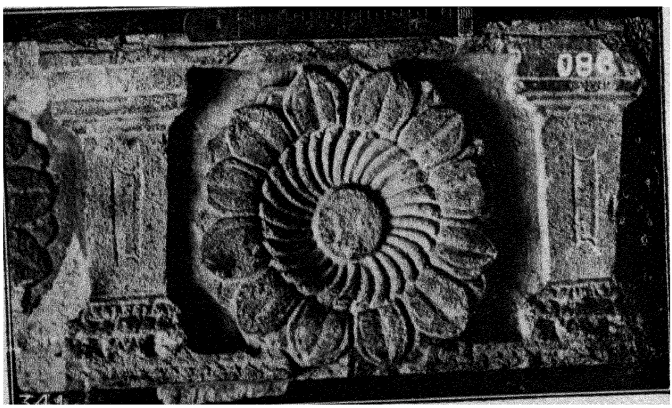
*Our illustration, Fig. 9, shows a coin of Huvishka a son of Kanishka, with the legend in Greek letters only.

In method and spirit they are Greek; in subjects they are Indian (even Greek subjects are converted into Indian); and in religion they belong to the Mahayana School of Buddhism. Many examples of them can be seen in the Museum at Taxila or at Lahore. They were found in the Gandhara area, *i.e.* the region round Peshawar and the Kabul and Swat Valleys. Some of the Gandhara buildings revealed by excavations show clearly-marked Greek features. The subjects of the sculpture show life in its varied aspects, but they are all dominated by the reverence shown to the figure of Buddha in many moods, as conceived by the Mahayana School. The draperies have the graceful folds of Greek statuary. The faces are well carved and true to life. The details of ornamentation are simple, but produced with great artistic skill. Some of the specimens seem to suggest that the artist consciously copied from famous works of art in the Graæco-Roman world. Mr. Vincent Smith thinks that artists were actually imported from the western world.

Greek Influences on India.

We may now try to sum up the Greek influences on India.

As we saw, Alexander's advent in the Panjab was a great event. His own vigorous and striking personality must have impressed the people of the Panjab generally, and particularly great



To face p 74

Fig. 10

GANDHARA FRAGMENT, CARVED, WITH A FULL BLOWN LOTUS FLOWER SYMBOLISING THE NATAVITY OF BUDDHA
(Lahore Museum No. 980)

men like Chandragupta, who afterwards became the Emperor of Magadha and played the leading part in the India of his day. The altars which Alexander erected were venerated in India for centuries afterwards. It is reasonable to suppose that this was merely an outer mark to show the respect in which India held Greek civilisation. On the other hand Greek envoys visited and resided at the Maurya court for several generations, and they respected the simplicity of Indian life and character. Such intercourse must have had intangible results which bore fruit in more definite consequences afterwards.

The fact that Western and Central Asia were saturated with Greek civilisation in consequence of Alexander's conquests was responsible for the establishment of Greek and semi-Greek kingdoms on the frontiers of India and their subsequent conquests within the boundaries of India itself. Their coinage distinctly influenced the coinage of the Indian dynasties that succeeded them, both in the standards of weight and in the style of impressions on the coins themselves. The Greek and Roman coin Denarius is frequently referred to as "Dinar" in Sanskrit literature. The Gandhara school produced on the soil of India architecture and sculpture of great beauty, based on Greek models. It was gradually merged into Indian schools of art. The influence of this art may be traced to the furthest east and south in India. Buddhism itself became greatly modified

by the contact of many civilisations under the Kushan Empire, and received a joyous and vigorous interpretation as reflected in Gandhara art. The early centuries of the Christian era saw the supremacy of the city of Alexandria as the centre of the world's science, thought, and philosophy. The position of Alexandria made it a centre of commercial intercourse in the Roman world, and through the Red Sea it had sea communications with India. Alexandria no doubt had representatives of Buddhist and other Indian philosophies in its many schools of thought. The Alexandrian system of astronomy, we know, definitely superseded the Indian system of astronomy in India itself towards the end of the fourth century A.D.

We may conclude with the well-balanced opinon of a competent critic* on the relations of Greek and Indian art:—

"The question of the role played by classical art in India has been a much disputed one in the past, some authorities maintaining that it was almost a negligible factor, others that it underlay the whole fabric of Indian art. The truth, as so often happens, lies between the two extremes. In Hindustan and in Central India it played an important part in promoting the development of the Early National School, both by clearing its path of technical difficulties and strengthening its

*Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India: Guide to Taxila, Calcutta, 1918, pp. 33-34.

growth with new and invigorating ideas. In the north-west region and immediately beyond its frontiers, on the other hand, it long maintained a complete supremacy, obscuring the indigenous traditions and itself producing works of no mean merit, which add appreciably to our understanding of the Hellenistic genius. Here, too, as Indian influence waxed stronger, it eventually culminated in the School of Gandhara, which left an indelible mark on Buddhist art throughout the Orient. Nevertheless, Hellenistic art never took the real hold upon India that it took, for example, upon Italy or Western Asia, for the reason that the temperaments of the two peoples were radically dissimilar. To the Greek, man, man's beauty, man's intellect were everything ..... But these ideals awakened no response in the Indian mind. The vision of the Indian was bounded by the immortal rather than the mortal, by the infinite rather than the finite ..... He found in the formative arts a valuable medium in which to narrate, in simple and universal language, the legends and history of his faith; and this was mainly why, for the sake of its lucidity and dramatic power, he welcomed and absorbed the lessons of Hellenistic art, not because he sympathised with its ideals or saw in it the means of giving utterance to his own."

CHAPTER VII.

Golden Age of Brahmanism.

Revival of Brahmanism.

In the religious and racial settlement of the first four centuries of the Christian era, a reaction was setting in, which resulted in the disappearance of Buddhism and the creation of a fine body of secular Sanskrit literature. The foreign races, in accepting Buddhism, had given it a foreign character. The Indian began to look upon it as a foreign religion. When these foreign races themselves became Indianised, they themselves were drawn into the Brahmanical religion. By the fifth century A.D. the evidence of inscriptions shows that Buddhism had receded into the background, and Brahmanism was the prevailing religion, while Jainism held its own as a minor religion.

The current spoken Prakrits had also by now been probably more and more locally differentiated. Further confusion was introduced by the languages brought in by the foreigners. The need of a common language for the educated classes for their daily intercourse was admirably supplied by the transformation of the old sacred language into the classical Sanskrit of such

polished writers as Kalidas and Bhavabhuti. From being the language only of priests and religion, it became also the language of educated men in all secular matters of importance. The inscriptions, which used to be in the Prakrits, now appeared more and more in Sanskrit. The national ideal seemed to be taking shape, which found a fine expression in the Gupta Empire.

The Gupta Empire.

Beginnings.—Early in the fourth century A.D., a local Magadhan chieftain married a Princess of the Lichchhavi clan, and by that alliance obtained a prestige and power which enabled his family to revive the glories of the old Magadha Empire. The chieftain was Chandra Gupta,* whose dynasty, the Gupta Dynasty, was the leading ruling power in India for a century and a half. The Lichchhavis were a northern clan celebrated from the time of Buddha, and gave a ruling family to Nepal. In the time of Chandra Gupta I, they must have held power at Magadha, which passed to the Guptas on account of the alliance. The Guptas evidently thought a great deal of the alliance, and the Princess appears on Gupta coins along

*Chandra Gupta, the founder of the Gupta Empire, must not be confounded with Chandragupta the founder of the Maurya Empire. In the former case, as "Gupta" was the family name, it is better to write it as a separate name instead of as a suffix as in the case of the Maurya Emperor.

with her husband. In later Gupta coins Saraswati, the goddess of learning, appears frequently, and seems to have been the patroness of the Gupta Dynasty. This was doubly appropriate, as the Gupta power owed its rise to a Princess and is intimately connected with the golden age of Sanskrit literature. The accession of Chandra Gupta I may be dated at 320 A.D., from which is counted a regularly recognised era, the Gupta era.

Samudra Gupta's accession.—Chandra Gupta I seems to have carried his conquests westwards as far as modern Allahabad and northwards as far as the Himalayas. In the east and south he probably did not go very far from Pataliputra, which was his capital. He died about 330 or 335, having nominated his son Samudra Gupta to succeed him. There is a graphic description of the selection ceremony in the inscription on the Allahabad pillar, which was originally set up by Asoka but on which were also afterwards described the glories of Samudra Gupta. "'He is noble,' said the old father with pride. With these words he embraced him, tremors of joy betraying his emotion. He gazed at him with tear-filled eyes, following his every movement and weighing his worth. The courtiers sighed in relief, and gloomy were the faces of his kinsfolk. Said the father to him: 'Do thou protect all this earth.'"

His conquests.—This shows the ideals of universal conquest held by the Guptas, and they were

well illustrated by Samudra Gupta's career. His long reign lasted to about 380, and long before he died, he had made himself master of Norhern India and paramount lord of all India. The whole of the fertile Ganges valley became his, by the uprooting of many principalities By way of Bengal and the East Coast he marched over to the South and brought the forest tribes of Chhota Nagpur and Orissa to acknowledge his sway. He seems to have penetrated far into the Dravidian kingdoms of the south and returned north again through the Maratha country and Central India On account of the state of communications in those days his authority in these tracts was probably exercised as over local tributary powers. Malwa, Rajputana, and Kathiawar were in the hands of Saka Satraps, who were made to feel the power of the conqueror, though they were not incorporated into the Empire till the next reign. The Kushan power still lingered in the Panjab and the North-West, but there were many principalities and republics in that direction. Many of them were probably brought into feudatory relations with the Guptas. The early Gupta coins are based on the model of Kushan coins. "His fame," says the Allahabad inscription, "which pervades the whole world, is due to his re-establishing many royal families whom he had overthrown and deprived of sovereignty."

Foreign relations.—He received an embassy from Ceylon, whose object was the foundation

of a monastery near Gaya for the stay of Buddhist monks from Ceylon. Buddhism was the religion of the island, but it had lost ground in India so much that Buddhist visitors to the sacred sites of Buddhism found no place of comfort to stay in and were often treated with insufficient courtesy. Apart from Ceylon, Samudra Gupta established relations with distant countries, to which reference is thus made in the inscription: "The binding together of the whole world by his strong arm was effected by the acts of homage, such as self-sacrifice, the bringing of gifts of maidens, the soliciting of charters confirming them in the enjoyment of their territories, etc."

Horse Sacrifice.—These extensive conquests were celebrated by a Horse Sacrifice, a solemn religious ceremony to "win heaven" as he had conquered the earth. The custom was, when a king claimed to be a lord of the earth, that he let loose a horse and followed it with his army. Any one who molested the horse was taken to have challenged his authority. Such a challenge had to be decided by battle, and if the challenger won, the Imperial pretensions of the king who had claimed the world ended in disgrace. On the other hand, if the latter won all through or was acknowledged without challenge, he had to sacrifice the horse in a solemn ceremony before an altar. His principal queen had a part to play in the ceremony, and there was a lavish distribution of gifts to Brahmans. Samudra Gupta, on the



Fig. 11 *To face p. 83*

GOLD COIN OF SAMUDRA GUPTA.
OBVERSE. HORSE BEFORE ALTAR
FOR SACRIFICE.
REVERSE, CHIEF QUEEN.
LEGENDS IN BRAHMI CHARACTERS

occasion of his Horse Sacrifice, struck a large number of gold coins for this special distribution, of which many specimens still survive.

Accomplishments.—Samudra Gupta was not only a great conqueror. He was accomplished in many arts, including music and literature. And he was also a liberal patron of these arts. The panegyric of him in the Allahabad inscription describes him in mystical language as a "hero unfathomable, the cause of the elevation of the good and destruction of the bad (and thus a counterpart) of the unfathomable absolute, which is the cause of the origin and the destruction of the world, and in which good and bad have their being."

Later Guptas.—Samudra Gupta died about 375 or 380. He had many sons, from among whom he nominated, to succeed him, Chandra Gupta II, surnamed Vikramaditya. The new king rounded off his father's conquests, by annexing Malwa, Gujarat, and Kathiawar in the west, and the territories in the direction of the Panjab, probably beyond the Indus. His access to the western seaboard brought him and the Gupta Empire into touch with the commerce and learning of Alexandria. The western Satraps now ceased to exercise authority and were incorporated in the Gupta Empire. He seems to have died about 415, and was succeeded by Kumara Gupta who reigned till about 455. Kumara seems to have retained his father's conquests during the greater part of his

reign. But towards the end the invasion of the Huns from the north-west began the process of the gradual shrinkage of the Gupta Empire. The Huns were a Mongolian race, of which one branch under Attila invaded Western Europe about the middle of the fifth century, and another branch invaded India about the same time. The latter are known as the White Huns, and established a great empire in Asia. Their empire in Central Asia was broken up by the Turks. Their invasions into India continued for two centuries or perhaps longer, and they established permanent settlements in the Panjab and Rajputana. They received many checks, but eventually they destroyed the Gupta Empire about the end of the 6th century, though local Guptas are found in Magadha till the 8th century. The Gupta Empire was in its vigour only a little over a century, between about 320 and 455.

Gupta Capitals.—The capital of the Guptas had been in Pataliputra in the beginning, but after Samudra Gupta's conquests, and the growth of all-India ideals, it was removed to Ajodhya, the sacred city of the national hero Rama. Later, when Malwa was conquered, its capital Ujjain also became an important city, and from its central position between the west coast and the north, it became the centre of the literary activities which form such a pleasing feature in the history of the Guptas.

Kalidas.—We do not know the precise date of Kalidas, the great Sanskrit poet and dramatist, but we may with some plausibility place it in the reign of Chandra Gupta II, surnamed Vikramaditya. He loved the city of Ujjain, of which he has left a charming description. His play of **Shakuntala** is one of the greatest works of art in the world's literature. His descriptions of nature have been admired for their refined fancy and delicate beauty. This is how he describes the bracelet of lotus flowers which the king had woven for his beloved:—

> The lotus chain is dazzling white
> As is the slender moon at night.
> Perhaps it was the moon on high
> That joined her horns and left the sky,
> Believing that your lovely arm
> Would, more than heaven, enhance her charm.*

His vision of womanhood is equally pure and delicate:—

> She is God's vision, of pure thought
> Composed in His creative mind;
> His reveries of beauty wrought
> The peerless pearl of womankind.
> So plays my fancy when I see
> How great is God, how lovely she.†

*Shakuntala Act III.

†Shakuntala Act II.

Luxury of the age.—Kalidas was truly the greatest poet of his age; but the age produced many poets and men of letters. We saw that the Gupta kings were themselves poets and musicians. Refinement and a certain amount of artificiality pervaded the circles of polite society. We have a description in a Sanskrit work of the period of a young man of the upper class who takes into his exile in the country all the luxuries of city life. "His couch is soft; pigments, perfumes, garlands, a lute, a cage of parrots, and last but not least, a romance, find their place in his chamber. His garden boasts a summer house, a swing in a shady spot; his days are spent in pleasure of all kinds; the mysteries of his toilet take time; his parrots must be taught new phrases; there are ram and cock fights, plays, concerts, ballets to be attended, or excursions to be made to parks in the vicinity of the city, to picnic in the groves."* The darker shades of the picture it would be out of place to notice here.

Fine arts.—The arts of the period show the rise of a national style of grace and refinement. The sculptures and ornaments show a spirit of restraint, which Mr. Vincent Smith attributes to Greek or Roman influence after the Gupta Empire reached the sea and communicated with the Roman Empire in Egypt. The metal work, as exemplified in the Iron Pillar at Delhi, shows

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A. B. Keith, Classical Sanskrit Literature, 1923, p. 29.

great technical skill in construction. Some of the Ajanta paintings belong to this period, and show a similar advance on earlier work in India. Of Gupta architecture we have very little left, but we have every reason to suppose that it showed the same spirit of classical reserve as we observe in Gupta sculpture.

Harsha Vardhana.

His family.—We saw that the break-up of the Gupta Empire towards the end of the fifth century was due to Hun invasions from the north-west. The Hun invasions were followed by Hun settlements, and the Panjab, Malwa, Rajputana, Gujarat, and Kathiawar, were the tracts in which Hun power with the power of some tribes (like the Gurjaras and Jats) whom they brought in their train, was most felt. In the Gangetic Valley the Gupta family was reduced to very small possessions, but a number of small local principalities grew up. Some of them were allied to the Guptas by marriage. One such was a small principality at Thaneshwar, which produced a great ruler in the person of Harsha Vardhana. Harsha by his conquests subjugated an empire nearly as great as the Gupta Empire. Although he belonged to the eastern frontier of the Panjab, he was unable to make any impression on the Panjab itself. He went eastwards, established his capital at Kanauj, and conquered or brought under his influence the

countries in the lower Ganges valley. He also established his supremacy over Malwa, Gujarat, and Kathiawar. In a sense his empire was a continuation of the Gupta Empire. Though the dynasty and the capital were different, the spirit of Harsha's Empire had the same national impulse, and the literary and artistic tendencies were in the same direction as in the Gupta period. But we miss the Gupta vigour and notice a decline towards artificiality and a worship of tradition.

Life as Prince.—Harsha's father had learnt warfare in the best practical school possible,—fighting against enemies on all sides and especially against the relentless Huns of the west. He had also initiated his two sons in the arts of fighting and government. At the moment of his death, his eldest son was actually fighting against the Huns. Harsha was the second son, and he loyally stood aside and allowed his elder brother to ascend the throne. Their sister Rajyashri was married to the King of Kanauj, of the "noble house of Maukhari, to whom the whole world pays honour." Her marriage had been celebrated with great pomp and was one of the last events of her father's lifetime. But it brought no happiness. News was brought to Thaneshwar that her husband was slain by an enemy king, the King of Malwa, and that she herself was treated with indignity and kept a close prisoner in Kanauj. Harsha's brother immediately started to the rescue of his sister and defeated the King of Malwa.

But he was himself slain treacherously by a confederate of the King of Malwa, and the throne of Thaneshwar was again vacant.

Reign and conquests.—Harsha's brother had left no heirs and Harsha was called to the throne by the united voice of the nobles. He hesitated, but at length accepted under a sense of duty, and his reign (606—647) was one of the most glorious in the history of India. His first care was to rescue his sister Rajyashri. This he did successfully, and she in some way shared his power or at least played a dignified part in his court. He then embarked on his career of conquest, to root out his enemies and advance the power of his allies. Meanwhile he had been called to the vacant throne of Kanauj, which he filled, perhaps along with his sister. For five years he waged war unceasingly, and for another thirty years he continued to fight, until he had established his supremacy all over Northern India. The King of Assam was his friend and ally, perhaps also a tributary. His family also entered into matrimonial alliances with kings in Western India. From the Bay of Bengal in the east, to the Thaneshwar Territory in the west, from the Himalayas on the north to the Narbada in the south, his Imperial power was acknowledged. He tried conclusions also with the Chalukya King of the South, Pulikesin II, but in this case he was defeated. The last years of his life he seems to have devoted to religion and good works.

Religion and character.—In religion Harsha's family had showed a catholic taste. One of his ancestors had been devoted to Shiva. His father worshipped the Sun. Harsha himself patronised all sects, but was probably personally attached to the cult of Shiva. The great Buddhist Pilgrim Yuan Chwang* visited India during his reign and claims that Harsha was a Buddhist. Harsha took him to his capital at Kanauj and entertained him royally, and also allowed him to expound the doctrine of the Great Vehicle. The Pilgrim was also present when Harsha held his great religious assemblage at Prayag and distributed lavish charities to all sects. Harsha was himself a poet and musician of repute. From the Pilgrim's account we can see that Buddhism was already on the decline in India, and its sects fought bitterly in religious controversies.

Chinese Accounts of India.

Politics and Pilgrims.—It is interesting to note the relations of China to India in those days. The Chinese Empire was expanding in all directions, and maintained diplomatic relations with Indian Courts. Tibet was a powerful kingdom, and allied by marriage with the royal house of China. Nepal was sometimes subject to Tibet, and some-

*Also spelt Hiouen Tsiang or Hiuen Tsang and in other ways.

times to some Imperial power in India, and occasionally it was considered expedient to acknowledge the strong powers both to the North and to the South. The Chinese Emperor actually interfered through Tibet and Nepal in the Indian anarchy that occurred after Harsha's death, and avenged the murder of the Chinese envoy But the most interesting relation of China with India was that created by the Buddhist Pilgrims who came to the land of Buddha's birth to visit the holy places of Buddhism and to take home relics and books. Many of them wrote interesting accounts of India. Two such Pilgrims we might note particularly, *viz.* Fa-Hien and Yuan Chwang. They both came overland through the Gobi Desert, Central Asia, and the Hindu Kush, into India.

Fa-Hien.—Fa-Hien was in India from about 405 to about 411, after which he visited Ceylon and returned to China by sea. He saw the Gupta Empire in its glory, and gives a good account of the government and the people. His only interest was the Buddhist religion, but he notes occasional facts which show that the country was peaceful and prosperous. He did not suffer from robbers to the same extent as Yuang Chwang did two centuries afterwards. He admired the buildings at Pataliputra, and the splendid images and processions. The charitable institutions showed that the traditions of Asoka were still alive. The government was mild, and interfered little with the lives of the people. Malwa was a rich and

flourishing tract, and its climate suited the Pilgrim. But Buddhism had already suffered a great decline, and the Buddhist country round Gaya and also about Oudh was depopulated. Cowrie shells were used as money in the ordinary transactions of daily life. An interesting glimpse is afforded by him of the trade of Arab merchants with Ceylon (and we may conjecture also with the west coast of India) long before the Arabs came as conquerors to Sindh.

Yuan Chwang.—To Yuan Chwang and his visits to Harsha we have already referred. He was in India from about 630 to 644, and his own account, supplemented by his **Life** in Chinese, written from his records, gives us many details about the India of his day. Apart from the Empire of Harsha in the north and of Pulikesin II in the south, the country was divided into many petty Principalities. After Harsha's death there was famine, rebellion, and slaughter in India. The kingly caste was that of the Kshatriyas, but Brahman, Vaishya, and Shudra kings are also mentioned. Sindh had a Shudra king, and Harsha had risen from a Vaishya family. Taxation was light, and the lives of the people, though simple, were happy, when and where there was a strong and peaceful government in power.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Rajput Clans and the Northern Kingdoms.

Consequences of Hun Invasions.

How Huns were absorbed.—We saw how the Persians had conquered the Panjab; how the Greeks, when they came to the Panjab, brought not only Greeks, but Persians, Bactrians, Sakas, Parthians, and other elements from Central Asia; how these and the Kushans who followed them, made settlements in India, and were gradually absorbed in the Indian population; how these were followed by fresh hordes from Central Asia, led by Huns, in the fifth century; and how they destroyed the Gupta Empire about the end of the sixth century. Their invasions continued for a little while longer, but as they lost power in Central Asia, their power in India itself became isolated, and they too became gradually merged in the general population of India.

Gujars and Jats.—The Huns brought in their train many allied tribes, some of which have left a deep impress on India. One of them was the tribe of Gurjaras, now known under the name of "Gujars," and another the Jats. It is quite possible that streams of Jats and Gujars had been pouring into India some centuries before, but

they seem to have been prominently associated with Huns. Both Jats and Gujars are still found in numbers in the Panjab and the United Provinces, and they are scattered in small quantities right up to Western India. In the Panjab the Districts of Gujrat and Gujranwala are named from the Gujars, and in these tracts Gujars nad Jats are found in association. The large area in which the Gujarati language is spoken is also called Gujarat.* It comprises the Northern Division of the Bombay Presidency, with Kathiawar in the west, and Western Rajputana in the east. Gujarati is one of the major vernaculars of India, and we may well suppose that some of its peculiarities are derived from the Gujars, who modified the Aryan vernacular dialect in their tracts to suit their own pronunciation and linguistic peculiarities.

Rajasthan.—Rajasthani, the dialect of Rajputana, is allied to Gujarati, just as Rajasthan is geographically a neighbour of Gujarat. We know that the Gujars had a powerful kingdom in Rajputana, and their influence in Western India was deep and lasting. It has now been proved by the evidence of inscriptions that the famous Parihar (Pratihara) dynasty of Bhoja in Kanauj (end of the 9th century) came of a Gujar (Gur-

*It is convenient for the sake of distinction to spell the Gujarati area as "Gujarat," and the Panjab district as "Gujrat," though both names are exactly the same.

jara) stock. This dynasty in its palmiest days ruled not only over the Panjab but also over Rajputana, Malwa, Gujarat, and Kathiawar, and even invaded Bihar and Bengal. The establishment of the identity of the Parihar clan of Rajputs with the Gujars, and the association of the Gujars with the Huns, throw some light on the origin of the Rajputs. The Hun invasions in fact completely upset the social fabric in India, and gave rise to new groupings, from which emerged the Rajputs.

Rise of the Rajputs.

New Functional Group.—The traditional story of the origin of the Rajputs we shall consider presently. But modern research has convinced western schoalrs that the rise of the present Rajput clans is to be referred to the period of political confusion and social reconstitution.—the period from about 600 to 1000. According to this theory the modern Rajputs do not historically represent the old Aryan caste of Kshatriyas in the classical scheme of four castes. They rather represent a large occupational group composed of various foreign, indigenous, and mixed races which attained royal rank. It is to be noted that the term "Rajput" is only used strictly in the Panjab, the United Provinces, and Rajputana-Malwa, and that this area really forms the area in which the Huns and Scythian tribes

had the greatest influence. The list of "the thirty-six royal races" is given differently by different authorities. But among these the name of "Hun" is included in ancient manuscripts. When the foreign races were absorbed into the Hindu social system of caste, they were given appropriate places in the scheme of caste. Those clans or families which had won the rank of governing classes, were given the caste of Rajputs or Kshatriyas. Thus the leaders and chieftains and their families, among Huns, Gujars, and mixed races became Rajputs of different Gotras. Those tribes which became cultivators were assigned humbler castes, such as Jats, Gujars, and Kathis (from whom the name of Kathiawar) is derived. The marriage customs of the Rajputs differ radically from those of the Brahmanical castes. The Rajput must always marry out of his clan, whereas in a caste the marriage must be within the caste itself. These outside marriages are now strictly regulated by custom, which prescribes that certain clans can take daughters from certain other clans or give daughters to certain other clans. But in the early period the customs were not fixed, and we have reason to believe that some of the highest Rajput families owed their status to alliances with aboriginal families. Thus the Guhilots (now Sesodias) of Mewar had intimate associations with the Bhils, still commemorated in the inaguration ceremonies of the Mewar chiefs. In the same way the Kachhwahas of Jaipur were

connected with the indigenous race of Minas. The Chandels of Bundelkhand were in origin connected with Gonds, and some of the Southern Rajputs are supposed to have raised themselves in the social scale from purely indigenous tribes.

Traditional account.—Let us now look at the traditional account of the rise of the Rajputs. In the first place we have the division of Rajput genealogies into two great lines of descent: the solar line associated with the race of Rama and the city of Ajodhya; and the lunar line associated with the race of Krishna and the cities of Prayag, Mathura, Dwarka, and Somnath (Soma=moon). In a sense the hero of the Mahabharat Epic is Krishna, as the hero of the Ramayan is undoubtedly Rama. Secondly, we have the four Rajput clans born of fire (*Agni-kulas*). The bard Chand Bardai says of them that they were the greatest of the thirty-six royal races: the rest were born of woman, but these from fire. The story is that when the kings of the ancient warrior race became wicked they were exterminated by Parasu-Rama, and the Brahmans became supreme. But as the Brahmans could not fight, they soon felt the need of warriors to defend the sacred books. The gods met at Mount Abu (in Rajputana) and created a new race of warriors, the Powars, the Parihars, the Chauhans, and the Solankis or Chalukyas. These were the fire-born tribes. This tradition confirms the historical break between the old Kshatriyas and the new Rajputs.

Fire-born tribes.—The Powars have practically disappeared. They are represented in history by the famous Raja Bhoja of Malwa (1018—1060), whose fame in the arts of peace and war still survives in Indian tradition. The Parihars, as we saw, represent the royal families of the Gujar and allied races, who migrated from Rajputana to Kanauj about 800 and ruled there for two centuries until they were overthrown by Mahmud of Ghazni. The Parihar ancestor was supposed to be a black ugly fellow, armed with a bow, and charged with the guardianship of the gates. The Solanki was created with a sword and assigned the western and southern regions, with his capital at Anhilwara, the old capital of Gujarat. The Solankis or Chalukyas played a great part in southern history, but have now sunk into insignificance. The Chauhan was created after the image of Vishnu, with four arms holding different weapons, and was assigned the territory of the Narbada, from which he spread in all directions. The Chauhans were allied to the Ahirs. They made a great show as rulers of Ajmir and Delhi until their empire was extinguished with the famous Prithiraj at the end of the 12th century. The small States of Bundi and Kotah still represent the Chauhan line. Otherwise the royal dignity has departed from them. The origin of the four "fire-born" houses was in Southern Rajputana, where was also the seat of the Gujar Empire.

Thirty-six royal races.—The traditional list

of the thirty-six royal races is, as has been stated, given differently by different authorities. If we take any given list, we shall find in it some names that represent tribes now extinct, and others which, once famous, have now dropped into the background. But we shall also find that it omits some that are influential at the present day.

Principal Surviving Rajput Kingdoms.—The most important royal houses of Rajputana at the present day are: the Sesodias of Mewar or Udaipur; the Rathors of Marwar or Jodhpur; and the Kachhwahas of Jaipur. The Sesodias, lords of Chitor, are a branch of the Guhilots, and claim to lead the thirty-six royal races. They claim descent direct from the sun. There are indications in the traditions about the family having been originally Brahman, *i.e.* priestly, and possibly of its connection with the Persian sun-worshipping kings. They remained severely aloof from Mughal alliances. Their medieval history is full of renown and picturesque romance. The Rathors of Jodhpur claim to have come from Kanauj on its conquest by the Muslims at the end of the 12h century, but they seem to have been in Marwar before then, and were probably reinforced by their kindred Gaharwars when the latter lost power in Kanauj. Their bravery was well recognised by the Mughals, in whose later conquests the *lakh talwar Rathoran* (hundred thousand swords of the Rathors) formed an important factor. The Kachhwahas settled at Amber (near modern Jaipur)

about the tenth century, and were originally vassals to the Chauhan kings of Delhi. After the overthrow of the Chauhans they became more important. Their proximity to Delhi brought them into close relations with the Mughal Empire. Raja Man Singh was among the most brilliant ornaments of Akbar's Court, and commanded distant armies and governed important provinces under the Mughals. Two other notable Amber Rajas were Jai Singh I, "the Mirza Raja," and later Jai Singh II (Sawai Jai Singh), who built the beautiful city of Jaipur in 1728 and was a celebrated astronomer. His observatories still exist in Delhi, Benares, and Jaipur. All these Princes maintain friendly and loyal relations with the British Government. Their chivalrous code of Rajput honour is one of the military assets of India.

Kingdoms in Northern India.

Panjab and Kashmir.—The period between Harsha who died in 647 and the beginnings of the Muslim conquest was one of political confusion, but a few important kingdoms were established, which we may briefly notice. In the north-west frontier region a Shahiya dynasty of Turkish origin seems to have held power. The rest of the Panjab was held by small principalities, but formed a frequent bone of contention between the powerful kingdoms of Kashmir and Kanauj. In

Kashmir the Utpala dynasty was founded in the ninth century. It gave some vigorous rulers, who tried to push their power into the plains.

Kanauj.—But the great kingdom in Northern India was that of Kanauj. The city is mentioned in the Ramayan Through many changes of dynasties Kanauj retained its pride of place as an Imperial capital till Muslim times. We saw that Harsha made it his capital, and from it ruled as far as the Panjab on one side, Binar on another, the Himalayas in the north, and indirectly, through Malwa, Rajputana, and Gujarat, to the Arabian Sea. In the troubled eighth century it came into conflict with the kingdom of Kashmir, and had a chequered career. About 816 a Gujar-Parihar kingdom of chiefs from Rajputana made Kanauj its capital, and though it once reached great proportions and afterwards shrank in size, it continued to be an impotrant kingdom till Kanauj was attacked and taken by a Gaharwar chief The Gaharwars were not highly considered among the Rajputs, and seem to have sprung from an indigenous tribe in the south. They were connected with the Bundelas, after whom Bundelkhand is called. It was the Parihars who came into conflict with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The Gaharwar dynasty lasted from a little before 1090 till it was subjugated by Shihab-ud-din Ghori in 1194. Those were stirring times, and their story is told by the bard Chand Bardai from one point of view and by Shihab-ud-din's historians

from another. The Gaharwars were supposed traditionally to have been connected in some way with the Rathors of Marwar, and when their line was extinct, their clansmen joined their kindred Rathors in Marwar, while a Chandel dynasty held feudatory power at Kanauj under the Muslim Empire for eight generations.

Noted Kanauj Kings.—Some individual kings of Kanauj, about whom we have details, may now be noticed. Before the Parihars there was Yashovarman, who had aspired to be a conqueror, but who was at last slain in a fight with the king of Kashmir, about 740. He was a patron of the dramatist Bhavabhuti, who, though he belonged to the south and lived for a time in Ujjain, found an international atmosphere in Yashovarman's court. Yashovarman sent an embassy to China. Among the Parihar kings may be mentioned Mihira Bhoja* (840—890), whose kingdom was extensive but was curtailed in the time of his successors, and almost extinguished by Mahmud of Ghazni. But the best known king of Kanauj after Harsha was the Gaharwar Jai Chand, who fought with Shihab-ud-din Ghori (1194). In his day the circuit of Kanauj was said to have been as great as thirty miles. His army (even allowing for the chronicler's exaggeration) was enormous:

*Not to be confounded with King Bhoja of Malwa, whose name is commemorated in Bhopal (Bhojpal), and who lived two centuries later.

80,000 men in armour; 30,000 horse covered with quilted mail; 300,000 infantry; and 200,000 warriors armed with bows and arrows and battle-axes; besides a "cloud of elephants" carrying warriors.

Legends of Jai Chand.—He made many conquests in his day, and in his pride invited all the Rajput princes of India to a grand ceremony in which his daughter was to choose her husband. But this was considered presumption by the Chauhan King of Delhi and the Guhilot King of Mewar, who looked down on the family and the pretensions of the Gaharwar. The Chauhan King of Delhi was the famous Prithiraj (Rai Pithora), who, while refusing to come as a regular suitor for the hand of the Kanauj princess, showed his scorn by a daring raid in which he carried her off by force in open day, in defiance of her father's power and of all the Rajput chivalry assembled at his Court. There was a desperate fight, but the Chauhan won, and he kept his prize. Little he knew then that both he and his enemy of Kanauj would soon be humbled in the dust by the Ghori Sultan.

Delhi and the Chauhans; Rai Pithora.—The city of Delhi was founded about the end of the tenth century by a Tomar Raja. His kingdom on the failure of direct male heirs went by right of succession to the Chauhan Raja of Sambhar and Ajmir. This line did not last long. But its most illustrious king, Prithiraj Chauhan (1163—

1192), is famous in legend and history. He is described on the Iron Pillar at Delhi as the "Anointed of Sambhar, lord of the earth," Sambhar having been the original seat of his family. It is chiefly known now for its great salt lake, the source of the salt of Rajputana. The ruins of Lal-Kot in old Delhi represent the fort which he built about 1180. His exploits are described with great spirit by his bard Chand Bardai, whose book is one of the oldest specimens of Hindi literature we possess. We have already described Prithiraj's abduction of the Kanauj princess. We shall presently refer to his fights with the Chandel Kingdom of Mahoba, leaving the story of his tragic end till we come to the conquests of the House of Ghor.

Chandels at Mahoba.—Contemporary with Prithiraj was the Chandel Kingdom of Parmal, with its capital at Mahoba. The Chandels are a tribe of Rajputs connected with the Gonds of Central India. They are not counted among the thirty-six royal tribes of the Rajputs. They were sometimes dependent on the Parihars, but they soon attained independence. They occupied the country south of the Jamna, in which their successors were the allied tribe of Bundelas, from whom Bundelkhand derives its name. The chief centres of the Chandels were Mahoba (in Hamirpur District), Khajuraho (in Chhatarpur State), and Kalinjar Fort (in Banda District). The Chandels were famous for their stone architecture. The

picturesque tanks at Mahoba, built by them, are both ornamental and useful for irrigation. Kalinjar has some interesting Chandel antiquities. Khajuraho is rich in beautiful temples and sculpture. The Chandel power lasted from about 870 to 1200.

Bardic Legends: *Alha and Udal.*—The fame of the Chandel King Parmal rests on the exploits of two heroes Alha and Udal, sons of Jasraj, of the Banaphar clan. They are sung in Hindi ballads all over the United Provinces. Parmal's armies had been defeated by Gonds. Jasraj took the field, captured the Gond capital and their chief, and laid his head at the feet of his sovereign. Parmal in gratitude gave Jasraj abundant rewards. Both the king and queen treated Jasraj's sons Alha and Udal as their own. After Jasraj's death, the heroes were offended at the king coveting a fine mare of theirs and listening to some slander against them. They were compelled to leave the country with their mother and their families, and they went to the court of Kanauj.

Chauhan Invasion.—Prithiraj Chauhan invades the kingdom of Parmal. The two bravest of Parmal's heroes are in exile. Parmal sends a bard to Kanauj to persuade them to return. The bard pleads for Parmal. "The Chauhan is encamped on the plains of Mahoba. Fort after fort has fallen. The kingdom of Parmal is being laid waste. For one month a truce has been obtained. To you I am sent for aid in his troubles. Listen, oh sons,

of Banaphar. Sad have been the days of the queen since you left Mahoba. Often she looks towards Kanauj, and while she recalls you to mind, tears gush from her eyes, and she exclaims: 'The fame of the Chandel is departing.' If gone, oh sons of Jasraj, great will be your self-accusing sorrow. Even yet, think of Mahoba!"

Alha obdurate.—But Alha would not listen. "Destruction to Mahoba! Annihilation to the Chandel, who without fault expelled us from our home; in whose service fell our father, by whom his kingdom was extended. Send our slanderer; let him lead your armies against the heroes of Delhi. Our heads were the pillars of Mahoba; by us were the Gonds expelled, and their strongholds added to his sway. We maintained the field for him and planted his standard in new places. From ten princes did Jasraj bring spoils to Mahoba. This have we done, and the reward is exile from our home! Seven times have I received wounds in his service, and since my father's death I have won forty battles; and from seven has Udal conveyed the news of victory to Parmal. Thrice my death seemed inevitable. The honour of his house I have upheld,—yet exile is my reward."

Honour of the Rajput.—The bard replies: "The father of Parmal left him as a child to the care of Jasraj. Your father was in the place of his own. The son should not abandon him when misfortune makes him call on you. The Rajput

who abandons his sovereign in distress will be plunged into hell. Then place on your head the loyalty of your father. Can you desire to remain at Kanauj while he is in trouble, who expended thousands in rejoicings for your birth? The queen, who loves you as her own, presses for your return. She bids me demand of your mother Dewaldei the fulfilment of the oft-repeated vow that your life and Mahoba, when endangered, were inseparable. The breaker of vows, despised on earth, will be plunged into hell, there to remain while sun and moon endure."

Mother's Appeal.—Dewaldei heard the message of the Queen. "Let us fly to Mahoba" she exclaimed. Alha was silent, while Udal said aloud: "May evil spirits seize upon Mahoba! Can we forget the day when in distress he drove us forth? Return to Mahoba?——Let it stand or fall, it is the same to me; Kanauj is henceforth my home."

"Would that the gods had made me barren," said Dewaldei, "that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the path of the Rajput, and refuse to succour their prince in danger!" Her heart bursting with grief, and her eyes raised to heaven, she continued: "Was it for this, Oh universal lord, thou madest me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Banaphar's fame? Unworthy offspring! The heart of the true Rajput dances with joy at the mere name of strife,—but ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jasraj." The young chiefs arose, their faces withered in sad-

ness. "When we perish in defence of Mahoba, and covered with wounds, perform deeds that will leave a deathless name; when our heads roll in the field; when we embrace the valiant in fight, and treading in the footsteps of the brave, make resplendent the blood of both lines, even in the presence of the heroes of the Chauhan,—then will our mother rejoice."

Heroes fight against odds.—The mother's appeal succeeded. The heroes took leave of the king of Kanauj, whose parting message was: "Preserve the faith of the Rajputs." There were omens and portents against them, but Alha said: "Though these omens bode death, yet death to the valiant, to the pure in faith, is an object of desire, not of sorrow. The path of the Rajput is beset with difficulties, rugged, and filled with thorns; but he regards it not, so it but conducts to battle." Their steeds bounded over the plain like swift-footed deer. They arrived in Mahoba, with Dewaldei, and the Queen gave them welcome.

The truce ends. The Chauhan sends a herald again, with a challenge. The day is duly fixed for battle. The warriors on both sides get ready. They anoint their bodies with fragrant oils, and the celestial apsarases (female musicians) prepare to receive them in case of death. The Chandels know that they are fighting against heavy odds. But all counsels of caution are scornfully rejected. Udal is fierce, to join in the fray. He says:

"Mahoba is safe while life remains in me, and in your cause, oh Parmal! we shall espouse celestial brides." The wives of the heroes are full of Rajput spirit, and face the prospects of sati. "What virtuous wife" they exclaim "survives her lord? The woman who surves her husband who falls in the field of battle will never obtain bliss."*

The forebodings were but too true. Prithiraj captured Mahoba, 1182.

Palas and Sens: Bihar and Bengal.—Two other kingdoms flourished in Northern India about this time, *viz.*: the Pala Kingdom of Bengal and Bihar, and the Sen Kingdom of Bengal, which was carved out of the Pala Kingdom. The Pala Kingdom had a long life of over four and a half centuries, from about 730 to 1197. The Palas were pious Buddhists. While Buddhism was dying out everywhere else in India, they kept its flag flying in Bihar, the home of its origin. To the early period of their rule may be referred a school of statutary and sculpture, which continued the traditions of Gupta art, but which interpreted the form of mixed Buddhism favoured by the Palas. In the early days of their vigour (in the beginning of the ninth century) they were strong enough to interfere in the affairs of the kingdom of Kanauj.

*This splendid passage, illustrating the Rajput code of honour, is from Chand Bardai, as rendered by Tod in his *Rajasthan*, but slightly abbreviated.

In the last century of their existence they lost Bengal to a new dynasty, the Sen dynasty. This was founded by a military adventurer from the South, but it barely lasted a century. The southern kingdoms had for some time been trying conclusions with the Powers of the north, but they did not succeed in retaining a hold in the north for any length of time.

CHAPTER IX.

Early Muslim Conquests.

Conquest of Sindh.

Arabs and India.—The first contact of the Arabs with India was before Islam, by way of commerce and across the sea. When the Arabs were raised by Islam to be an international power (about 628—630), their outlook was widened, and their dreams of a universal brotherhood embraced the whole world. The conquest of Persia including Iraq (637), and the foundation of the new Arab city of Basra (638) brought them close to the Persian Gulf and the sea traffic that went east to India. The political expansion of the Arabs was now proceeding at a rapid pace. The Governor of Iraq had to deal with the affairs in the direction of India.

The first conflict between Arabs and Indians was on the west coast, near Bombay—at Thana and Broach. But it came to nothing. Sindh lay nearer at hand, but the men who were first sent to examine the land brought adverse reports. "Water" they said "is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold; if few troops are sent there, they will be slain; if many, they will starve." But private volunteers continued to visit Sindh.

Some came through the desolate coast of Makran, which had proved so disastrous to Alexander's army; others through Seistan, by way of Kandahar. Gradually these frontier countries were brought within the government of Iraq. But the conflict with Sindh was precipitated by the act of pirates who infested the coast of India. The King of Ceylon had been in the habit of keeping up friendly communications with the Governor of Iraq. Some Muslim merchants having died in Ceylon, the king sent their orphan daughters by ship to Iraq, but the ship and the passengers were captured by pirates from Sindh. No satisfaction could be obtained for this, and it was resolved to send a properly equipped expedition to Sindh.

Muhammad Qasim.—Muhammad Qasim was appointed to the charge of the expedition. He was then only seventeen years of age, but he was a skilful leader and a tactful administrator. Six thousand warriors from Syria were appointed under his command besides other forces. He seems to have marched by land, while his men, with their arms, munitions, and heavy siege machines came by sea. The first battle was at Debal, which must have been a town and seaport somewhere near modern Karachi.* Muhammad Qasim took Debal by storm, and advanced rapidly up the country. The King or Rai of Sindh, whom the Arab historians call Dahir, came out against

*Some authors identify Debal with modern Thattha.

him, and fought bravely, but was killed in the fight. His army made a further stand at the capital, the old city of Brahmanabad, near which the Arabs built Mansura, near the site of the modern city of Haidarabad (Sindh). After a desperate fight Muhammad Qasim was victorious, and pushed on to Alor, a famous fort near modern Rohri. After its subjugation he went up to Multan, the richest city then in Sindh. The course of the Panjab rivers has frequently changed in historical times. Multan is stated to have then been on the south bank of the Ravi.

With the capture of the four chief cities, Debal, Brahmanabad, Alor, and Multan, Muhammad Qasim was now master of the whole country of Sindh and the Panjab, which had been in Dahir's possession, as far as the borders of Kashmir. He must have collected large local levies, for he detached a body of 10,000 horse against the kingdom of Kanauj, whose boundaries adjoined his. But before this expedition could bear fruit, he was recalled. These events happened in 712—715. Though this brilliant general closed his career at the age of 20, his conquests were on a solid foundation, and Sindh became a Muslim Province, as it has remained ever since. It is more closely connected with Arabia than any other part of India, and the Nawabs of Bahawalpur claim descent from the line of the Abbaside Khalifas, who ruled at Baghdad from 8th to the 13th centuries.

His Policy.—Muhammad Qasim's policy was not only successful; it was reasonable and conciliatory. The Rai's kingdom was large in extent, and the Rai's father had been powerful and aggressive on all his frontiers. But within the kingdom he did not carry the people with him. The common tribes consisted of Jats and Mers, the Mers being the tribe after whom Ajmir-Merwara is called. In the Rai's reign the Jats had been kept down by severe laws. When Muhammad Qasim took Brahmanabad, he took a census of the people, and found 10,000 men. He made a special provision for the merchants, artisans, and agriculturists, who had suffered in the fighting. The Brahmans claimed special privileges; which, when they were attested by the evidence of the principal inhabitants, were confirmed. Ancient customs and institutions were respected. All were protected from violence and injustice. Offices of emolument were given to local men, and the Brahmans were specially asked to bring to the General's notice any men worthy of his consideration and kindness. The surrender of the fort of Alor was in great part due to the people's confidence in Muhammad Qasim's honesty, prudence, justice, and generosity, and his fidelity to his words and promises.

Later History of Sindh.—Arab settlements were made here and there in Sindh, and the country continued to receive Governors from Iraq to the end of the ninth century. But Islam made great

progress among the local population, and petty local dynasties were soon established. Towards the end of the tenth century there were two strong States with their capitals at Mansura and Multan respectively, and thus Sindh came to be differentiated more and more from the land of the Five Rivers. Some of these local dynasties continued to hold their own until the stronger tide of conquest poured in from the north-west, and effected a permanent footing in India.

House of Ghazni.

Origins.—We saw that the Turks in Central Asia had already attained power before the rise of Islam, and that they destroyed the Hun Empire on the Oxus. The Muslim Arabs crossed the Oxus about 706, and the Turks came more and more within the circle of Islam. Turki slaves were given offices of trust and military commands in different parts of the Muslim Empire, or in the feudatory States of that Empire. In many cases they raised themselves to be independent rulers and founded dynasties. Such was the origin of the house of Ghazni. Ghazni is a hill city of Afghanistan, about 90 miles south-west of Kabul, on the Kabul-Kandahar road. It is situated at a height of over 7000 feet above the sea level and commands an extensive view of the Kandahar plain to the south, while it is difficult of access from the north and from Central Asia. Its strate-

gic position marked it out as the stronghold of a revolted Turkish Governor appointed by a Central Asian Prince. This Governor's Turkish slave and son-in-law Sabuktagin founded (977) the dynasty of Ghazni, which established their power in the Panjab and made extensive conquests in India.

Sabuktagin.—Amir Sabuktagin's first care was to consolidate his newly acquired kingdom and to suppress its foes near his capital. He had to deal with mountain tribes and rebels in his own kingdom. But he was active and vigorous, and his quick movements enabled him to triumph over his enemies. "His body knew no rest" says the historian, "nor his eyes sleep, and his army had but little repose." When he felt himself secure at home, he turned his attention to India. The Panjab was then held by a Jat Raja at Bhatinda named Jai Pal, whose rule extended far into the Kabul valley. His territory marched with that of Sabuktagin, at whose growing power he was justly alarmed. He took the field against Sabuktagin, and marched with huge elephants and a large army against him. But his antiquated mode of warfare was no match against Sabuktagin's light and rapid movements, and was specially unsuitable for the hill country. The Amir, accompanied by his son (who afterwards became Sultan Mahmud), met him in the Kabul valley, and after some desultory warfare, a peace was patched up, against the advice of the impetuous Mahmud.

The Raja was to hand over elephants and treasure, and some cities and forts in his territory.

Jai Pal soon repented of his bargain and refused to fulfil his engagements. War was renewed. Sabuktagin marched out against India and took the city of Laghman. On the other hand Jai Pal took the field with a numerous army, assisted by the Tomar Rajas of Delhi and Ajmir, the Chandels of Kalinjar, and the Parihars of Kanauj. The fight was long and obstinate. In the hand-to-hand struggle men and officers were mingled in close combat, and the sword was the only weapon that could be used in that remarkable battle. The Amir's army won, and pursued the beaten foe as far as the Indus. Peshawar now became the outpost of the Ghazni Empire (about 991). The Afghans and Khaljis of the Kabul valley, who had been under the Jat King, now enlisted in the Amir's army. A system of roads and communications was carefully prepared for the frontier. The Amir's attention was now diverted to events near Bokhara, from which Ghazni gained large accessions of territory. Sabuktagin died about 997, and was succeeded by his son Mahmud, then in his 30th year.

Sultan Mahmud.—Mahmud reigned at Ghazni from 997 to 1030, but the greater part of his time was spent in fighting away from his capital and adding new countries to the Ghazni Empire. In India he made an effective conquest of the Panjab and numerous expeditions into the Gangetic valley

and to the west as far as the sea-coast of Kathiawar. In Central Asia he overthrew the famous city and kingdom of Khwarizm (near modern Khiva). In the west he conquered Persia. He was the first among Muslim rulers to assume the title of Sultan. He obtained from the Khalifa of Baghdad the unusual title (among others) of "Friend of the Commander of the Faithful," and wore with great pride the robe of honour which he received from the Khalifa. He carried out 12 or 17 expeditions into India, of which we shall only note the most important.

The war between his father and Jai Pal King of Bhatinda was only suspended by Sabuktagin's death. Preparations continued on both sides for its renewal. Mahmud had participated as a prince in the campaigns which had advanced the territory of Ghazni as far as Peshawar. His love of conquest was spurred on to fresh exertions by motives of religion,—in the words of the Muslim historian, "of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice." On the other side the brave Jai Pal could not take his defeat as final, and he marched out with a great army of many allies, to meet his foe at Peshawar. Jai Pal had no better luck than before, and was not only defeated but taken prisoner. He was ransomed by his son Anang Pal, but he was so disheartened by old age and the shame of defeat that he burned himself on a funeral pyre, resigning his power into

younger hands.

Expeditions into India.—Mahmud's expedition of 1005 was directed against the Muslim ruler of Multan, who had embraced the doctrines of a sect hateful to an orthodox warrior. Multan was besieged and taken, and its inhabitants treated with more severity than those of Hindu cities because their "blind errors" and rebellion were considered unpardonable in Muslims. In this expedition Anang Pal had shown himself hostile to Mahmud, whose arms were now turned definitely against him.

Panjab conquered.—In 1008 the decisive battle was fought with Anang Pal and his allies for the mastery of the Panjab. This seems also to have been near Peshawar, but the Sultan was now able, after his victory, to push into the interior of the Panjab and capture the hill fortress of Kangra (then called Nagarkot). After this he seems to have treated Anang Pal as his tributary, and we find that the Raja loyally entertained him and furnished him with supplies in later expeditions when the Sultan had to pass through the Panjab. He lived on good terms with Mahmud, but his son who succeeded him was less diplomatic on the occasion of Mahmud's first expedition to Kanauj, and this resulted in the establishment of a permanent Ghaznavi garrison in the Panjab, probably in Lahore.

Ghor.—Mahmud's invasions of Kashmir do not seem to have been very successful. But mean-

while (1010) he had subjugated the mountainous district of Ghor in Afghanistan, east of Herat. This is of interest, as the incorporation of this district in the Ghazni Empire afterwards enabled the Ghoris to subvert that Empire The Ghoris also gave a dynasty that afterwards ruled in India. The Afghans inhabiting this region were of the Suri (or Sur) tribe, which, when settled in India, gave a brief Sur dynasty when Sher Shah Sur overthrew Humayun in 1540 Mahmud's conquests in Central Asia also brought him a number of learned men from Bokhara, Samarkand, and Khwarizm, to his court in Ghazni Among them was the famous Al-Biruni who has left us a detailed account, in Arabic, of Indian life and thought in the early eleventh century.

Kanauj.—In 1016 was undertaken the first expedition to Kanauj, which was reputed to be situated at a distance of three months' journey from Ghazni. His position in the Panjab was now secure. Kanauj was then one of the wealthiest and greatest cities of India, and the kingdom of Kanauj, as we saw, claimed some sort of precedence over other Rajput Kingdoms. The Raja of Kanauj, however, showed no fight, and he was taken under the Sultan's protection. Later, when Mahmud had returned to Ghazni and the Raja was attacked by other Hindu Rajas for his submission to the Sultan, Mahmud returned to his relief, and turned his arms against the Raja's enemies.

Somnath.—The last great expedition (1024—26) of Mahmud into the interior of India was that to Somnath, a town in the south of Kathiawar. This was a famous seaport with a renowned temple, which owed its wealth to maritime traffic. It was also a nest of pirates. The route to it involved the subjugation of the kingdom of Gujarat. Here, again, the Raja's family was taken under the Sultan's protection, and Mahmud tried to intervene in the internal affairs of the family. Access to the sea greatly impressed the Sultan, and awakened in him dreams of maritime conquest in the direction of the island of Ceylon, but the Sultan had no maritime resources. He found in Gujarat a rich and agreeable province, and almost thought of removing his capital there, but the Rajputana country behind him was not fully subdued, and he made his way back with great difficulty and by the edge of the desert of Bahawalpur.

Persia.—Mahmud's conquest of Persia in the last few years of his reign need not detain us long, though it had important consequences in history. At his death in 1030 Mahmud was the greatest sovereign in the Islamic world. Himself the son of a Persian mother, he greatly encouraged the growth of modern Persian literature, whose early writers date from his reign. The great epic poet Firdausi wrote his *Shah-nama* for him, in which the legends of Persia were told in a true national spirit. Persian now became not only

the language of administration and diplomacy in middle Asia, but also in the growing Muslim Empire in India. To science and art, too, the Sultan gave every encouragement. Opportunities were afforded under him to the astronomer and mathematician Al-Biruni to study every phase of Hindu thought in India and to disseminate Muslim thought in return. The capital of Ghazni was beautified with noble buildings, which included schools, colleges, mosques, and fountains.

Mahmud's character.—In appearance Mahmud was well-built, but his face was not handsome, being disfigured with marks of small-pox. His character showed determination, energy, and enterprise. He had a sense of inflexible justice, and he enforced discipline in his army with firmness. In his conquests he was considerate in his treatment of those who surrendered to him or sought his protection, but stern to those who opposed him or broke their engagements. He was not cruel. Even those whom he had pardoned and trusted, when they rebelled against him, were only punished with imprisonment. The stories of his avarice are not authentic. He spent freely and gave lavish gifts.

His Policy.—His policy seems to have been to build up a strong centralised military monarchy. In his army the chief commanders were probably Turks, but Arabs, Afghans, Tartars, and Hindus were enlisted, and local commands were given to the chiefs of all the races in his empire. The

Persians were chiefly employed in the civil offices of State. He kept his ambitions in due check by a correct estimate of the means at his command. In religion he wanted to extirpate the unorthodox sects in Islam, whom he treated very harshly. Apart from military and political considerations, he was as tolerant to other religions as the standards of his day permitted.

Its results.—His Indian expeditions resulted in the Panjab becoming a province dependent on Ghazni. Later on, Lahore itself became the capital of the Ghaznavi dynasty. In Northern, Central, and Western India Muslim influence spread gradually. His supremacy over Kanauj gave him some sort of supremacy over Northern, Central, and Western India. In Sindh the petty Muslim principalities were brought under the influence of the Ghaznavi dynasty and of the dynasties which succeeded to their power. The first contact between the two main religions of India was established, and though it began in conflict, there was a certain amount of cultural understanding which enabled the Muslim arms to advance rapidly when the Delhi Sultanate was established.

Ghazni and Ghor.—The later history of the Ghaznavi dynasty is not of much interest to India. There were rebellions and troubles in Afghanistan, Persia, and Central Asia. The Seljuk Turks became a great power, and helped in weakening the Ghaznavis. When the Ghoris revolted in 1150, they destroyed the beautiful city of Ghazni, and

the last feeble representative of the Ghaznavi family settled down in Lahore. The family was followed to the Panjab by the Ghoris, who captured Lahore about 1186. The establishment, under the Ghoris, of the Delhi Sultanate will be described in a subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER X.

Hindu Civilisation on the eve of the Muslim Conquest.

There are four principal sources for our knowledge of the life and civilisation of India just before the Muslim conquest. Three are from Hindu bards and writers themselves, and one is from an Arabic book written by a scientist who spent many years in India studying Hindu systems of thought and offering to India some of the knowledge and science that had been developed outside. The ballads of the Hindu bards were sung and handed down orally with additions and alterations from generation to generation, and we have not their text in the original form, from which we can draw exact conclusions. But if we make allowance for later additions, we can form from them a fairly clear picture of the state of society and manners in India about the tenth to the twelfth centuries.

The greatest of the bards of Rajputana was Chand Bardai, who lived in the court of Prithiraj of Delhi, and who was sent out as the king's confidential messenger to various contemporary courts. In his *Prithiraj Rasau* we have in old Hindi a spirited account of the wars fought by Prithiraj. We have already quoted some passages from

Chand Bardai in discussing the Rajput Kingdoms. Another collection of ballads known in the United Provinces deals with the Chandel Kingdom of Mahoba and is known as *Alha-khand*. Of this we have no satisfactory text, nor do we know the name of the author. It probably grew up as a folk tale, sung by many bards, who each added to the story and its incidents. But even in its present form we can gather from it much about the Rajput ideas of honour, love, warfare, and the rivalry of clan against clan. From Hindu dramatic literature, also, we get interesting glimpses of the lives of the upper and lower classes. Unfortunately we cannot be sure of the exact dates of many of the Sanskrit Plays, but we can in most cases fix the Plays in their relative order of time, and in this way trace the evolution of religion, manners, and ideas. Lastly we have Al-Biruni's book on India. He carefully studied in a sympathetic spirit Hindu ideas and institutions in the time of Mahmud of Ghazni, and has left a clear and critical picture of Hindu thought in the eleventh century.

The most pleasing feature of the period is the code of military honour evolved by the Rajputs. They were the ruling class in most parts of India, and in their clan organisation staunch fidelity to their chief or clan was the foremost article of their creed. The profession of arms was natural to them, and fighting was as the breath of their life. "The Rajput lot is ever the

sword and the battle scar," says one of their ballads. Another says: "He who dies on his bed at home has wasted his Rajput blood." This martial spirit was kept alive by bards, whose songs preserved their genealogies, encouraged them in their battles, commemorated their past exploits by being sung at entertainments, and helped to form their future policy in cases of doubt or difficulty. For information and advice the king always turned to the bard, and the bard was supposed to know all that was going on in his own court and the courts abroad Bardic literature was all that the Rajput cared about, and it served the purposes of poetry, history, philosophy, and politics.

Rajput women were as full of martial spirit as their men. As mothers they wielded great influence. They would rather lose their son's life than their son's honour as a Rajput. The practice of young princesses choosing their husbands themselves in a grand public ceremony arranged by their father was considered to add great dignity to the royal house in which it was celebrated. But the favourite theme of the bards was the capture of brides by force of arms. Widows were expected to observe the rites of *Sati* and to burn themselves on hearing of their husband's death. When the Rajputs issued on a desperate venture, in which victory was hopeless, they performed the terrible rite of *Jauhar*, by which they first killed all their women folk lest they should fall

into the hands of their enemies, and then rushed madly on to death or victory.

If their martial instincts had been regulated and brought to the service of a wise central authority, they would have been a valuable asset for the defence of the country. But the clans and chiefs were jealous of each other, and waged constant internecine war. The aim of each was to reduce the others to subjection. Even when temporary alliances were formed to meet a common danger, they did not endure long, and internal fighting was a chronic feature in the life of the country.

The Brahmans were the priestly caste As such they enjoyed many privileges, and were the objects of charities and endowments. But their real influence in Rajput courts was smaller than that of the bard who stirred them up with the recital of martial deeds. The family priest (*Purohit*), both in bardic literature and in the drama, had very little honour, and was often the object of contemptuous jokes. Religion had come to mean more and more a matter of ceremonies and gifts to the priests. But penances and asceticism, wherever practised, were held in honour. In one of the Plays* the priestesses of Buddha whose sect was almost absorbed into Hinduism, are contrasted for their gentle ways and their quiet interest in education, with the priest and

*Bhavabhuti's *Malati Madhava.*

priestesses of the terrific goddess Chamunda, whose emblem was a garland of hollow skulls and who delighted in magical rites, dark mysteries, and human sacrifices. There must have been many Brahmans devoted in their retreats to study and contemplation, but they seem to have exercised no influence on public life.

Castes other than Brahman and Rajput did not count for much. In earlier days there had been a good deal of trade and commerce in India, but the want of any central authority or settled government had reduced it to the position of an agency for the bare supply of local needs. There was plenty of wealth in the country. The Rajput chiefs wore gold bracelets, and their women wore nose rings and other ornaments. Pearls and precious stones are spoken of as if they were abundant, as they are now. But such possessions do not affect the mass of the people. The large number of mixed castes had already come into being, but there was no binding force to make the social system effective for national purposes. There were skilled artisans, but their skill had little reward or honour. The menial classes were kept in subjection, and not allowed to live in the villages or towns. The shoemakers and weavers were classed with jugglers and fowlers, among the menials; and the sweepers and those who did dirty work were altogether outside the pale.

In literature and learning the high standards attained in the time of Kalidas had been consider-

ably lowered. His chaste style and his descriptions of nature had given place to a highly artificial and flowery mode of writing, in which facts were subordinated to words. In science the researches of astronomers and mathematicians had given place to a traditional system of learning, which is much criticised by Al-Biruni. Science was very much mixed up with religion. The Chandel temples in Khajuraho (Chhatarpur State), which date from about 10th and 11th centuries have great beauty and elegance but suffer from excessive ornamentation.

While there was confusion and separatism in the social and political life of the country, the local administration of the villages went on quietly, untroubled by the rise and fall of dynasties and the feuds between the clans. We have no direct evidence about the revenue system just before the Delhi Sultanate, but from the accounts, during the Sultanate, of the indigenous revenue system, we conclude that villages were grouped together under local officials who were responsible to the State for its demand on the land. The proportion of that demand to the produce must have depended on local customs. Villages were given for the subsistence of court favourites, officials, or priests. That meant only that they enjoyed as their emoluments the revenue that would have gone otherwise to the State. It probably meant no interference with the customary rights and duties of the actual cultivators. The fighters did not till the land,

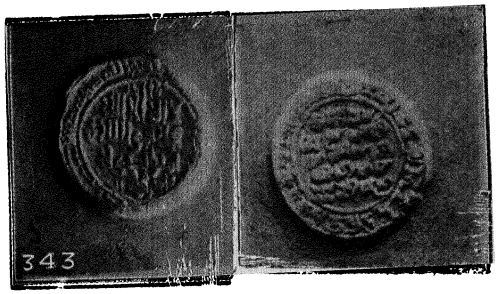


Fig. 12 *To face p. 122*

SILVER COIN OF MAHMUD OF GHAZNI.
OBVERSE, KALIMA IN ARABIC.
REVERSE, SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION

nor had the cultivators any share in military or political activities.

The Ghori conquerors inherited from the Ghaznavis the Province of the Panjab and their rights over the local principalities of Sindh. In Hindustan the three contending Powers were: the Chauhan Kingdom of Prithiraj, which had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the Gaharwar (or Rathor) King of Kanauj; the Kingdom of Kanauj, which included the city of Benares, and claimed some sort of overlordship over the Chandels of Mahoba and other tribes south of the Jamna; and the Mahoba Kingdom, which also had pretensions, which were humbled by the Chauhans of Kanauj. Ajmir was united to the crown of Delhi. Muslim religious influence was already established in Ajmir by the arrival of the Chishti Saint Khwaja Moin-ud-din 27 years before the city fell to the arms of the Ghori Sultan in 1193.

CHAPTER XI.

The Delhi Sultanate.

Muslims conquer Northern India.

The Ghori Brothers.—We saw (Chapter IX) how the dynasty of Ghor superseded the last ruler of the house of Mahmud at Lahore in 1186. The king on the throne was Ghiyas-ud-din Ghori, but his younger brother Shihab-ud-din (who afterwards assumed the title of Moizz-ud-din) was as brave and energetic as the king. The family was very united; there was no rivalry between the brothers; they fought in concert, and when they fought separately, each contributed to the glory of the united family. The Ghoris had a large empire in Persia and Central Asia as well as in the Panjab. Ghiyas-ud-din mainly lived in Ghor and looked after Persia and Central Asia, though his brother helped him there also, while Shihab-ud-din lived in Ghazni and mainly devoted his attention to India.

Shihab-ud-din's first failure.—Shihab-ud-din had first to make good the Ghori position in Sindh before he took Lahore. From Sindh he tried, with indifferent success, to penetrate to Gujarat by the desert route and subjugate that province. But he found this impossible without securing

Lahore, Delhi, and Ajmir, and establishing a reliable line of communications through well-inhabited country where supplies could be obtained for his troops. The capture of Lahore (1186) gave him secure possession of the Panjab with Sindh, and he turned his eyes to the contending kingdoms of Delhi and Kanauj. Prithiraj of Delhi had already triumphed in various battles against his brother Rajputs. The kingdom of Ajmir was also held by his family, and he was helped by many allies against the advancing power of the Ghoris. While Shihab-ud-din organised an expedition to Ajmir, Prithiraj and his allies tried to take him in the rear, and advanced to Bhatinda, which was a Ghori outpost. Shihab-ud-din hastened to relieve his outpost. The Ghori and the Rajput army met (1191) at a village called Tarain, about 14 miles from Thaneshwar. The Ghoris were outflanked, and were in a dangerous position. Shihab-ud-din stuck to his post in the centre, and was so enraged at the advice to seek his own safety in flight that he cut down the messenger and continued to fight against all odds. His army was scattered, and he fell down, faint from loss of blood, but was rescued by one of his faithful servants. The Rajputs were left in possession of the field. They pursued their beaten foe for forty miles and besieged Bhatinda, but did not feel strong enough to threaten Lahore.

Ultimate victory; *Prithiraj killed*; *Ajmir taken.*—Shihab-ud-din had his wounds dressed at Lahore

and retired to Ghazni, where he collected a strong army of Turks and Afghans and resolved to wipe out the disgrace of his defeat. In 1193 he returned to Lahore, determined to meet the Rajputs again on the same ground. The Rajputs, their confidence increased by their former victory, came and brought a greater number of troops than before. The opposing forces met again at Tarain. Shihab-ud-din now followed more cautious tactics. He formed his army in four divisions, and ordered each division to attack the enemy's centre in turn, discharging their arrows and retiring for the advance of a fresh division. These pre-arranged and orderly retreats tired out the Rajputs and made them over-confident. At the end of the day he picked out 12,000 of his best horsemen covered with steel armour. He put himself at their head and charged with such a desperate onslaught that the enemy gave way and panic soon spread in his ranks. The prodigious Rajput army, "once shaken, like a great building, tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins." The battle was decisive. Many Rajput princes were killed, including Prithiraj. The way was now open to Ajmir, which was occupied. But a relation of Prithiraj was appointed as a tributary Raja. Shihab-ud-din returned to Ghazni, leaving his new conquests under the charge of a very remarkable man, his Turki slave and confidential general, Kutb-ud-din Aibak.

Kutb-ud-din Aibak.—Kutb-ud-din had been

brought up in a family of high position in Persia from his childhood. In domestic slavery the slave, if he had talents, had all the advantages of education along with the children of his master. Kutb-ud-din learned the arts of war and peace, and when he came into the household of Shihab-ud-din at Ghazni as a young man, he soon won his way to the highest positions. By his open-handed generosity he became popular with his soldiers; by his frankness, he gained the confidence of his master; by his energy, ability, and reliable character, he made himself indispensable, and was treated by the Ghori, before he died, as his own son. Though he was a general of the Ghori, he was the real founder of the Delhi Sultanate.

Delhi made capital: conquest of Kanauj and Gujarat.—Kutb-ud-din lost no time in consolidating the Muslim Empire in India. He took Meerut and Delhi, and established the seat of his government at Delhi (1193), from which he took the strong fortress of Koel (Aligarh) and extended his conquests all around. Next year Shihab-ud-din returned to India, and Kutb-ud-din co-operated with him in conquering the kingdom of Kanauj-and-Benares. By 1202 he had extended his conquests to Rajputana, Gujarat, Gwalior, Ujjain, Kalpi, Kalinjar, and Budaun.

Muhammad Khalji: how he conquered Bihar.—Meanwhile a bold and impetuous adventurer was winning other kingdoms further east. This was Muhammad the son of Bakhtiyar, of the Khalji

tribe, a Turki tribe which afterwards gave rulers to the Sultanate of Delhi. Muhammad Khalji first sought an opening for himself at the court of Ghazni but was disappointed. He went to Delhi, with no better luck His condition was humble, and his appearance not very attractive. Eventually he found his way to Oudh, where he provided himself with a horse and arms worthy of a warrior, and his gallantry in fight was rewarded with a small estate. His enterprising spirit was not content with such small beginnings. He was in the habit of making raids into the neighbouring kingdom of Bihar, then held by the last feeble Raja of the Pala dynasty. His fame soon spread abroad; many adventurers of his Khalji tribe joined him. Once he took two hundred horsemen, suddenly appeared before the fortress of Bihar, and attacked it. This must have been, as the word Bihar implies, a Buddhist monastery near modern Patna. The Palas in this corner still kept up some remnant of a corrupt form of Buddhism. Among the Khalji's troops were two men of learning following the profession of arms. They attacked the front gate, while the Khalji leader attacked by the back gate. They won the fortress. This must have been about the year 1197-8. The whole Province of Bihar now yielded without a struggle.

Conquest of Bengal.—The Khalji chief now visited Kutb-ud-din Aibak at Delhi, and placed the new conquests at the disposal of the vice-

gerent of the Ghori power. Kutb-ud-din treated him with great distinction, and bestowed high honours upon him. But envious and jealous rivals made fun of this uncouth long-handed warrior, and he had to give an exhibition of his personal prowess. He undertook to fight an elephant single-handed, and with one blow of his mace on his trunk, disabled him. His detractors were silenced, but this careless soldier gave away all the gifts which he had received, and increased his following. He went back to Bihar and collected troops for the invasion of Bengal. The Raja's capital was at Nadia (near the modern Krishnagar, about 62 miles north of Calcutta). So great was the haste with which the Khalji marched that he left his troops far behind him, and only eighteen horsemen were with him when he appeared, travel-worn, before Nadia. The people of the city thought they were horse-dealers, but they went boldly to the palace and commenced the attack The Raja was seated luxuriously at his meal, with dishes of gold and silver before him. There was hardly any resistance. When the Khalji's troops arrived in good time, he with their assistance subdued the country around, and established his capital a little further up the country, and nearer to Bihar, at a place called Lakhnauti (in the modern District of Malda). This place, also known by the name of Gaur, was then on the Ganges, and still contains some magnificent ruins of Indo-Muslim architecture. The exact

date of the conquest of Bengal is not clear, but it may be placed at about 1199-1200.

Fruitless expedition to the Himalayas.—Even now the restless spirit of the Khalji was not satisfied. He heard of the mountains and the country of Tibet to the north, and prepared an expedition for conquests in that direction. The Raja of Assam tried to dissuade him from this course, or at least pleaded for more preparations and a year's delay. But the Khalji with characteristic inpetuosity pushed on. They marched on for fifteen days through passes and hilly country, and found themselves in difficulties among a hostile population. Many of their men were killed, and they and their horses were in danger of dying of starvation. They tried to retreat, but none in that force returned alive, except the Khalji leader, and he is said to have died soon afterwards of shame and grief, or been assassinated, about 1205-6. Thus ended a reckless adventure, but Bengal and Bihar remained as his gift to the Delhi Empire.

The Slave Kings.

Delhi Sultanate established.—Let us return to the fortunes of Kutb-ud-din and his master Shihab-ud-din. About 1203 Shihab-ud-din ascended the throne at Ghazni on the death of his brother. He returned to the Panjab about 1205, but was assassinated in 1206, about the same time that the Khalji lost his life in distant Bengal. By

his express wish Kutb-ud-din was recognised as ruler of the Indian territory, and Shihab-ud-din's successors also recognised him and conferred on him the title of Sultan. Kutb-ud-din assumed his new dignity of sovereignty in the royal city of Lahore, and continued to live there in order to meet any dangers from Ghazni, where the Ghori power was divided and weakened. But Delhi remained his capital. He died in 1210, leaving the Delhi Sultanate firmly established all over Northern India, from Sindh to the Bay of Bengal.

Sultan Altamish.—It must not be supposed that this vast territory always remained united and loyal to Delhi, but whenever there was a strong Sultan he tried to enforce his authority all over this area, either direct or through feudatory rulers. Distant Bengal continued to be ruled by Khalji chiefs, and Sindh by its Governor, who however showed some signs of independence. The Panjab was a bone of contention between Delhi, Sindh, and the invaders from the north-west, among whom the Mongols now became very troublesome. Shams-ud-din Altamish (or Iltamish), who had married a daughter of Kutb-ud-din, was on the Delhi throne from 1211 to 1236. He was a vigorous ruler, and made his arms respected in all directions. He was one of the Turki slaves who had been purchased by Kutb-ud-din. His handsome presence, good manners, intelligence, tact, and bravery had advanced him from one position to another, until he became a governor of a pro-

vince, and, after Kutb-ud-din's death, Sultan of Delhi. We need not follow his various feats of arms, taking fortresses and subduing rebel governors or feudatories. In his reign, about 1221-2, the famous Mongol leader Jenghiz Khan invaded Peshawar, but he did not penetrate further. The Mongols henceforth continued to be a terror to India. Sultan Altamish was a great builder, and has left many architectural remains in old Delhi and elsewhere.

Sultan Raziya.—Sultan Altamish had many sons, but they were worthless and dissolute, and he intended his daughter to succeed him. She was his eldest child, and from early age had shown, like her mother, high spirits, understanding, and a capacity to rule. The nobles of the Court demurred to her succession, but after two of her brothers were tried and found wanting, she ascended the throne as Sultan Raziya. During the three and a half years of her rule (1236—1239) she did not belie her reputation. She encouraged learning, and took an interest in a college in Delhi. She was just, and tried to restore the laws and customs which had been thrown into confusion by her brothers. She appeared among the people and even went out fighting battles. But she was before her time. The opposition to her was strong, including that of her own Wazir. Many jealous factions were formed, and one of the leaders took possession of her person and married her, to strengthen his own claims. In the

midst of these disputes and troubles she was murdered.

Balban.—We need not follow the other sons and grandsons who succeeded Altamish. The last of the Slave Kings we shall notice was Ghiyas-ud-din Balban. He was one of twenty-four Turki slaves of Altamish, who had formed a sort of confederacy to divide his empire among them. They had not succeeded in this object, but many of them attained high positions of authority, and Balban became Sultan himself. He was well-descended, being a son of the chief of a Turki tribe, the same tribe to which Altamish belonged. In the Mongol wars he was taken prisoner and sold into slavery. He was brought to Persia, and his master hearing that a tribesman of his was on the throne of Delhi, brought him to Altamish, who redeemed him with a liberal reward to the master. Balban had a handsome presence, and rose to high offices in the reign of Altamish and in subsequent reigns. He married a daughter of Altamish, and in the long reign of his brother-in-law Nasir-ud-din (1246—1266) he carried on the entire government as Wazir. On Nasir-ud-din's death, he naturally succeeded to the throne. His reign (1266—1286) was but a prolongation of his rule as Wazir. He was a strong ruler, and his alliance was sought by the kings of Persia and Central Asia. He was drastic in his punishments, and modelled his conduct on four principles which he said he had learnt from Altamish. Kings,

said that monarch, were too apt to conduct themselves as if they were gods on earth, contrary to the ordinances of prophets and of religion; whereas they ought (1) to assume dignity, never forgetting the majesty of God or the happiness of their subjects, (2) to forbid public immorality and indecency on pain of heavy punishment, (3) to select only men of noble character for offices of government, and (4) to be patient and wise in the administration of justice.

A cultured Court.—He kept great state in his capital, and had more than fifteen Princes, dispossessed by the Mongols, as his pensioners in Delhi. With them came some of the most illustrious men of learning from the Muslim world. A society of learned men assembled frequently at the house of the king's eldest son, at which Amir Khusrau the poet presided. Khusrau was given the rank of a noble, purely for literary distinction. Another society of musicians, dancers, actors, and story-tellers frequently met at the house of the king's second son. The nobles followed these examples, and various societies were formed in every quarter of the city. The king's taste for splendour in his palaces, equipages, and liveries was imitated by the courtiers.*

Mongol invasions.—Meanwhile the invasions of the Mongols had become more and more frequent and dangerous. In 1241-2 they had sacked

*Quoted from Briggs's Ferishta, I, 251-2.

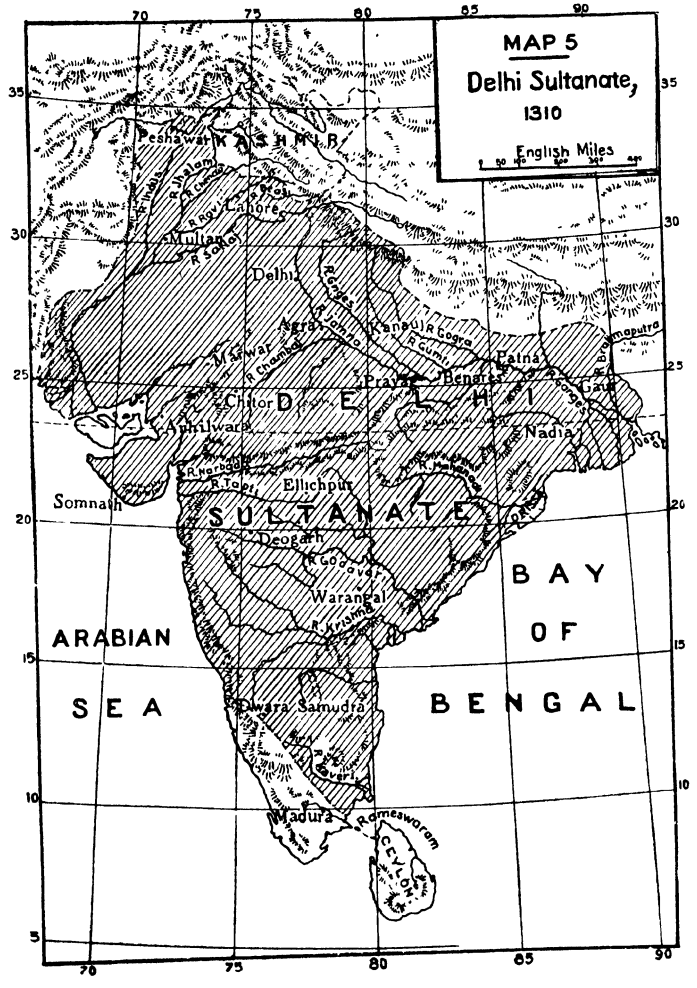
Lahore. Many of them settled down in India and adopted Islam. Near Delhi itself they shortly afterwards established colonies, and some of them were enlisted in the Sultan's army. For some generations afterwards they figure as ringleaders in mutinies, rebellions, and disorders. The incursions of the Mongols continued from the north-west, and in fighting one of these the heir-apparent of the throne of Delhi was killed, and the poet Amir Khusrau was taken prisoner. Sultan Balban died of grief and old age, 1286. His grandson, who succeeded him, was a dissolute boy, and mostly in the hands of his Wazir. He was killed after a short and inglorious reign. The succession now rested in the hands of military leaders. They fought among themselves. The Khalji party won, and proclaimed Jalal-ud-din Khalji as Sultan.

Deccan added to the Empire.

Khalji Sultans (*1290—1321*).—The Khaljis were a Turki tribe settled in Afghanistan. We saw that a Khalji conquered Bihar and Bengal in the time of Kutb-ud-din Aibak, and that the Khalji nobles held power in Bengal for some time afterwards. Other Khaljis held power in other parts of India, and their party won the upper hand in the disputes which followed the strong reign of Balban. Jalal-ud-din Khan, who was called to the throne as the leader of the winning military party, was himself not a man of personal

ambition. He was already 70 years of age when he ascended the throne, and he retained the simplicity of his life during the five years (1290—1295) that he held supreme power. His rule was mild and gentle, and perhaps weak. One of his inscriptions shows his character. On a rest-house which he built, he inscribed a verse to this effect: "What fame can I acquire from raising this rude mass of masonry? No, I have united these broken stones together, in order that, under their shade, the weary traveller or broken-hearted pilgrim may find repose and offer up his blessing." But he had a nephew Ala-ud-din, who was strong and ambitious, a man of ideas and a man of action. Unfortunately he was also without scruples, for he treacherously murdered his uncle to obtain the throne, (1295).

Ala-ud-din Khalji.—Ala-ud-din was the one strong Sultan of the house of Khalji, and in spite of his personal crimes, he stands out in history as a capable ruler, in whose early reign there was general prosperity and good government, judged by the standards of those days. While he was a prince, he was Governor of Karrah (now in Allahabad District). He used that town as the base for various expeditions into Bundelkhand and Malwa, by which he increased both his army and his resources. Without consulting his uncle the king, he made a dash into the Deccan with 8,000 horsemen, and took Deogiri (now Daulatabad), 1294. The Raja of Deogiri was reputed to be


MAP 5
Delhi Sultanate,
1310
English Miles
KASHMIR
Peshawar
Lahore
Multan
Delhi
Agra
Kanauj
Patna
Bengal
Malwar
Chitor
Anhilwara
Nadia
Somnath
Ellichpur
SULTANATE
Deogarh
Warangal
Dwara Samudra
Madura
Rameswaram
CEYLON
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY
OF
BENGAL
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
5

the principal ruler of the Deccan. Gold and precious stones were common in the Deccan, and Ala-ud-din was able to take vast treasures back with him to Upper India, to which he returned by way of Malwa, 1295. During his reign of 21 years (1295—1316) he showed the same vigour in warfare and administration as had distinguished him in his youth. He was constantly taking fortresses, quelling rebellions, punishing refractory feudatories, and adding large areas to the direct administration of the Delhi Sultanate. The Deccan, which he had been the first to subjugate, claimed a large part of his attention By 1309-10 he had brought practically the whole of India (with the exception of the Malabar coast) within the influence of the Delhi Empire, including Gujarat in the west, Orissa in the east, and Rameshwar in the south, where a mosque was built. These conquests had however, to be supported by a constant show of power, and numerous and repeated expeditions

Mongols at Delhi.—Early in his reign (about 1298) he had to meet a serious Mongol invasion that threatened Delhi itself. His army had failed to stop the Mongol rush through the Panjab. The king himself had to fight an action near Delhi with large forces, and defeat them. They were treated with great severity. Many of the Mongols settled down in India, but they were a source of disorder. The invasions still continued, and a strong government was always needed to keep

the Mongol danger in check.

Ala-ud-din's ideas.—Ala-ud-din started life as an illiterate man, but he felt the disadvantages of his position and the contempt in which he was held by the learned men at his Court. He applied himself to private study with his characteristic vigour, and with considerable success. He took up large ideas, and was interested in the discussion of questions of public law. About his horrible punishments the Qazis could never bring him to see that "all that thou doest is contrary to law." And indeed he looked upon learned men as mostly "hypocrites and rogues," and considered that religion had no connection with civil government. He had however an overweening confidence in his own royal judgment, as he thought that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men. And though he did not wish to be shackled in State policy by the religious law, he wished (like Akbar after him) to make the king the supreme authority in the interpretation of religion, a dangerous policy from which he was dissuaded by his courageous City Kotwal.

Economic Projects.—In his economic projects he had his own way. He regulated trade; tried to bring imports and exports under control; and fixed the prices for the sale of all commodities. He did not believe in the unequal distribution of wealth, and tried to fleece wealthy men, and to strangle wholesale trade. He kept up and remodelled a large army, but reduced the soldier's

pay, and tried to lower the cost of living by fixing prices. It is impossible to suppose that such drastic ideas could be carried out over his large empire. Even in the city of Delhi it is doubtful how far they could be enforced; and if they were enforced, whether they did not altogether fail in their object. But on these points we have no sufficient material for definite judgment.

Malik Kafur.—For his warfare in the Deccan he had found a eunuch called Malik Kafur useful, and late in his reign the king fell under his influence. Kafur was clever, ambitious, and unscrupulous. His ambitions were supposed to aspire to the throne itself. Probably he did not trust the king, but used his apparent favour for his own interests, and the king in his turn really did not trust him but used his services for advancing his own purposes. Kafur sowed dissensions between the king and his queen and sons. The king died in the midst of bitter family feuds (1316), which left the kingdom a prey to anarchy. Kafur was assassinated; many members of Ala-ud-din's family were killed; a son of his, who was raised to the throne, wasted his time in profligacy, and shared the fate of the rest of the family. The Khalji house having been destroyed, it fell to another military commander to restore some sort of order to the Sultanate. This was Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, whose line ruled in Delhi for less than a century (1321—1398), after which it was overthrown by Taimur's invasion.

Tughluq Sultans.—Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, also known as Tughluq Shah (1321—1325), was a military commander of the Turki tribe of Tughluq. His mother was a Jat. During the Khalji anarchy he had been Governor of the Panjab, and with his hardy troops from that Province, he had no difficulty in overcoming all opposition at Delhi. In many subsequent disorders in Delhi it was always the Panjab Governor, when he happened to be a capable man, that was able to re-establish authority. Tughluq Shah had no ambition for himself. He was a loyal servant of the house of Khalji, and was willing to resign power in favour of any surviving member of that house, and failing such a survivor, in favour of any worthy and proper person whom the commanders might elect. The commanders with one accord elected Tughluq Shah. He had for many years stood as a barrier in the Panjab between the Mongols and Hindustan, and he had now restored peace and order. He sought to repair the wounds of the State by kindness and good management. He reduced taxation and took measures to increase cultivation. Against rebellions in the south and fresh Mongol raids from the north-west he took judicious military measures. The distant eastern Province of Bengal he freed from oppression. His power was thrown into the shade by his wisdom: according to Amir Khusrau's epigram, he wore a hundred doctors' hoods under his crown. He died in the sudden collapse of a ceremonial tent of entertain-

ment. Suspicion pointed to foul play on the part of his son and heir Muhammad Tughluq, who succeeded him But the latter had many detractors, and we cannot be sure how far the suspicion was justified.

Muhammad Tughluq.—The character of Sultan Muhammad Shah Tughluq (1325—1351) has puzzled historians as it puzzled his contemporaries. He was one of the most accomplished Princes that ever sat on a throne. In elegance of style and beauty of thought he surpassed poets and literary men. He had read history deeply, and could converse on more than equal terms with the physicians and men of science of his day. But he was cruel, and shed much innocent blood. Perhaps philosophy had made him a hard-hearted cynic. He was hospitable to strangers, and took great pains to maintain an efficient administration. The lavishness of his gifts was proverbial, and yet he was capricious and attached very few friends to him by the bonds of devotion and fidelity. Some of his ideas were original and far-reaching, but in practice they produced disaster. In his reign the Delhi Sultanate reached its zenith; but various parts of it began to break away, and a number of important local kingdoms were formed, independent of Delhi. Some of these kingdoms we shall review in a later chapter.

His schemes.—Among his visionary projects was the conquest of China and of Persia. Among his economic reforms were: the abolition of trade

imposts and the use of copper token money in imitation of the paper money of China; these were neutralised by heavy taxation on land, and the depreciation of his currency. He tried to change his capital from Delhi to Daulatabad in the south, but the change was ordered with so little plan and foresight that it produced nothing but distress. It would be unprofitable to follow the story of the numerous rebellions and the marches and counter-marches which the Sultan took in fighting them, until he died in Sindh in 1351.

Firoz Tughluq.—He was succeeded on the throne by his nephew Firoz Shah Tughluq (1351—1388), who inherited his capacity for business but not his suspicious and capricious character. He was called to the throne as an experienced and popular administrator by the voice of the nobles, as the first Tughluq had been. He was well served by two able ministers, and he carried out a large programme of public works, including irrigation tanks, irrigation dams, mosques, colleges, caravanserais, endowed hospitals, public baths, and bridges, besides many improvements in his capital at Delhi. Some of his buildings still remain. He abolished cruel punishments, lightened the tax on land, and made his people prosperous. He carried out a State scheme for finding employment for all who were without employment, according to their wishes or abilities. He died at the advanced age of ninety (1388).

Decline of the Sultanate.

After Firoz Shah there was no Tughluq ruler of any eminence. The Delhi Sultanate began to shrink in area and power, and local kingdoms began to acquire more and more importance. The invasion of Taimur in 1398 gave the finishing touch to the destruction of Delhi as a sovereign power in Hindustan, although the nominal Sultanate continued for over a century and a quarter.

Taimur and his Mughals.—We have seen how wave after wave of Mongol invasions had come into India from the earliest days of the Sultanate; how some of these Mongols had become Muslims, and had settled down in India; how they had scattered into all parts of India and formed a turbulent element in the mercenary armies and the faction fights that broke out now and again. In Central Asia itself and in countries east and west, the Mongols had founded great empires, which however did not endure. In the armies of the Mongols were enlisted the various races of their composite empire The Turks of Central Asia were mixed up with them, and intermarriages between noble Turkish and Mongolian families had produced the Chaghtai race which was predominantly Turkish, but which, as it led the Mughals into India, is called Mughal.* At the

*Originally "Mongol" and "Mughal" are the same word, but it is convenient to specialise "Mughal" to mean the race of Taimur and Babar, which founded the Mughal Empire in India.

end of the 14th century the Mughal chief Taimur had acquired great power in Central Asia. Hearing of the disorders in India and receiving the appeals of discontented factions, he sent out an advance expedition to Multan under his grandson, and himself followed in 1398 at the age of 60.

Taimur in Delhi.—From Multan he marched to Delhi. He was specially severe on Jats, who, he notes in his Memoirs, "were Muslims only in name, and had not their equals in theft and highway robbery." "It was my fixed determination," he adds, "to clear from thieves and robbers every country that I subdued, so that the servants of God, and Musalmans and travellers might be secure from their violence." The feeble Tughluq did not come out to meet the invader in the field of Panipat. Taimur reached Delhi, and had to pick out a convenient plain in which to give battle. His army had heard vague stories about the terror of elephants in Indian warfare. He carefully instructed them about the fighting, relying on his long experience of warfare. The actual fighting was not desperate. The city was easily taken. But the Turks were exasperated by the resistance offered after the city was captured. The whole army got beyond control, and killed, plundered, and made prisoners. The Tughluq fled, and Taimur was proclaimed Emperor of India.

Sayyids and Lodis; *Babar.*—Taimur soon left, and the Tughluq returned, but power had departed

from the line of Delhi. India had broken up into a number of local States. Four generations of Saiyids ruled in Delhi from 1414 to 1450. Taimur had died in 1405, and the power of his own descendants had grown weak in Central Asia. They certainly could not control Hindustan. An Afghan general of the Panjab, of the tribe of Lodi, seized power at Delhi in 1450, and held with it the Panjab and a great part of the present United Provinces. His name was Bahlol Lodi (1450—1489). His son Sikandar (1489—1517) inherited his vigour and increased the power of Delhi. But Sikandar's son and successor, Ibrahim Lodi (1517—1526) was cruel and vindictive, and his own Afghan nobles sent an invitation to Babar to come and conquer India. Babar was a direct descendant (in the fifth generation) of Taimur. Taimur's family had been divided into several branches. One of these branches was now strong in the person of Babar, who after a chequered career had made himself master of Kabul. He considered India as a lost ancestral kingdom of his, and when the Panjab Afghans invited him, he gladly accepted the invitation and took Lahore in 1524. For the time being he returned to Kabul. The story of his march to Delhi for the empire of Hindustan will be told in a later chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

State of India under the Delhi Sultanate.

Theoretical Muslim State.—The character of the early Sultans of Delhi was that of rough warriors fighting the battles of religion. The centre of Muslim authority was still supposed to be at Baghdad until its sack by the Mongols in 1258. The Muslim Empire was supposed in theory to be one, and any new territory conquered for Islam was supposed to be added to that empire. As new Amirs, Kings, or Sultans arose in different parts of the empire, they were supposed nominally to hold their power under the Khalifa, and looked to him for the legal source of their authority. In India, when the Turki slaves effected their conquests, they acted for a power seated at Ghazni, which was itself dependent on another power, which held directly of the Khalifa. The Khalji conquest of Bengal meant delegated authority in the fourth degree,—Bengal depended on Delhi, Delhi on Ghazni, Ghazni on Ghor, and Ghor on Baghdad. This meant that the actual power in India represented the act of conquest only. The building up of institutions and jurisprudence and the interpretation of law were in an authority outside India.

Actual political conditions in India.—In practice

this state of affairs did not last long. The character of the Turki conquerors under the influence of Persian civilisation and Muslim law, with certain reactions from local conditions in India, gradually produced Court traditions and political and administrative conditions that became specialised to India. The destruction, by the Mongols, of the Muslim Kingdoms in Central Asia and Persia, which then included Iraq and a great part of Western Asia, further tended to decentralise power in Islam, and make the Delhi Sultanate really independent in culture and institutions, as it was from the beginning in politics and military power. When the dispossessed kings of Islam collected in India, as they did in the Court of Ala-ud-din Khalji, and brought their thinkers and learned men to India, it looked for a time as if India would become the focus of Islamic civilisation. But there were many reasons why this expectation was not realised First the Delhi Sultanate was never for long in a state of settled peace and prosperity, in which institutions could grow up and thrive, and make new contributions to progress. Secondly, the growth of independent Muslim Kingdoms out of the Sultanate, without any co-ordinating authority, introduced a great deal of local variety in Indian Muslim civilisation, as is evidenced by the variety in the character of the architecture and literature that were produced in these local kingdoms. Thirdly, the Mongol invasions did not leave India alone, although

India was considerably sheltered from the great destructive onslaughts of the Mongol armies. It was when the Mongols themselves were altered in character to Mughals under Turkish leadership, and the Mughal Empire was firmly established in India, that we see the growth of an intelligent and well-directed policy that tended to the formation of national institutions.

Land Revenue and economic conditions.—In the matter of revenue administration the complex variety of local and tribal customs in India forced itself on the attention of the Sultanate quite early in its career. Whenever the Sultanate had an able ruler or minister, he devoted his attention to the question of reducing the assessments to a system and improving the machinery for the collection of revenue. In other matters the government did not interfere much with the lives of the people. But in revenue administration they touched intimately the bed-rock foundations of the economic life of rural India. Grain collections of the revenue on land were frequent, and there were state granaries for normal times as well for relief in cases of famine. There are records of famines, but they seem to have been local in area. Measures of famine relief were organised systematically, and grain was served out from State granaries according to rules. Relief Registers were maintained, and officers appointed who were responsible for separate local areas.

Trade and Industry.—The fiscal policy of the

State was often revised. The tendency was for a number of local imposts to grow up and hamper trade. Every fiscal reformer tried to sweep these away. There was a good deal of foreign trade, by sea as well as by land on the north-west frontier. Artisans in towns were specially looked after by the State, just as the protection of cultivators and increase in cultivation were considered the tests of good government in the country-side.

Employment, civil and military.—A state system of employment for the unemployed was tried by Firoz Tughluq, whose extensive public works programme must also have opened out a large field for employment. The Treasury under Ala-ud-din gave loans to poor merchants to finance imports. Strangers of distinction were welcomed, and their talent used for the benefit of the State. On the other hand idle and casual visitors were discouraged, and bonds were taken in the time of Muhammad Shah Tughluq from visitors that they would settle and live in India. The local recruitment for armies was supplemented by recruitment from among the war-like races from outside India, after severe tests of marksmanship and riding. The Sultanate used elephants in its warfare, but it chiefly relied on its cavalry and archers.

Prices and wages.—An interesting glimpse into the state of prices is afforded by the account of Ala-ud-din's attempt to fix them. The conversion of the old weights, quantities and moneys into

precise modern equivalents is not easy, but the following may be taken as rough approximations. A ser (80 tolas) of wheat cost about 2 annas, of barley 1 anna, of gram or unhusked rice about 1.25 anna. *Urad* or *moth* in the husk cost about ¾ of an anna per ser. While grain was comparatively dear, sugar, ghi, and salt were very cheap. Sugar-candy cost 1.7 annas per ser of 80 tolas; coarse red sugar or gur only 0.4 anna; ghi the same price as gur; and salt could be bought at six sers for an anna. Of cloth many kinds were on the market, which it is difficult to identify. A kind of silk called *Chir* (best quality) cost about sixteen rupees per piece (length and width not mentioned). Fine cotton cloth cost only about a rupee for 15 yards (of 36 inches), while of coarse cotton, a rupee could purchase as many as 38 yards. Good horses were (as always) mainly imported. An average good class horse cost about a hundred and fifty rupees, while fancy prices might be paid for special horses. An inferior quality of animal might fetch as little as sixty-five rupees. The scale of wages can be judged from the pay of troopers in the army. They were divided into three classes, accordingly to the quality of the horse they provided, and they were expected to meet the keep of the horse from their pay. The pay varied from about 88 rupees to about 156 rupees per annum, which gives only Rs. 13 per month for the first class trooper. In Bengal the cost of living was very

cheap. That part of the country was reputed as a land of plenty and prosperity.

Communications.—The communications were fairly good, but escorts were needed for the safety of travellers on the roads. Free hostelries were maintained on the main roads for the comfort and entertainment of wayfarers. An efficient system of newswriters was maintained for keeping the central authority well informed on all that was going on. The account of the post or dak maintained by the Sultan shows that speed was valued in communications. There was an ordinary dak, and there was an express dak, which is estimated to have covered over 140 miles a day. The Sultan's table at Delhi was supplied with fresh fruit from the frontier, and when he was in the Deccan, Ganges water was supplied to him regularly. Boat communication was used freely in Sindh and also in Bengal. We may presume that the Ganges and the Jamna were the main high-ways between west and east.

Wedding and other customs.—It is doubtful whether the foreign Muslims brought many women with them. Many of them married Indian women. This was the case not only among princes for reasons of State, but also among soldiers, religious dignitaries, and preachers. The result was that Indian customs came largely to prevail in Muslim families, not only of Indian but of foreign origin. This was specially noticeable with regard to marriage customs. Early marriages

came to be looked on without disfavour. The celebration of the wedding ceremonies was extended over several days or weeks, unlike the simple Muslim ceremony of *Nikah*. The preparations sometimes took as long as three years, and omens were taken from Brahmans and astrologers. Dancing, singing, and juggling shows became part of the celebration. The bridegroom's veil was adopted as a recognised custom in the Tughluq Court, much to the scandal of an Arab bridegroom who was married in the royal family. In the wedding reception tents, the decorations included pictures of animal life, images of horses, and other things disapproved by the Ulama. Elephant processions marched through streets, and pearls and jewels were waved round the parties' heads and scattered among the crowds to ward off the evil eye. The parties to the contract were not even consulted, as was required as an essential of marriage in the Muslim law. Apart from the superstitions and extravagances of marriage customs, moralists raised their voices against the evils of drink and the vice of indulgence in elephant fights.

Thought and Literature.—Although the structure of Court society was ecclesiastical, there was considerable freedom of thought among the poets and learned men. Amir Khusrau (1253—1325) was one of the greatest writers of the period, and indeed of all time. He was of Turki origin, but was born in Patiala in the Panjab. He was a disciple

of Nizam-ud-din Auliya, near whose tomb in Delhi he lies buried. He was a voluminous writer in Persian, with very advanced Sufi ideas, which spread very rapidly in India and reached the masses through the numerous endowments and preachers scattered all over the country, some of whom were visited by the Moorish traveller Ibn Batuta. A reflex of similar ideas is to be found in the great theist preachers of India, Ramanand, Kabir, and Guru Nanak. Amir Khusrau is credited with having written some Hindi books in addition to his Persian works. His works are a source of useful historical information. There are also professed writers of history during the period. The Muslims were fond of writing histories or chronicles.

Amir Khusrau: his love of India.—Amir Khusrau does not write of India as a foreigner, but as one identified with the country and in love with many of its institutions. Of the language of India, which we must take to be the literary language, Sanskrit,* he writes with great enthusiasm. He insists that this language is in no way of less importance than Persian. Like Arabic it is a pure and unmixed language, and its rules of grammar are fixed and symmetrical. Great is its power of expression. If people deny its beauty, we can only excuse their ignorance, as

*When he calls it "Hindi," it is as an adjective from Hind, equivalent to "Indian."

we might excuse the ignorance of "those who have not seen the Ganges and boast of the Nile or the Euphrates." The silk stuffs produced in the Deccan are praised with a poet's fervour. The fruits and flowers of India compare favourably with those of other lands. The mangoes of this country yield in no way in flavour to the figs of the west. In fact, says the poet, India is a paradise on earth. Such sentiments in a very popular Musalman poet of the time show the spirit of contemporary literature and the attitude of the people whose spokesman he is.

Hindu Philosophy: Vaishnava movement.—The more orthodox Hindu revival of the period is shown in the philosophical works of Madhava and Sayana who flourished (about 1380) in the kingdom of Vijayanagar in the Deccan. The various schools of Hindu philosophy were reviewed from the point of view of each school, but a great impetus was given to the great Vaishnava movement, which had so much in common with the Sufi doctrines of Islam.

Architecture in Delhi.—In architecture we have every stage of the Muslim architecture of the period represented in old Delhi. The Kutb Minar is a noble tower of victory, with the names of Shihab-ud-din and Kutb-ud-din Aibak inscribed on the lower stage and that of Altamish on the three higher stages. Some of the work reminds us of the beautiful palace of the Alhambra in Spain. The great mosque near the Kutb was

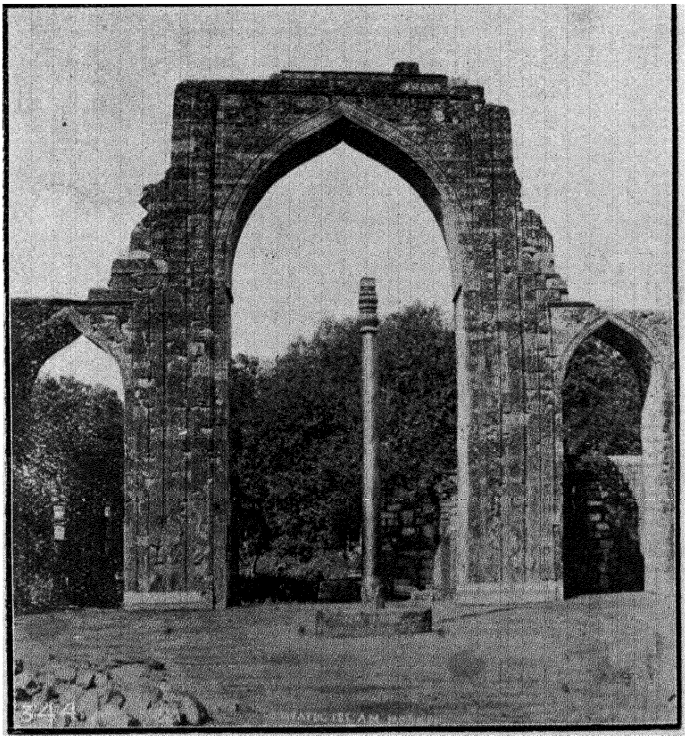


Fig. 13 *To face p. 162*

ARCH OF KUWAT-UL-ISLAM
MOSQUE, KUTB, DELHI

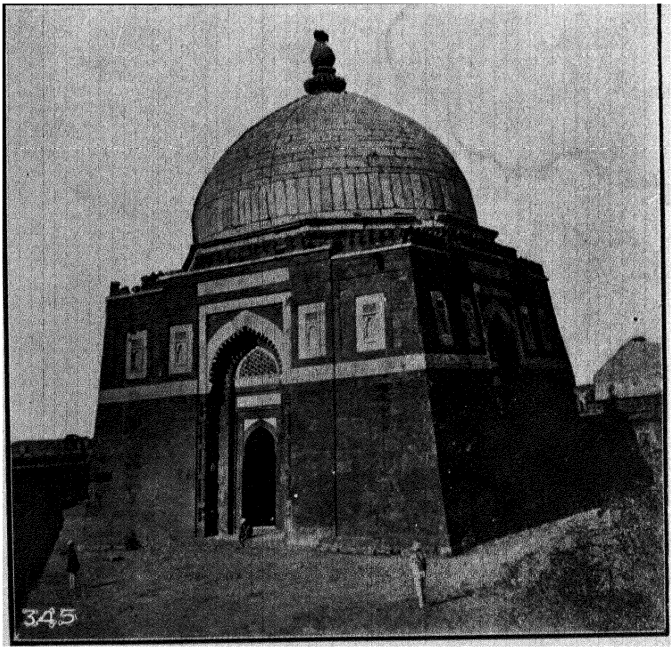


Fig. 14

To face p. 163

TUGHLUQ SHAH'S TOMB.
OLD DELHI

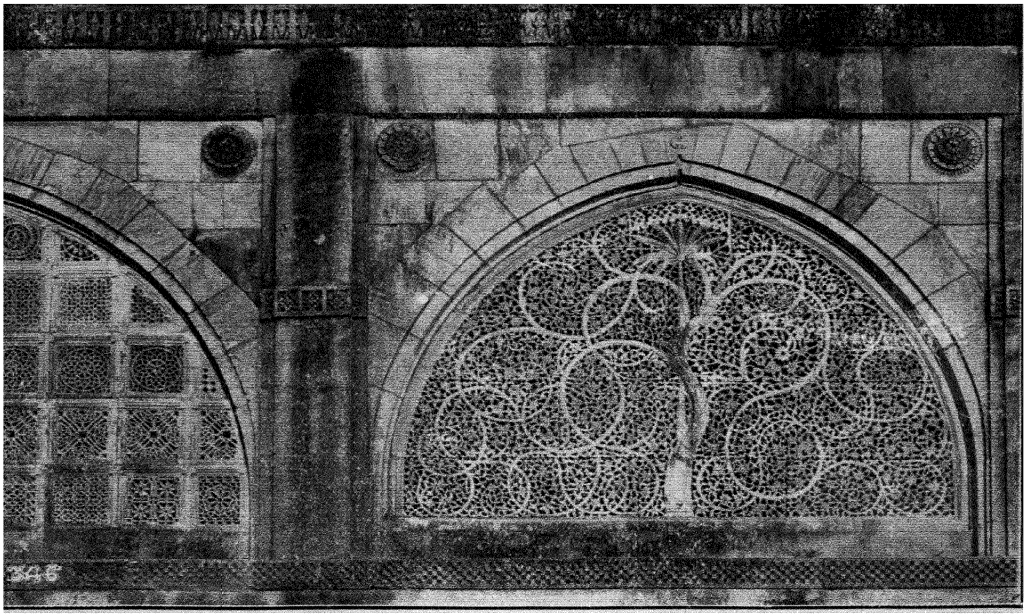


Fig. 15 *To face p. 163*

PERFORATED WINDOW IN SIDI SAIYID'S MASJID, AHMADABAD

VIEW FROM WEST

commenced by Kutb-ud-din and may be compared with the screen of seven arches, dating from the same time, in the mosque in Ajmir. Altamish's work is found not only in Ajmir and Delhi, but also in Budaun, where he was governor before he became Sultan. In many respects these early buildings have much of the grace and lightness of Saracenic architecture, while the style became much heavier in Tughluq times, as seen in the tomb of Tughluq Shah (see fig. 14). The tombs of the Saiyid and Lodi Kings (near Safdar Jang's tomb), with fine domes and beautiful plaster ornamentation inside, show the characteristics of the late fifteenth century, from which the more perfect specimens of Mughal architecture were developed later.

Local architecture in other centres of Muslim culture—But each of the independent centres of Muslim culture in India produced beautiful architecture of its own. Ahmadabad has a beautiful Jami Masjid built by the fonder of the city Ahmad Shah about 1424 In Sidi Saiyid's mosque in that city is found that exquisite piece of pierced stonework, which compels the admiration of every visitor (fig. 15). The *Sharqi* architecture of Jaunpur belongs to the 15th century, and shows massive and well-designed gateways. In Bengal, the ruins of Gaur are not well preserved, but enough remains to show a distinctive style of local Muslim architecture. Mandu, the ancient capital of Malwa (now in Dhar State), has some

beautiful ruins of the 15th century, of which the style is similar to that of the period in Delhi.

Deccan architecture.—The Bahmani Kingdom in the Deccan (see Chapter XIII) took great pride in architecture. Its first capital Gulbarga (now in Hyderabad State) profited greatly in architecture from the catholic tastes of Firoz Shah Bahmani who ruled from 1397 to 1422. This king held the ports of Goa and Chaul (near Bombay) on the western coast: his access to the sea enabled him to invite men of talent from the most distant parts of the globe, and he had a taste for the arts and sciences. The Jami Masjid built by him at Gulbarga is the only mosque in India entirely covered with a roof, and is said to have been built in imitation of a mosque in Spain. Bidar, the second capital of the Bahmani Kingdom, is in a more secluded position among the hills. But the ruins of the famous College of the minister Khwaja Mahmud Gawan (built about 1471), with its coloured enamel tiles, show the contemporary taste not only in art but in education. The kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, which were among those that arose on the ruins of the Bahmani Kingdom, had also some notable architecture, but it belongs to a later period.

CHAPTER XIII.

Independent kingdoms carved out of the Delhi Sultanate.

Kingdoms in Northern India.

Break-up of Delhi Sultanate.—We saw how rapidly the Delhi Empire spread in Northern India under Kutb-ud-din and his lieutenants early in the thirteenth century. In about a century more that empire had stretched itself to the Deccan, and its influence was paramount in the whole of India. But the conquests had been those of individual adventurers and were not knit together by permanent institutions. The bond of religion in Islam was certainly strong, but the heterogeneous racial elements, Turki, Persian, Afghan, Arab, and Muslim Indian, had not been brought into a coherent union, and frequently broke up into factions. In the state of communications then existing, and the very slight bonds of political solidarity between the factions, it could scarcely be expected that distant chiefs would loyally carry out a central policy. The temptation was great to break away from any power which could not effectually control them. This was even noticed in the case of blood relatives separated by distance and divergence of interests. The Delhi Em-

pire therefore rapidly broke up into various local kingdoms, which soon identified themselves with local interests. These kingdoms themselves were of considerable size and importance. With very few exceptions they were Musalman Kingdoms. They fought, each with its neighbours, and sometimes made combinations to hem in a powerful State from all sides. They in their turn sometimes broke up into smaller units, or were incorporated in other units The rapid political changes will be realised by a comparison of maps 5 and 6. In 1310 the Delhi Empire had just brought the whole country under its sway. By 1398 India was broken up into numerous kingdoms, and the Delhi Sultanate was just left with some territory in Upper India. It was left for the Mughals, and after them, the British, to re-unite India.

Why Panjab and Sindh formed no independent kingdoms.—The Panjab was on the high road between Delhi and the north-west frontier, from which fresh invasions always poured in, to disturb the balance of power in India. The Panjab therefore always remained with Delhi, as its conqueror usually marched into Delhi and established himself there. Sindh, in the absence of naval power, usually went with the Panjab, except for petty local principalities that are not worth considering in the broad stream of Indian history. Sindh only communicates easily by land with the Panjab. From the rest of India it is cut off by the great desert. That is why the Panjab and Sindh formed


MAP 6
Independent Kingdoms, 1400, after Taimur's Invasion
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
Kabul
Peshawar
KASHMIR
Jammu
Lahore
Multan
DELHI
SULTANATE
Delhi
Meerut
SINDH
Jaunpur
Benares
Prayag
Gaur
MALWA
Ujjain
GUJARAT
Junagarh
Daulatabad
BAHMANI
KINGDOMS
Warangal
Bidar
Gulbarga
GONDWANA
BENGAL
ARABIAN
SEA
Goa
Vijayanagar
VIJAYA
NAGAR
Dwara Samudra
Madura
CEYLON
BAY OF
BENGAL

no independent kingdoms of their own, of any permanence, during the Delhi Sultanate or the Mughal Empire.

Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur.—The city of Jaunpur had been founded by Firoz Shah Tughluq in 1360. After Taimur's invasion in 1398, which broke up the Delhi Sultanate, the governor of Jaunpur declared his independence, and founded what is known as the *Sharqi* (Eastern) Kingdom. He not only ruled the eastern portion of the present United Provinces, which had been in his jurisdiction as governor, but he subjugated Bihar and intercepted the tribute of Bengal, which should have gone to Delhi. His son Ibrahim Sharqi (1400—1440) encroached further on the territories of Delhi, but his main interest during his long reign of 40 years was in literature and the arts. The kingdom continued to fight with Delhi and Malwa The last of his line, a grandson of the founder, made a bid for the throne of Delhi itself, but was defeated by Sikandar Lodi in 1476. The Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur was now extinguished, but it left traditions of architecture and Muslim culture, which are still remembered in Northern India.

Purbi (Eastern) Kings of Bengal.—We saw how a Khalji chief had conquered Bengal in 1199-1200 and held it for Kutb-ud-din Aibak at Delhi, and how Khalji chiefs ruled there after his death. Later on, members of the ruling family at Delhi were sent out as governors to that important

Province, and one of them even resigned his claims to the Delhi throne in favour of his son, to remain as his son's Governor in Bengal. Bengal remained under the rule of Delhi until about 1340, when the governor was killed by a soldier, who proclaimed himself king. There were many revolutions and counter-revolutions, and changes of dynasty. When the Mughals conquered Delhi, members of the dispossessed Lodi family found an asylum in Bengal and married into the Purbi family. The early Mughals did not leave Bengal alone. Humayun and Sher Shah Sur fought for Bengal. But in spite of these vicissitudes, the Bengal Kingdom retained an independent existence till it was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Akbar in 1576. Its two Muslim capitals were Lakhnauti or Gaur and Pandua (both in the modern District of Malda). The Adina Mosque at Pandua, built about 1360, is designed on a plan similar to that of the great mosque at Damascus. Bihar was usually attached to the kingdom of Bengal.

Kingdoms in Central and Western India.

Malwa.—Malwa from its central position and fertile soil was a favourite governorship under the Delhi Sultanate, though its proximity to the territory of the Rajput chiefs and to the powerful resources of Gujarat in the west involved it in constant warfare. When Taimur's invasion broke

up the Delhi Sultanate, the Governor of Malwa was a nobleman belonging to the Ghori line. He treated the Lodi Sultan of Delhi in exile hospitality, but after he left, assumed the royal state, about 1401. His family gave three kings to Malwa. One of them, was the famous Sultan Hoshang (1407—1432), after whom the town of Hoshangabad, on the Narbada, 40 miles south of Bhopal, is called. At his death, so the saying ran, "even the rocks appeared to shed tears" The family intermarried with a Khalji family, which obtained the Malwa throne in 1435 The Khaljis held power for four generations, when the kingdom was absorbed by the kingdom of Gujarat, about 1531. This was the result of a protracted war with Gujarat, in which Malwa was defeated and the Khalji race extinguished. The capital of the first Ghori King was at Dhar, but it was soon removed to Mandu, where a strong fortress was built and a beautiful city surrounded by 25 miles of walls grew up. Mandu is now in ruins, but its architecture and antiquities are being examined and studied by arrangement with the Dhar and the Hyderabad States.

Gujarat: its sea connections.—The history of the independent kingdom of Gujarat has more than local interest. It had a long sea-board with many ports, including Diu (in Kathiawar), Gogo, Cambay, Daman, the connected islands of Bombay and Mahim, and Chaul. This brought it into relations with Persia, Egypt, and the Ottoman Em-

pire (when it was established in Egypt). It also brought it into conflict with the Portuguese, who under Vasco da Gama sailed from Mombasa (East Africa) in 1498 for Calicut under the guidance of experienced Muslim pilots from Gujarat. The fine port of Goa further south was held by the Deccan Kingdom of Bijapur, from which the Portuguese captured it in 1510. They used it as a base for further attacks on Gujarat ports, in which, on account of their superior naval strength, they succeeded. In the Gujarat Kingdom, also as in Bengal, we see Hindus occupying high positions and we see Hindu names among the nobility of the Muslim Court.

Capital and Port.—It was about the time when Taimur's invasion of Northern India threw the Delhi Sultanate into confusion that the Governor of Gujarat asserted his independence early in the 15th century. The first great king of his line was Ahmad Shah I (1411—1441), who founded Ahmadabad about 1413. There was an earlier Hindu city, which was now absorbed in it as one of its 360 Mohallas. The main streets were so wide as to admit of ten carriages proceeding abreast. It became the capital of the kingdom and one of the handsomest cities in India. It had a large foreign trade through its port of Cambay, also a very wealthy and handsome city; and a large inland trade with Malwa and Upper India. It was in this reign that the Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan fought with Gujarat for the possession of

Bombay and Mahim, about 1431.

Portuguese.—But the real fight for the seaports was after the Portuguese had come on the scene in the reign of Mahmud Shah I, surnamed Begra. He came to the throne, like Akbar, at the age of 13; and from the beginning he seems to have shown great wisdom and capacity in peace and war, and ruled his State with great vigour for a period of 52 years (1459—1511). About 1507 the Sultan of Egypt deputed an Admiral with a fleet from the Red Sea to visit the Gujarat ports, and form an alliance with Mahmud Shah against the growing Portuguese power. The combined navies had some initial successes against the Portuguese, but the Portuguese had finer ships and better seamen, and were more in their element in sea-fights. They eventually captured several ports on the west coast, one of which, Bombay, afterwards came into British possession and is now the premier harbour of India.

End of the kingdom.—Portuguese diplomacy tried to set one local kingdom against another, and when the Mughal Empire was established, it offered (at a price) to help the kingdom of Gujarat against the Mughals. Begra's grandson Bahadur Shah (1526—1537) inherited the results of this complicated situation. He annexed the kingdom of Malwa in 1531. Four years later he was involved in a fight with the Mughal Empire in the person of Humayun and was only saved by Humayun's troubles in Northern India. The

fight with the Portuguese continued. In one of them, for the port of Diu, the Gujarat army took from the Portuguese the biggest gun that had so far been seen in India. In 1537, in pursuance of some overtures of peace, the Sultan went on a visit to the Portuguese admiral in the harbour of Diu, but was drowned in a sudden fight that occurred. After this the kingdom fell into confusion, and was eventually annexed by Akbar in 1572.

Faruqi Kings of Khandesh.—The little kingdom of Khandesh in the Tapti valley was divided from Gujarat in the west by the Western Ghats; on the north it had Malwa; on the south, the Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan; and on the east, the forest and hilly country of Gondwana. (*See Map 6*). One of the noblemen of the Delhi Court, descended from the Khalifa Umar Faruq, obtained a jagir in these parts from Firoz Shah Tughluq for services rendered in the hunting field. When, in the confusion of Taimur's invasion, Malwa and Gujarat assumed independence, the Faruqis also set up as independent kings of Khandesh. They had alliances with the Malwa and the Gujarat dynasties; but they had also wars with these kingdoms and with the Deccan Kingdoms. They however continued to hold their own in the strong fortress of Asirgarh, until it was taken by Akbar in 1600-1601, and Khandesh became one of the Provinces (Subas) of Akbar's Empire. The capital of Khandesh was Burhanpur, which continued to be of importance in Mughal times, as the half-

way city between the north and the Deccan.

Kingdoms in the Deccan.

Deccan conditions.—While the kingdoms we have already mentioned (except Bengal) arose on the anarchy due to Taimur's invasion of Delhi, the kingdoms of the Deccan owe their origin to quite a different cause. The conquest of the Deccan may be considered to have been completed about 1310, but it was never consolidated. From the beginning rebellions and insurrections occurred, and the distance of Daulatabad from Delhi was too great to allow an effective control from Delhi. That was why Muhammad Shah Tughluq wanted to remove his capital to the south. On the other hand he must have felt that Northern India could not be controlled from the south, especially with the constant invasions from the north-west frontier. He therefore hesitated and stuck to Delhi. The problem was insoluble in the state of communications which then existed in India. Within forty years the Deccan was lost to the Delhi Empire, but it remained mainly under the sway of Muslim dynasties.

Bahmani Kingdom.—On account of its remoteness the Deccan became a favourite gathering place for discontented or dispossessed noblemen from the north. They formed a disloyal party and gathered considerable strength. In 1347 they elected Ala-ud-din Hasan Gangu Bahmani as King

of the Deccan, his first minister being the Brahman Gangu. Such was the origin of the Bahmani Kingdom. Hasan moved south from Daulatabad for his capital, and established himself in Gulbarga, in the plain country south of the hilly tract in the centre of the modern Hyderabad State. By his wise policy he gained over the nobles and formed alliances with Hindu tributary Rajas in the Deccan. He was also successful in his wars of conquest. Before he died in 1358 he had erected for himself a fine kingdom, and he ascribed his success from small beginnings to "kindnesses to my friends, generosity to my enemies, and courtesy and liberality to all mankind."

Bidar and Barid-Shahi Dynasty.—His successors did not follow these wise maxims of conduct and policy. It is not necessary to follow the history of this Deccan Kingdom in detail. When Taimur was in Delhi the Bahmani King sent him presents and offered his services. But the kingdom had constant fights with its neighbours on all sides. In 1422 the capital of the Bahmani Kingdom was removed to Bidar in a beautiful situation among the hills. Soon afterwards factions were formed in the Court, and the Deccani and Abyssinian* nobles intrigued against the foreign nobles of the

*On account of the proximity of the sea Deccan society was cosmopolitan. Abyssinians, Turks, Arabs, and Persians came to the Deccan courts in large numbers. The Abyssinians joined the Deccanis against the fair-skinned foreigners like Mughals, Arabs, Afghans, Turks, and Persians.

north, and there was division in the royal family itself. A famous minister, named Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, a Persian, served three sovereigns faithfully, and unselfishly advanced the interests of the State in spite of the worthlessness of its rulers. In 1481 his enemies intrigued against him and obtained his execution. The last words he is said to have addressed to the king were: "The death of an old man like me is, indeed, of little moment, but to your majesty it will mean the loss of an empire and the ruin of your character." By 1492 a less scrupulous minister had usurped the power of the king and established his own dynasty at Bidar, the Barid-Shahi dynasty which lasted for a little over a hundred years (1492—1610), after which the kingdom was absorbed by Bijapur.

Imad-Shahi Kingdom of Berar.—Meanwhile the process of disruption had gone on in the outlying provinces of the Bahmani Kingdom. One of the men of Hindu (Kanarese) descent from Vijayanagar, whom the minister Mahmud Gawan had ennobled under the title of Imad-ul-Mulk and given the rank of commander of the army in Berar, declared himself independent of the Bahmani Sultan in 1484, and set up the Imad-Shahi Kingdom of Berar, with its capital in the strong fortress of Gawilgarh among the Satpura hills. This dynasty had four kings of no great note. About 1574, one of its ministers usurped power, but the kingdom was absorbed in that of Ahmadnagar.

Nizam-Shahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar.—Three other offshoots of the Bahmani Kingdom played a more important role and had an interesting history. These were: the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda. The origin of the Ahmadnagar Kingdom was similar to that of Berar. Its founder was a converted Hindu of Vijayanagar, who received high offices in the later Bahmani Kingdom, and the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He received a large jagir in the Maratha country, where his son Ahmad Nizam-ul-Mulk afterwards (about 1490) asserted his independence. He assumed the title of Ahmad Nizam Shah, from which his dynasty is known as the Nizam-Shahi dynasty. At the place where he had won a battle against the Bidar forces he built a palace, laid out an elegant garden, and constructed a fortified city, which received from him the name of Ahmadnagar. The new city was so splendid that it was considered to rival Baghdad and Cairo. The kingdom obtained an outlet to the sea on the western coast, and had many fights with the kingdom of Gujarat.

Chand Bibi.—It was in the Ahmadnagar Court that sword-play and duelling became fashionable and dangerous, and called forth a spirited protest from the historian Ferishta, who spent many years in this Court. This kingdom was the cradle of Maratha power, and sometimes allied itself with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar against Bijapur. But it joined in the combined

attack which destroyed Vijayanagar in 1565. As we saw, it absorbed the kingdom of Berar. The Nizam-Shahi family was allied by several successive marriages to the Adil-Shahis of Bijapur, but the two kingdoms were rivals and often at war. When the Mughals invaded the Deccan they reduced Ahmadnagar to a tributary condition in 1600. These last days of Ahmadnagar independence are rendered memorable by the heroic defence of the State by Chand Bibi. She was a princess of the house of Ahmadnagar married in Bijapur. As a widow she returned to Ahmadnagar and fought valiantly for her kingdom. She was braver than her ministers and statesmen. She was treacherously killed by her own men, and Ahmadnagar surrendered to Akbar's army. The kingdom was finally destroyed in the reign of Shah Jahan in 1632.

Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur.—The Adil-Shahi Kingdom of Bijapur was established (in 1489) about the same time as the Nizam-Shahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Its founder was a younger son of a Turkish Sultan of Constantinople, who came by sea to seek his fortunes in Southern India. Mahmud Gawan noticed his abilities and his agreeable manners, advanced him to high posts, and got him the title of Adil Khan. Yusuf Adil Khan, when he declared his independence at Bijapur, took the title of Adil Shah, from which his dynasty is called Adil-Shahi. This kingdom being the nearest to the kingdom of Vijayanagar

was in a state of constant warfare with it, until the battle of Talikota (1565) wiped out the Hindu Kingdom. Goa had been a port of this kingdom, and the Portuguese, having captured Goa, usually kept on good terms with Bijapur afterwards.

This family intermarried with Marathas and sought to raise a Deccani army and to eliminate the "foreigners," many of whom, though Muslim, took service with the Raja of Vijayanagar. The public accounts were no longer kept in Persian but in the "Indian language" (presumably Marathi), and Brahmans enjoyed great influence in the government. In 1565 Adil Shah was one of the four Sultans who fought against the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, the other three being the kings of Ahmadnagar, Bidar, and Golkonda. An alliance against the Portuguese in 1570 was not successful. The greatest Adil-Shahi king was Ibrahim Adil Shah II who reigned from 1580 to 1626. He was a son of the famous Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar. He devoted much attention to the improvement of his administration, and his land revenue arrangements left a permanent impress on the history of that part of the Deccan. Like the rest of his dynasty he was a great builder, and Bijapur architecture remains as a valuable legacy left by the Deccani Kingdoms. The State was annexed by Aurangzib to the Mughal Empire in 1686.

Qutb-Shahi Kingdom of Golkonda.—The last of the five offshoots of the Bahmani power was the

kingdom of the Qutb-Shahi dynasty of Golkonda. Its interest for us is twofold. It was in possession of the eastern sea-board when the English went to Madras. And its territory now forms part of the Nizam's Dominions. The Nizam's Court in Hyderabad continues the traditions of the Mughal Court, but its nobility is in some cases connected with the old Qutb-Shahi nobility, and its capital Hyderabad, with its fortress of Golkonda, has living memories of the Deccani Kingdom.

The founder was a Turki nobleman who came to the Bahmani Court from Persia. He got a command of troops in the eastern division of the kingdom. He was so successful that his promotion was assured. When Imad Shah, Nizam Shah, and Adil Shah became independent and the Bahmani Kingdom broke up, he hesitated for some time before he assumed the regal style in 1512. His Court was Persian in character. As his kingdom looked mainly towards the east coast (the ancient Hindu Kingdom of Warangal), it was not involved in the civil wars of the Deccan to the same extent as its sister kingdoms. It participated however in the battle of Talikota against Vijayanagar. About 1589 the capital was removed to the new and healthy city of Bhag-nagar, since called Hyderabad. The famous Chahar Minar in the centre of this city dates from this time. The Mughal invasion of the Deccan did not leave Golkonda alone. But it was the last of the southern kingdoms to fall, and it was annexed to the Mughal

Empire by Aurangzib in 1687. A distinguished officer of Aurangzib's army, whose gallantry brought him to the Emperor's notice at the siege of Golkonda, was the ancestor of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's family, which still rules in Hyderabad.

Vijayanagar.—The Kingdom of Vijayanagar south of the Tungabhadra also arose on the ruins of the Delhi Sultanate in the Deccan. The Bahmani Kingdom and its successors represent the Muslim power. The Vijayanagar Kingdom represents the Hindu power, with its nucleus from Karnata. It is difficult to define the exact date of its foundation, but it was well established in 1346. The Bahmani Kingdom and its successors had constant wars with it and sometimes tried to treat it as a tributary State. On the other hand it showed considerable powers of resistance, and sometimes allied itself with one or other of the Sultanates. From 1379 to 1565 it had a continuous history, and it frequently held the coast of Malabar. Its capital was described by a traveller in 1443 as a fine and prosperous city, with spacious bazars. The king's palace was in the midst of a well-watered garden. Gold and jewels were in common use, as they were throughout the Deccan. The land revenue assessment was heavy, and the scale of punishments was drastic. Many of the prevailing customs were quite different from those of the northern Hindus. In 1565 the kingdom succumbed to the attack of a strong coalition

against it at the battle of Talikota. Afterwards, when the southern Sultanates were absorbed in the Mughal Empire, it became Mughal territory. A great part of it is now represented by the Mysore State, one of the best administered States in modern India.

Recapitulation.—We may now sum up the history of the fall of the Delhi Sultanate. At the extreme ends, *viz.* Bengal in the east and the Deccan in the south, the process began first. The Panjab remained with Delhi because the conqueror of the Panjab from the north-west also usually conquered Delhi. In the Deccan the Bahmani Kingdom which broke loose from the Delhi Sultanate was itself too large to be held together. After the unjust execution of the faithful minister Mahmud Gawan there was anarchy in the State, and the power at headquarters was usurped by an unscrupulous minister who founded the Barid-Shahi dynasty of Bidar. Four of the noblemen of the Bahmani Kingdom, who were in charge of outlying provinces, became kings in their Provinces: these were Imad Shah of Berar, Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, Adil Shah of Bijapur, and Qutb Shah of Golkonda. The Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar also grew strong and prosperous, but it was extinguished in 1565. In the anarchy that followed Taimur's invasion, Malwa, Gujarat, and Khandesh broke away, and these areas had to be reconquered for the Central Government by Akbar. It was the Mughal Empire that eventu-

ally restored unity for a time to India. But meanwhile European nations had come across the seas, and written a new chapter in the history of India.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Mughal Empire in its Vigour.

BABAR.

His early life.—We saw how the mixed tribes of Mongols and Turks in Central Asia had created an extensive empire under Taimur. After Taimur's death that empire had been shorn of its outlying possessions, but a considerable kingdom still remained, with its capital at Samarkand, the old capital of Taimur. Babar's grandfather Abu Said had held that kingdom entire, but it was parcelled out among Abu Said's numerous sons. Babar's father got Farghana on the upper Jaxartes, and east of Samarkand. Babar himself came into his kingdom of Farghana at the age of 12 in 1494. He made several attempts to regain his "ancestral" capital of Samarkand, which he both won and lost more than once. In those days, another mixed Turki tribe, the Uzbegs, were acquiring ascendancy in Central Asia, at the expense of the descendants of Taimur. Babar had to fight against them as well as against his own uncles, brothers, and cousins. After a series of breathless adventures he lost both Farghana and Samarkand, and turned south and established himself in Kabul (1504). With the

help of the King of Persia Babar tried again to establish his footing against the Uzbegs in Central Asia, but having failed, he definitely turned his attention to India. He looked upon his claims to India as being founded on the conquest of his ancestor Taimur. But he had first to consolidate himself in Afghanistan in order to make his position safe in the rear. Kandahar was in the possession of another Mughal family, that of the Arghuns. He contrived to get possession of Kandahar. The Arghuns were driven to seek power in Sindh, where they afterwards became tributary to Babar and continued to exercise authority for two generations.

Conquest of India.—Babar made three preliminary invasions of the Indian frontier before he marched in force against the capital of the Delhi Sultanate. The affairs of the Lodi dynasty at Delhi got more and more into confusion. An uncle of the Lodi Sultan himself first intrigued with Gujarat, then a powerful kingdom, against his nephew Ibrahim Lodi. He then went over to Kabul, to be used as a tool in Babar's conquest of India. The Lodi governor of the Panjab also invited Babar, and many discontented elements in the Delhi Sultanate were ready to welcome the Mughal. In the cold weather of 1525-6 Babar came by way of Sindh. His army, including camp followers, could hardly have exceeded 12,000 men, and consisted of Mughals, Turks, Persians, Uzbegs, and Afghans, all fine fighting men who had full

confidence in Babar's leadership. His forces were probably augmented as he came along, but when he met Ibrahim's huge army of a lakh of men with a hundred elephants at Panipat on April 21st, 1526, the odds were heavily against him. Babar's intrepidity and military capacity gave him a decisive victory. Ibrahim was slain, and his army was destroyed. In Babar's words, "that mighty army, in the space of half a day, was laid in the dust." Babar pushed on at once to Delhi and Agra, the two Imperial cities, and established himself as the first Mughal Emperor of India He treated his defeated Lodi foes with clemency. He gave a jagir of seven lakhs to Ibrahim's mother, with a palace to live in, and gave high positions to Afghan nobles, who had hitherto monopolised power in the Delhi Sultanate. He was generous in rewarding his friends, and he sent large gifts to his people and dependants at Kabul.

His purpose and policy—Babar was determined to stay in India and consolidate his empire. His followers murmured; they complained of the heat, and looked back longingly to their homes in the hills. But Babar was in India in pursuance of a settled purpose. He had not come for a raid. He had a refined statesman's instinct for producing order out of chaos. He appealed to his followers' sense of loyalty, and they all remained, except those who were invalided. Babar began at once to study the history and institutions of the country. He planted gardens, imported fruit

trees, built roads, wells, tanks, and baths, and did all he could to alleviate the miseries of heat and dust. Meanwhile he was enlarging the circle of his authority, both by conquest and diplomacy.

He overcomes opposition--The defeated Afghans, in spite of the clemency shown to them, did not settle down, but took every opportunity to thwart Babar. In Rajputana they made common cause with Rana Sanga, the Rana of Chitor. This valiant and veteran Rajput chief had spent his life in fighting, and was looked upon as the head of the Rajputs by the other Rajput chiefs. He had fought successfully against the independent Khalji King of Malwa and been only kept in check by the growing power of the kingdom of Gujarat. A formidable confederacy of Afghans and Rajputs was now formed against Babar, and came out boldly to attack the Mughal with an army of 80,000 with 500 elephants Babar saw the danger and met it with his usual cool courage and orderly plans for victory. The battle was fought about 28 miles west of Agra in March 1527, and resulted in a complete victory for Babar. This secured him from the side of Rajputana, but the discontented Afghans were still troublesome in the east. He marched to Bihar and Lucknow, defeated the Bengal army, and established his influence as far as the Bay of Bengal.

His death.—He was now supreme in Northern India. During the last fifteen months of his life his health gave way, and he died in 1530 at the

age of 47, an early age for a man of his iron constitution, restless energy, and active open-air habits. The immediate occasion of his death reveals the strong family affection which was a feature of his character. His eldest son Humayun was ill. He had not always been a dutiful son, and had caused Babar some anxiety and sorrow But Babar loved him dearly When Humayun was attacked with a dangerous fever, which (it was said) could only be cured by the sacrifice of the most precious possession Babar had, Babar cheerfully made up his mind to give up his life to save his son's He walked three times round Humayun's bed, praying that the son's suffering should be transferred to the father. Humayun recovered, and Babar died This was in Agra, but Babar was buried in Kabul, where his mausoleum was adorned with marble by his descendant Shah Jahan, the builder of the Taj

His character—Babar's character is well revealed both by his daring exploits, his work as a soldier and statesman, and the record of his mind as preserved in his Diary. He was affectionate, chivalrous, and generous. Endowed with great strength of purpose, he never spared himself in achieving the objects he had set himself to achieve. He had a cheerful disposition. In defeat he was not cowed down, and success did not elate him. He was devoted to his mother and grandmother, and they both shared his adventures. The queen of his heart shares his mau-

soleum. He was fond of all sports, and he loved nature in all her moods. He was a close observer of the stars. When he moved south to Kabul from his more northern home, he noted the appearance of the southern star Canopus as an event in his Diary. His literary taste was formed on the best masterpieces of Persian literature. He was himself a poet and musician. He wrote a refined Turki style, which is still admired. He had read much history, and attracted historians around him, among whom may be mentioned Khondamir, the author of *Habib-us-Siyar*, and his cousin Haidar Mirza Dughlat, who afterwards fought for Humayun in Kashmir.

Humayun.

His campaigns.—Though Humayun had been trained early to military life under Babar himself, he was unable to cope successfully with the difficulties which surrounded him, and he nearly lost the Mughal Empire. His younger brother Kamran took Kabul and Kandahar, and also the Panjab. The war-like races on whom the Mughal military power depended were thus cut off from Humayun. The Afghans whom Babar had subdued raised insurrections again. Some of them took asylum in Gujarat, and others formed a strong party in Bihar and Bengal. Humayun waged a successful campaign in Gujarat (1534-5) in spite of the assistance which the Turks and some Portuguese pri-

soners gave to the King of Gujarat by serving his artillery. But the situation in Bihar and Bengal had become so dangerous that Humayun had to hasten back north to face it. Sher Khan Sur had collected and organised his Afghan forces and made himself master of Bihar and Bengal. When Humayun returned from Gujarat, he was able at first to recover both these Provinces. But Sher Khan cut him off at Chausa in Bihar (Shahabad District) and inflicted such a heavy defeat on him that he was barely able to escape with his life (1539). The Mughal army was lost in the disaster. Humayun returned to Agra and prepared to meet Sher Khan again. Meanwhile Sher Khan had reconquered Bihar and Bengal, and assumed royal State under the title of Sher Shah. He met Humayun again in a second battle (1540) at Kanauj, from which again Humayun barely escaped with his life.

His wanderings.—The wanderings of Humayun now began. He found the whole country against him. In the Panjab, Sindh, and Rajputana, he failed to find asylum. The Raja of Umarkot in Sindh gave him temporary shelter, and here his son Akbar was born (November 1542). Humayun sent the baby and his mother to Kabul for safety, and sought refuge in Persia. The Shah of Persia promised him aid in order to reconquer India. He returned in June 1555, only to live seven months. He died from a fall from his library stairs at Delhi in January 1556. He had

nominally reigned for 25 years (December 1530 to January 1556), but for fifteen of these years (1540—1555) he was a homeless wanderer, and the Empire of Delhi was actually under the rule of Sher Shah Sur (1540—1545) and his family.

Sher Shah Sur.—Sher Shah was great as a military leader and organiser, but he was greater still as an administrator. He had the advantage of having been born in the country. Having administered a small jagir, he knew every detail of administration in Indian conditions. He thoroughly reorganised his army, and some of his trusted leaders were Hindus. In revenue administration he fixed standards of land measurement and assessment, and for purposes of general administration he made territorial units of sufficiently small size to bring his government into touch with the people. His reform of the coinage and his fiscal reforms encouraged trade, and he built roads and public works on a large scale. But he left no able successors in his family to carry on his work after him, and his "usurpation," as it was called after the Mughal restoration, ended, after his death, in a ten years' anarchy, from which India was rescued by the long and brilliant reign of Akbar.

Akbar (1556—1605).

His minority.—When Humayun died, Akbar was only thirteen years of age, and members of

his own family as well as of the Sur family were prepared to make a bid for power. It was fortunate for the Mughal Empire that Akbar had an able minister and guardian in the person of Bairam Khan, who at once took judicious steps for the enthronement and proclamation of the young Emperor. This was in the Panjab. Delhi was rapidly recovered by the second battle of Panipat (November 1556), and Agra was occupied. The capitals being secured, the next task was to pacify the outlying Provinces of Northern and Central India. By the beginning of 1560 the whole of Babar's Empire was being effectually administered in the name of Akbar, thanks to the vigorous measures taken by Bairam Khan. But Bairam Khan's power raised jealousies against him, and Akbar, now over 17 years of age, was anxious to assume the reins of authority himself, being encouraged in his desire by his mother and other powerful ladies of the Court. Bairam Khan was dismissed from office, but Akbar found that the real power rested in the hands of the ladies and a court faction which was supported by them. In 1562, he freed himself from tutelage, and commenced his personal rule, which lasted till his death in 1605.

How he conquered against difficulties.—Akbar's difficulties arose, firstly, from members of his own family in the direction of Kabul; secondly, from the "Mirzas," or descendants of Taimur, in India, who claimed a share in the Mughal Government

and were unruly when thwarted by the policy of a masterful young Emperor; thirdly, from the Uzbeg chiefs who had come with Babar and who were discontented for reasons similar to those which applied to the Mirzas; fourthly, from his own governors and officers in outlying provinces, who had got into lax ways after the removal of Bairam Khan's strong hand; and fifthly, from the Rajputs of Chitor, whose resistance stood in the way of the Rajput entry into the scheme of a unified India, which was so dear to Akbar's heart. By a combination of strength and clemency, fighting and diplomacy, tact and the satisfaction of reasonable claims, Akbar was able to solve his difficulties, and to set his Empire on a firm footing. Akbar's matrimonial alliances with the Rajputs enlisted their support for his family and Empire.

Annexations.—By 1572 Akbar had completed the task of internal consolidation. He now turned his attention to the conquest of the independent kingdom of Gujarat, which was completed by 1573. He thus came into contact with the sea, and with the naval power of the Portuguese, who had already established themselves in several ports on the west coast, had appeared on the coasts of Sindh and Bengal, and had interfered in the quarrels of various Indian powers. Bengal had been a feudatory province; its revolt gave Akbar the opportunity of annexing it in 1576, thus bringing him to the Bay of Bengal. In 1586 Kashmir was

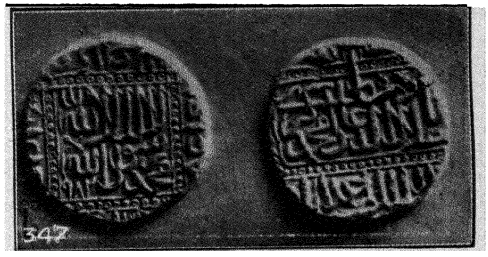


Fig. 16 *To face p. 192*

GOLD COIN OF AKBAR,
AHMEDABAD MINT, 982 A.H. =(1574-5).
OBVERSE, KALIMA AND DATE.
REVERSE, AKBAR'S NAME

annexed, and an expedition was sent out into the Deccan. We have already seen how the Nizam-Shahi Kingdom of Ahmadnagar was bravely defended by the valour of Queen Chand Bibi, and how Ahmadnagar was taken by the Mughals in 1600.

Policy for the unification of India.—Akbar continued to fight till the end of his life, but we may divide his reign into the following periods: (1) his minority 1556—1562, when the Mughal Empire was brought under control; (2) political consolidation 1562—1572; (3) conquest of outlying kingdoms in Northern India 1572—1586; (4) warfare in the Deccan 1586—1605. Throughout his reign, however, he was working at a larger policy for the unification of India, and this part of his task was specially prominent in the last two periods. He realised that the Mughal Empire in India, if it was to be lasting, must win the approval and confidence of all its subjects. Mughal, Mirza, Uzbeg, Afghan, and Indian Muslims, must co-operate with Rajput, Khatri, Brahman, and other Hindu castes in the service of the country. A perfect understanding must be created between the different classes of his subjects, by intermarriage, by a sort of Sufi interpretation of religion, by a translation of works of Hindu learning into Muslim languages and an encouragement of Hindu languages and literature, and by free opportunities of service to all classes in the State. An impetus should be given to industry and crafts,

and the fine arts; and the new enlightenment brought by Europeans (Portuguese, Dutch, and English) must be assimilated and brought to the service of the Empire. These were high ideals, and he found willing helpers in men like Abul Fazl and Faizi, Birbal, and Todar Mal, and the Rajput chiefs of Jaipur, Jodhpur, and Bikanir.

Administrative Reforms—Such ideals were bound to fail, because they were a little in advance of the time. But there were important questions of administrative detail, leading up to efficient government, in which Akbar was eminently successful. His revenue system aimed at certain standards of accuracy in land measurement and assessment, which were to systematise the different local customs found in all parts of the country. The principles at the back of them and the machinery established to give them shape carried revenue administration a stage further than it had ever gone before. The administrative sub-divisions of Akbar's system still remain the basis of modern territorial sub-divisions in many parts of the country. The civil service, whose work alone made possible a compilation like the *Ain-i-Akbari*, put the administrative machinery on a permanent footing, which lasted in spite of changes in person and policy to the end of the Mughal Empire. Akbar's interest in architecture, painting, music, and the arts which make an appeal to man's emotional nature enabled him also to bind men of different tastes together. His beauti-

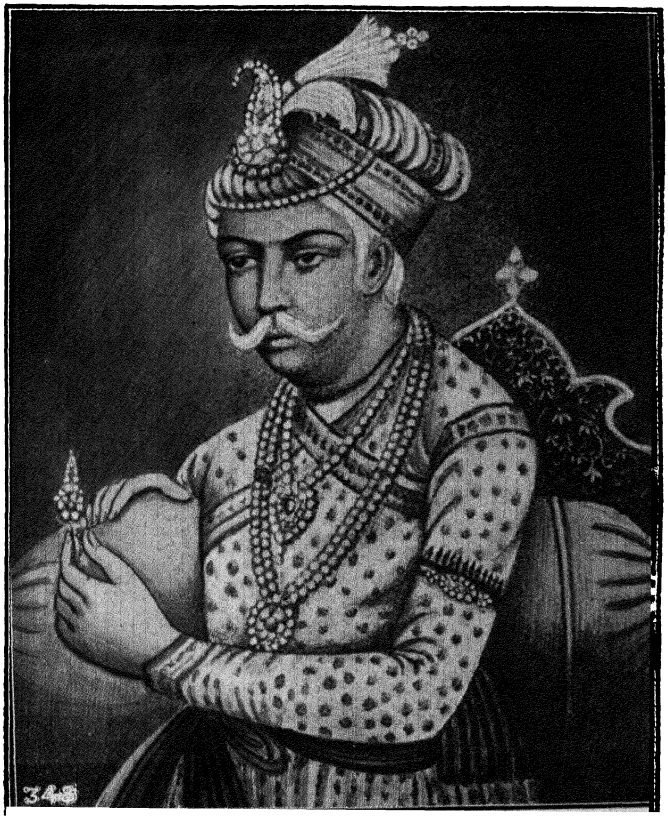


Fig. 17 *To face p. 194*

PORTRAIT OF AKBAR

(Copied from a picture in Lahore Museum)

ful city of Fatehpur-Sikri was, however, too much like a dream, and was only occupied for about fifteen years (1570—1585). In trying to become the head of a State religion, he misjudged the strength of the opposition of his own people, and his *Din-i-Ilahi* did not survive him. His son and grandson, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, were easy-going men who were able to run Akbar's administrative system with great credit to the Empire, because the system itself, though created out of personal rule, was built up on permanent institutions making for unity and good government.

Jahangir.

Character of his reign—Jahangir's reign (1605—1627), though prosperous on the whole, witnessed few events of great importance, except those connected with Jahangir's own person. The Deccan war was continued from the beginning, and Jahangir's son Shah Jahan built up his reputation and power chiefly on that war. The contact of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English with the Mughal Court brought European influence and trade more and more within the Empire. Portugal had by this time declined in naval and political power Holland was more interested in the Eastern Archipelago than in India proper. On the other hand English factories were being founded, and English trade was being pushed forward energetically. The embassy of Sir Thomas

Roe from James I to the Mughal Court (1615—1618) was in pursuance of the trade policy of the English East India Company. But a great part of the personal history of Jahangir, and of the public events of the later part of his reign revolves round the personality of his beautiful Queen Nur Jahan.

Nur Jahan.—Many legendary stories have grown up round the name of Nur Jahan, which have but slender foundation in history. She was a beautiful woman, whom Jahangir married in 1611. She had unbounded influence over her husband, and had great ambitions for herself and her family. She interfered in the highest affairs of State, while Jahangir gave himself up to sloth and drink. Her brother Asaf Khan held a high position at Court, and his daughter (her niece) was married to Shah Jahan, the young prince who was winning golden opinions by his military activity and general abilities. Nur Jahan's father I'timad-ud-daula became the High Treasurer. His noble tomb and garden are among the notable monuments preserved in Agra, and they also served as models after which Jahangir's own tomb was afterwards built at Lahore. At first Nur Jahan favoured the succession of Shah Jahan, but finding him too independent she turned against him. She arranged a match between Jahangir's youngest son Shahriyar by another wife and her daughter by a former husband, and tried to push Shahriyar's claim as heir-apparent. Intrigues and

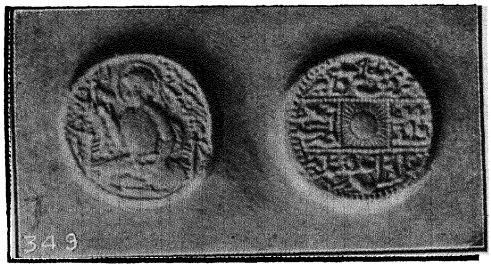


Fig. 18 *To face p. 196*

GOLD COIN OF JAHANGIR.

OBVERSE, JAHANGIR, HALO ROUND HIS HEAD, GOBLET IN HAND.

REVERSE, THE SUN WITH DATE,

AJMERE 1023 A.H. (=1614-5)

counter-intrigues followed. Jahangir was alienated from his son Shah Jahan, who broke out into open rebellion. Mahabat Khan, a rising general, was at first favoured by Nur Jahan, but when she found him unwilling to be used as a tool, she persecuted and insulted him. Mahabat Khan in revenge seized on the person of the Emperor (March 1626) as he was crossing the Jhelam on his way to Kabul. Nur Jahan put up a spirited resistance and eventually rescued Jahangir. Mahabat Khan made common cause with Shah Jahan. Meanwhile Jahangir's health gave way. He died in 1627 on his way from Kashmir, and was buried in a fine tomb in Nur Jahan's garden in Lahore. Nur Jahan remained in mourning for the rest of her life. She died in 1646, and lies buried in a tomb close to the great mausoleum of Jahangir, which she had herself built.

Shah Jahan.

Events and personalities.—Asaf Khan supported the cause of his son-in-law Shah Jahan, and sent for him from the Deccan, where Mahabat Khan had joined him. These two noblemen were high in favour with Shah Jahan, who was also deeply attached to his wife, the famous Mumtaz Mahal popularly known as Taj Bibi, the daughter of Asaf Khan. Shah Jahan was also fortunate in his Wazir Saadullah Khan, whose virtues and talents kept the Empire in a state of prosperity

and efficiency under a monarch who was fond of display and magnificence. Internally there was general peace, and a cultivation of the finer arts, including architecture. It is to Shah Jahan that we owe the finest specimens of Mughal architecture in Agra and Delhi. But the Empire was wasting its strength in outward expansion. The Deccan wars continued, and there were fruitless attempts in the direction of Kandahar and Balkh. In the Deccan there was a good deal of treachery. Imperial officers like Khan Jahan Lodi made common cause with the enemy. Shah Jahan himself twice visited the Deccan, in 1629—1632 and 1635—1637. The kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, and Golkonda struggled on, and the last vestiges of Ahmadnagar as a State were extinguished under Shah Jahan in 1632. The other two kingdoms continued on till the reign of Aurangzib.

Taj Mahal.—Taj Bibi died in 1631 after a happy married life of 16 years. Shah Jahan had loved her dearly, and after her death we see a continual decline in Shah Jahan's character. The famous monument to her memory, the Taj Mahal mausoleum at Agra, was commenced at her death, and took twenty-two years to complete. Its design has wonderful grace and dignity, and the purity of its white marble makes it a fitting memorial of conjugal love. In its costly decorations in silver and gold and the inlay of precious stones the skill of Florentine artists was happily blended with that of Indian workmen. The precious stones

were brought from all parts of the world.

Shah Jahan's sons.—The rivalry of Shah Jahan's sons embittered his later life. The eldest was Dara Shikoh, on whom Shah Jahan leaned more and more in later life. He was frank but irreligious, light-hearted, and impetuous. The second son Shuja was a voluptuary and more fitted for the delights of a magnificent court than for the direction of the complicated affairs of a large empire. Aurangzib, the third son, had ability, energy, and character, and his religious attitude added to his popularity among the Muslims. The youngest son Murad Bakhsh was as dissipated as Shuja, but had far less dignity and experience. Shah Jahan, while keeping Dara near his person, had sent Aurangzib to the distant but difficult and important viceroyalty of the Deccan, and Shuja to the easier viceroyalty of Bengal Murad Bakhsh was in Gujarat and under the influence of Aurangzib.

War of the succession.—When Shah Jahan fell ill in October 1657, both Shuja and Murad made open demonstrations against Dara. Aurangzib was more reserved, until orders came from Dara, depriving him of the assistance of one of his lieutenants. He then made common cause with Murad but acted as a restraining influence. Meanwhile Shuja's advance on Agra was checked near Benares by an army sent under the command of Dara's son, and Shuja returned to Bengal. Aurangzib with Murad pressed on northwards, and

they were met by an Imperial army under Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar. The Rajputs were defeated near Ujjain, and the two brothers pushed on to meet Dara, who marched against them in person. The decisive battle was fought in the heat of May (1658) near Agra. It was hotly contested, but lost by Dara. Aurangzib seized Agra and the person of his father Shah Jahan (June 1658), and administered the Empire, though his coronation did not take place till the following year. Shah Jahan was in his dotage; his age was 66; he was kept an honoured prisoner in Agra Fort for the rest of his life. He died in 1666. He ruled from 1627 to 1658.

Aurangzib (1658—1707).

Early events.—When Aurangzib took over the government, Murad was still his ally. But Murad so disgraced himself with drink that he was kept in confinement. Later on he was tried on a serious charge of murder brought against him and executed. Dara fled before Aurangzib, but Shuja came to meet Aurangzib from Bengal, and was defeated at Khajwa near Cawnpore. He fled to Arakan, and was never heard of again. Meanwhile the unfortunate Dara wandered as a fugitive through Sindh, Kachchh, Kathiawar, and Gujarat. In Gujarat he collected some forces, and marched northwards. But Aurangzib, now with the full resources of the Empire at his command, had no

difficulty in defeating him near Ajmir (April 1659). Dara escaped with his life, but was afterwards betrayed to Aurangzib. He was tried for treason and apostasy and executed.

Chief interest of reign—The chief interest of Aurangzib's long reign of 49 years is concerned with (1) his state policy, (2) his wars with the Deccan Kindoms of Bijapur and Golkonda, and (3) the rise of the Maratha power. The story of the conquest of Bijapur and Golkonda has already been told (Chapter XIII) That of the rise of the Maratha power will be told in its proper place (Chapter XVI) We might here consider his general policy and its effects. He was a vigilant monarch who personally supervised all the details of his administration In all directions he extended the influence of the Mughal Empire. He was strict in the enforcement of discipline, and stern in his dealings with wrong-doers, even though they might be his own sons. He was well informed, and he encouraged the study of history and modern politics among his nobles. There was general peace in Northern India in his reign. But he brought religion into State policy, and reversed many of the rules and practices of his predecessors. His policy was distasteful to the Hindus, and especially to the Rajputs, who, from being staunch supporters of his throne, became either sullen or open enemies. His Deccan policy, although it seemed to be successful for the time being, really weakened the Empire in the

end. He was absent from his capital from 1679 to the day of his death. This long absence of 28 years weakened central control, in spite of his indefatigable personal labours. When his strong personality was removed, there was no machinery to carry on an Imperial administration. By destroying the Muslim Kingdoms of the Deccan, he removed an effective counterpoise to the power of the Marathas. In his dealings with the English, he grappled with a power which had its revenge under his weak successors. He was the last great Mughal Emperor. After him the Empire began to decline rapidly in territory, power, and prestige. until on its ruins rose the British Empire in India.

CHAPTER XV.

Decline and Fall of the Mughal Empire.

Elfments of Dismemberment.

Later Mughal Emperors—Aurangzib had contemplated a partition of the empire after him between his three surviving sons, Muazzam, Azam, and Kam Bakhsh. At his death Muazzam was in Kabul, and the other two were in the Deccan. Muazzam and Azam had a race for the capital (Agra) and the Treasury. Muazzam won, and defeated Azam in a pitched battle near Agra, in which Azam was killed. Kam Bakhsh met a similar fate a year and a half later. Muazzam ascended the throne under the title of Bahadur Shah I and reigned from 1707 to 1712. But the glory had departed from the Mughal Empire. There was anarchy in Delhi and Agra. Family quarrels and faction fights became the normal events round the person of the Emperor. Two Saiyid brothers, of Barha (in the Muzaffarnagar District), made and unmade Emperors between 1713 and 1719. There were only two reigns of any length in the century, *viz.* those of Muhammad Shah (1719—1748) and Shah Alam II (1759—1806). Muhammad Shah saw the invasion of Nadir Shah and his sack of Delhi (1739). Shah

Alam lived the latter part of his life, as a blinded old man, either a prisoner or a pensioner of the Marathas or the English East India Company. Two titular Emperors succeeded him, the last of whom was Bahadur Shah II, who was proclaimed actual ruler during the Mutiny (1857), and afterwards (1858) condemned and banished by the East India Company. The formal dissolution of the Mughal Empire thus dates from 1858, but its decline began with the death of Aurangzib (1707), and the successive phases in its disruption were: (1) the rise of the Marathas and Sikhs, (2) the assumption of independent power by the Provincial Governors, feudatories, and adventurers, and (3) the growth of the British Power. The story of the Marathas and Sikhs will claim our separate attention (Chapters XVI and XXI), and the growth of British India is best told in a consecutive narrative. Here we shall review the other movements which resulted in the gradual dissolution of the Mughal Empire.

Viceroys and adventurers seize power.—The natural result of weak government at headquarters was that ambitious Provincial Governors or Commanders took matters into their own hands and acted more or less independently. Imperial orders issued by ministers were treated as if they were the orders of the ministers, and were sometimes disobeyed along with protestations of perfect loyalty to the Emperor. The revenues were remitted to headquarters irregularly, and were, later

on, withheld altogether. Soldiers of fortune, or military leaders with some following, carved out independent kingdoms for themselves, pretending to act directly under the Emperor, and sometimes obtaining from Delhi Imperial orders in their favour, to the derogation of the authority of the Provincial Governors. It was in this way that the English East India Company acted nominally as delegates of the Mughal Emperor. Lord Hastings (1813—1823) was the first Governor-General to stop *nazars* to the Emperor as a token of recognition of his authority, but the Company's coinage continued until 1835 to be in the name of the Mughal. In the same way the Marathas acted nominally on the authority of the Mughal and obtained various grants from Delhi. The Imperial name continued to command respect in the eyes of the people, and was used by the disaffected elements in the Great Mutiny.

Asaf Jah and the Deccan.—Among the three Subahdars (viceroys) who set up more or less independent kingdoms, the chief place must be assigned to Asaf Jah (afterwards Nizam-ul-Mulk). His descendants still rule in the Deccan as the Nizams of Hyderabad, and their State is in rank the Premier Indian State. His Province included the whole of the Deccan, and he sometimes added Malwa and Gujarat. In 1722 he was Wazir of the empire, but he was thoroughly disgusted with the intrigues at Delhi and soon retired to his Province of the Deccan. He had to fight the Marathas in

their home-land, and he raised and maintained large armies. He was among those who had brought about the downfall of the Saiyid "king-makers" of Barha. He did not remit revenues regularly to Delhi, as they would only have supplied resources to his enemies at court, who would have used them against himself. He was one of the ablest statesmen of his time, and left a son or relative at Delhi to watch over his interests at the capital when he was in the Deccan, and one in the Deccan when he was in the north. In all the revolutions that took place at Delhi, the Nizams never acted openly against the Imperial name, though they were often at war with the Delhi factions in whose power the Emperor for the time being might be. Nizam-ul-Mulk was called up to Delhi on the occasion of Nadir Shah's invasion (1739). He, like the Marathas and other Indian powers of the time, sought the aid of European officers in his disputes against his rivals. His death in 1748 precipitated the conflict between the French and the English, which we shall notice later in speaking of the East India Company.

The Oudh Dynasty.—The second great Subahdar, who established a dynasty (now extinct) was the Subahdar of Oudh. The founder of the family was Saadat Khan, a Persian merchant who had distinguished himself by his military talents. He was appointed to the viceroyalty of Oudh in 1724, and was taken prisoner in the fight with Nadir

Shah (1739). His son Safdar Jang combined the viceroyalty of Oudh with the office of Wazir of the Empire (1748). On account of the nearness of Oudh to Delhi, this combination of offices was convenient, and in any case the Governors of Oudh were in constant touch with the affairs at Delhi. His son Shuja-ud-daula played a leading part in the fighting and the negotiations which preceded the grant of the Diwani to the East India Company in 1765. Later the Nawab of Oudh became a subordinate ally of the Company In 1819 he assumed the title of King, with the approbation of the East India Company. This was a formal and open break with Delhi, whose Emperor had by now become a mere phantom. The kingdom of Oudh continued until 1856, when it was annexed to British India under Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexations.

Bengal and its revolutions.—The third Subah of the Mughal Empire which practically became independent was the rich viceroyalty of Bengal It extended from the eastern boundary of Oudh to the Bay of Bengal, and thus usually included not only Bengal proper, but also Bihar and Orissa. When it was held by a Prince Royal, as in the case of Azim-us-shan, grandson of Aurangzib, the Subah of Allahabad was also added to the Subahdari. This made it a very heavy charge, and the Subahdar appointed deputies to some of the constituent provinces. Such a deputy was Murshid Quli Khan (Jaafar Khan), the founder of Murshid-

abad. He was the Subahdar's deputy in Bengal and Orissa. In the confusion that followed the death of Bahadur Shah, shortly after 1712, when Azim-us-shan was killed in battle and his son Farrukh Siyar was fighting for the Imperial throne, the deputy in Bengal and Orissa became himself the Subahdar and appointed his own deputy in Orissa. He died in 1725. His successor recovered Bihar for the Subahdari and appointed a favourite, Ali Wirdi Khan, as his deputy in that Province. Ali Wirdi Khan was a man of great ability and energy. He consolidated his position in Bihar, and in the anarchy following Nadir Shah's invasion (1739), he supplanted his own benefactor in the Subahdari of the united provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. He had to fight the Marathas, who under Raghoji Bhonsle were now established in Berar and invaded Bengal and Orissa. On the whole his rule was successful, although he had to buy off the Marathas. The revenue due to the Imperial Treasury at Delhi was remitted fitfully if at all, and Bengal, like the Deccan and Oudh, became a semi-independent kingdom. He was succeeded in 1756 by his son Siraj-ud-daula, whose conflict with the East India Company forms a portion of British Indian history.

The Rohillas.—Among the soldiers of fortune who established semi-independent kingdoms on the ruins of the Mughal Empire, may be mentioned the Rohilla chief Ali Muhammad. Roh was a district near Kabul, and an Afghan confederacy

from that district came to be known by the name of Rohillas. They came to India to seek their fortunes. Ali Muhammad and his Rohillas were of great service to the Mughal Empire and were rewarded by grants of land in the tract of country now known as Rohilkhand after them. They soon extended their power and territory in the confusion following Nadir Shah's invasion. To the natural fertility of the soil they added the blessings of good government, and Rohilkhand became an object of envy to the neighbouring Nawab of Oudh, to the Marathas, and to the factions which fought at Delhi After Ahmad Shah Abdali's third invasion (1757), the most upright and capable man he could leave in chief power at Delhi, to manage the affairs of the empire, was the Rohilla commander Najib-ud-daula, who faithfully discharged his trust till he died in 1769 at the age of 61. After his death the Rohillas lay at the mercy of the Nawab of Oudh on the one hand and the Marathas on the other. The Nawab, in league with Warren Hastings, destroyed their independence in 1772-3. The only remnant of their power that remains is the little State of Rampur, His Highness the Nawab's ancestor having rendered valuable assistance to British troops during the Rohilla campaign.

Persia and Nadir Shah.—A strong power near the north-west frontier has always taken advantage of the weakness of government in the Panjab or at Delhi, to invade India. While the Viceroys of

the Mughal Empire, in the Deccan, in Oudh, and in Bengal, were fighting for their own hands, events were taking place in Afghanistan and Persia, which brought about revolutions and the establishment of national States in these countries. In the palmy days of the Mughal Empire the greater part of Afghanistan had belonged to the Mughals, but the western part, containing the cities of Kandahar and Herat, had been the battle-ground between them and the Safavis of Persia. On the whole, Persia possessed Western Afghanistan. Early in the eighteenth century, the Safavi dynasty in Persia grew feeble, like the Mughal dynasty in India. This gave an opportunity to the Western Afghans to assert themselves, and throw off the Persian yoke. In this war of independence, two Afghan tribes, the Ghilzais and the Abdalis, took the leading part. The Ghilzais not only expelled the Persians from Kandahar, but went and conquered Persia itself, and established themselves in the Persian capital at Ispahan (1722). The last of the Safavi Shahs took refuge with the Kajar tribe on the southern shores of the Caspian, and found among them a great military leader Nadir Quli, who drove out the Ghilzai (1729) and restored the Persian monarchy. Nadir was himself elected king in 1736 under the title of Nadir Shah. He extended his conquests on all sides. When he took Kandahar, he was brought face to face with the weakness of the Mughal Empire.

His invasion of India.—Some of the jarring factions in that empire invited him to India, as some of the Lodi nobles had invited Babar two centuries before. When he came through Kabul to the Panjab early in 1739, the Mughal army put up a very feeble resistance, and the Mughal viceroys and ministers vied with each other in giving him secret assistance The Mughal Emperor had to come out to meet him, offer him submission, and bring him over to Delhi. A present or indemnity of 20 crores of rupees was fixed by him, which the Delhi authorities found it difficult to collect. The collection of supplies, also, for Nadir Shah and his exacting followers, caused a great deal of discontent. The day after his entry was the Feast of Sacrifice (*Id-ul-Azha*), and there was great excitement in the city. A story went round among the mob that Nadir Shah had been poisoned The city rose against the Persians. The following day Nadir Shah rode out into the Chandni Chauk to quell the tumult, but, seeing the dead bodies of the Persians, and enraged at the violence offered to him, he ordered a general massacre. From eight in the morning to three in the afternoon, over a lakh of men were said to have been slaughtered, and there was the usual accompaniment of the burning and looting of houses and shops. The Mughal Emperor and Nizam-ul-Mulk interceded for the city, and a proclamation was made by Nadir Shah by beat of drum to put a stop to any further violence. The

indemnity was collected during the next two months by assessment on the nobles and the wealthy, and Nadir Shah departed, laden with the money, jewels, and presents. He obtained a cession of all the territory west of the Indus. Consternation reigned supreme in Delhi and the Panjab for months afterwards, and the nobles and officers who returned to their Provinces could hardly be expected to respect an Emperor who had been so humiliated by a foreign invader.

Ahmad Shah Abdali.—The internal dissensions in the Empire were aggravated by the anarchy that followed Nadir Shah's invasion. The Marathas grew bolder, and their blows to the Empire became more smashing. Meanwhile Nadir Shah had been assassinated in Persia in 1747, and the Abdalis (afterwards called Durranis) had recovered Kandahar and the whole of Afghanistan from the Persians. Thus was laid the foundation of the Afghan nation as a distinct political unit. The Durrani family still rules in Afghanistan and has recently followed a progressive policy and won an international status. Their chief at the time, Ahmad Shah Abdali, had wider ambitions than could be satisfied with Afghanistan. He was already, in virtue of Nadir Shah's conquests, in possession of the Panjab and Sindh west of the Indus. He noted the anarchy in India, and planned the conquest of the country. In the course of three preliminary invasions he had reduced (by 1757) the whole of the Panjab,

allied himself by marriage with the Imperial Mughal family, and left his own nominee, the Rohilla Najib-ud-daula, in chief power there. He had practically reduced the Mughals to a subordinate position. But the more he weakened Delhi, the more he emboldened the Marathas. They reached Delhi in 1758, and invaded the Panjab, which was the Durrani's own territory. In 1759 he returned, turned out the Marathas, and made arrangements to restore order at Delhi.

Third Battle of Panipat.—It was now that the Marathas took up the challenge. All their commanders united with the government of the Peshwa at Poona to strike a decisive blow for the prize of Northern India. In the autumn of 1760 they brought a huge army numbering 300,000, and strong in infantry and artillery, to oppose the Abdali's forces. Among these about 100,000 were well-drilled troops. The infantry and artillery were commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who had been trained in European methods of warfare in the Deccan. The Rajputs and Jats, the Pindaris and Bundelas, also sent contingents, and the Marathas tried either to gain over to their side, or at least to detach from the Abdali side, disaffected viceroys like Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh. The Nawab was coerced by the Abdali, and though he nominally joined the Abdali's forces, his assistance was lukewarm. Only small Afghan principalities like those of the Rohillas and of Kunjpura were whole-

heartedly loyal to the Abdali. He had a force of about 100,000 fighting men, but he mainly relied on his Afghan troops numbering 40,000. In tactics the Marathas were beaten by the Abdali in the battle of Panipat. This is known as the Third Battle of Panipat, and was fought on the 7th January 1761. Most of the Maratha leaders were slain, and their confederacy was broken up for ever. After this the great Maratha commanders fought for themselves, but the united power of the Maratha nation was destroyed.

His retirement.—The Abdali, if he had stayed in India, might have founded an Afghan Empire to succeed to the Mughal Empire But his Afghans were unwilling to stay in India, and he retired. His own kingdom at home was not secure, and he had ambitions elsewhere. He yet returned for three more invasions, before he died in 1772-3. After his death the Sikh power grew in the Panjab and imposed an effectual barrier between the Afghans and the Delhi Empire. Meanwhile the English power had been growing in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and succeeded in half a century in establishing its paramount authority in the whole of India.

Mughal Civilisation on the eve of the British Conquest.

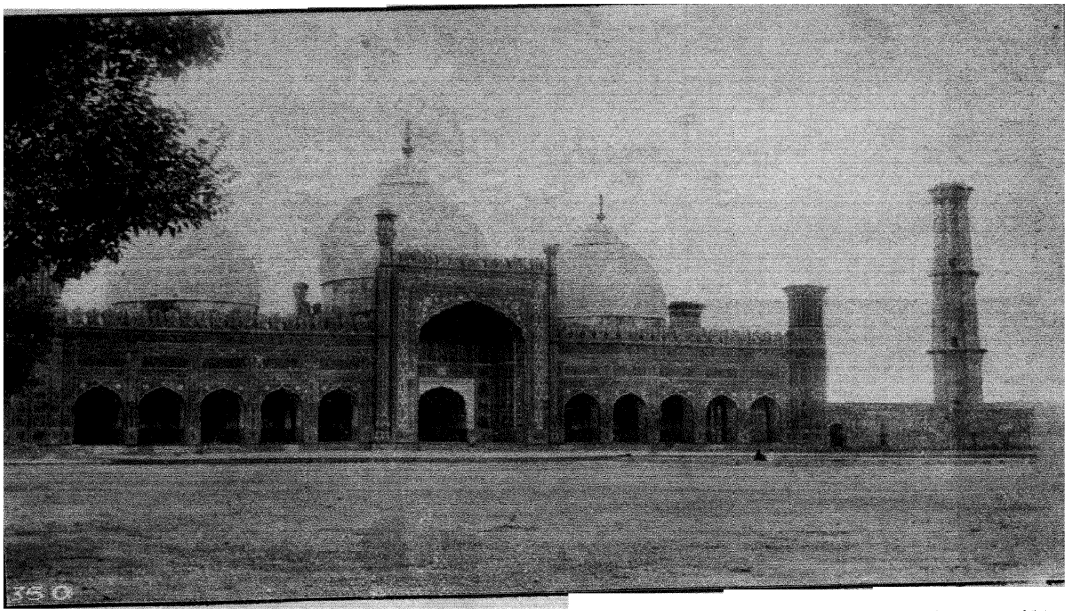
General view of Muslim society.—Before we take leave of the Mughal Empire, we might review a

few features of Mughal civilisation about the middle of the eighteenth century. It is always difficult to appraise civilisation at any given period, especially in a mixed society like that of India. The Muslims were not yet a unified people. At the top of Muslim society were the Mughals, but the term was used latterly for any Muslim of Persian, Turkish, or northern descent. They formed the upper classes, and had a polished code of manners, of which they were justly proud. The Persians in the train of Nadir Shah seemed rough to the softer but more polished Persians of the Court of Delhi. The Rohillas and Afghans were, both racially and temperamentally, quite distinct. Then there were the Muslims of Hindu descent, Rajputs, Jats, Brahmans, and other castes. These, except where in individual instances they were adopted into a Mughal or Pathan family, kept to their ancestral customs. The Saiyids often formed powerful cliques at court, but they had no particular privileges as such. The later Mughals continued the policy of intermarriages with the Rajputs.

The Court.—The character of the Court had been very much transformed since the time of Babar. He had been a soldier all his life, and his tastes and habits had been simple, although he had been fond of good living. Akbar had introduced many elaborate ceremonies, which were repugnant to the feelings of strict Muslims. Aurangzib restored the old austere dignity of the

Court. His successors had too little real power to have reorganised court ceremonial in any significant manner. The old forms of abject respect were retained, and the prestige attaching to the Padishah's throne remained, but the personality of the Padishah carried little weight in these later times. The great offices of State tended to become hereditary, and many of the Governors kept state in their Provinces like Princes. There was no hereditary nobility, and even the careful grading of dignities which had been carried out in the palmy days of the Empire had become a matter of memory. There was no ecclesiastical bias in the order of precedence, as had been the case in the earlier Delhi Sultanate.

Literature.—In learning there had been a decline from the days of the French traveller Bernier (about 1665), who had found the noblemen of the Mughal Court keen on acquiring foreign languages, foreign philosophy, and modern science. The political anarchy of the 18th century made any systematic cultivation of letters out of the question. But the tradition that had been established by the growth of a large body of Persian literature under the Mughals in India still influenced the minds of the learned. Historical literature was pursued with avidity. The growth of Urdu had made remarkable strides, and in the satires of Sauda (who died 1780) we have a graphic and artistic picture of a decadent society. In the more romantic poetry of Mir Taqi, a younger con-



To face p. 2

Fig. 19

SHAHI MOSQUE, LAHORE (1674)

From a photograph specially taken

temporary of Sauda, we get echoes of the less sordid ideas still cherished in the midst of political and social revolutions.

Architecture.—In architecture the Mughals may claim to have contributed the brightest chapter in India's artistic development. Mughal buildings of all kinds and all ages are still to be seen, many in an excellent state of preservation, all over Northern India. We can study the growth of the art in response to the various emotional impulses of the period concerned. Babar imported pupils of the celebrated Constantinople architect Sinan, and the Perso-Turkish tradition which they established was a valuable element in the growth of the Mughal style The magnificent buildings of Shah Jahan are distinguished for the grace and symmetry of their design as well as for the beauty of their ornament. After Shah Jahan the art declined from its noble standards, though some meritorious buildings were constructed early in the 18th century. The early architecture of Lucknow, like the big Imambara built by Asaf-ud-daula, belongs to the end of the 18th century, and shows a somewhat tawdry style, though the great hall of the Imambara has striking proportions.

Painting, arts, and crafts.—In painting the great successes achieved by the artists of Akbar and Jahangir gave place to matter-of-fact portraiture, although the firm line-drawing of the Indian artists gives even the work of the 18th century a certain tone of distinction. The decorative arts declined

rapidly with the decline of court patronage. In the useful arts, such as the manufacture of paper, considerable progress was made when the 18th century opened. The water-works of towns like Burhanpur and Aurangabad, constructed under the later Mughals, are good specimens of the application of science and engineering to material civilisation.

Economic conditions.—Although the Indian Muslims continued to receive fresh blood from abroad, the Mughal Government was not a foreign government. Its interest was confined to India, and the whole of its revenues was spent in the country. It encouraged the growth of Indian agriculture, arts, crafts, and industries. Its foreign maritime trade began to increase greatly in the eighteenth century, owing to the establishment of European trade factories, but the effects of this on Indian economic conditions were felt in the British Period. The introduction of European armaments and soldiers in the maritime Districts gave those Districts an additional importance in an age of chronic warfare and anarchy.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Marathas.

SHIVAJI.

Maratha Home-land.—The home-land of the Marathas was comprised in the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur. They were a thrifty industrious race, skilled in arts and crafts, and were noted with approval by the Arab traveller Ibn Batuta about 1342. In the middle of the 16th century the Marathi language was adopted as the language of accounts by the Bijapur Kingdom. When Malik Ambar revived the falling fortunes of Ahmadnagar early in the 17th century, he had Maratha officers under him, including the grandfather and father of Shivaji Bhonsle They had a jagir in Poona, where Shivaji was born in 1627. He was brought up under the care of a Brahman tutor. His tastes, however, were soldierly. He associated with soldiers, and was fond of hunting excursions and adventures through the Ghat country round Poona. Among the hill folk around him he soon picked up a following.

Shivaji's early life.—His father was a jagirdar of the Bijapur Kingdom, under which he had taken service after the destruction of the Kingdom of Ahmadnagar by the Mughals. Shivaji's ex-

ploits in taking possession of forts belonging to the Bijapur Kingdom got his father into trouble. As early as 1648 he took possession of Northern Konkan, a strip of seacoast contiguous to the Maratha country. When the Bijapur government took strong action against his father for his son's rebellion, Shivaji appealed to the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan, whose Deccan policy included the conquest of the Kingdom of Bijapur Shah Jahan took him into Mughal service and gave him the rank of a commander of five thousand, hoping to employ him against Bijapur. Peace was made between Shivaji and Bijapur, and then Shivaji turned his arms against the Mughal dominions. Desultory warfare continued for some time. In 1659 he successfully attacked a Bijapur general named Afzal Khan, killed him, and dispersed his army. Bijapur was now thoroughly roused and launched a campaign against him, and after desultory successes on both sides peace was again patched up in 1662, leaving some territory in the hands of Shivaji.

Conflict with the Mughals.—Aurangzib had now been on the Mughal throne for four years, and was anxious to follow an aggressive policy against the kingdom of Bijapur. Shivaji, however, having come to terms with Bijapur, broke with the Mughal, and by a stratagem attacked the Mughal Viceroy Shayista Khan, an uncle of Aurangzib, in Poona, and escaped. This exploit brought him great credit with his people, and he now collected

a force of light cavalry, and began to attack important cities in the Mughal Empire. In 1664 he plundered the rich city of Surat for six days, and repeated his attack six years later. During these attacks the English merchants in their factory at Surat offered a brave resistance and earned the thanks of the Mughals.

Establishes a State.—Shivaji's position was now established. After his father's death about 1664 he assumed the ensigns of royalty, although his formal coronation was deferred till ten years later. He collected some shipping on the Konkan coast to harry the Mughal ships plying between the Bombay coast and Arabia. He had also an alliance with the Portuguese at Goa. A strong army was sent by Aurangzib against him, commanded by Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur, and Shivaji opened negotiations, by which he renounced his hostility to the Mughal and received in return a jagir and the rank of a commander of five thousand (1665). He was also allowed to levy 25 per cent. of the revenue on Bijapur territory, then at war with the Mughals, and he joined the Mughal forces against Bijapur. For this service he received Aurangzib's recognition and was invited to Delhi. But the welcome he received in Delhi did not satisfy his own sense of dignity, and he escaped to the Deccan. At the next peace he made with the Mughals in 1667 his title of Raja was acknowledged, and he was left in possession of a fairly large amount of territory. Following the

precedent of the 25 per cent. levy on the revenue of foreign territory, he now exacted his *chauth* from Bijapur and Golkonda. He also re-organised his army and the internal administration of his little state. Aurangzib was thoroughly alarmed and ordered his commanders to follow him up with more vigour. But the commanders were not in all cases loyal to the Emperor, and often colluded with the Marathas. Shivaji's tactics were well fitted both for his light and mobile troops and for the hilly country in which he operated and with which he and his men were thoroughly familiar. His guerilla warfare was remarkably successful, and between 1670 and 1672 Shivaji completely consolidated his position. In 1675 he penetrated to Khandesh and Gujarat and then turned to claim from his brother Venkaji his half share in his father's jagir in Southern India. He took the strong fortress of Jinji (between Vellore and Tanjore) in 1677 from the Bijapur Kingdom and also attacked Golkonda territory. He was now in alliance with the Mughals against Bijapur and Golkonda. His son Shambhaji had not either the virility or the dignity of his father and was imprisoned by Shivaji in a fortress. Shambhaji escaped and took refuge with the Mughals. Aurangzib, however, handed him back to his father. Shivaji died in 1680, after a successful career, first as a guerilla leader, then as the chief of a State, and finally as the founder of a nation and power that was in the forefront of Indian history

in the eighteenth century. The Maratha poets Tukaram and Ramdas were his contemporaries, and represent the cultural side of Maratha life at the birth of the nation.

His son and grandson.—We saw that Shivaji's son Shambhaji was unworthy of his father. Had Shivaji merely played for his own hand, his power would have ended with him. But he had made the Marathas into a nation, and placed the guidance of civil affairs in the hands of Brahman ministers, under whom, in spite of many vicissitudes, the Maratha power grew, although Shivaji's family fell into the back-ground. After an inglorious reign of nine years Shambhaji was captured by the Mughal armies and executed as a rebel (1689). His son Shahu, then a boy of seven, was brought up in the Mughal Court with the rank and position of a nobleman. He was sent to his own people after Aurangzib's death, and his reappearance among the Marathas caused internal dissentions among them, which weakened their power. The capable Brahmans at Maratha headquarters now took a step which concentrated the power into their own hands and prevented the dispersal of Maratha strength. The institution by which they were enabled to do this was the government of the Peshwas.

The Peshwas.

The term and the office.—The Persian term

"Peshwa" was used for a minister in the old Ahmadnagar Kingdom as early as 1529, when Burhan Nizam Shah appointed a Brahman minister Kunwar Sain with that title. The term was used for Brahman ministers when the Maratha State was organised, but originally it did not mean the chief minister. In the person of Balaji Vishvanath, a Konkan Brahman, the office of Peshwa became the chief office in the Maratha State and later the Maratha Empire. It also became hereditary. Counting Balaji as the first Peshwa, there were seven in the dynasty, and their power lasted from 1714 to 1818.

Balaji Vishvanath.—Shahu relied almost entirely on the first Peshwa, who had supported him in the Maratha civil war, and who maintained him on the throne of Shivaji. Shahu's rival was favoured by Asaf Jah, the Subahdar of the Deccan. To counteract the Subahdar's influence, the Peshwa used the influence of the Imperial Court at Delhi. Farrukh Siyar was then Emperor, and the Saiyid brothers were in power. One of them was sent out to the Deccan to supersede Asaf Jah and settle the Maratha question. But the Saiyid was no match for the guerilla tactics of the Marathas, and made an alliance with them on disgraceful terms. These included the right of levying *chauth* on the whole of the Deccan, which meant an intrusion into the authority of the Deccan Subahdari. In addition the Marathas were granted the right of sardeshmukhi, which amounted to

one-tenth on the remaining revenue. The office of Deshmukh in the Deccan implies both dignity and emoluments. He collects the revenue of a large tract of country and pays it to Government, retaining a percentage as his remuneration. The Sardeshmukh is a chief over many deshmukhs, and the right of sardeshmukhi granted to the Maratha chief implied extensive jurisdiction. It was accompanied with a tribute payable by the Marathas and the obligation of policing the country. This treaty was not ratified by Farrukh Siyar, but the Marathas used it as a lever for their exactions, backed by the military force which they commanded. Eventually, in 1720, they obtained its ratification by Farrukh Siyar's successor on the Delhi throne. The Peshwa's astute diplomacy used the quarrels between Farrukh Siyar and his Saiyid general, and between the Imperial Court and Subahdar of the Deccan, to advance the Maratha power and introduce it into Northern India. Shahu became a mere figure-head. The Peshwas carried on the Maratha government, and used the Maratha commanders to fight in different fields for the central power in Poona. It is true that the Marathas still acted as tributaries to the Mughals, but their power was firmly established in the Mughal Empire.

Baji Rao I.—Balaji Vishvanath died in 1720, and was succeeded in the office of Peshwa by his son Baji Rao I, the ablest statesman in Maratha history after Shivaji. His father had been content

to establish Maratha influence in Northern India He followed the bolder policy of obtaining substantial concessions north of the Narbada. It was necessary for his purpose to arrive at an understanding with Asaf Jah, who had returned to the Deccan. Having done this, he planted the Maratha flag in Malwa and Gujarat, and pushed on as far as Bundelkhand, where his descendants established a principality. In 1737 he appeared in person at the head of a large Maratha force before Delhi. The resources of the Mughal Empire were now pooled against him. Asaf Jah from the Deccan was called up to oppose him, and Oudh was asked to send contingents. The Peshwa retired southwards, fighting guerilla actions according to the usual Maratha policy. By these tactics he drew on the Mughal forces. He eventually cut off their retreat, and forced the cession of the country between the Narbada and the Chambal (1738). Presently, Delhi was overwhelmed by the catastrophe of Nadir Shah's invasion (1739), which has been already described (Chapter XV). Baji Rao now turned his attention to the south. He sought to revenge himself on Asaf Jah by attacking his son, but the latter turned the tables on him, and was marching on Poona, when Baji Rao came to terms with him. Baji Rao had his own internal difficulties with the Marathas, which he tried to overcome by means of a bold external policy. He died in April 1740 after a vigorous rule of twenty years.



Fig. 20 *To face p. 227*

MAHADAJI SINDHIA

Maratha Commanders.—It was during Baji Rao's administration that the four great Maratha fighting houses came into prominence. One of them, the Bhonsle, was related by marriage to Shivaji's family, and established a kingdom with its capital in Nagpur, which was extinguished on its annexation to British India in 1854. He was a rival to the Peshwa's family, and usually acted in opposition to the Peshwa's ambitions. The principalities founded by the other three Houses still exist as important Indian States. Sindhia was originally in the personal service of the Peshwa. He got a command, in which he distinguished himself, and his family became the rulers of Gwalior State. Mahadaji Sindhia in the time of Warren Hastings was a more important figure than the Peshwa himself. He acted for a time as protector of the Emperor Shah Alam against his enemies, and got the Peshwa nominally appointed as Deputy of the Mughal Empire, and himself as (the real) Chief Commander of the Empire. Holkar played a prominent part in Malwa, and still rules, with his capital at Indore. The Gaikwar's field of action was mainly in Gujarat; his family holds scattered territory in Gujarat and Kathiawar, with its capital at Baroda.

Balaji: expansion in the North.—After Baji Rao's death, the succession to the office of Peshwa was not decided without some dispute. Balaji became the third Peshwa (1740—1761). The death of Shahu in 1749 gave him an opportunity

of further consolidating the Peshwa's position. Two ladies of Shivaji's family were played off against each other, and we hear no more of the descendants of the founder of the Maratha power. The Peshwa became supreme. He interfered in the family disputes of the Nizam's family, and gained advantages for the Marathas. The French and the English were then contending for supremacy in the Deccan, and the initial successes seemed to lie with the French, especially in the court of the Nizam. Balaji's clever diplomacy undermined French influence, and indirectly helped to advance the English cause in Southern India. But he was foiled in Mysore by the genius of Haidar Ali (1760). Meanwhile affairs in Delhi had been going from bad to worse. The rival factions called in the aid of Maratha commanders, and Holkar and Sindhia were only too ready to snatch any advantage that could be got out of the tangled politics of the Empire. In 1758 the Peshwa's brother entered Lahore at the invitation of one of the Mughal factions. Now Lahore and the Panjab were (as we saw in the last chapter) considered to be the possessions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He came back from Afghanistan in 1759 and turned out the Marathas.

End of united Maratha nation.—But the Marathas were in no mood to retire. They had a well-drilled army, and they had profited by their contact with the French to acquire European artillery and to engage a Muslim commander trained under

the French. In the Peshwa Balaji they had a man of consummate diplomatic skill in working all the Maratha forces together, and in his cousin Sadashiv Bhav a self-confident leader of large ambitions. A supreme effort was made by the Marathas to obtain final mastery in India by driving out the Abdali. The result was the Third Battle of Panipat (January 1761), which we have already described. The defeat of the Marathas was disastrous not only to the Maratha forces engaged, but to the solidarity of the Maratha nation as a whole. Most of the Maratha leaders were killed, including the Peshwa's cousin and son. The cipher message that was brought to the Peshwa announcing the disaster ran: "Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold mohurs have been lost, and of the silver and copper the total cannot be cast up." The shock of the news killed the Peshwa. Balaji died (1761), barely forty years old, and with him died the hope of the Marathas as a united nation.

Madhav Rao Ballal and Nana Phadnavis.—He was succeeded by his second son Madhav Rao the fourth Peshwa, known as Madhav Rao Ballal (1761—1772). Madhav Rao was then only a lad sixteen years of age. But he had inherited his father's brains and unfortunately also his father's tendency to consumption. Though young in years, he was gifted with a strong character, a quick insight into affairs, and untiring energy both in the field and in administration. His uncle Raghu-

nath Rao (known as Raghoba) constituted himself as his guardian and regent. But the young Peshwa felt himself too competent to allow his uncle to rule He got rid of the other men of the ministry and appointed young men like himself to assist in his administration. One of these was Balaji Janardhan Bhanu whom he appointed Phadnavis or Secretary, and who is better known as Nana Phadnavis. Nana was a very remarkable character in Maratha history. He had been in the disastrous battle of Panipat, but he was no soldier, and had left his mother behind in the field to die. Under many Peshwas and through many revolutions he retained the ear of the Poona government till his death in 1800. In the Maratha wars with the English, and the negotiations before and after, he maintained a continuity of policy, and advised his people with wisdom and met his antagonists with skill and astuteness.

Enemies in the Deccan.—Madhav Rao was not left in peace after he forced his uncle Raghoba to retirement. Raghoba continued to intrigue with his nephew's enemies, and occasionally made peace with his nephew. Madhav Rao had to meet three external enemies in the Deccan. One was the Nizam of Hyderabad, to whom some of his discontented Maratha commanders deserted. But the successful Maratha diplomacy won them back to the Maratha cause, which more than held its own against the Nizam. The second enemy whom the Peshwa had to meet was Haidar Ali of Mysore.

He fought two successful wars with Haidar Ali, and by 1770 he had, by arrangements with the Nizam and the Company, neutralised Haidar Ali's conquests and reduced Mysore to even smaller proportions than before Haidar Ali had come on the scene. His third danger had been from the English East India Company, which by this time had made itself paramount both in Bengal and the Deccan. He did not come into direct conflict with the Company, though his policy at Delhi was bound sooner or later to bring the Marathas face to face with the increasing British power in India.

Marathas at Delhi.—When the Abdali withdrew from Delhi, the Emperor Shah Alam was in Bihar. The battle of Baksar (1764) shattered all his hopes in the eastern Provinces, and after he had signed away the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa to the East India Company (1765), he lived at Allahabad under the Company's "protection," which meant as a prisoner of the Company. The factions at Delhi continued to fight in his name, and the Marathas, under so ambitious a Peshwa as Madhav Rao, were not likely to let slip such a golden opportunity of adding to their power. Their emissaries held out to Shah Alam the hope of a restored empire if he would leave the Company's protection at Allahabad and return to Delhi. Shah Alam snatched at the prospect, but lost the revenues which had been assigned to him by the Company. Escorted by a Maratha army he re-entered

Delhi in December 1771, only to find himself in worse difficulties and misfortunes. The Marathas withdrew from Delhi, and the whole aspect of affairs was changed by the death of Madhav Rao at the age of 27 near Poona (November 1772). His beautiful young wife immolated herself on his funeral pyre.

Later history.—Raghoba played an important and treacherous part in the intricate Maratha affairs and in the Company's dealings with the Marathas after Madhav Rao's death. But the stream of Maratha history now mingles with the general history of India. The Peshwa now counts for less in Maratha politics than the independent chiefs Sindhia and Holkar. After the death of Nana Phadnavis the Poona Court failed to realise the supreme position which the Company had won in India and to adjust their focus of vision to that position. The seventh and last Peshwa Baji Rao II (1796—1818) had a troubled rule of 22 years. After the Third Maratha War his dynasty was extinguished (1818), and he retired as a private man to Bithur near Cawnpore, on a handsome political pension granted by the East India Company. He lived there in luxury, and died at the ripe of old age of 80 in 1851, leaving an adopted son, the Nana Sahib, whom we shall have occasion to notice in speaking of the Mutiny of 1857. On Baji Rao's deposition the Peshwa's territory was annexed to the Bombay Presidency, in which the highly intellectual Maratha Brahmans still play a leading role under modern conditions.

CHAPTER XVII.

Early European Transactions in India.

Expansion of Europe.

European rivalry for sea-power and trade.—The British conquest of India was a gradual process, of which the preliminaries were worked out by other European nations. It was a part of the general European movement for maritime discovery, trade expansion, and territorial conquest, which set in about the fifteenth century. In that general movement, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, France, Holland, and England took part, at different stages and in different geographical spheres. As far as India is concerned, Italy and Spain do not count, and France entered later into the struggle, but Portugal and Holland were early in field, and their work partly facilitated or laid the foundations for British work in India.

Want of Indian sea-power.—We saw that at the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India the country was divided into numerous States built on the ruins of the Delhi Sultanate. None of them had any great naval power, although the coastal states had a considerable amount of maritime trade through Chinese or Arab vessels. The Mughal Empire itself took at least half a century

to build up. Meanwhile the Ottoman Empire had taken possession of the Eastern Mediterranean, and barred the western trade routes to India by way of the Red Sea, or through the Persian Gulf, or overland through Constantinople and the north-west frontier of India.

Portugal in the East.

Portuguese come by the Cape route.—Spain and Portugal had made great efforts in the west at discovering new maritime routes Columbus, in trying to discover India by a western route, had discovered America in 1492. The Portuguese, to whom the Pope had assigned the eastern seas in order to prevent conflicts with Spain, sailed round the continent of Africa by the Cape and appeared in Calicut in 1498, in three well-built ships, with a munition ship, under Vasco da Gama. There were three links in this long voyage of over 11,000 miles, over which he took a year. The first section, from Lisbon to the Cape and a little way round as far as Algoa Bay, where modern Port Elizabeth stands, had been explored by an earlier Portuguese navigator, Bartholomeu Dias, in 1486. The second section, from the Cape to Port Melinda some fifty miles north of Mombasa (East Africa), was new to the Portuguese. The third section, from Port Melinda to Calicut, was carried out under the guidance of Muslim pilots from the ports of Gujarat.

Objects of the Portuguese.—The objects of the voyage were threefold. The religious aspect is described in the *Lusiads*, the national epic of Portugal, as being to "destroy the Arab and Oriental Turk, and Gentoo,* and drink the water of the sacred Ganges." The Portuguese had hoped to discover some Christian king in the east, (vaguely known in the west as Prester John) and in any case to establish the Catholic faith in India. Secondly, they had hoped to conquer fresh territory for the King of Portugal, to compensate for the vast new lands added to the Spanish Crown by the discoveries in America. Their third object was gain by commerce or plunder.

The Portuguese at Calicut.—For all these objects Calicut was admirably suited as the port of entry for the Portuguese. It was the chief port of the Malabar coast, with a very international and tolerant atmosphere. It was secluded from India and its politically more powerful kingdoms by the mountain country of the Ghats. The Malabar Jews, the Nestorian Christians, the Nairs, and the Mappila (Mopla) Muslims, all lived side by side in peace and amity, under the Sea-Raja,† who welcome all foreigners, as his revenues were derived from maritime trade. There was no danger here of complications with the kingdoms

*=Hindu.

†Tamil, *Samuri*=the *Zamorin* of European writers.

of the Deccan or of the North. Gama must have heard from his pilots in East Africa of the Kingdom of Gujarat, with its fine ports (for which the Portuguese fought afterwards), and avoided it, as this was his first reconnoitring expedition. The Mughal Empire of India had not yet been born. Gama was well received at first at Calicut, but he and his Portuguese were less gentle than the people he had to deal with in India. He sailed away with spices and merchandise and returned to Lisbon in 1499. The freight which he brought repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition.

Their career of plunder and conquest.—The Portuguese king was elated at the result of this expedition, and assumed at once the haughty title of "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and India!" This expedition was followed by many others. But Portuguese high-handedness was soon perceived in its true colours, and conflicts followed. The conflict with the Arabs was a question of life and death, and the Portuguese having better ships and being better seamen won. The conflict with the Zamorin led to the formation of coalitions against him by the Portuguese, who allied themselves with the Cochin and other Malabar Rajas, and went on in their career of plunder and conquest, and their policy of playing off one Indian power against another. By 1505 they had destroyed Arab shipping and were supreme in the Malabar waters. They sought to make their

position in the east secure and permanent. They fortified the ports on the African coast on the way to India. But they had yet to obtain the command of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea, including the entrance to the Persian Gulf, and the southern entrance to the Red Sea. Egypt was still under the Mamluk Sultans, who tried to send a sea force to co-operate with the Muslim Kingdom of Gujarat against the Portuguese (1508). The enterprise, though successful in the beginning, ended in disaster on account of the Portuguese naval victory at Diu (1509), and soon afterwards the Mamluks in Egypt were overthrown by the Ottoman Turks (1516-17).

Albuquerque: Portuguese command of the Eastern Seas.—Under Affonso de Albuquerque (1509–1515) the Portuguese power was firmly planted on the continent of India. He captured Goa from the Bijapur Kingdom in 1510, and from its middle position he dominated the whole of the west coast of India. In 1515 he built a strong fortress at Ormuz, which dominated the Persian Gulf. The Portuguese had also now the command of the mouth of the Red Sea, though they had failed in their assaults on Aden. Albuquerque had also far-reaching plans in the far East, and in furtherance of them he seized the important city of Malacca (1511), commanding the entrance to the Spice Islands in the Indian Archipalags, and the trade with China and Japan. After rendering the most brilliant services to his

ungrateful country, he was superseded, and died in Goa, 1515, a heart-broken man.

Their decline in India.—The Turks after they captured Egypt tried to check Portuguese power in the east in various directions. In 1545 they attacked Diu, but the Turks had no base in the Indian Ocean, and the Gujarat Kingdom had by now become feeble, while the Mughal Emperor Humayun was a fugitive from his Empire. Portugal to the present day retains Diu, Daman, and Goa. She ceded Bombay in 1661 to Charles II of England as part of the dowry of his bride Catherine of Braganza, and later on (1739) she lost Bassein to the Marathas. Her naval power in the days of her strength enabled her to hold strategic ports, but she never made any impression either on the smaller kingdoms in India or on the Mughal Empire. Her cruelties made her unpopular. Though she raised and drilled Indian levies and used them with her troops, she won no land battles of importance in India. Goa in the early days of the Portuguese became an important and luxurious city, eclipsing even Libson. As the Portuguese saying was: whoever has seen Goa need not see Lisbon. But its life was corrupt: it had no industries or (under the Portuguese) real commerce with the interior. The Portuguese themselves degenerated in the East. When their kingdom was absorbed in Spain (1580—1640), they ceased to be of any importance in Indian politics.

Dutch in India.

Rise of the Dutch.—The Portuguese, in virtue of their discovery of the Cape route, claimed the exclusive privilege of trading with the east. That claim was backed by naval force and held valid. though they allowed other nations to trade with the east under their own flag, and their port of Lisbon was a free port for the distribution of Eastern merchandise to the nations of Western and Northern Europe. In this distributing trade the Dutch took a very prominent part, and their mercantile marine was one of the strongest in Europe. They were Protestants, and had been held in subjection by the Spanish Empire, against which they raised the standard of revolt in 1572. When the Portuguese and Spanish crowns were united in 1580, the Spanish Empire excluded the rebel Dutch from the port of Lisbon. The life-blood of Dutch commerce was in the carrying trade, and the Dutch resolved to force the eastern route by the Cape. They declared their independence in 1581, and henceforward there was relentless war between them and the Portuguese for the Eastern trade. Their famous admiral De Houtman led the way in 1595, and within six years numerous private companies were formed for trading with the East, and sixty-five ships were sent out. These companies were amalgamated by the Dutch into a United Joint Stock Company in 1602, strongly backed by the Dutch Gov-

ernment. The Eastern trade became a national concern of the Dutch. They defeated the Portuguese in that year near Bantam (at the north-eastern corner of their island of Java), and their sea-power became supreme in the Eastern Archipelago.

Dutch conquests and settlements.—The Dutch aims were different from the aims of the Portuguese. The Dutch aimed at controlling trade and production, and earning profits on their carrying trade. Religious proselytism was not on their programme, nor direct sovereignty. They extended their influence mainly by diplomatic means. But in their warfare with the Portuguese they were determined to turn them out of all the points of vantage on the Eastern trade routes. The Portuguese had made Ceylon tributary in 1506. They were turned out by the Dutch in the twenty years from 1638 to 1658. They lost the Cape to the Dutch in 1652. The Dutch had their principal field of operations in the Eastern Archipelago, which they controlled from the new city of Batavia (about 50 miles east of Bantam), which they founded in 1619. In the Archipelago they claimed exclusive rights, and their East India Company had a long struggle with the London East India Company till the latter was eliminated after the massacre of Amboyna (1623). On the continent of India the Dutch had trade settlements, as at Surat on the west coast (established 1618), Pulicat on the east coast (es-

tablished 1609), and Chinsura on the Hugli (established 1656). But these were only subsidiary stations, their main interest being in the Spice Islands in the Archipelago.

England in India.

England on the scene.—Their rival Protestant nation the English concentrated on India proper, especially after she was eliminated out of the Archipelago in 1623. England's sea strength began after her defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588. She had helped the Dutch in attaining their independence, and was linked to them by ties of religion (Protestantism), and her first fights were with the Portuguese. Her early sea captains worsted the Portuguese in sea fights on the west coast and off Surat in 1614—1616 But by this time the Portuguese had already become a spent force in the East. Their loss of Ormuz to the combined attack of English and Persians (1622) completed their downfall. The real rivalry of the English in the East was with the Dutch, and it continued long after the English had decided to concentrate on India and the Dutch on the Archipelago.

Foundation of the East India Company.—The English had, throughout the 16th century, tried to discover a north-west passage or a north-east passage, through the arctic regions, to India, in order to give them a route exclusively their own.

We now know, and they found out after repeated failures. that such a passage was impossible as a trade route, and they then, like the Dutch, forced the Cape route against the Portuguese. The English planned out their voyages by this route, but they were many years behind the Dutch in carrying their plans into execution. They profited, however, by Dutch experience. The Dutch had then better ships and a better trade and shipping organisation. The English for generations afterwards used Dutch terms in their eastern trade, showing the organisation which they copied. On the last day of the year 1600 Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to the "Merchants of London trading to the East Indies,"—"for the honour of our nation, the wealth of our people," "the increase of our navigation, and the advancement of lawful traffic to the benefit of our commonwealth." The Company was granted the monopoly of the eastern trade for fifteen years. Various privileges were given to the Company,—the power of making bye-laws, exemption from payment of export duties for the first four voyages, long credit for the payment of import duties on merchandise brought in from abroad, and a licence to export silver bullion for foreign transactions.

Company's trade and profits.—The stock of the Corporation or Company was in cash, not in goods or ships. The trading on the voyages was joint, but the voyages were separate: no member (or group of members) was free to fit out ships and

trade on his own account; but on the other hand, each voyage had a separate subscription and a separate Commission from the sovereign. The subscription could be offered by such members of the Company as chose to share in the enterprise; the enterprise was conducted by the Company and under the Company's rules; at the end of the voyage the accounts were wound up and the profits distributed among those who joined the enterprise: and a new enterprise might be begun, again by the Company on the same terms. The profits were obtained not only from trade, but from exchange of presents, and from the capture of enemy vessels and cargoes. The Separate Voyages continued until 1612, after which Joint Stocks were raised for several voyages at a time or for a certain number of years From 1661 the Joint Stock became permanent, as it is in modern companies. In the period of Separate Voyages the net profits were high, and hardly ever below 100 per cent.

Its need for settlements.—The Company in its earliest voyages had merely traded from its ships, without having any settlements ashore. For permanent trade such settlements were absolutely necessary, but they could not be established without negotiations with the Indian authorities as to the erection of buildings, the terms on which the customs dues were to be paid, and other matters. In the Malabar ports the Portuguese had settled these matters by violence: they de-

scended by superior force where they liked; so far from paying customs they demanded tribute; and otherwise behaved in a manner not conducive to the promotion of continuous and peaceable trade. Before their advent foreigners of many nationalities had traded on honourable terms. They had paid dues to the local authorities according to custom, which was somewhat flexible, and had been allowed the privilege of self-contained communities which freely exercised their religious and social rites and regulated the conduct of their own members by their own rules, independently of the local authorities. The southern strip of the western coast was still under Portuguese influence. But further north, near the port of Surat, there was the well-established authority of the Mughal Government, which the Company was anxious to conciliate for peaceable trade.

Surat and its factory: how Presidencies arose — Surat was the "Gate of India," and in the Company's Third Voyage one of its ships visited that port (1608). Its enterprising commander, Captain William Hawkins, journeyed over to Agra to Jahangir's Court, where he made a favourable impression. In spite of the Portuguese attempts to discredit his nation, he obtained a position at the Mughal Court, and obtained trade privileges for the Company. In 1611-12 the Company's ships successfully fought a gallant action against the Portuguese ships, and in 1612 the first English settlement in India was established at Surat,

which was described in a contemporary document as "the only key to open all the rich and best trade of the Indies." Surat commanded the trade not only of the adjacent country, but of the rich provinces of Gujarat and Malwa, and of Agra and Delhi, the capitals of the Empire. It was also an emporium for the trade of Persia and Arabia. The Company followed up this advantage with the embassy of Sir Thomas Roe (1615—1618), which has already been referred to. He obtained permission for the Company's servants to reside in Surat, to hire houses for trade purposes, and to travel freely in the Empire. Other settlements were established in the neighbourhood, which were controlled by the President of the factory at Surat. This was the germ of the Presidency system, before the English had acquired any territory in India The acquisition of Bombay island in 1661 gave the English a secure hold on the west coast, where Bombay superseded Surat as the chief settlement in 1687. The Company acquired no further territory in Western India till it annexed Surat (1800) and the Maratha territory (1818), which forms the nucleus of the present Bombay Presidency.

East coast factories: *Masulipatam.*—On the east coast the political conditions were different. The Mughal Empire had not, when the Surat settlement was established (1612), yet reached the east coast, which was under the sovereignty of the Golkonda Kingdom, but locally under petty

feudatory Rajas. The coast was low, and there were few good harbours, but the population was peaceable, and good and cheap cotton fabrics, such as calicoes, were produced in abundance. The east coast also led up to the rich Mughal Province of Bengal, famous for its production of sugar, silk, and saltpetre (used in the manufacture of gunpowder). It had the additional advantage of looking towards the Spice Islands in the Eastern Archipelago. Both the Dutch and the English sought their earliest settlements there. The Dutch established themselves at Pulicat in 1609, and prevented the success of English efforts at that point. The English turned their attention to Masulipatam, near the mouths of the Krishna (1611), the port of the Golkonda Kingdom trading not only in calicoes but in diamonds, which were produced in the Krishna valley. In 1613 they obtained a grant for a factory from a local Raja, and began to do a very flourishing trade. But the political conditions were not as settled as they were in the Mughal Empire. In 1632 they obtained a "Golden Farman" from the King of Golkonda, which said: "Under the shadow of me, the King, they shall sit down in rest and in safety."

Madras.—But the Company wanted a place of their own, where they could erect a fort and be free from the molestations of the Dutch. Their agent Francis Day negotiated for such a settlement in what is now Madras. A local Hindu

Raja gave him a grant (1639), on which he built Fort St. George even before obtaining the Company's sanction. The grant was afterwards confirmed by a superior Raja and by the King of Golkonda. It was their first possession in India, 22 years before the acquisition of Bombay. It is true it was a barren swampy site,—about six miles of foreshore with a depth of only a mile; but it afforded protection to the English merchants within the walls, while around it grew up hamlets of weavers and dyers, plying their humble trade on humble profits, undisturbed by the political changes around them. In 1642 the Masulipatam factory was made subordinate to Madras, and in 1653 Madras was made an independent Presidency. In 1688 Madras was given a municipal corporation, with a mayor and twelve aldermen, of whom three were to be English, three Portuguese, and seven Indians. Some of these were to be Justices of the Peace. So struck was the King of Golkonda with the Company's profitable trade in Madras that he offered to become its partner, an offer which was politely evaded. Thus was established the Company's first fortified station in India, from which, a century later, it issued to take its share in the politics of Southern India, as a step towards the building up of the British Indian Empire.

Company's position in England.—From Madras the transition to Bengal was natural, but it will be best to postpone the account of the British

transactions in Bengal until we have followed the history of the Southern Presidency to the stormy period of Robert Clive. Meanwhile the fortunes of the Company itself at home underwent various changes. The first two Stuarts, though they took the Company under their patronage, did not omit to levy exactions from the Company. Its charter was renewed (1609) in perpetuity (subject to three years' notice of termination), but more than once the King granted licences to favourites in violation of the Company's monopoly. Before and during the Clive War (1642—1649) the Company's profits and prestige at home fell off. During the Commonwealth (1649—1660) its monopoly was viewed with suspicion and frequently attacked, but Cromwell's Charter of 1657 maintained the monopoly as being in the national interest. Cromwell's strong foreign policy put Portugal's pretentions in the East on a proper footing, and his Dutch war also strengthened England's position in the East. At the Restoration the Company was a strong and united Loyalist Corporation, and it received a fresh Royal Charter in 1661. The Company strengthened its position: an increased number of sovereign powers was delegated to it; and its agents in India took more and more responsibility and stood out abroad as worthy representatives of a race with free, warlike, and Imperial instincts.

Jealousies: rival Company and amalgamation.—By 1683 the Company's profits were so great that

its stock went up in the market to £500 per cent. Then it began to decline. Part of the decline was due to the military preparations in which the Company engaged in India and its foolish "war" with Aurangzib (1686—1690). But it was mainly due to the jealousy of the Company's monopoly of the Eastern Trade at home and its conflict with "Interlopers" or outside merchants. The Company's Charter was held under the Royal Prerogative. But Parliament was becoming more and more vigilant and powerful, and the rule of the Stuart James II becoming more and more unpopular. James's new Charter of 1686 gave civil and military powers to the Company, which were claimed "to form us into a Sovereign State in India." This was strongly attacked in Parliament, and after the Revolution of 1689, a rival society was formed, which resulted in the incorporation of a new Company by Act of Parliament in 1698. At the same time a notice was served on the old Company to terminate their privileges in three years. The two companies continued to fight until a compromise was arrived at, (Godolphin's Award), resulting in the amalgamation of the Companies in 1708. The United Company was now free to deal with the political confusion in India, and turn it to its own profit and to the glory of the nation it represented.

Rivalry of the French: Pondicherry and Dupleix.—The Company's financial position in England was now so strong that it was recognised as a power in the city of London and a rival to the Bank of England. In India the Company silently built up its forts and troops in Madras and Bombay, and its naval position throughout the Indian waters. Its European rivals, the Portuguese and the Dutch, had fallen into the background in India, but a new and stronger rival had come into the field, whose military and naval power was a danger to England for a century and a half in all parts of the world. This was France. Her East India Company was founded under a State guarantee in 1664. It began operations round the Madagascar colonies, but soon extended its activities to India. It founded a factory at Surat in 1668, and at Masulipatam in 1669, and purchased the site of Pondicherry in 1674, where it built a handsome French town, and attracted traders and artisans from the neighbourhood. The French wars with the Dutch adversely affected French prosperity in India, but French influence penetrated the local Indian Courts more easily than the influence of other European nations. Dupleix, who was Director-General of French India (1742—1754) was also a dignitary of the Mughal Court, with a definite rank and status.

French and English in conflict: Madras lost and restored.—In 1746 the French and the English came into conflict in India on account of a war between the two nations in Europe. The French Admiral La Bourdonnais swooped down from Mauritius, and captured Madras (September 1746). Among the English who escaped from Madras after its surrender to the French was Robert Clive, a young "writer" of twenty-one in the Company's service, who had been in India only two years Clive's party went to Fort St. David, a small English fort, in which Clive and his friends put up a stubborn and successful defence against the French. The English siege of Pondicherry, 1748, was repulsed with heavy losses. The Nawab of the Karnatik, in whose jurisdiction these hostilities had been carried on, tried to intervene, and to assert his claim on Madras, but his troops were defeated by a small French force, thanks to their quick-firing artillery, which further enhanced the reputation of France. In India France had won all along the line as against England, but in Europe England had been more successful. By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), France was compelled to restore Madras to England.

Fights in succession disputes.—Though the war between the two nations was ended in Europe, their agents in India continued to fight. They had large armed forces for which some employment had to be found, and they used them in the

succession disputes in the Deccan. The death of the first Asaf Jah in June 1748 left the Subahdari of the Deccan vacant., His second son Nasir Jang was at the capital, then at Aurangabad, and had no difficulty in installing himself as Subahdar. But Muzaffar Jang, Asaf Jah's grandson by a daughter, also had ambitions. He sought for the alliance of the Marathas and the French. The quarrel was further complicated by a dispute about the Nawabship of the Karnatik. The old Nawab Anwar-ud-din was opposed by a Pretender named Chanda Sahib. The Karnatik was the tract of country south of the Krishna, including the eas coast and the upland region above the Eastern Ghats. Its capital was Arcot, whose Nawab was under the jurisdiction of the Subahdar of the Deccan. Muzaffar Jang, in order to gain further allies, put up Chanda Sahib for the Karnatik Nawabship. French troops were instrumental in defeating the aged Nawab and taking his eldest son prisoner. His second son Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly (1749), and his cause was taken up by the English.

Clive's Karnatik war.—The intensive struggle between the French and the English took place in the Karnatik. Chanda Sahib with the French obtained possession of the Karnatik, and Muhammad Ali was shut up in Trichinopoly. The French seemed to have succeeded all along the line, and their influence at the Subahdar's Court was unbounded. It was the genius of Clive that turned

the tables on the French. He saw that the pressure on Trichinopoly could be relieved by a blow at Arcot, the capital of the Karnatik. The forces at his disposal were few, but by a bold stroke he captured Arcot (August 1751). This forced Chanda Sahib and his French allies to detach a considerable part of their troops from the siege of Trichinopoly to Arcot. Clive's defence of Arcot for 53 days with the help of his British and Indian troops makes a memorable chapter in the early history of the British-Indian army. He was so successful that he not only repulsed the besiegers, but pursued and defeated them. This was the turning point of the struggle. The French forces were scattered; Trichinopoly was relieved; Muhammad Ali became the Nawab of the Karnatik; Chanda Sahib was taken prisoner and eventually killed.

Dupleix defeated and disgraced.—The credit for brilliant strokes in this campaign belongs to Clive. That for patient organisation and steady fighting in support of the British cause belongs to Major Stringer Lawrence, who has been well called the father of the Indian army. Dupleix, foiled at every point, tried every resource to retrieve the situation for the French. He had installed two Nizams (Subahdars of the Deccan) on the throne, but he was outmatched in his tactics by the Marathas under Balaji Peshwa. At length his own nation disgraced and recalled him (1754), and the second phase of the Karnatik war was over.

There was further fighting in 1758—1761, but not until after Clive had won the English position in Bengal. Let us now take up the story of Bengal.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Bengal and the Company's rise to be a ruling Power.

Early Settlements.

Growth of Bengal.—The Bengal Presidency was formed much later than the other two Presidencies, but it soon outstripped the others in importance. Its Governor became ultimately the Governor-General of British India, and its capital, Calcutta, the capital of British India. The last of the Mughal Provinces to receive British commercial factories, it became the first of the Provinces to come as a block under British administration.

From Madras to Orissa and Bengal.—From Masulipatam and Madras the British merchants crept up the East Coast to Orissa, then under the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal. The Portuguese, who had been in Bengal long before them (since about 1537-8), tried to influence the Mughal authorities to exclude the British. But more deadly than Portuguese opposition was the fever and mortality on the low swampy shores. The first foothold obtained on the Orissa coast (1633) had to be abandoned eight years later. In 1650, firmly seated at Madras, the Company threw out an

offshoot to Balasore, from which they took merchandise in country boats up the river Hugli, to the Mughal port of Hugli, below which the Dutch afterwards (about 1656) built their settlement at Chinsura and the French still later (about 1673) their settlement of Chandernagore. One of the Company's surgeons, Gabriel Boughton, rendered some medical service to the Bengal Viceroy, and his influence obtained for the Company a licence to trade free of duty in the ports and in the interior of Bengal (1651). An agency was established at Hugli, and another at Patna. But the Dutch remained a thorn in the Company's side in Bengal, and the control of these factories from Madras was feeble and fitful.

Relations with the Mughals: Calcutta founded.—In 1680 an Imperial *farman* was obtained for the first time, giving the Company the right of free trade in Bengal, according to the interpretation put upon it by the Company. This interpretation was not accepted by the Bengal authorities, and there was friction. Other causes of difference arose out of Aurangzib's desire to stop the export of saltpetre from his dominions by foreigners, who manufactured out of it munitions to be used against his own Empire or against other Muslim powers. The Company's attempts to fortify its factories and use soldiers for their defence were also objected to by the Mughals. This plunged the Company into hostilities with the Empire, 1686—1690. The British Government at

home were persuaded to take up the matter, and naval demonstrations were made, but the whole war ended in an ignominious failure, and peace was made in 1690. Meanwhile the Company's servants were turned out of Bengal (1686). On their way to Madras they halted twice at the site of what afterwards became Calcutta (1687-8). On the declaration of peace (1690) John Charnock returned to Bengal and founded Calcutta. Its position below Hugli (Mughal), Chinsura (Dutch), and Chandernagore (French) gave the British with their sea power a great advantage, as they could bottle up the trade of the river higher up. Their big ships could reach Calcutta more easily than the port of Hugli. In spite of its very unhealthy climate, Calcutta soon attracted trade and settlers. Its founder died in January 1693, and lies buried in the site which became the Old Cathedral of Calcutta.

Policy of Conquest.

Favourable conditions in Bengal.—During the hostilities with Aurangzib the Company had made up its mind to abandon the policy of peaceful and unarmed trade, and "to establish such a policy of civil and military power, and create and secure such a large revenue as may be the foundation of a large, well-grounded, sure English dominion in India for all time to come."* This policy was for

*Directors' Letter to Fort St. George, 12th December 1687.

a time held in abeyance by the controversies at home, and the disputes with the rival Company, which we have referred to in the last chapter. It was revived under the United Company, which gradually strengthened its resources and perfected its organisation, until under Clive it fought the French successfully in Southern India. But the fruit of its ambition was reaped in Bengal after it had become a semi-independent Province; the Delhi Emperor had been reduced to a mere shadow; the Upper Provinces were plunged in anarchy; and Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions had drawn all eyes to the Panjab. In Southern India the Company had to contend against the French, the Marathas, the Nizam, the new Power in Mysore, and a number of smaller principalities. In Bengal, it was a short and sharp fight to a finish with the local Viceroy, against whom the fugitive Emperor himself was used to give legal sanction to the Company's conquests.

Nawab Siraj-ud-daula.—We followed the history of the Bengal Viceroyalty to the time of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, 1756. He was a youth of violent temper, who had already alienated his own family and friends and his officials and army. He had some grievances against the Company, but the hasty and violent way in which he sought redress, without considering his adversary's ultimate resources, brought about his own destruction and the establishment of the Company as a ruling power in India. The

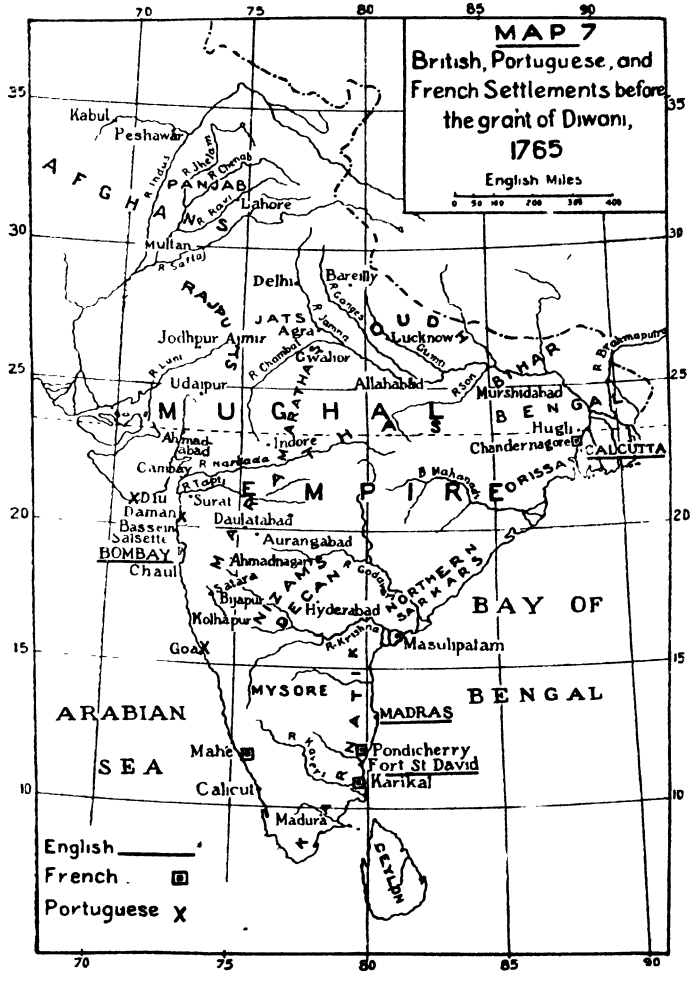
foreign settlements in Bengal were obnoxious to him, and none was more obnoxious than the British settlement in Calcutta. It had been allowed to be fortified in 1696 for protection against some rebel zamindars, and the fort had been called Fort William in honour of the reigning sovereign of England, William III. The Company were seeking to strengthen these fortifications, but the Bengal authorities did not like this. Refugees from their justice also found asylum in Calcutta. The trade privileges, free of duties, which the Company claimed, were abused by the Company's servants for purposes of private trade. The Nawab sought to drive out the Company. He seized their factory at Kasimbazar near his capital of Murshidabad, and marched on Calcutta.

Attacks and captures Calcutta.—The old fort at Calcutta was not very strong, the garrison was scanty, and practically there was no defence. The Governor, Mr. Drake, was in a panic. The women and children, and the valuable merchandise were sent away in boats, and the leaders of the garrison also evacuated the place, leaving the remnant to their fate. The latter capitulated on the 20th June 1756, but few of them lived to rejoin their countrymen. The fugitives who dropped down the river also had terrible sufferings, and many of them perished. It took six weeks for the news of the Calcutta disaster to reach Madras.

Clive's counter-stroke.—Clive, who, after his

Karnatik successes, had taken leave to England, had recently returned to India. He had helped in the suppression of pirates on the west coast, and had assumed the Governorship of Fort St. David on the very day that Calcutta was captured. He was put in charge of the expedition to Bengal, with adequate forces, military and naval. The expedition sailed from Madras in October, and had no difficulty in re-taking Calcutta early in January 1757. Clive immediately pushed up the river to the port of Hugli and took it by storm. The Nawab collected an army and approached Calcutta. Another battle seemed imminent (February 1757). There was a dense fog, under cover of which Clive tried to approach the enemy, but when the fog lifted, Clive found himself in the midst of the enemy's camp. He kept his presence of mind, and extricated himself and his men from a very dangerous situation. The Nawab himself was so impressed with Clive's boldness and cool courage that both sides were willing to come to terms. The Nawab gave the Company greater rights and privileges than before, and also compensation for losses.

French expelled from Bengal: Plot against the Nawab.—Meanwhile England and France were again at war in Europe. It was the Seven Years' War (1756—1763). News of the hostilities reached Bengal about this time (February 1757), and Clive and Admiral Watson, finding their hands free from the Nawab, attacked the French settle-


MAP 7
British, Portuguese, and French Settlements before the grant of Diwani, 1765
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
AFGHANISTAN
PUNJAB
RAJPUTS
JATS
MUGHALS
MARATHAS
EMPIRE
OUDH
BAHAR
BENGAL
ORISSA
NIZAMS
NORTHERN SARKARS
MYSORE
HAIDAR ALI
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
Kabul
Peshawar
R. Indus
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
Lahore
Multan
R. Sutlej
Delhi
Bareilly
R. Ganges
R. Jamna
Lucknow
Oudh
Jodhpur
Amir
Agra
Gwalior
R. Luni
R. Chambal
Udaipur
Allahabad
R. Son
R. Brahmaputra
Murshidabad
Hugli
Chandernagore
CALCUTTA
Ahmadabad
Indore
R. Narbada
Cambay
R. Tapti
Surat
Daman
Bassein
Salsett
BOMBAY
Chaul
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
Ahmadnagar
Satara
Bijapur
Hyderabad
R. Godavery
R. Krishna
Kolhapur
Goa
Masulipatam
MADRAS
Mahé
Pondicherry
Fort St David
Karikal
R. Kaveri
Calicut
Madura
CEYLON
English
French
Portuguese

ment of Chandernagore by land and sea, and expelled the French. The Nawab's capital at Murshidabad became the centre of many intrigues. The French joined the Nawab, and many of the Nawab's men—nobles, officers, and merchants—intrigued against him. The military strength which the Company's officers had shown in Calcutta was used to overthrow Siraj-ud-daula. A plot was hatched, by which Mir Jaafar, the Nawab's Bakhshi (Paymaster of the forces), promised large sums of money to the Company and the Company's officers and servants including Clive and the Governor and Members of the Bengal Council, if they would make him Nawab. He on his side was to desert to the English with his army if it came to a question of fighting. The terms were reduced to writing. The intermediary was one Amin Chand (Omi Chand), a wealthy merchant with interests in Calcutta. Amin Chand demanded a large sum and threatened to disclose the plot unless his demand were included in the bargain. Clive, to his discredit, outwitted Amin Chand by preparing a double treaty with Mir Jaafar. The real one omitted Amin Chand's demand. The false copy, which was shown to Amin Chand, duly set it forth.

Battle of Plassey.—After these discreditable arrangements were completed, the Nawab was forced into a renewal of the war. The battle was fought on June 23, 1757, at the village of Plassey, 22 miles south of Murshidabad, and quite close

to Kasimbazar. The greater part of the Nawab's army deserted under the traitor Mir Jaafar. The only general true to the Nawab was Mir Madan, who died at an early stage of the engagement. The Nawab's French contingent fought bravely. But his army was routed. He himself escaped, but was subsequently captured and killed by order of Mir Jaafar's son.

Company obtains pre-eminence.

Mir Jaafar Nawab: his position.—Mir Jaafar was duly proclaimed Nawab, but his Treasury was not equal to meeting the enormous demands which he was pledged to pay. The naval squadron and the army were each to receive 25 lakhs; the Governor of Calcutta (Mr. Drake) and Clive were each to receive 2.8 lakhs: and other English officers proportionate sums according to their ranks; while supplementary sums were subsequently added, such as 16 lakhs to Clive, and so on. A crore of rupees was to be paid to the Company, which was also to receive all lands lying to the south of Calcutta. Half of these sums were paid down, and time was given for the payment of the other half. The usurping Nawab had no authority among his own people, and the screw which he applied for raising the sums which he had engaged to pay made him still more unpopular. The Company had also stipulated with the Nawab for large payments to the Arme-

nians and merchants of Calcutta, which made the Company all the more popular with them. The Nawab's deputy at Bihar rebelled, and the Nawab had no money with which he could pay his soldiers. There was complete anarchy in Bengal. When Mir Jaafar applied to Clive, Clive took more assignments of revenue, and proceeded to Bihar to arrange matters. He took the lucrative saltpetre monopoly for the Company, which became virtually master of the Nawab of Bengal. At the same time he took the precaution of building a stronger fort in Calcutta, the present fort, for which he retained the name of its predecessor, Fort William.

French turned out of Madras.—Clive had turned the French out of Bengal. But they were attempting to regain their supremacy in Southern India. They had penetrated to the Northern Sarkars, the coast District between Orissa and the Krishna. But their capable general Bussy had been recalled further south in connection with the more important fighting near Madras and Pondicherry. Clive seized the opportunity to detach some forces from Bengal under Colonel Forde and occupied the Northern Sarkars for the Company (1758). They had been in the Nizam's dominions, but by successful diplomacy the Nizam himself was won over to the English cause. At the same time the Madras authorities had to sustain a siege of Madras (December 1758—February 1759) by the French, who sent out their dis-

tinguished General Comte de Lally to India. But Lally was ill supported by his own people in India, and the French fleet gave no hearty co-operation on the Madras coast. The English under Stringer Lawrence (who had trained Clive) and Eyre Coote (whom Clive had trained) defeated the French and besieged Pondicherry. It surrendered in January 1761, and Lally was taken prisoner and sent to England. French influence was now completely eliminated, though Pondicherry and Chandernagore were restored to France by the Treaty of Paris in 1763.

Mughals at Patna.—To return to Clive's proceedings in Bengal, he had to meet two fresh dangers in 1759, which he surmounted with his characteristic coolness and thoroughness. One was from Upper India, and the other was from the Dutch at Chinsura. Early in 1759 the heir to the Mughal throne. who afterwards (December 1759) became the Emperor Shah Alam, had entered Bihar to seek his fortunes, aided and abetted by the Nawab of Oudh. Delhi itself was in confusion, but the Nawab of Bengal and his real master Clive, could not afford to lose the western part of their Province. The Nawab appealed to Clive. It suited Clive's purpose admirably. He went to Patna, but the Prince's troops had retired, and the situation had been relieved. Clive had however seen enough of the weakness of the Shahzada to have considered the plan, which he afterwards adopted (1765), of obtaining the

Diwani of Bengal for the English. On the other hand the Nawab of Bengal, in gratitude for the services rendered by Clive, bestowed on him a personal Jagir of three lakhs per annum.

Dutch defeated on the Hugli.—Clive returned to Calcutta in June 1759, and in October and November he had to meet the Dutch of Chinsura and defeat them in battle. Mir Jaafar seems to have been secretly in league with the Dutch, who had received large naval forces with troops from the Archipelago. They threatened Calcutta, but Clive was more than equal to their tactics. The gallant little naval force at his command defeated the superior naval squadron of the Dutch in the Hugli, while the soldiers whom they landed were cut off before they reached Chinsura. In February 1760 Clive sailed on leave for England. His work in Bengal had been brilliant, but it was not yet completed.

Mughals again at Patna.—The Company's success had destroyed the Nawab's authority, and there was nothing substituted in its place. There was corruption and bribery, dissatisfaction and chaos, everywhere. Mir Jaafar the Nawab had not the power, and if he had had the power he had not the ability, to check the misrule and oppression that were rife in Bengal. No sooner had Clive's back been turned on Bengal than the Shahzada, now Emperor under the title of Shah Alam II, returned to Bihar and captured Patna. The small party of French officers and soldiers

under Chevalier Law, that had survived the French disasters in Bengal, had joined the Emperor. They were defeated by Major Caillaud and Captain Knox and driven to Gaya. But there was discontent both in the Nawab's army and in the Company's troops. Chevalier Law was a dashing French officer, and if only Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh, who was nominally but half-heartedly supporting the Emperor, could have placed his forces loyally at his disposal, the Frenchman was willing to undertake the administration of the Empire, as there was nothing that could be called government between Patna and Delhi, and there was positive misrule in Bengal. But Shuja-ud-daula was playing for his own hand, and the Emperor had neither character, experience, nor troops, to retrieve the situation. One or two English officers disposed of the danger from that quarter (1760).

Fresh changes in Bengal: *Mir Qasim*.—Mir Jaafar was now useless to the Company, and the Company decided to depose him. They made his son-in-law, Mir Qasim, Nawab (September 1760), and exacted more concessions for the Company and more presents for the Company's servants. But Mir Qasim was a man of energy and ability. He tried to train his army on the English model, and remedy the economic evils under which Bengal was suffering. Trade and agriculture were ruined by the oppressive dues levied lawlessly by the officials, but no income

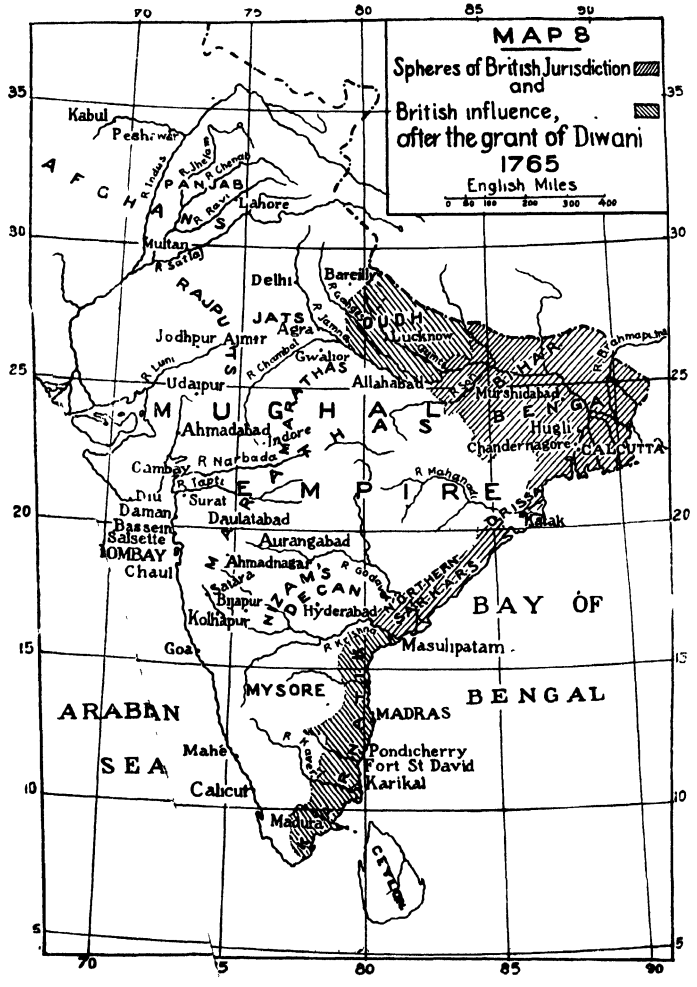
came into his Treasury as the Company claimed exemption from duties and its servants abused the privilege by claiming a similar privilege for their private trade and selling it for their own profit. Mir Qasim's subjects in their own country were at a disadvantage against the foreigners or those whom the foreigners favoured. To obviate this disadvantage Mir Qasim proposed to abolish all duties, and even to this the Company objected. The friction developed into open war (June 1763). The first collision and reprisals were at Patna. On this, Major Adams stormed Murshidabad in July, and repeated his defeats of the Nawab's army until he fled to Patna, where the British were massacred. Patna was taken in November, and Mir Qasim sought asylum with Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh, with whom was the Emperor Shah Alam.

Battle of Baksar.—Meanwhile (July 1763) the Bengal Council had deposed Mir Qasim and replaced Mir Jaafar on the throne of Bengal. More privileges accrued to the Company, and more presents to its servants, but the Nawabi of Bengal was now reduced to a farce. The Company assumed more and more the actual control of the government of Bengal, though it was some time before they stood out as the actual rulers. The chaos in Bengal grew worse and worse, and the Company sent out Clive (he was now Lord Clive) again, with full powers, and colleagues of his own choice. Before his arrival in Calcutta in May

1765, the Oudh army, with Shuja-ud-daula and Shah Alam, had again invaded Bihar and had been defeated by Major Hector Munro at the decisive battle of Baksar (October 1764). The British in their turn invaded Oudh, and seized Lucknow and Faizabad (March 1765). The time had now come for peace, and the momentous negotiations were carried out by Lord Clive himself in August 1765.

Formal Grant from the Emperor.

Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa.—Clive had to deal in the Treaty with Bengal, with Oudh, and with the position of the Mughal Emperor and his relations with the Company. As regards Bengal it was provided that the English Company was to have the Diwani of the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, "as a free gift," "and without the association of any other person," "from generation to generation, for ever and ever." The Diwan used to be the officer appointed by the Emperor to assist the Viceroy in the financial administration of a Province, and the grant of the Diwani to the Company meant that the Company henceforward became responsible for the finances of the three Provinces. But whereas an ordinary Diwan was responsible to account for all moneys received and disbursed, and for the remittance of the whole balance to the Emperor, the Company had no such responsibility. "As the said


MAP 8
Spheres of British Jurisdiction
and
British influence,
after the grant of Diwani
1765
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
Kabul
Peshawar
AFGHANISTAN
R. Indus
PANJAB
R. Jhelum
R. Chenab
R. Ravi
Lahore
Multan
R. Sutlej
RAJPUTS
Delhi
Bareilly
JATS
Agra
Jodhpur
Ajmer
R. Jumna
R. Ganges
OUDH
Lucknow
Benares
R. Brahmaputra
R. Luni
R. Chambal
Gwalior
Udaipur
Allahabad
MUGHAL EMPIRE
Murshidabad
BENGAL
Hugli
Chandernagore
CALCUTTA
Ahmadabad
Indore
MARATHAS
R. Narbada
Cambay
R. Tapti
Surat
Diu
Daman
Bassein
Salsette
BOMBAY
Chaul
Daulatabad
Aurangabad
R. Mahanadi
ORISSA
Kelak
NIZAM'S DECCAN
Ahmadnagar
R. Godavari
NORTHERN CIRCARS
Satara
Bijapur
Hyderabad
Kolhapur
BAY OF BENGAL
R. Krishna
Goa
Masulipatam
MYSORE
MADRAS
ARABIAN SEA
Mahé
R. Cavery
Pondicherry
Fort St David
Karikal
Calicut
Madura
CEYLON

Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the Provinces of Bengal, etc., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said Provinces," after providing for their administration and paying the tribute of 26 lakhs of rupees chargeable to the Nawab. The Nawab himself, by a collateral agreement, consented for a fixed sum to relinquish any further claims for expenses of administration, and now became a complete cipher. Practically the Company became master of the three Provinces.

Oudh brought under control.—With regard to Oudh, the Nawab-Wazir was to pay an indemnity of 50 lakhs. He was to allow the Company to carry on trade, duty free, throughout the whole of his dominions. He engaged never to entertain any of the Company's enemies or any of the European deserters within his dominions; nor to give the least countenance, support, or protection to them; nor to molest any persons who had in any way assisted the English during the late war. The Company was to garrison Chunar and Allahabad, and take due measures for the protection of the Emperor. This meant that not only were the Company masters of the three Provinces, but were practically also masters of Oudh (which then included the whole of the Eastern portion of the modern United Provinces), and that their frontier was advanced as far as Allahabad.

Emperor's position.—With regard to the Em-

peror, whose "faithful servants and sincere well-wishers" the Company were declared to be, he had Kora and Allahabad assigned to him for his maintenance. He was to live in Allahabad, under the Company's military protection. He confirmed by grant all the arrangements which the Company had made in any part of the Mughal dominions, including the Madras Presidency. The custody of the Emperor's person gave the Company the power to get legal confirmation of any future conquests or arrangements that they should make. The Emperor Shah Alam lived in this unhappy and ambiguous position till 1771, when he was escorted by the Marathas to his capital at Delhi. But his personal misfortunes were much greater after his return to Delhi, and the Company under Warren Hastings alienated his revenues of Kora and Allahabad and stopped the Bengal tribute.

Company's rule.

Company's servants: presents and private trade.—These arrangements at once gave the Company the position of a strong territorial Power in India. But Clive had an even more difficult task in remodelling the internal arrangements of Bengal. The lavish presents which used to be received by the Company's servants had been a great source of demoralisation. The frequent changes of Nawabs had been the occasions on

which big presents had been expected or extorted. With a more settled position for the Company, these occasions had now disappeared, but in all transactions of everyday business, presents had become common. These were put down by the Company under Clive's strong rule. Although the Company's servants were shameless in their greed, there is no instance on record in which any of them betrayed the interests of his nation or race for private gain. Another source of gain to the Company's servants had been private trade. This had become a scandal. Articles of daily consumption, such as salt, tobacco, betel-nut, rice, fish, etc. were bought up and sold at extortionate prices, causing much misery to the poor The vested interests of the Company's servants were too great for the suppression of private trade altogether. But it was regulated under Clive's orders. A company was formed consisting of the East India Company's servants, for the inland trade in salt, tobacco, and betel-nut. It made a monopoly in these articles and made enormous profits, which were distributed to the shareholders, from the Governor downwards, on a scale in proportion to their rank or position. The share of a Member of Council or a Colonel brought in a profit of at least £7,000 a year. This was afterwards suppressed.

Services reorganised.—In reorganising the Services Clive had to make a firm stand, which was much resented among the Company's servants.

In the army there was a mutiny of officers which he quelled by a mixture of sternness and judicious management. There was also a conspiracy formed among the civil servants, which was repressed in the same way. Clive urged a better scale of salaries for the Company's servants, but this reform was not carried out till later, when private trade had been completely rooted out.

Clive's character.—The strain which Clive had undergone in the two eventful years of his second Governorship ruined his health, and he retired in January 1767. He had been of a melancholy disposition, and the attacks made on his character and his honour when he returned home preyed on his mind. He committed suicide in 1774. His character was that of a strong and determined man, quick to plan and unflinching in execution. He had faults, but his whole life was devoted to the service of his country. The British Parliament was right when, after discussing the many evils in Bengal in the first years of British rule, they resolved that he had rendered "great and meritorious services to his country."

Famine and chaos.—After Clive's departure there was no man among the Company's servants in Bengal, of sufficient integrity or ability to meet the numerous difficulties that faced the Company's Government. There was still dual government: while the Company pulled the strings, the puppets that strutted on the stage were the so-called servants of the Nawab, themselves the products of

the intrigue and corruption that thrived unchecked in the novel circumstances. The Company's servants continued to grow rich, and though the people were oppressed and robbed, the Company's revenues were unsatisfactory. The one year's famine of 1770 depopulated the country. One-third of the population perished; the land was turned into a wilderness; and the effects lasted for the next twenty years, and dominated the land revenue policy of Lord Cornwallis in 1793. In the circumstances a decrease of revenue might have been expected, but in the words of Warren Hastings, it was "violently kept up to its former standard." At length the Company appointed Warren Hastings Governor of Bengal, and he took over charge in April 1772. He was a man of unblemished character, whose early service had been in Bengal, but who was immediately brought over from Madras.

Warren Hastings as Governor.

Internal reforms.—Warren Hastings's administration of Bengal lasted for thirteen years (April 1772 to February 1785). In this chapter we shall consider the period up to October 1774, after which he became the first Governor-General, with some (but not complete) powers of control over the other two Presidencies. The first task of Hastings was to restore order out of chaos in the administration. Revenue, justice, currency,

and every function of government required reorganisation. The dual system of government was abolished: the Company "stood forth as Diwan," and appointed its own Collectors (1772). A short term settlement of land revenue was made for five years. The Treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The Sadr Diwani Adalat, for hearing the last stages in civil and revenue cases, was instituted at Calcutta, presided over by the Governor and two Members of Council. For criminal cases the Sadr Nizamat Adalat was presided over by Indian law officers, subject to review by the Governor and Council. Warren Hastings took a great deal of interest in Hindu and Muslim law, and sent books on the subject to Lord Mansfield, the famous judge and jurist of England. His object was threefold, *viz.* to interest his lordship in the subject, to prove that "the inhabitants of this land are not in the savage state in which they have been unfairly represented," and to "point out the way to rule this people with ease and moderation according to their own ideas, manners and prejudices."

Oudh and the Rohilla War.—As Governor of Bengal, Hastings was responsible for the relations of the Company with the Nawab-Wazir of Oudh. In February 1774 he consented to the use of British troops for the subjugation of the Rohillas by the Nawab-Wazir. The Rohillas were a vigorous race and had established a better government in Rohilkhand than that of its neighbours, includ-

ing Oudh, and Hastings's action was strongly called in question afterwards. Hastings's argument was that the expedition brought forty lakhs of rupees to the Company, and strengthened its position in Oudh, and that the Company was pledged under treaty to assist its ally the Nawab-Wazir.

The Regulating Act.—So far Warren Hastings's successful conduct of affairs had given great satisfaction to the Company's Board of Directors in London. But the British Parliament had an uneasy feeling that things were being done in India in the name of the British people, which ought to be under the well-defined control of Parliament, and for the purpose of establishing this control the Regulating Act was passed in 1773 and came into effect in India in October 1774. Its chief provisions were: (1) that the territories of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa were placed by parliamentary sanction under the Governor-General of Bengal, and four men were appointed from England for five years, to form his Executive Council and assist him in the administration; (2) the Governor-General and his Council were given the power of superintending and controlling the foreign and political policy of the other Presidencies and their relations with Indian Princes; (3) a supreme Court on the English model was established in Calcutta, with a Chief Justice and three Barrister Judges sent out from England, to exercise jurisdiction in Calcutta and its subordinate factories over all per-

sons, and over British subjects resident in the three Provinces, or employed by the Company or by any British subjects. A supplementary Act also brought the Company's accounts in London under the supervision of the British Government. We shall consider the working of the Regulating Act in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Company's first Governors-General: Warren Hastings to Wellesley.

Warren Hastings as Governor-General.

His Executive Council.—Under the Regulating Act (1773) Warren Hastings was appointed the first Governor-General. Of the four Members of Council given to him, Richard Barwell was already in India, in the Company's service. He was probably appointed at Hastings's suggestion and usually supported him in Council. The other three had no experience of India, and were usually hostile to Hastings. As a bare majority in the Council could overrule the Governor-General, the power was entirely in their hands. Their names were: General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis, afterwards Sir Philip Francis. Francis had ambitions towards the Governor-Generalship, which, with its salary of £25,000 a year, he called "the first situation in the world attainable by a subject." Clavering held, in addition to his membership of Council, the office of Commander-in-chief. Colonel Monson naturally acted with General Clavering. The new Government was constituted in October 1774, and from the first there was an atmosphere of suspicion

and opposition between Hastings and Barwell on the one hand and the three other Councillors constituting the majority on the other.

Their hostility to Hastings.—The majority condemned the Rohilla war then about to be concluded, and issued instructions which practically condemned the action of Hastings. In their dealings with the external policy of Bombay and Madras they also opposed Hastings. Not content with humiliating the Governor-General in his official acts, they impeached his honesty and gave every encouragement to a charge of corruption brought against Hastings by an influential Brahman Raja named Nand Kumar (March 1775). Angry scenes followed in Council. Hasting and Barwell made in the Supreme Court a countercharge of conspiracy against Nand Kumar and others, alleging that they had forced a man to write a petition against the complainants. This charge failed. But another charge, quite unconnected with Government proceedings or with Warren Hastings, was preferred against Nand Kumar, of forgery. It was tried in the Supreme Court with an English jury. Nand Kumar was convicted and sentenced, under the English law, to be hanged (August 1775). This caused more scandals, and Clavering, Monson, and Francis accused Warren Hastings of having got rid of his enemy, although there is no evidence proving that Hastings directly instigated the charge of forgery.

Judicial Reforms.—On account of these personal animosities the first two years of Council Government were a failure. Monson died in 1776 and Clavering in 1777, and after that Hastings had an assured majority in his Council. The work of the Executive Government now proceeded more smoothly. Hastings also tried to make the judicial machinery work in more harmony by establishing contact between the British Supreme Court established by Act of Parliament and the Company's Civil Courts. He gave the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court powers of supervision over the Sadr Diwani Adalat, and thus tried to avoid conflicts of jurisdiction between the two courts (1780).

Begams of Oudh and Chait Singh.—We have already referred to Hastings's policy with regard to the Nawab of Oudh and the Mughal Emperor. On the death of Shuja-ud-daula and the succession of Asaf-ud-daula to the Nawabi of Oudh (1775), the Company obtained a cession of the Benares Province and an increase in the subsidy paid by the Nawab for the maintenance of a British Brigade in his capital. But Asaf-ud-daula's lavishness all but ruined his finances. When Warren Hastings demanded from him, as an ally, a contribution in addition to his subsidies, towards the expenses of the war which he was waging in the south, the Nawab found himself unable to meet the demand, and indeed he was in arrears with his subsidies. The two dowager Begams, the

mother and the grandmother of the Nawab, were forcibly deprived of their treasures and their Jagirs (1781). British troops were used to overawe opposition, and personal violence was applied, which called forth just criticism afterwards. The Raja of Benares, Chait Singh, now a feudatory of the Company, was punished (1780) for not complying with a similar demand for money. After a clash of arms, he was set aside and his son placed in his stead.

First Maratha War.—On the Bombay side the Company was involved in a war with the Marathas,—the First Maratha War (1775—1782). It arose out of a disputed succession in the office of Peshwa. A minor was recognised as Peshwa at Poona, and a Regency was appointed. Raghoba, the defeated claimant, sought and obtained the support of the Bombay Government by the cession of the island of Salsette near Bombay and the promise of Bassein a little further north on the mainland. The Supreme Council in Calcutta disagreed with Bombay, but the Directors in London supported the Bombay Government. There were thus divided counsels on the British side, and the situation was dangerous, but Hastings by clever diplomacy and proper organisation won through. The Poona Regency itself was weak, but it was supported by the great Maratha Commanders, among whom the most active at the time were Sindhia at Gwalior and the Bhonsle at Nagpur. Hastings arranged to detach the Bhonsle and to

get his consent to the march of a Bengal column through his territory to Bombay. In the cold weather of 1778-1779 Colonel Goddard started from Kalpi on the Jamna and marched right across the Peninsula, but before he could reach Poona, the Bombay Government had fought a hasty action, suffered defeat, and made the disgraceful Convention of Wargaon (January 1779), which was disowned under the orders of the Directors. Goddard turned to Gujarat, and detached the Gaikwar from the Maratha confideracy.

Peace made through Sindhia.—Meanwhile Hastings had sent another Bengal force under Major Popham to storm Gwalior and put pressure on Sindhia (August 1780). All this time the war in Madras also demanded the Governor-General's attention, and he sent a Bengal force to operate in that field also The Company was at war everywhere, and its resources were running low. If terms could be settled with the Marathas, the Company could direct its whole attention to Madras. Mahadaji Sindhia, the most powerful Maratha Commander, was in a mood to listen to peace. He had large plans with reference to the Mughal Empire at Delhi, for which he was given a free hand. The Treaty of Salbai (about 30 miles south of Gwalior) was concluded in May 1782 on the basis of the restitution of all conquests, except that the English retained Salsette, which was practically a part of Bombay. They undertook

to lend no further support to Raghoba's pretensions, and the Peshwa allowed him a pension of Rs. 25 000 per month. A clause was also inserted against Haidar Ali of Mysore, whose career we shall presently consider in connection with the events in the Madras Presidency.

Fighting in Madras.—In the Madras fighting the Company had to deal with four enemies at the same time, *viz.* the Marathas, the Nizam, Haidar Ali, and the French. The Marathas were so hotly engaged in Western and Central India that they could do little in the south, and the Treaty of Salbai closed their hostility and even enlisted their aid against Haidar Ali. The Nizam at this time did not follow a very consistent policy, and he had as much to fear as the Company from the Marathas and the growing power of Haidar Ali. The French had no particular strength in India, but they were engaged in a world-wide war with the English (1778—1783), in connection with the War of American Independence. The American war had gone against the English, and this made Hastings all the more anxious to retrieve his country's reputation in the East. Even before the formal notification of the war arrived from England, steps were taken to seize all the French settlements in India.

The French defeated.—Chandernagore and the minor French factories surrendered without a blow. Pondicherry was attacked by land and sea, and after a gallant defence, capitulated on honour-

able terms (October 1778). The surrender of Mahe on the Malabar coast (March 1779) completed the conquest of the French settlements in India. In 1781 the French fitted out a great naval expedition to Indian waters. Admiral Suffrein (or Suffren), one of the best naval commanders whom France had ever produced, arrived off the Coromandel coast early in 1782. The French also landed troops to co-operate with the forces of Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan. The supplies of Madras were cut off, and the horrors of famine were added to the horrors of war. But the English never fight so well as with their back to the wall. In spite of divided counsels, heavy odds, and jealousy and incompetence in high places, they continued the struggle with the French in Madras until news arrived of the signature of peace between the two nations in Europe (July 1783).

Haidar Ali: First Mysore War.—The struggle against Haidar Ali was the most formidable of all which the English had to wage in Madras during this period. This remarkable man was born in Mysore territory about 1722. He early came into contact with the French who were in the service of the Nizam, and introduced European artillery and drill into Mysore. On his elder brother's death, he succeeded to a fine jagir, with a fort and the command of 15,000 troops. He took part in the Karnatik wars, and gained much military experience fighting with the Marathas.

By 1759 he had become head of the Mysore army and by 1761 Regent of Mysore State. He sided with the French in their fight against the English in Madras in 1758—1761. He had held certain dignities from the Nizam, and in 1767, in concert with the Nizam, he made a descent on the Karnatik. The Nizam was soon detached from his cause, and the Mysore forces suffered a succession of defeats. But Haidar Ali was a capable general, and soon retrieved his misfortunes. In March 1769, he suddenly made a dash for Madras and ended the First Mysore War (1767—1769) by dictating his own terms of peace. There was to be a mutual restitution of conquests, with the cession of a small piece of territory to Haidar Ali, and there was to be a defensive alliance between him and the English.

Second Mysore War.—After this Haidar Ali was occupied in fighting with the Marathas. When the Anglo-French war broke out in Madras in 1778, his old sympathies with the French revived, especially as the British (he considered) had violated his territory in marching on Mahe. The Second Mysore War (July 1780 to March 1784) opened with great successes for Haidar Ali. The British, as we saw, were engaged in hostilities with practically every power in India. Haidar Ali invaded the Karnatik with strong forces, and his son Tippu, now forty years of age and a general of great vigour, forwarded his father's plans with brilliant success. The march of the Mysore troops

was rapid. They threatened every point in the Presidency, including Madras. Colonel Baillie's Brigade was cut up at Conjeeveram after a gallant resistance (September 1780). Arcot the capital of the Karnatik fell to Haidar Ali (October 1780). The French co-operated with Mysore, but the British held their own at sea. Under Sir Eyre Coote they defeated Haidar Ali at Porto Novo (July 1781), and the pressure was now relieved. The Treaty of Salbai (1782) released the Company's forces from the Marathas; Haidar Ali himself died (in camp) of cancer in the back (December 1782); and the French peace (July 1783) deprived Mysore of French support. But Tippu continued hostilities until he had reduced the fort of Mangalore, when the war was ended by the Treaty of Mangalore (March 1784). Both parties renounced their conquests and released their prisoners.

Pitt's India Act.—It only remains to notice Pitt's India Act (1784) before taking leave of Warren Hastings. News of the various doings in India had reached England, in many cases distorted according to the party predilections of those who wished to attack or defend the existing men in power in the management of the East India Company. But it was felt that the time had come when greater contact should be established between the Ministry in England and the political affairs of the Company in India. A Board of Control was accordingly established by

the Act, to superintend, direct, and control all affairs relating to the civil or military government of British India. The Board was to consist of Privy Councillors and to be presided over by a Member of the Cabinet. The Directors of the Company were to submit all papers relating to such affairs to the Board, and to obey the Board's orders A Secret Committee of three Directors was also constituted to deal with matters which it was not considered desirable to disclose to the whole of the Directors But the Board was not given the power to appoint any servants of the Company. These appointments were so numerous and lucrative that Parliament considered it dangerous to give them a political character and place them in the hands of the Ministry. The Executive Governments of Madras and Bombay were constituted on the model of that of Bengal, but the Governor-General of Bengal was given more explicit and more extended powers of control over them. In order to discourage schemes of conquest or extension of dominion in India, the Governor-General's powers about declaring war were limited, except in urgent cases, by the need of reference to England.

Warren Hastings: his impeachment: his work and character.—Warren Hastings felt that his work in India was done, and he left India in February 1785. His enemies were watching for an opportunity to impeach him in Parliament, and this movement received the powerful support of Burke

and Sheridan, two of the most famous orators England has produced. The House of Commons decided on his impeachment in 1787. The leisurely trial in the House of Lords lasted seven years, from 1788 to 1795. The Lords acquitted him of the charges of personal corruption, and of extortion in respect of the Begams of Oudh and Raja Chait Singh of Benares. Though he was bitterly attacked in connection with his impeachment, the East India Company recognised his valuable services and voted a statue of him, to be "placed among the statesmen and heroes who have contributed in their several stations to the recovery, preservation, and security of the British power and authority in India." From the Indian point of view, also, we might give ungrudging praise to the silent and sympathetic work which he did in improving the administration at those points where it touches most intimately the lives of the people. Many Indian works of learning were dedicated to him, and he founded or encouraged many institutions for the study of Indian thought and learning. He laboured under enormous difficulties, and made many mistakes. But through good and evil report he never flinched in doing what he considered to be his duty. In private life he was gentle and affectionate, and he was loved and respected by those who knew him.

Chief features of his administration.—There was a temporary appointment to the Governor-Generalship after Hastings's departure. The permanent Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, entered office in September 1786 and held it for seven years, to October 1793. His powers as Governor-General were greatly extended, and he also combined in his person the office of Commander-in-Chief. He had the confidence of the Ministry in England, and he had the further advantage of being without ties to any of the Company's servants in India and thus bringing a fresh point of view to bear on Indian questions. For these reasons, with few exceptions, the office of Governor-General has usually been held by a statesman fresh from England, and the same principle has been applied to the Governorships of the Presidencies. Lord Cornwallis's administration is noted principally for its internal reforms and for the Third Mysore War, in which the Governor-General himself took the field as Commander-in-Chief.

Internal Reforms.—His internal reforms included the payment of improved salaries to the Company's servants, the abolition of the perquisites attached to offices, and the prohibition of private trade. The Civil Service was now properly organised, and its functions differentiated and defined. The courts of law were reorganised; the various grades of courts were properly dis-

tinguished, leading up to the highest courts of appeal in Calcutta, dealing with civil and criminal jurisdiction respectively. The executive functions were separated from the judicial functions, though this sharp separation was found to increase the congestion in courts and was abolished under Lord Hastings (1822), when the functions of revenue collection, police supervision, and magisterial work were again united.

Permanent Land Revenue Settlement.—The most important change made by Lord Cornwallis was the introduction of the Permanent Land Revenue Settlement in the Presidency of Bengal as then constituted (1793). This measure had been discussed for some years, and the intimate knowledge of Mr. Shore (afterwards Sir John Shore) of the revenue history of the Province, and the rights and customs of the cultivating and land-owning classes, had been utilised for collecting materials to enable a sound judgment to be formed. Shore had himself been against a Permanent Settlement, though he recognised the evils of the annual settlements then in vogue. The actual decision in favour of a Permanent Settlement was taken on broader grounds, after a consideration of both sides of the question, and with the sanction of the Ministry at Home. During the many revolutions that had occurred in Bengal during the last forty years, the economic condition of the people had steadily deteriorated. The famine of 1770 had aggravated the situation. A third of

the cultivable area was lying waste. Zamindars could not find cultivators, and Government could not find Zamindars. Trade and agriculture were decaying, and the money-lenders were the only flourishing class in the country. Above all it was necessary to increase confidence and a sense of stability among the people. The Government demand for land revenue was therefore fixed in perpetuity on the basis of a ten years' settlement that was worked out as a preliminary measure

Arguments for and against.—In recommending his scheme to the Court of Directors Lord Cornwallis wrote: "The security of property, however, and the certainty which each individual will now feel of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labours, must operate uniformly as incitements to exertion and industry" This effect has followed in the long run, but for the time being there were many defects left in the system. The tenants' rights were not sufficiently safeguarded till long afterwards (1859). Even to the Zamindars it was not an unmixed blessing immediately. Many of them got into arrears and were sold out under the new inflexible system, which they did not yet fully understand. The cesses and customary duties on articles of produce or manufacture, which the Zamindars had been accustomed to levy, were taken away from their hands, and were now regulated by the Government in the general interests of commerce. As the land revenue was fixed for ever, the Government was now able, "through the

medium of duties upon an increased consumption of the necessaries and luxuries of life," to participate in the wealth and advantages which the Permanent Settlement gave to the people. This was a sound economic principle. The creation of a wealthy middle class of Zamindars was also a great social advantage to Bengal. The inequalities of the burden on land as between the permanently settled tracts of land and those under periodical settlements (of 30 or 40 years) as in the United Provinces or the Panjab, or those under the ryotwari systems as in Madras and Bombay, still form one of the living problems of Indian finance, but adjustments have been partially made by means of cesses and other forms of taxation.

Third Mysore War: Tippu Sultan.—The chief external event of Lord Cornwallis's reign was the Third Mysore War (1790—1792). The Treaty of Mangalore (1784) satisfied neither party. Tippu Sultan felt his position insecure as against the combined strength of the Company, the Marathas, and the Nizam, who had concluded a tripartite alliance, offensive and defensive, against him, in 1789. He sought the aid and alliance of the French, who were however unable to help him. Anticipating a war with Revolutionary France, Lord Cornwallis launched his war against Tippu (April 1790), when the latter had invaded Travancore. The campaign of 1790 was inconclusive. The Governor-General himself took the command at the end of the year. He captured Bangalore

(March 1791) and threatened Seringapatam, but had to retreat, as his allies failed to render any effective assistance. In February 1792 the allies again approached Seringapatam, and dictated the terms of peace to Tippu. He lost half his territories, paid an indemnity of three crores and thirty lakhs, released all prisoners, and handed over his two minor sons, aged 10 and 8, as hostages. The territory and the indemnity were divided among the allies. The British annexed the Baramahal (the southern portion of the Karnatik Plateau), with Malabar and Dindigal, and took over Coorg under their protection. Mysore was now cut off from the sea, from which alone French assistance could reach it, and was deprived of the passes through which its armies could issue into the Karnatik.

Sir John Shore.

Lord Cornwallis retired in October 1793. The administration of his successor Sir John Shore (1793—1798) was weak, and devoid of any events of special importance in British India, except a mutiny of the Bengal army (1795-6). His desertion of the Company's ally, the Nizam, left the latter at the mercy of the Marathas, who defeated him at the battle of Kharda (1795) and imposed on him humiliating terms of peace. French influence now again became strong in the Nizam's Court and had to be counteracted by the vigour of Lord Wellesley's administration.

Sir John Shore, however, tightened the Company's hold on Oudh, on the occasion of Nawab Saadat Ali's accession (January 1798). The subsidiary alliance which was now made with Oudh reduced Oudh to the position of a vassal of the Company, which also took possession of the Fort of Allahabad.

Lord Wellesley.

Administrative Reforms.—Lord Wellesley* (1798—1805) was one of the most masterful Governors-General that ever came out to India, and his period of administration is chiefly notable for the expansion of the British boundaries and the assertion of British supremacy throughout India. The campaigns fought in his term of office were among the most brilliant in the history of British India. His brother Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) laid the foundations of his military reputation in these campaigns. India was used as the base for the extension of British influence all over the East, and for the defeat of Napoleon's Eastern ambitions. But though the interest of his term of office is mainly military and political, he had large ideas on the subject of administrative reform. The practice of the Gov-

*He came out to India as the Earl of Mornington, and was created Marquis Wellesley after the Mysore War, in December 1799.

ernor-General and his Members of Council sitting as judges in the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat was discontinued by him, and full-time Judges were appointed for these courts. A scheme of education, partly Indian and partly European, for the Company's servants, was worked out, and their status enhanced as agents of an Imperial nation.

Fourth Mysore War: end of Tippu Sultan—The new Governor-General's first important act in his well-thought-out policy was to undo the mischief which his predecessor Sir John Shore's apathy had done in the Nizam's Court. He eliminated the French from the Nizam's service, and arranged a subsidiary alliance with the Nizam, guaranteeing the Company's military protection and stipulating that no foreign agents should be received in his Court (1798). He next turned his attention to Mysore, where French influence was very strong. A Jacobin Club had been established at Seringapatam to disseminate the doctrines of the French Revolution, and a "tree of liberty" had been planted. Tippu had also sent ambassadors to various Muslim Courts to enlist their support against the British But the British cause in the East was in capable and energetic hands. In a well-planned campaign of three months (February—May 1799) Tippu's capital of Seringapatam was taken. The co-operation of a Bombay force and a contingent of the Nizam's troops under Arthur Wellesley with the main army from Mad-

ras under General Harris, had made Tippu's cause hopeless from the beginning. He died fighting to the last. Half his territory was taken by the victors, and the other half was formed into a new State under the old Wodeyar dynasty, in subsidiary alliance with the Company. Mysore is now one of the biggest and most progressive of Indian States. The Madras Presidency received a further accession of territory by the annexation of Tanjore (1799) and of the Karnatik (1801), and became in extent practically what it is now.

Oudh.—Oudh did not escape Lord Wellesley's attention. Under the formula, "reform of its military establishment," the Nawab was compelled to receive more British troops, and instead of a subsidy to meet their expenses, to cede a large part of his territory, including Rohilkhand and the Ganges-Jamna Doab (1801). This reduced the Oudh territory to a third of its former size, and advanced the Company's frontier to the neighbourhood of Delhi, where Sindhia and his French generals held power. These "Ceded Districts" now form the most important part of the United Provinces.

The Marathas.—The only strong power that now remained in India to dispute the Company's supremacy was that of the Marathas. They were no longer united, and the Peshwa's authority over the two northern chiefs, Sindhia and Holkar, was merely nominal. On the other hand both the chiefs had powerful armies and were rivals in the

aim of obtaining supremacy at Poona. Both had French officers and troops under modern discipline. Sindhia's general Perron had almost a State of his own in Northern India. The Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur was also aiming at power in Poona, but his troops were less formidable. The fourth Maratha chief, the Gaikwar, had his interests more in the maritime districts of Gujarat, and was more amenable to British influence, and less mixed up with the intrigues at Poona. The death of Nana Phadnavis, the able diplomatist of the Peshwa, had deprived the Marathas of a wise counsellor and plunged their politics into anarchy. The Company took advantage of this to press on the Peshwa (Baji Rao II) a subsidiary alliance. He was unable to do this under the influence of the contending chiefs Sindhia and Holkar at Poona. He sided with Sindhia, and the two were defeated by Holkar at Poona (1802). Baji Rao fled to Bassein, where he signed a subsidiary treaty with the British, who restored him to his capital.

Second Maratha War.—The Treaty of Bassein (1802) was distasteful to the Northern Maratha Generals, with whom the Company was now at war. The Gaikwar stood aside. Sindhia and the Bhonsle acted together, and suffered the greatest losses in the war. Holkar acted separately. General Arthur Wellesley was put in charge of the southern British army, and Lord Lake in charge of the armies of the north. By a series of masterly tactics General Wellesley defeated the combined

Sindhia and Bhonsle forces at the hotly contested battle of Asai (Assaye) in September 1803. He then pursued the Marathas into Berar. Meanwhile the northern campaign under Lord Lake was equally successful. After driving Sindhia's forces from Aligarh and the country east of the Jamna, Lake entered Delhi (September 1803), and took the Mughal Emperor under his protection. Later on, he followed Sindhia's forces to Laswari (in Alwar State), where he gained a decisive victory (November 1803). Both the Bhonsle and Sindhia now made a separate peace (December 1803). Each accepted a subsidiary alliance, and undertook to entertain no more French officers. The former lost Katak and Balasore (in Orissa) to the British, and Western Berar to the Nizam. The latter lost all footing in the south, as well as the Delhi territory, together with all voice in the Mughal Empire. Holkar still remained unsubdued, and Lord Lake's campaign against him suffered many checks. Lake's siege of Bharatpur (1805) failed, and Holkar did not make peace till December 1805. Before that time Lord Wellesley had left India, and lenient terms were granted to Holkar, though he had to undertake to engage no Europeans in his service except the British.

Lord Wellesley's retirement.—Lord Wellesley's retirement (1805) was due to the dissatisfaction felt with his forward policy, both by the Com-

pany and the Government in England. After two short appointments the Earl of Minto assumed the Governor-Generalship in July 1807.

CHAPTER XX.

Lord Minto to Lord Dalhousie.

BRITISH SUPREMACY RECOGNISED.

Strengthening Britain's position in Asia.—The reaction against Lord Wellesley's policy of military expansion in India continued under Lord Minto (1807—1813). But the Napoleonic Wars made it inevitable that Britain's representatives in India should use every means in their power to strengthen Britain's position in Asia, of which India held the key. The French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon were captured, which had afforded bases for French naval operations in the East, and Mauritius still remains a British possession. As Portugal came under French control, Goa was temporarily occupied. When the French controlled Holland, the Dutch possessions both east and west of India were seized. Ceylon had already been taken from the Dutch at the end of the eighteenth century. Cape Colony was finally occupied in 1806, and Lord Minto went personally from India into the Eastern Archipelago to consolidate British influence in the Far East.

Four Embassies.—But it was not merely by conquest of territory outside India that the Company strengthened the British Empire. Four not-

able embassies were sent from India, to safeguard the Indian frontiers for Britain. The British frontier in India at that time did not include the Panjab and Sindh. Embassies were sent to the rulers of both these territories. That to Ranjit Singh in the Panjab will be more particularly referred to when we come to consider the history of the Sikhs. The treaty with the Amirs of Sindh (1809) provided for the exclusion of the French from Sindh. Mountstuart Elphinstone's embassy to the Amir of Afghanistan at Peshawar (1808-9) aimed at closing Afghanistan to a possible French or Russo-French advance on India from that direction, while Sir John Malcolm's embassy to Persia (1808) aimed at closing the Persian route to India against the French. As it happened, Napoleon's Eastern ambitions came to nothing, but these diplomatic arrangements made England the mistress of the East.

Charter of 1813.—When the Company's Charter came up for renewal in England in 1813, the commercial interests in England made a strong attempt to get the Company's trade monopoly abolished. This attempt partly succeeded. The Indian trade was thrown open, but the Company was still allowed to retain the monopoly of the China trade. The Company's commercial affairs were now separated from its political affairs, and the accounts were directed to be kept separately under the two heads. The missionaries, who had hitherto been excluded by the Company from its terri-

tories, were now to be admitted, and a small provision (a lakh of rupees) was made from the Company's revenues for the encouragement of Indian education and learning. Soon afterwards private enterprise also entered the field of education. In 1816 the Hindu College was founded in Calcutta by the joint efforts of the watchmaker David Hare and Raja Ram Mohan Roy.

Nepal War.—The policy of peace and non-intervention was abandoned under Lord Hastings* (1813—1823). The first military operations to be undertaken were against the Gurkhas. These are a hardy race of hillmen of mixed descent, who then held the Himalayan country from the Satlaj to Sikkim, with their capital at Khatmandu. They had recently spread out in all directions, and committed raids within British territory on the plains. The Nepal War (1814—1816) was not very successful in its initial stages. But Sir David Ochterlony soon mastered the difficulties of hill warfare, and pushed on to within fifty miles of the Gurkha capital. Peace was then made (1816), under which the British acquired Kumaun, Garhwal, and Dehra Dun, as well as the territory round Simla. The acquisition of this hill country rendered it possible to establish hill sanatoria in Northern India, in which relief is afforded from the intense

*His title was "Earl of Moira" until after the Gurkha War, when he was promoted to the title of Marquis of Hastings.

heat of the plains during the hot weather months.* The hill forests are also a source of timber and other produce, while the hydro-electric energy latent in the higher courses of the rivers will be of great value when the country is industrialised. Since the peace the Gurkhas have also enlisted in the British Indian army, in which they form a valuable element.

Pindari and Maratha Problems.—The frontiers of British India were now secured both by sea and land. The treaty with Ranjit Singh secured them in the north-west, and that with Nepal, in the north. There was trouble in the north-east, in Assam, on account of the encroachments of the Burmese, but this did not come to a head till eight years later. The conditions in Central India were, however, far from satisfactory. In the early days of the Marathas, their incursions and forays were assisted by plundering bands of Pindaris. When Maratha rule became more settled, the Pindaris took service with the Maratha Chiefs. After the first Maratha War, when the Company restricted the area of Maratha influence to well-defined bounds (1803), the Pindaris still continued to operate in the wild country in Central India, and frequently invaded British territory in all

*Lord Amherst was the first Governor-General to reside in Simla. He was there from April to June, 1827. The hills were then considered almost inaccessible, and 1,700 coolies were required to take up his baggage and party!

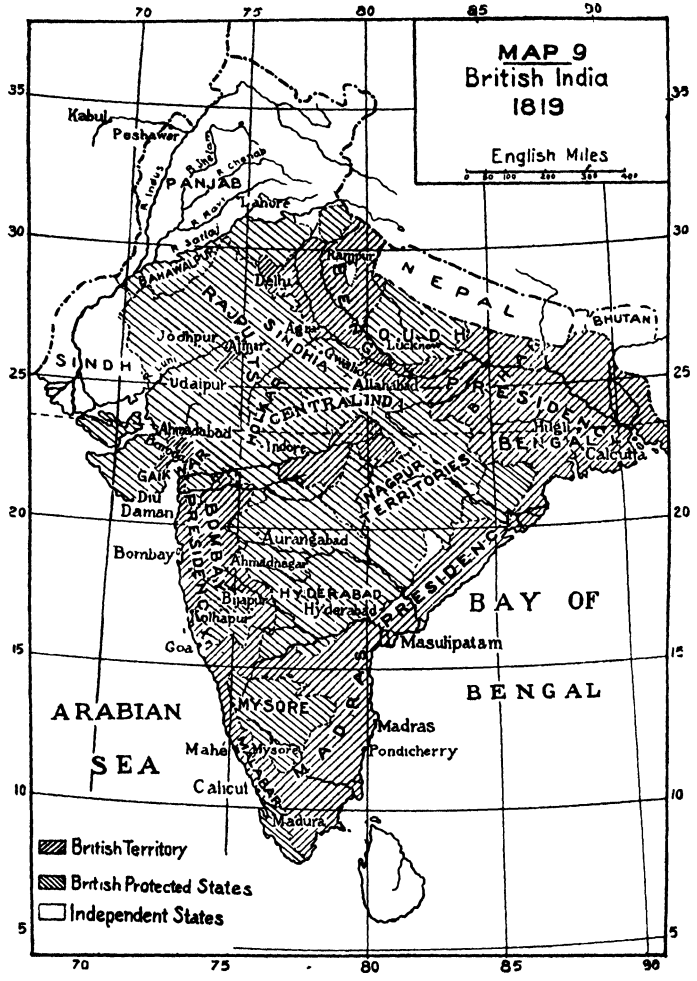
directions. They had the sympathy and assistance of Holkar, Sindhia, and the Bhonsle. The Peshwa was also discontented with his new position, in which he had to resign all relations with the Maratha Chiefs, and showed unfriendliness and active hostility to the British Resident in Poona (1817). The Pindari problem was therefore intimately mixed up with the Maratha problem, and Lord Hastings made military preparations on a grand scale to meet both.

Third Maratha War.—The plan was to encircle the Pindaris with overwhelming forces and finally suppress them, at the same time making treaties and conventions with minor chiefs in order to win their confidence and give them an assured position in the final pacification. While the inner circle was thus being tightened, the Maratha Chiefs had to be subdued in detail. Both these objects were successfully accomplished. The Governor-General himself took the field, and in spite of the outbreak of cholera in the Grand Army, the operations were carried out throughout with great skill and combination. Sindhia was got early out of the contest (November 1817), and the Rajput States, which had hitherto been dominated by the Marathas, were brought into treaty relations with the Government of India. The Pathan State of Bhopal, in Central India, also came into treaty relations, and has been staunch in British friendship ever since. The Bhonsle surrendered in December 1817; the Sagar and Narbada Districts were

detached from the Nagpur Kingdom and became British territory. Holkar's treaty (January 1818) deprived him of Khandesh and brought him into a subsidiary alliance. The Peshwa Baji Rao's surrender (June 1818) to Sir John Malcolm was accompanied by touching scenes. His territory was annexed and formed the greater part of the Bombay Presidency. He was pensioned off on the munificent allowance of eight lakhs a year. Among the Pindari leaders Amir Khan was confirmed in the State of Tonk in Central India. The predatory bands were broken up, and the operations were closed in May 1819. This is known as the third and last Maratha War (1817—1819).

Reform Movements.—Lord Hastings completed the work of Lord Wellesley and put the coping stone to the structure of the Feudatory States, which form a necessary element in the organisation of the British Empire in India. Having eliminated the forces of disorder in British India, he attended to its finances and left them on a stable footing. The various non-official movements in the direction of education, journalistic enterprise, and social and religious reform, were now taking root in India, and the official movements in favour of Provincial organisation and the study of revenue and educational problems in the light of local needs began to take shape under the direction of able rulers like Elphinstone (Bombay) and Munro (Madras).

First Burmese War.—These movements to-


MAP 9
British India
1819
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
70
75
80
85
90
35
30
25
20
15
10
5
Kabul
Peshawer
Indus R.
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
Ravee R.
PANJAB
Lahore
Sutlej R.
BAHAWALPUR
Rampur
Delhi
NEPAL
BHUTAN
RAJPUTANA
SINDHIA
GOHUD
Jodhpur
Ajmer
Agra
Gwalior
Lucknow
SINDH
Udaipur
Allahabad
CENTRAL IND.
Ahmadabad
Indore
Hugli
Calcutta
BENGAL
GAIKWAR
Diu
Daman
MARATTA TERRITORIES
Aurangabad
Bombay
Ahmadnagar
HYDERABAD
Bijapur
Hyderabad
Kolhapur
Goa
Masulipatam
BAY OF
BENGAL
ARABIAN
SEA
MYSORE
Madras
Mahé
Mysore
Pondicherry
Calicut
Madura
British Territory
British Protected States
Independent States

wards material and moral development continued under the administrations of Lord Amherst (1823—1828) and Lord William Bentinck (1828—1835), though the interest of Lord Amherst's Governor-Generalship is overshadowed by the First Burmese War (1824—1826). We saw that the Burmese trouble had been brewing during the Maratha and Pindari Wars. All through the 18th century the Burmese had been extending their conquests each, west, and south. They now claimed Assam and violated the British frontier of Bengal. The war that followed was prolonged for two years. The Burmese capital at Ava was threatened by way of land from Manipur in the north and by way of water from Rangoon and the Irawadi The former project involved passage through very difficult country and had to be abandoned. As regards the sea there was no difficulty in taking the port of Rangoon (May 1824) or in occupying the coast districts of Arakan and Tenasserim. Steamer communication was in its infancy, but it was used with effect, and the first steamer to be built in India was launched in Calcutta and used in the war.

Its results.—But in the land fighting there were two difficulties. In the first place, the Indian army objected to transport across the sea, and the 47th Bengal Infantry mutinied at Barrackpur (near Calcutta) and was disbanded. The brunt of the fighting fell on the British troops, which suffered from the effects of the climate and marshy

country. In the second place the Burmese had an able general in Maha Bandula, and their tactics were novel to the British but were well adapted to the country. All these difficulties were, however, slowly surmounted. When the British troops approached within 60 miles of the capital (Ava), the Burmese made peace (February 1826). They ceded Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim, paid an indemnity of £1,000,000 sterling, and consented to receive a British Resident at Ava. The acquisition of Assam led to the development of the Indian tea industry. The tea plant was discovered wild in Assam, but its cultivation was not understood. The Company imported Chinese labour to start the industry, and it was afterwards taken up by private enterprise.

Storming of Bharatpur.—The slow progress of the Burmese War had encouraged a certain feeling of unrest in the territory which had been pacified under Lord Hastings. The storming of the fort of Bharatpur by the Bengal Army under Lord Combermere (January 1826) restored the prestige of the British arms. This fortress, as we saw, had defied Lord Lake in 1805 in the war with Holkar.

Moral and material development.

Bentinck's Reforms.—Lord William Bentinck was a Liberal statesman who had already had Indian experience as Governor of Madras. His pre-

liminary work as Governor-General contributed to the incorporation of Liberal provisions in favour of Indians in the Company's renewed Charter of 1833. His programme was threefold: retrenchment in the Company's finances, social reform, and non-intervention in the internal affairs of the Feudatory States. In his policy of retrenchment he attained success, although it cost him his popularity with the Services. The First Burmese War had been very costly, and economy was urgently needed in the Company's finances. Among the most notable of his social reforms was the abolition of *Sati* by law (1829). This reform had been discussed for some years, and the opinion of Hindu reformers like Raja Ram Mohan Roy had been in its favour, though they were not free from doubts as to the danger of popular resentment against a public enactment. In fact no untoward consequences followed. The suppression of bands of professional Thags by the creation of the Thagi and Dacoity Department was also initiated about this time (1829). Corporal punishment was abolished in the Indian army in 1835. In 1833 was fought the great battle between the advocates of English education for Indians and those of Oriental education. The advocates of English education won, but the controversy is not entirely dead yet.

Feudatory States.—With regard to Indian States, Lord William Bentinck, although he sedulously avoided interference in their internal affairs,

had to take Mysore under British administration (1831), and annex Kachar in Assam (1832), and Coorg near Mysore (1834). Happily, after 50 years of British administration, Mysore was restored to the Wodeyar family, very much strengthened both in its finances and its traditions of administration. Coorg became one of the centres of coffee plantations in Southern India, a new industry of some importance.* The commercial treaties with Ranjit Singh of the Panjab and the Amirs of Sindh were considered to extend British influence further to the north-west.

Charter of 1833.—The renewal of the Company's charter in 1833 was an important event not only in the Company's life, but in the relations between India and England. The Company's trade monoply to China was abolished, and it ceased to be a trading corporation altogether. The Governor-General of Bengal was now made (what he had been for some time in fact) the Governor-General of India, and his jurisdiction over the other Presidencies was made complete and unambiguous. His Executive Council was strengthened by the addition of a Law Member, and the enactments of the Council now became Legislative Acts. Formerly the three Presidency Councils

*Coffee was brought to Southern India by a Musalman Pilgrim from Arabia. Coffee planting was encouraged by the Company about 1820—30 and is now to be found mainly in Mysore, Coorg, and the surrounding districts.

used to issue Regulations; this power now ceased. The laws now made were to apply to all—British, foreigners, or Indians. A body called the Indian Law Commissioners was constituted for the codification of law. Europeans were now allowed free entry into India. A qualified system of competition was introduced for the Company's Civil Service in connection with admissions to their College at Haileybury. And it was enacted "that no native of the said territories,* nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place or employment under the said Company."

Expansion in the North-West.

Aggressive Policy.—The twenty years (1836—1856) after Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship were years of Imperial expansion, and during the first thirteen of these years the Government of India's attention was engrossed with the problems on the north-west. The aggressive policy pursued was costly to the finances of India, and many episodes in it are not capable of justification on either moral or political grounds.

Russian Menace.—During the term of Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship (1836—1842)

*The Company's territories in India.

the Panjab and Sindh were still outside British India. The Panjab was under the strong personal rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but Sindh was held by a number of petty Amirs, of Biloch origin, and was practically defenceless against the encroachments of a strong power. Beyond them was the mountain country of Baluchistan and Afghanistan, and beyond that was the menace of the advancing power of Russia. Russia had within the last half century made herself formidable in Central Asia, and had come into collisions with Persia. From that time onwards, all through the nineteenth century, the power of Russia supplied the key to the various phases of policy on the north-west frontier of India. A year after Lord Auckland had arrived in India, news was received of a threat to Herat from the direction of Persia and Russia.

Aims in Afghanistan.—If Afghanistan could have been secured in the British interests, the British Indian frontier was quite safe, with two such powers as Afghanistan and the Panjab of Ranjit Singh between Russia and British India. The Afghan Amir was Dost Muhammad Khan, and he was anxious for a British alliance, but as a price of such an alliance he wanted Peshawar, then held by Ranjit Singh. The deposed Afghan Amir Shah Shuja had tried to obtain Ranjit Singh's assistance to regain the Afghan throne, and he had ceded Peshawar and other frontier territory to Ranjit Singh, who had occupied it in force. Shah Shuja had lived as a British pensioner in

Ludhiana since 1810, and his ambitions no doubt partly influenced Anglo-Indian policy towards Afghanistan. It was a mistaken policy, as the results showed. Dost Muhammad, being disappointed with the British, showed a disposition to welcome a Russian envoy. As a reply to this, in the hot weather of 1838, Sir William Macnaghten, the pushful Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, arranged a tripartite treaty between the British, Ranjit Singh, and Shah Shuja. Shah Shuja was to be restored to the Afghan throne with British bayonets; Ranjit Singh was to assist, and get confirmation of his possession of Peshawar and Kashmir; and the British, by placing a subservient ruler on the throne at Kabul, were practically to advance their frontier as far as Herat.

The First Afghan War.—In spite of the Treaty Ranjit Singh was not willing to allow British troops to march to Kabul through his territory. It was decided to send British troops through Sindh. It was true Sindh was foreign territory, and the Company had agreed, in a treaty with the Amirs, not to bring armed forces into their country. But the needs of the campaign and the weakness of the Amirs were held to justify a violation of their territory. The Bengal force marched from Firozpur, the British cantonment at the frontier of the Panjab. The Bombay force came by sea. Karachi was bombarded, and certain Sindh forts were taken possession of. The "Army

of the Indus," as it was called, marched through Quetta, and in April 1839 reached Kandahar, where Shah Shuja was proclaimed Amir as Shuja-ul-Mulk. Ghazni was stormed and captured in July, and Kabul, abandoned by Dost Muhammad, was entered on the 7th of August.

Disaster.—Meanwhile Ranjit Singh had died (June 1839), but the failure of his military assistance was not much missed. The British seemed to have carried out their object. But Shah Shuja was not popular; he had been thrice expelled from his country, and was not likely to be welcomed as a ruler forced on the Afghans by a foreign Power. A British army of occupation was maintained at Kabul, and Macnaghten resided there as the British envoy. The discontent of the Afghans broke out in local rebellions, and came to a head in November 1841. Kabul rose in insurrection. The Residency was attacked; British men, women, and children were killed or taken prisoners; the stores of the army were captured; and the Amir's own Treasury, guarded by the British, was plundered. Macnaghten was compelled to make a humiliating peace in December, surrendering the British guns, and offering to retire. But the retreat itself, in the depth of winter, in hilly country, against a hostile population, was impossible. Macnaghten was assassinated. Only one man, out of the 16,000 who left Kabul, reached Jalalabad, then held by Sir Robert Sale (January 1842).

Withdrawal.—This was a disaster of the first magnitude. Lord Auckland was recalled, and Lord Ellenborough was sent out as Governor-General in his place (1842—1844). Much of the disaster had been due to incompetence and bad leading. But the British outposts at Jalalabad on the one hand and Kandahar on the other were under capable Generals. Jalalabad was reinforced, and the combined forces under General Pollock forced their way into Kabul (September 1842). At the same time the troops from Kandahar marched to Kabul, blowing up the citadel of Ghazni on the way. By way of reprisals the British army destroyed the bazar of Kabul, rescued the British prisoners, and returned to Peshawar (November 1842). Thus ended the fruitless First Afghan War (1839—1842) which cost the country 20,000 lives and £15,000,000 sterling in money. Shah Shuja was assassinated, and Dost Muhammad came back to the throne of Afghanistan.

Opium War with China.—A word may be said here about the expedition that was sent out from Calcutta (April 1840) in connection with what has been called the Opium War with China (1840—1842), which ended in the opening of some treaty ports in China to foreigners, and the acquisition of Hong-Kong for the British Empire. The profitable opium trade opened out to India was closed by gradual stages initiated under an agreement made in 1907.

Conquest of Sindh.—Freed from the Afghan

war, the Company turned its attention to Sindh. We saw how friction arose between the Amirs of Sindh and the Company over the passage of troops for Afghanistan. On the whole, the Amirs had not interfered with the British military operations in the Afghan war. But they had been forced to sign a treaty, agreeing to receive a subsidiary force and to pay for its upkeep. When Sir Charles Napier was sent with full civil and military powers to Haidarabad (Sindh) in September 1842, he put further pressure on them, asked for a cession of territory, a supply of fuel for British steamers navigating the Indus, and the surrender of the privilege of coinage in favour of the British. The Amirs demurred to their own political suicide, and hostilities began. The military strength of the Amirs was negligible, and Sir Charles Napier's generalship was both brilliant and skilful, for he routed their army of 22,000 with his force of only 3,000 at Miani near Haidarabad (Sindh). He captured the enemy's artillery, camp, stores, and treasures. The battle (February 1843) was decisive, and added Sindh to British India. The Mir of Khairpur, who had assisted the British, was made a feudatory ruler in his little State, and Sir Charles Napier was appointed Governor of Sindh.

Gwalior army reduced.—There were already signs of anarchy in the Panjab, and a Sikh war appeared to be imminent. In the circumstances, troubles in Gwalior made it necessary to intervene

during the lull that followed the conquest of Sindh. A minor was on the throne of Gwalior, and the Regent's authority was defied by the army, which was powerful and dangerous. Lord Ellenborough could not permit "the existence within the territories of Sindhia of an unfriendly government nor that those territories should be without a government willing and able to maintain order." He therefore reduced the army after a struggle, established a British contingent, and brought the State under temporary control during the ruler's minority. Meanwhile the Company's Directors in England were dissatisfied with the expensive military policy of Lord Ellenborough and recalled him. They sent out in his place Sir Henry Hardinge, afterwards Lord Hardinge (1844—1848), with express instructions to pursue a policy of peace, social improvement, and economic development.

First and Second Sikh Wars: Panjab annexed — These instructions were rendered nugatory by the Sikh Wars, of which we shall consider the details in the next chapter. Here it is enough to note that after Ranjit Singh's death (1839) the power in the Panjab passed to the military leaders of the Sikh army. In the Sikh Court at Lahore there were intrigues, quarrels, and assassinations. The anarchy came to a head towards the end of 1845, when the leaders tried to divert the attention of the too powerful army by a war with the Company. The First Sikh War (December 1845—March 1846) resulted in the establishment of in-

direct British control over the Panjab, the reduction of the Sikh army, and the annexation of the Jalandhar Doab by the Company. But the Panjab problem was not yet solved. The intrigues, plots, and friction continued, and it fell to the next Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie (1848—1856), to deal with the Panjab in his usual drastic way. Before he had been three months in the country there was an outbreak against the British in Multan. This was but a preliminary symptom of a widespread rising in the Panjab, which resulted in the Second Sikh War (1848-1849). After military operations on a fairly large scale, and two hard-fought battles, the Sikh army was disarmed, and the annexation of the Panjab proclaimed in March 1849.

Annexation and Departmental Organisation.

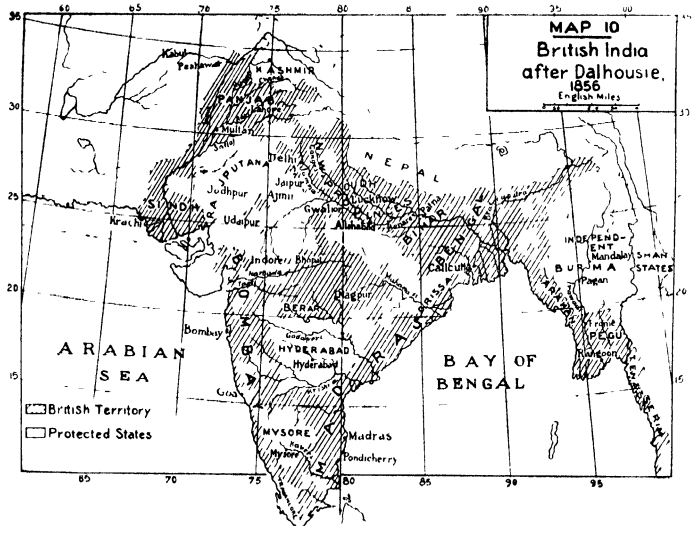
Lord Dalhousie's Policy: *Second Burmese War.*—Annexation by conquest or on other grounds became the leading feature of Lord Dalhousie's policy. He had the most unfavourable opinion of Indian princes and the most exalted idea of his country's Imperial mission. "It is futile" he wrote "to muse over the pleasant vision of creating new Indian States, under kings of Indian blood, who may receive the lessons of civilisation from us. We cannot proselytise these princes to humanity. They will not embrace our ethics; we must recognise their crimes ..... We have

no moral authority to uphold them, and they have no claim to be upheld, for the prescriptive right to plunder and oppress any community is a vile .... fiction." A policy of patience or moderation was inconsistent with these ideas. When the Burmese, therefore, early in 1852, treated British merchants and British officers with contumely, the Second Burmese War (April—December 1852) reduced Burma to the position of a petty inland State, without access to the sea. The operations were short and well organised. Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein, commanding the mouths of the Salwin and the Irawadi delta, were captured, and the province of Pegu seized as far up as 50 miles beyond Prome. The Burmese tried to retain at least some outlet to the sea, but this was refused. As they would not sign a treaty of peace, Pegu was annexed by proclamation.

Doctrine of Lapse: *Nagpur annexed.*—The Panjab and Pegu were two important territories added to British India by conquest. There were other territories added by the doctrine of "lapse." It was held that when there was a failure of natural heirs in dependent States, *i.e.* States created by Britain or recognised by her after her conquest of a power which they had recognised as superior, the territory lapsed to Britain as the suzerain power. Adoption, under this doctrine, was valid only when permitted or recognised by the suzerain power. Under this doctrine the Bhonsle State of Nagpur lapsed to the British (1854). Be-

sides Nagpur, many minor States were acquired by the doctrine of lapse, *e.g.* Satara (1848) and Jhansi (1853). In the case of Jhansi the widowed Rani had tried to make an adoption, which was not recognised, and she became a centre of disaffection and a source of trouble in the Mutiny.

Oudh annexed: *Hyderabad and Berar.*—In the case of the Kingdom of Oudh, there was no question either of conquest or lapse. The reigning family had been uniformly friendly to the British, although its administration had left very much to be desired. Wajid Ali Shah, King of Oudh, was deposed on a charge of maladministration, and his kingdom annexed. Yet another reason was given for the forced "assignment" of Berar by treaty with the Nizam of Hyderabad. This was "for the permanent maintenance of the Hyderabad Contingent, for the payment of certain debts which he had incurred, and for the termination of those transactions which for many years had been the fruitful source of dispute, and had even endangered the continuance of friendly relations between the States." Any surplus revenue, it was stipulated, should be paid to the Nizam, but this itself was a fruitful source of friction in the years that followed. Lord Curzon converted the assignment into a perpetual lease, without any question of accounts, but with the reservation of a fixed sum to be paid annually as rent (1902). The Nagpur and Berar territories form the greater part of the Central Provinces as now constituted. They in-


MAP 10
British India
after Dalhousie,
1856
English Miles
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
British Territory
Protected States
KASHMIR
PUNJAB
SINDH
RAJPUTANA
NEPAL
BERAR
HYDERABAD
MYSORE
Madras
Pondicherry
Bombay
Calcutta
Delhi
Agra
Lucknow
Allahabad
Jaipur
Ajmir
Jodhpur
Udaipur
Indore
Gwalior
Nagpur
Hyderabad
Mysore
Kabul
Peshawur
Multan
Lahore
Amritsar
Simla
Karachi
Surat
Goa
Pondicherry
INDEPENDENT BURMA
Mandalay
Pegan
SHAN STATES
PEGU
Rangoon
Martaban
Tenasserim
Malacca
Singapore

clude some of the richest cotton areas in India. The addition made to the annual income of the Indian Empire by Lord Dalhousie's annexations was estimated by him at the time to be not less than £4,000,000 sterling. The total revenue before had been 26 millions.

Dignities and Pensions curtailed.—In addition to the reduction in the territory under Indian rule, Lord Dalhousie made it his policy to curtail titular dignities and pensions in the case of descendants of old ruling families. The application of this principle to the Imperial Taimur family in Delhi gave great offence, and was one of the factors in the outbreak of the Mutiny.

Charter of 1853.—The ambitious foreign policy of Lord Dalhousie had its counterpart in the vigorous policy of internal development and administrative reform. The inspiration of Lord Dalhousie is clearly to be seen in the Charter Act which was passed by Parliament in 1853. Under it the Governor-General was relieved of the direct powers of government in Bengal. Lord Dalhousie made extensive tours in India, and felt that the Governor-General should only deal with India as a whole, and not with any one Province direct. A Lieutenant-Governor was therefore appointed for Bengal, whose duty was to look exclusively after the affairs of his Province. One effect of this change was at once seen in the greater attention paid to the defects of the revenue law in Bengal. A discussion was at once initiated, which, after the

interruption of the Mutiny, resulted in the Bengal Rent Act of 1859. Another change introduced by the Charter Act was in the constitution of the Governor-General's Council. Hitherto the Executive Council had also made the laws. Now, for purposes of legislation, "Additional Members" were appointed, to sit with the Executive Councillors as a Legislative Council. Non-officials, as well as official representatives of the Presidencies and Provinces could thus assist in legislation. The open competitive system was introduced for the Indian Civil Service, and as a corollary the Fort William College in Calcutta was abolished. The maximum of the number of British troops to be maintained by the Company was also increased.

Administrative and Economic Reforms.—The administrative reforms carried out in India covered the whole field of Government activity. Sir Charles Wood (an ancestor of the present Viceroy Lord Irwin) was President of the Board of Control in England from 1852, and he and Lord Dalhousie were in complete accord on questions of policy. Sir Charles Wood was the author of the famous educational despatch of 1854, which led to the organisation of a far-reaching system of education, from the primary stages to that of the universities. The three Presidency universities were founded in 1857. The Public Works Department, the Forest and Survey Departments, and the Jail Department were organised by Lord Dalhousie, who is also responsible for the introduction of a cheap

postage system into India. He left 4,000 miles of telegraph lines in India, with Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and Peshawar in telegraphic communication. He was also the father of the Indian railway system, and opened 140 miles of railways. The Ganges Canal and other canals were opened in his time, and he gave a great impetus to the construction of roads. To finance the great public works, it was necessary to strengthen and expedite the system of accounting and estimates, though regular Budgets were only introduced after the Mutiny. All these things were done, but it cannot be said that Lord Dalhousie understood either the Indian mind or the underground forces which led up to the great cataclysm of the Mutiny of 1857. He left India in March 1856, broken in health, but in no illuson as to the great problems which he was bequeathing to his successor Lord Canning.

CHAPTER XXI.

History of the Sikhs.

AS A RELIGIOUS SECT.

Guru Nanak.—The Sikhs were in their origin a purely religious sect. Their founder Guru Nanak (1469—1539) was born in a village near Lahore, since called after him Nankana Saheb. He preached a pure and noble form of theism. We do not know the precise dates of the great religious reformer Kabir, but it is probable that Nanak was his younger contemporary. Kabir lived in the Benares country, and we do not know whether Guru Nanak ever met him. But there is no doubt that he was much influenced by Kabir's teaching. Kabir's hymns form a very important part of the Adi Granth, the old Sikh Scripture. Another notable teacher whose influence is strong in the Sikh scriptures was a Sufi saint Baba Farid. The Guru belonged to the Khatri caste, and lived his early life as a householder. When the call came to him, he wandered about like an ascetic, with a Muslim musician named Mardana. It is said that he visited both Benares and Mecca. His attitude towards both Hindus and Muslims was conciliatory. He is said to have met the Emperor Babar, and been received by him with kind-

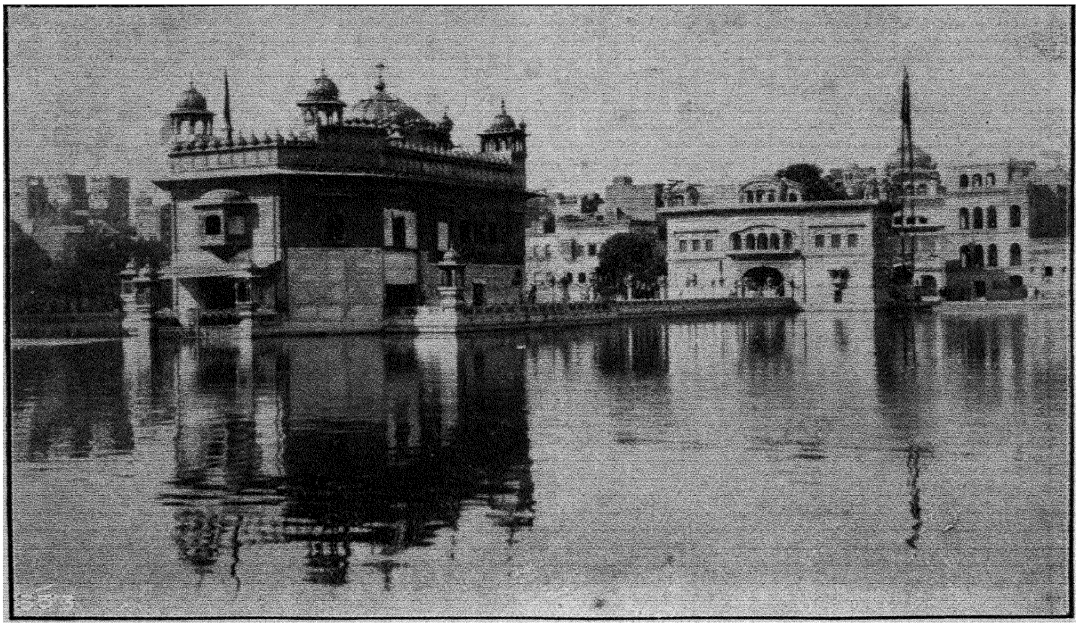


Fig. 22 *To face p. 323*

GOLDEN TEMPLE, AMRITSAR

ness. He died at the age of 70 in Kartarpur about 40 miles north of Lahore.

His ten successors.—He died as he had lived, a devout mystic more interested in religion than in worldly affairs. Though he had sons, he gave the spiritual succession to a disciple not of his blood. The third in succession, Ram Das (1574—1581), received from Akbar a grant of land in Amritsar, in which he dug the sacred pool from which the name of Amritsar (pool of *amrit*, or the drink of immortality) is derived. His son and successor Guru Arjun (1581—1606) was the first to organise the Sikh community. He collected the writings of Guru Nanak and other mystics, added those of his successors and himself, and compiled the Adi Granth, the Sikh scripture. The language of the book is not uniform. While a great part is written in an elevated form of the Panjabi dialects, the poems of Hindi and Marathi saints find a place in the collection. The Guru also built up a business-like fund for the community, and encouraged his disciples to trade and acquire wealth and influence. He seems to have favoured a rebel son of the Emperor Jahangir, and to have suffered imprisonment on a political charge instigated by one Chandu Shah, an official under the Mughal Government.

Assumption of military character.—His successor, the fifth Guru, Har Gobind (1606—1645), felt bound to take vengeance on Chandu Shah. His community now got gradually transformed into

a political body. The ninth Guru Tegh Bahadur came into collision with the Mughals, and was killed on a charge of rebellion against the State (1675). The final rupture now took place. His son, the tenth Guru, Gobind Singh (1675—1708) was a minor, but in time he organised the Sikhs definitely as a militant people, pledged to war with the Empire. His democratic system made the Khalsa (or Sikh community) into a body, of which every able-bodied male bore arms, and carried certain symbols on his person to distinguish him from ordinary Hindus or Muslims. The gentle disciples of Guru Nanak had been known by the simple name of Sikhs (=disciples); now they underwent an initiatory ceremony known as the Pahul, and became Singhs (=Lions, or warriors). They wore their hair long, and adopted distinctive styles of dress and food, and ceremonies calculated to foster military ardour. Guru Gobind Singh also compiled some additions to the Adi Granth* (1696). He not only employed bands of warriors belonging to his own community, but also hired Pathan soldiers, and attacked local Rajas. The Imperial Mughal armies reduced him to straits, but he was not captured. He eventually took service under the Mughal Empire. He went south to the Godavari in the Deccan, and founded a Gurudwara (1703) at Nander (in the modern Hyderabad

*The Supplementary Granth is the *Daswen Padshah ka Granth*, "the Book of the Tenth King."

State), where he died in 1708. The Gurudwara is still maintained, and enjoys certain privileges from the State.

As a Militant Community.

Sikhs and Marathas: analogies and contrasts.—Guru Gobind's active career followed in time soon after that of Shivaji, and there is some resemblance between the early resistance offered by the Marathas and by the Sikhs to the established Powers against whom they rose. In both cases their leaders took advantage of the confusion of their times to establish the power of their people. In both cases the leaders sometimes enlisted mercenary soldiers of fortune not belonging to their body, and sometimes took service with the Governments against whom their arms were often turned. Both the Sikhs and the Marathas relied in their early warfare on light cavalry and rapid movements. When the Sikhs had established a number of predatory bands in the Panjab, they levied *Rakhi*, or a contribution (being a proportion of Government revenue) for protection against their raids, similar to the Maratha system of *Chauth*. But the Sikhs confined their operations to the Panjab, where they were in a minority. The Marathas in their homeland formed the greater portion of the population, and they soon spread in all directions over enormous areas. The Marathas began their history with a leader of genius in the person of

Shivaji, after whom their central power was supported by a succession of able Brahman ministers. In the case of the Sikhs their ablest political leader (Maharaja Ranjit Singh) came towards the end of their history, and their power broke up after him.

Conflict with Mughal Empire.—Guru Gobind was the last *religious* leader of the Sikhs. After his death there were political and military leaders, who carried on the work of resistance for which he had organised his people. His immediate disciple, Banda, won some successes in Sarhind (1709-10), but he was eventually captured and executed (1716). The fortunes of the Sikhs were now depressed, like the fortunes of the Marathas about this time. But in each case there was a gradual revival. The Mughal Empire was now breaking to pieces, and nowhere were the effects of its weakness felt more than in the Panjab and in the area immediately in the neighbourhood of Delhi. During the predatory invasion of Nadir Shah (1739) the bonds of authority were loosened, and armed men not only preserved their own lives and property by means of force, but were able to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their neighbours.

With Ahmad Shah Abdali.—India had scarcely recovered from the devastations of Nadir Shah's invasion when the series of invasions by Ahmad Shah Abdali began. His first invasion was in 1747, and his last in 1767-8. During this period

there were rival Afghan and Mughal Governors at different times, and rebel chiefs besides, who were glad to strengthen their own power by getting any armed bodies on their side. The Sikhs in the meantime had been strengthening their organisation, building forts, and creating a bond of union for common action by means of their annual general Assemblies (*Gurumattas*) at Amritsar. These were necessary, as the Sikh chiefs (or Sardars) usually acted for themselves, at the head of their Misls or confederacies, which themselves held together but loosely. Among the Misls may be mentioned the Phulkian, the Ahluwalia, and the Sukarchakia Misls. The Phulkian Misl had its home south of the Satlaj, in the Sikh territory called Malwa, stretching towards Delhi and Bikanir. The other two belonged to the Manjha, the tract round the Ravi, in which Guru Nanak was born, and where he preached and died. There were other (besides geographical) differences between the Malwa and the Manjha Sikhs, which clearly came out in their after-history.

Rise of Patiala.—Every time that the Abdali turned his back on the Panjab, to attend to troubles in his own country, the Sikhs rose in his rear, and he had to suppress them again. In 1756–58 they temporarily occupied Lahore under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, who coined money in the name of the Khalsa. About that time the Marathas came in force to Delhi and invaded the Panjab. The Abdali disposed of their united forces in the battle

of Panipat (1761). But when he returned to Afghanistan after his victory, the Sikhs rose again. We hear of Ranjit Singh's grandfather, in his stronghold at Gujranwala, resisting the Abdali's deputy from Lahore about this time. The Sikhs were also then in possession of Sarhind. The Abdali on his return in 1762 inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs near Ludhiana, and took prisoner among others Sardar Alha Singh, the ancestor of the present Maharaja of Patiala. The Abdali now wanted to conciliate the Sikhs. He took a ransom of five lakhs of rupees, but bestowed a dress of honour on the Sardar, gave him the title of Raja, and left him in authority under him.

Sikhs as a ruling power.—The Malwa Sardars had always been more in touch with the Muslim rulers than their brethren in the Manjha. This new dignity conferred on one of them by the Abdali created some jealousy between the cis-Satlaj and the trans-Satlaj Sikhs, but they united after the Abdali's return to Kabul, and again seized Sarhind. On his next return the Abdali confirmed Raja Alha Singh of Patiala as his tributary. The Sikhs now felt themselves strong enough to be a ruling power. They turned out the Hindu Governor of Lahore, who represented the Abdali, and in their general Assembly at Amritsar in 1764, formally proclaimed the rule of the Khalsa.

Separate chiefs and Misls.—The Sikhs were

now masters of the country between the Jhelam and the Jamna, and they tried to extend their sway further in the Panjab. In the Abdali's last visit to the Panjab (1767) he raised the Raja of Patiala to the dignity of a Maharaja and made him his commander for the territory south of the Satlaj. The Manjha Sikhs continued to expand north and south, but the Misls and Sardars still acted more or less independently, and sometimes fought among themselves. Sikh power could not be established on a permanent basis except under a strong and capable ruler, and such a ruler arose in the person of Ranjit Singh.

Ranjit Singh.

Family and early career.—Ranjit Singh's grandfather, of the Sukarchakia Misl, as we saw, had established himself in his stronghold at Gujranwala, about 1762. The Sukarchakia Misl was then of no importance, but Ranjit Singh's father Mahan Singh took service under a chief of another Misl, and showed such military capacity that he rose rapidly in power and influence, and so began to act independently of his patron. His pre-eminence among the Sikhs was recognised before his death in 1792. Ranjit Singh was born in Gujranwala in 1780, and succeeded to the headship of his Misl at the age of twelve. During his minority his mother-in-law, Mai Sada Kour, an ambitious and imperious lady, and head of the powerful Kan-

haiya Misl, laid the foundations of his fortune by acquiring forts and subduing rival Sardars and Misls. All the influence, wealth, and power thus acquired came to Ranjit Singh when he had shaken off her tutelage. Meawhile another event happened to help Ranjit Singh to acquire a recognised status and predominance in the Panjab. Ahmad Shah Abdali's grandson Shah Zaman marched into the Panjab in 1797 and again in 1798-9, to assert Afghan authority in a Province which Kabul had all the time considered as its dependency. Shah Zaman had to return to Afghanistan to deal with domestic troubles. He conferred the title of Raja on Ranjit Singh and left him in charge of Lahore city and district (July 1799).

Relations with the British.—During Lord Lake's campaign against the Marathas round the Delhi country (1803) and in the subsequent wars with Holkar, the Sikhs were brought into contact with the English. The Malwa Sikhs practically accepted the Company's protection. After Holkar had been rounded up in the Panjab (1805) Lord Lake made a Treaty with "Sardar Ranjit Singh and Sardar Fateh Singh" (the latter the ancestor of the present Maharaja of Kapurthala) to keep Holkar's influence out of the Panjab (January 1806). Meanwhile Ranjit Singh had been increasing in power, and the embassy of Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, which was sent to him by Lord Minto, resulted in the formal Treaty of 1809. In the Treaty with Ranjit Singh he is

called the "Raja of Lahore," but in other documents of the same year he is called "the Maharaja." By this Treaty the British Government entered into "perpetual friendship" with the "State of Lahore," and agreed to make the Satlaj river the boundary between the two parties. The cis-Satlaj States (*i.e.* those to the south of the Satlaj) came formally under British protection, while Ranjit Singh got a free hand to do what he liked beyond. This Treaty was the turning point in the Maharaja's career, and he faithfully observed its terms to the end of his life.

Conquests and consolidation.—Ranjit Singh now turned his attention to his other frontiers. He conquered the Kangra valley (1809) and checked the spread of the Gurkhas into the Panjab hills. On his north-western frontier he profited by the revolutions in Afghanistan, of which the last had ended in Shah Shuja's deposition and his flight as a fugitive to the Panjab. From him he forced the surrender of the famous Koh-i-Nur diamond, and in his name he attempted the conquest of various places on the Afghan frontier. In 1814 the Maharaja's attempt upon Kashmir failed, but it succeeded five years later. Multan, ruled by a governor deriving his title from Kabul, was captured in 1818, and Peshawar in 1823.

Army and French generals.—Although the fighting on the Afghan frontier against the Sikhs continued for many years, until the death of Saiyid Ahmad Khan of Bareilly (1831), the greater

part of the Panjab and Kashmir were now under the Maharaja's sway. But he cast longing eyes in the direction of Sindh, and the unsettled state of Afghanistan also invited his ambitions in that direction. He enlisted European officers for re-organising his army on the European model. Two generals who had served under Napoleon were engaged by the Maharaja in 1822. One was General Ventura, an Italian of distinction, who organised a special brigade, the *Fauj Khas*, of four battalions of infantry and two regiments of cavalry, which was specially employed on the Afghan frontier. Another was General Allard, who raised a corps of dragoons. They were subsequently joined by Colonel Court, who commanded what was known as the "French Legion," and General Avitabile (another Italian), whose severities on the north-west frontier became a by-word. The Maharaja paid special attention to his army, which became one of the finest fighting forces in India, and proved its valour in the two Sikh wars.

Death and character of Ranjit Singh.—The Sikhs played only a minor part in the First Afghan War (1839—1842), though the British policy underlying that war was undoubtedly affected by Ranjit Singh's friendship and strong position in the Panjab. He however died in June 1839, and left no successor sufficiently strong and able to keep the State together. His genius for organisation had brought a number of petty principalities and warring military confideracies under one central

control. He realised the power of the British and the weakness of his neighbours around, and carried out his plans with brilliant success. He employed the best men in the posts most suitable for them. His Foreign Secretary and confidential diplomatist Faqir Aziz-ud-din rendered most distinguished service to his State. Gulab Singh, who afterwards became the ruler of Kashmir, was a Dogra Rajput, and rose from small beginnings. Khush-hal Singh, who became his chamberlain, was the son of a Brahman shopkeeper from Meerut. Ranjit Singh was a keen sportsman, a fine rider, and a daring leader, and he rewarded those who had won his favour with a lavish hand.

After Ranjit Singh.

Khalsa army all-powerful.—After the Maharaja's death the Khalsa army became all-powerful, and there was no controlling hand to keep it in order. His son Kharak Singh was an imbecile, and died in November 1840, and Kharak Singh's son Nau-Nihal Singh died, apparently in an accident, on the same day that he succeeded to the throne. Sher Singh, a reputed son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, became Maharaja, but was assassinated (September 1843). Rani Jindan, one of Ranjit Singh's Ranis, put forward an infant son named Dalip Singh, and he was proclaimed Maharaja, but no one had any real authority. Any interference of the British was resented by the Khalsa army,

which had increased from a strength of 29,000 men at the death of Ranjit Singh to 72,000 in 1845. Most of the European officers had left after the Maharaja's death. The finances were also becoming disorganised with the general disorganisation. The chiefs, both civil and military, found the simplest solution of their perplexities in a foreign war, and they launched the Khalsa army against the Company's troops across the Satlaj (December 1845).

First Sikh War.—The Satlaj campaign, known as the First Sikh War, barely lasted two months. The English on their side had foreseen the war for some time, but their preparations were not adequate. They hurried up troops to their frontier cantonment of Firozpur, not far from which the four battles of the campaign were fought, all south of the river Satlaj. The first was at Mudki, some 16 miles south-east of Firozpur, where the Sikhs attacked the British troops coming from Ambala and Ludhiana, but were driven back by a bayonet charge of British infantry (December 18th). But the British losses were heavy, and they had to rest two days before resuming operations. The next battle was at Phiru-Shahr ("Feroze-Shah"), a village about 10 miles from Firozpur. The Sikhs had their camp a mile long and half a mile wide, with the village on high ground in the centre. It was a two days' battle (December 21st and 22nd), and the Governor-General himself took part in it, under the Commander-in-chief. The Sikh camp

was captured, and repeated gallant attempts of the Sikhs to recapture the position were repulsed. But the battle had nearly been lost for want of ammunition, and the casualties were again heavy, amounting to a seventh of the number engaged.

British victory.—The Khalsa army now retired across the Satlaj, to the village of Sobraon, about 20 miles above Firozpur, and just below the junction of the Satlaj with the Beas. The British had to wait for reinforcements, ammunition, heavy guns, and stores, which were pouring in from Delhi. But the situation was full of danger, and some of the Malwa Sikhs, who should have been on the British side, were deserting. The Khalsa army now began to throw entrenchments on the south bank of the Satlaj, with a view to renewing the contest. Meanwhile they sent a force from Phillaur to cross the Satlaj and threaten Ludhiana, on the line of British communications to Delhi. Sir Harry Smith was sent to check this move, and fought the brilliant battle of Aliwal (28th January 1846). This was mainly won by cavalry charges, but the British had here a superiority in artillery. When Sir Harry Smith rejoined the main British army opposite Sobraon, the British were ready for their final battle, the battle of Sobraon (10th February). They attacked and stormed the Khalsa entrenchment south of the river. The Khalsa army fought desperately, but suffered from bad generalship and also perhaps from treachery on the part of their leaders. The

bridge across the Satlaj broke; their retreat was cut off; and the carnage was terrible. But the British victory in this battle decided the war.

Panjab brought under control.—The British marched to Lahore, and peace was signed on the 9th of March 1846. The Beas-Satlaj Doab was annexed to British India; a heavy indemnity was exacted, in part payment of which the Lahore Darbar surrendered Kashmir and Hazara; Kashmir was for a money payment made over to Raja Gulab Singh (the ancestor of the present Maharaja of Kashmir); the Khalsa army was reduced in numbers; Dalip Singh was recognised as Maharaja, but placed under British tutelage under a Council of Regency; and a British Resident was posted at Lahore.

Intrigues and Insurrections.—These arrangements were never really accepted by the Sikhs. British officrs, civil and military, spread themselves over the country, but their orders were either obeyed sullenly or resisted secretly. In Lahore itself there were plots and intrigues, in which the Wazir, the Rani, and the high Sikh officials were involved; in the interior, especially towards the Afghan frontier, there was unrest, and the Sikhs were trying to get the assistance of the Afghans to turn out the British from the Panjab. In April 1848 there was an insurrection in Multan, in which two British officers lost their lives. This was treated at first as a mere insurrection, but British frontier officers, with Pathans and a few faithful

Sikhs, came up to Multan, and prevented Mul Raj and his disaffected garrison from doing any further mischief. There was much delay in getting up adequate troops with siege guns. When these arrived, the formal siege of Multan began on the 5th of September, but Sardar Sher Singh, who was sent to co-operate with the British, deserted to the enemy, and his father, who was governor in Hazara, also revolted. The frontier was in the flames of war, and the whole Sikh nation was involved. The siege of Multan was temporarily abandoned, till the arrival of Bombay troops from Sindh in December.

Second Sikh War.—Meanwhile (November 1848) the "Army of the Panjab" was collected at Firozpur, and marched out into Sikh territory under the personal command of Lord Gough the Commander-in-chief. Apart from Multan the main hostile Sikh forces were in the north-west, and led by Sher Singh. They were expected to meet the British advance at Gujranwala, but Sher Singh had taken up a position at Ramnagar, on the south bank of the Chenab. On Lord Gough's approach with the main army, he withdrew to an entrenched position on the north bank, from which, with his superiority in artillery, he knew the British would find it difficult to dislodge him. Lord Gough sent a force higher up the river, which crossed the Chenab at Wazirabad, and had a brush with the enemy at Sadullahpur, but Sher Singh was expecting reinforcements from the frontier, and he retir-

ed north to a strong position near Rasul, on the south bank of the Jhelam, where the head-works of the Lower Jhelam Canal are now situated. Close to his position is the village of Chilianwala, where the most obstinate battle of the Sikh wars was fought (13th January 1849). It ended inconclusively, both sides claiming the victory. The British casualties were 3,000. When news of this reached England, Lord Gough was superseded, but before his successor Sir Charles Napier could arrive, Lord Gough had retrieved the day, the Sikh army had surrendered, and the Panjab had been annexed.

Panjab annexed.—Lord Gough's best plan, after the battle of Chilianwala, was to wait for reinforcements and bring up heavy guns to establish his superiority in artillery. The surrender of Multan (January 22) relieved the British forces besieging the city; they proceeded to join Lord Gough. Other reinforcements also arrived on both sides, but the British were now for the first time in the campaign superior in artillery. Sher Singh took up his position at Gujrat (February 20), where the decisive battle was fought on the following day. This was mainly a "battle of the guns." The British victory was complete; the Sikh guns and camp were captured; and an energetic pursuit compelled the Sikh army to surrender. Peace was signed on the 29th March 1849. The Panjab was annexed to British India; Maharaja Dalip Singh was pensioned off and went to live in England;

and the famous Koh-i-Nur diamond was added to the jewels of the Crown of England. The government of the Province was entrusted at first to a Board, but later John Lawrence* was appointed Chief Commissioner. He and his devoted band of officers brought law and order into the distracted Province. The Sikhs settled down, and rendered loyal service to the Government in the Mutiny.

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*Afterwards Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy (1864—1869), and later, Lord Lawrence.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Great Mutiny.

Its significance.—The Great Mutiny of 1857 is an important landmark in the history of British India. The feelings of racial antagonism which it called forth are best forgotten in the interests of the peace and progress of our country. Its deeds of horror and of heroism—on both sides, British and Indian—are comparatively of less importance in a brief sketch than a consideration of the causes which led up to it and the resulting reconstruction in the administrative machinery in India and in the political relations between the Government of India and the British Crown, Parliament, and people.

Nature and Causes.

Mutiny or Rebellion?—Was it a Mutiny of the army or a rebellion? It was a Mutiny of the Bengal army. The Madras and Bombay armies remained unaffected, except that the general unrest in the country and sporadic local instances of disloyalty caused anxiety in all parts of the country. The Sikh army in the Panjab (technically a part of the Bengal army) not only remained loyal as a whole, but helped in great part to recover the

position round Delhi. The Gurkhas in the Bengal army rendered active loyal assistance, and the troops of Nepal at a later stage also assisted the Government in the Oudh operations. The areas chiefly affected were Delhi and its neighbourhood, the North-Western Provinces and Oudh (now known as the United Provinces), a small portion of Eastern Bihar, especially round Arrah, and the Maratha country south of the Jamna, in Central India and Malwa, chiefly under the influence of the dispossessed Rani of Jhansi, the disaffected elements in Gwalior, and Nana Sahib of Bithur (Cawnpur). The civil population generally remained passive, and many zamindars and individual Indians risked or lost their lives in order to save British lives or to help the British Government. The only exception was Oudh, where the dispossessed Royal Family were really loved by the Taluqdars, and where at a later stage of the Mutiny the Taluqdars and the peasantry were in conflict with the forces of the Government. The Indian States as such remained officially on the side of the British. The Maharaja of Gwalior and his minister Sir Dinkar Rao, and the Nizam of Hyderabad and his minister Sir Salar Jang were notable instances of staunch and unswerving fidelity in the face of much opposition and many difficulties.

Feeling in the civil population.—It must not be supposed, however, that the passionate hostility of the Sepoys, which caused so much disorder and

such appalling carnage was not connected with deep-seated feelings of dissatisfaction and unrest in the minds of the people at large. The whole trend of British Indian history had tended to create a gulf between the British and the Indians. The merchants of the East India Company, who were welcomed by the contending factions in India on account of the armed forces and the efficient organisation which they commanded, appeared in a different light when they became rich and powerful, and trampled upon some of the most sacred feelings of the people. The more the national power of Britain was asserted in India, the more hopeless became the position of those who had lost power, and the more bitter their discontent. The new civilisation that came in the wake of the British was influencing new movements in the religious and social thought of India itself, and this appeared to the minds of the older generation as a menace to their own civilisation and to the age-long institutions which they cherished with religious devotion.

Political discontent.—The Imperialist policy of Lord Dalhousie had created a fear that such shreds and remnants of power as remained in Indian hands were doomed to disappear. The annexation of Oudh, whose rulers had always been friendly to the British, and the doctrine of "lapse" which had been applied to so many States, caused deep resentment. Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao, was refused any

part of the political pension which had been granted to the deposed Peshwa, and he pursued the British with implacable hatred, and was the cause not only of the dreadful massacres in Cawnpore but of many anti-British movements which he fostered. The Rani of Jhansi, believing herself to be fighting sincerely in a patriotic cause, died a simple soldier's death in open warfare. The titular Mughal Emperor, whose title, emoluments, and ceremonial dignities were curtailed, felt slighted; and through the leaders of Urdu literature who clustered round his court, his discontent found powerful expression and evoked lively sympathy throughout the land. This explains why the Mutineers installed him as the Ruling Power, although from character and training he was ill fitted to lead a revolutionary movement.

Military causes.—The underlying causes, religious, social, and political, like those which we have mentioned, had been working on men's minds for some years. They were not without influence on the minds of the Sepoys. But the immediate cause which precipitated the Mutiny on a big scale was the introduction of a service cartridge containing animal grease, which the Sepoys had to bite before insertion in their new Enfield rifle. The rumour immediately spread that the grease was compounded of the fat of the cow and the pig: if so, the religious susceptibilities of both Hindu and Muslim Sepoys were touched. The cry of " religion in danger " was the most effective

cry in an atmosphere in which there was already much suspicion and distrust. There had been many evils affecting the discipline of the army in India, which had been brought to notice by the highest authorities, for example by Sir Charles Napier when he was Commander-in-chief. In the British army the relations between the Company's troops and the Queen's troops were not very cordial, and this fact could not have escaped the attention of the purely Indian troops, though they miscalculated grievously if they counted on such differences to affect British action in an hour of crisis. Many weak points had also been exposed in the Panjab campaigns and in the Crimean War (1853—1856). The Persian and China wars which were actually going on early in 1857 had made calls on India's military resources and left the Indian garrison weak. The proportion of Sepoy troops to British troops may also have produced the impression in the Bengal army that its power would be irresistible. The story of the greased cartridges came like a lighted match in a powder magazine.

Narrative of Events.

Meerut and Delhi.—The explosion came at Meerut on Sunday the 10th May 1857, although there had been warning symptoms for some months before,—in Barrackpur, Lucknow, and Meerut itself. Meerut was (and is) a big cantonment about

43 miles north-east of Delhi. On the afternoon of the 10th May the 3rd Bengal Cavalry and two Indian Infantry Regiments broke out, committed some excesses, and marched out to Delhi the Mughal Capital. There could have been no pre-concerted plans, for there were no simultaneous outbreaks in other stations, but such outbreaks occurred piecemeal as the news spread. The following day (May 11th) Delhi rose and was in the possession of the mutineers. The Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah was called upon to assume the government. The British officers at the arsenal, unable to save it, blew it up. During the course of the month local outbreaks occurred at different stations in the Panjab, but they were promptly suppressed. The Panjab was strongly held, and the British made preparations at once not only to safeguard the Province, but to win back Delhi. By June 8th they had established themselves in a strong position on the Ridge, a long low hill stretching northwards, and commanding the northern approaches to the city of Delhi. The British troops from Meerut joined them, and other troops kept pouring in from the Panjab. At the same time the mutineers within the city kept receiving large accessions to their forces from their comrades who came to join them from other centres.

Capture of Delhi.—The mutineers were badly led and had not the command of expanding military resources. Time was all against them. In

the Indian army the officers had been all British, and the new officers of their own whom the mutineers appointed could scarcely handle large masses of troops or rival the strategy or the resources of skilful Generals like General Nicholson whom they had to oppose. But they had the advantage of numbers. They made several attempts to dislodge the British from their position on the Ridge, but were unsuccessful and were severely punished. On the other hand the British did not feel strong enough to attack the walled city till their siege guns and ammunition waggons arrived on the 4th September. Preparations were then perfected rapidly; batteries were pushed on; and the engineers and gunners made breach after breach. The grand assault was opened on September 14th. Step by step the defence was overpowered. The Kashmir Gate and the northern bastions were the scene of fierce fighting. On the 20th the Lahore Gate in the eastern wall was captured, and British cavalry entering from the south (Delhi Gate) occupied the Jami Mosque; the Fort and Palace now fell to the British, but Bahadur Shah escaped. He was captured on the following day, after which all resistance at Delhi was over. General Nicholson died of wounds, and other casualties were heavy, but the capture of Delhi broke the back of the Mutiny.

Cawnpore.—Meanwhile, all through the months of June, July, August, and September outbreaks had occurred in various stations in what is now

the United Provinces. The chief centres of interest were Cawnpore and Lucknow, which stood between the areas where British authority was still obeyed—the Panjab in the west and Bengal in the east. There was fierce fighting in this middle region, and the base of British operations was Allahabad and then Cawnpore. The heat and then the rains interfered with operations, and there was cholera and sickness among British troops. But they went on with that dogged perseverance which won eventually. At Cawnpore, General Wheeler, expecting trouble in May, made an entrenchment south of the city. The actual mutiny occurred on the 4th of June. The Sepoys, after they threw off the allegiance of the Company, would have marched off to Delhi, but were detained by the Nana Sahib. From the 6th to the 25th June the British were besieged in their entrenchment. Their little garrison suffered terrible casualties, while their enemies continued to receive reinforcements from Lucknow and other diaffected centres. The British had to surrender on the 26th, but the men were massacred at Sati Chaura Ghat (Massacre Ghat) the following day, and the remaining prisoners (men and women) subsequently,—just two days before General Havelock relieved Cawnpore on the 17th of July. There was more fighting round Cawnpore later. But we must now turn to Lucknow.

Lucknow: siege of the Residency.—A week before the mutinies at Meerut and Delhi there had

already been a small outbreak at Lucknow, which had been promptly put down. After the bigger outbreaks the position became dangerous, and Sir Henry Lawrence took prudent steps to arm and provision the Residency, a high building well adapted for defence purposes in case of a siege Trouble began on the 30th of May, and became worse as news came in of increasing outbreaks elsewhere. For a whole month mutineers from various directions converged towards Lucknow and formed their post at Chinhat, 7 miles east of Lucknow. The British troops engaged them on the 30th June, but were repulsed. They withdrew into the Residency, whose siege began on the 1st July and lasted for nearly three months. Here there were nearly as many Indians as British among the besieged garrison. Sir Henry Lawrence was the life and soul of the defence, but he died from a shell wound on July 4th. He lies buried in the Residency, with the simple inscription recording the highest praise that can be bestowed on any man—that he "tried to do his duty." The fighting continued and the garrison began to get thinner from day to day, but they never lost heart. Mines were sprung and general attacks were made by the enemy, with terrible losses to the defenders—"the handful they could not subdue;" but, in the words of Tennyson, "ever upon the topmost roof the banner of England flew."

First Relief.—We saw how General Havelock

took Cawnpore on the 17th July. Leaving some troops to guard Cawnpore he advanced with only 1,200 men to the relief of Lucknow, about 42 miles from Cawnpore. But his forces were inadequate, and he had to fall back. His failure was not his fault, but he was superseded by General Outram in September. Outram had fresh forces at his command, and he knew that Havelock's failures in the direction of Lucknow had been due to inadequate forces. He chivalrously marched with Havelock but left the military command with him, so that the glory of relieving Lucknow should fall to him. On September 25th, after severe fighting, they entered the Residency, just five days after the capture of Delhi. The Residency was a mass of ruins, but the fresh forces that had now come up captured other buildings in the neighbourhood and enlarged the area of defence right down to the river Gumti. The enemy however were still in possession of the city of Lucknow, and they continued to blockade the enlarged garrison.

Second Relief.—Reinforcements were now pouring in from England, and Sir Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde) arrived as Commander-in-chief, and reached Cawnpore early in November. His first care was to effect the second relief of Lucknow. He reached Alam Bagh, about 4 miles south the Residency, on the 10th November. It took him a week to fight his way through, by a round-about route by the east. The naval brigade gave valuable assistance. He joined Outram and

Havelock on the 17th, but the latter died on the 24th, a veteran soldier who had fought in many fields and always kept his honour unsullied. The Commander-in-chief decided to withdraw the whole force from the Residency. He was not yet strong enough to take the city of Lucknow, and there was urgent work to do in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore. He left a garrison to hold Alam Bagh, and returned in March 1858 to dislodge the enemy from Lucknow city, with the help of the Nepal army placed at his disposal. The whole of Lucknow then fell to the British, but it took a year longer to pacify Oudh.

Central India campaign.—The fighting in the north had so far been concentrated on different centres of disaffection. South of the Jamna and between it and the Narbada the country was (and is) wilder; the towns more scattered; the roads worse and less numerous; and the supplies less easily obtainable. The distances too were enormous, and the ground broken by numerous rivers and ravines. The people were sturdier, and led by Marathas, and such bitter enemies of British rule as the young Rani of Jhansi, Tantia Topi (the capable general of Nana Sahib), and the men of Gwalior who had turned out their own Maharaja and his minister. Mercenary Afghan troops (*Walayatis*) also assisted the mutineers. Such were the conditions in which the Central India Field Force had to operate. It was composed of a force from Bombay and another from

Madras, with the well-found Hyderabad Contingent, and commanded by General Sir Hugh Rose, who had had a distinguished career in the Crimea. A very large proportion of the troops under his command were Sepoys of the Indian army, who must share with their small number of European comrades the glory of the brilliant campaign south of the Jamna.

Successful results.—Sir Hugh Rose arrived in Bombay in September 1857, and proceeded northwards through Central India, with his objective at Kalpi. After restoring order in Indore State, he moved rapidly on to Sagar, about 100 miles north-east of Bhopal. He relieved Sagar (February 3, 1858), which had sustained an anxious siege for eight months. His next task was to reach Jhansi, clear Bundelkhand, and work south of the Jamna in concert with Sir Colin Campbell's operations north of that river. The strong rock fortress of Jhansi was captured early in April (1858), after a brilliant fight with the "Army of the Peshwa" under Tantia Topi. By forced marches he reached Kalpi and effected a junction with some reinforcements sent to him from the northern side of the Jamna by Sir Colin Campbell (May 1858). The heat was terrible (119° in the shade), and numerous cases of sunstroke occurred, but Kalpi was captured, and Bundelkhand was cleared. The mutineers escaped to Gwalior, where, with his usual dispatch, Sir Hugh Rose pursued and defeated them, and restored Gwalior to its loyal

Maharaja (June 1858). It was here that the Rani of Jhansi died fighting in the field, dressed in a red jacket and trousers and a white turban. Thus ended the five months' brilliant campaign of the Central India Field Force, in which it had covered a distance of 1085 miles, and cleared without a check a difficult country of an enterprising foe led by determined and capable commanders.

End of the Mutiny.—In March 1858, we saw, the city of Lucknow was captured, but the rebel army was not destroyed. Oudh and Rohilkhand still remained unsubdued. In Oudh Lord Canning's ill-advised proclamation confiscating all land intensified the struggle, and put the whole of the landed interest against the Government. Although, in fact, very few families were dispossessed, the feeling called forth by the proclamation prolonged the struggle by at least a year. The mutineers were at length driven by a series of operations in the direction of Nepal. Oudh was declared pacified in January 1859. Adequate steps were taken to conciliate the Taluqdars and establish them in a position of privilege and dignity.

Reconstruction and Reform.

Policy of conciliation.—Desultory fighting and guerilla warfare continued for some time, but the serious large-scale operations of the Mutiny may be considered to have ended with the capture of Gwalior in the summer of 1858. Even before then,

certain educational schemes which had been previously decided on, were introduced. Among them was the establishment of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras (1857). As the Mutiny was being suppressed, Lord Canning the Governor-General (1856—1862) had to deal with the question of political and judicial punishments. While he wished to be firm—and was actually too drastic in some cases, as the first Oudh Proclamation showed,—he had repressed his countrymen's demand for indiscriminate revenge, and upheld a policy of clemency and conciliation. The nickname of "Clemency Canning" was applied to him by way of reproach, and he was attacked by the British Press in India. But he held his ground. He toured the country and tried to put heart into the people, to reward the loyal, and leave the punishment of the guilty to properly constituted tribunals.

India transferred to the Crown.—The fundamental question of the machinery of the government of British India was raised in Parliament. The system of double Government—by the Queen's Ministers through the Board of Control, and by the Court of Directors of the East India Company—was felt to be cumbrous and unsatisfactory, and was abolished. The East India Company ceased to exist as a ruling power. In August 1858 the Act was passed by which the government of all territories administered by the East India Company was transferred to Queen Victoria.

Power was taken to appoint a Secretary of State for India, with Under-Secretaries, and Members of the "Council of India" (in London), to be paid out of the revenues of India. The expenditure of the revenues of India, both in India and elsewhere, was to be under the control of the Secretary of State in Council, who was to place the accounts every year before Parliament. The Competitive System for appointments to the Indian Civil Service was clearly defined. The naval and military forces of the Company were transferred to the Crown, thus removing the jealousies and difficulties connected with the relations between the Queen's officers and the Company's officers. This reform was indeed most unpopular with the Company's European troops in India, and there was nearly a "White Mutiny," which it took all the tact and sagacity of Lord Canning and his Commander-in-chief to repress. The formal assumption of the Government by Queen Victoria was announced by a Proclamation issued on November 1, 1858, which ranks as one of the most important State documents in the history of British India.*

Queen Victoria's Proclamation.—The first draft of this Proclamation had been rejected when it had been submitted to the Queen, as she wanted it to "breathe feelings of generosity, benevolence,

*Printed in A. B. Keith's Speeches and Documents on Indian Policy (2 vols., Oxford 1922), I. 382-386.

and religious toleration." As finally issued, it contained a noble expression of the Queen's personal desire to discharge worthily the trust that had devolved on the Crown of England. "When," she says "by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of our subjects resident therein." Toleration and respect for every form of religious faith and observances was guaranteed "under the equal and impartial protection of the law." Due regard was to be paid to "the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India" in respect of land. "The rights, dignity, and honour" of the Indian Princes were to be maintained "as our own," said the large-hearted Queen, and she was to treat her Indian subjects exactly like any others of her subjects. The doctrine of "lapse" as applied by Lord Dalhousie was subsequently abolished, and adoption was recognised under certain conditions. In consequence of the direct government by the Crown, the Governor-General also became the Viceroy, and Lord Canning was so described in the Proclamation.

Councils in India.—The Indian Councils Act, 1861, followed this up with a reform in the machinery of government in India itself. It made no substantial change in the Viceroy's Executive Council. But it gave powers to the Viceroy to

make rules for the conduct of business, and under these powers Lord Canning introduced the system of a portfolio for each member, which practically converted his Executive Council to a Cabinet, but without any responsibility to a Legislature. The smallest matters had before this to come up for decision before the whole Executive Council. Now many departmental matters could be disposed of by the Member or his Secretary, and only questions of policy came up before the whole Council. In matters of legislation, important changes were made. The power of provincial legislation was given to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Their Legislative Councils were constituted on the model of the Governor-General's Legislative Council, but certain subjects were specified on which the Presidencies could not consider any legislation without the previous sanction of the Governor-General. The non-official element in these Legislative Councils introduced the germ of the principle of the people's consent to the enactment of laws, which was afterwards developed into an elective representative system.

Financial and Legal Reforms.—In Finance and Law, also, important reforms were undertaken. The finances of the Company had not been managed on any recognised system of Budgets or statutory taxation. The wars of the Imperialist period, and now the Mutiny, had added greatly to the debt of India. An experienced financier, Mr. James Wilson, was brought out from the

British Treasury in 1859. He was the father of Indian Budgets; he organised the Public Debt and the arrangements for meeting the interest on the debt systematically and economically; he introduced a Government paper currency; he reviewed the system of taxation, and introduced the Income Tax. The modern chartered High Courts and the reorganisation of judicial machinery also date from 1861. The three great legal Codes of India were completed about this time—the Civil Procedure Code (1859), the Penal Code (1860), and the Criminal Procedure Code (1861). India was well launched on her career of modernisation. The fact that the old conservative generation of India had been weeded out in the Mutiny gave all the greater impetus to this process of modernisation.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Viceroys: Lord Canning to Lord Irwin.

Three well-marked periods.—The work of reconstruction which Lord Canning had begun was continued by his successors. Every reform accomplished pointed to the need of new ones. Every fresh responsibility undertaken by the Government required new powers and new machinery to tackle the new problems created. Every step taken in the devolution of power and the association of the people of India with the work of government led nearer to the ideal of self-government and free institutions. There were Imperialist waves like those under Lord Lytton and Lord Curzon, but the steady political movement of India's incorporation into the circle of British political ideas went on, aided by the growth of University Education in India, the evolution of Liberal movements in the British isles, and the formation of international movements such as those which have brought India into the League of Nations after the Great War. From this point of view our history may be divided into three periods: (1) 1858—1885, when British ideas stamped themselves on Indian administration, and there was a great expansion in the economic life of the country; (2) 1885—1917, when local self-govern-

ment and movements for decentralisation ran parallel with non-official Indian movements in the direction of representative institutions and Indian self-government; and (3) from 1917 onwards, when the British Parliament has itself accepted the policy of the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire, while a reaction has set in in India against the copying of British institutions or the generous recognition of the merits of Britain's policy towards India.

Lord Elgin I and Sir John Lawrence.—The second Viceroy Lord Elgin I (March 1862—November 1863) died prematurely at Dharmsala and was succeeded by Sir John Lawrence* (1864—1869). He had ruled the Panjab with splendid success before and during the Mutiny, and he developed the policy of non-intervention in Afghan affairs when civil war broke out in Afghanistan. He tried to gain the confidence of the Ruling Princes of India. The Orissa famine of 1865-6 found the Government unprepared with a famine policy, but the weakness then disclosed led to the introduction of the great Orissa irrigation works, the control of its rivers, and the improvement of its communications by land and sea. An Irrigation Department was created, and it was settled that Productive Works (*i.e.* those which

*He was created Lord Lawrence after the period of his Viceroyalty.

yielded a nett revenue on the capital expended) could be constructed from Loans. The prosperity of the cotton market and the cotton industry in Bombay, due to the stoppage of the supply of American cotton in the American Civil War (1861—65) led to unhealthy speculation in the Bombay share market, resulting in a financial crisis, in which the Bank of Bombay was involved (1865). In the same year the Indo-European Telegraph, between Karachi and England, by way of Persia and Turkey, inaugurated rapid communication with England. Later, the opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and the Red Sea submarine cable (1870) further accelerated communications with India.

Lord Mayo.—Lord Mayo's viceroyalty (January 1869—February 1872) was cut short by his assassination in the Andamans. He cultivated special relations with the Indian Princes, in whose education he showed his interest by the inception of the scheme of the Mayo College at Ajmir (opened in 1875). The special needs of Muslim education also received his attention. His frontier policy aimed at making Afghanistan friendly to British India, and at the same time arriving at a friendly understanding with Russia (in which he had previously travelled) about the recognition of the river Oxus as the boundary of Russian political influence. Lord Mayo's financial reforms were important. Not only did he exercise economy and balance his budgets, but he introduced the

system of Provincial finance (1870). Under his scheme Provincial Governments were assigned certain fixed annual allotments, with which they had to discharge certain definite functions. Thus both their powers and responsibilities were increased. He gave a great impetus to Public Works and inaugurated a new system of State Railways. The railway mileage increased under him from under 900 to nearly 3,000.

Lord Northbrook.—Lord Northbrook, who succeeded him (1872—1876), came of a banking family. His financial and business talents were of great service to India, and his sympathy with the Indian people would have enabled him to leave his mark on the Indian administration, if the Afghan question had not developed differences between him and the Home Government, which eventually led to his resignation. He was sent out by a Liberal Government from England, but the Conservatives came into power in 1874, and dictated an aggressive policy against Afghanistan, which the Governor-General in Council considered wrong, and which led to the disasters of the Second Afghan War (1878—1880) under Lord Lytton. The advance of the Russians in Central Asia had resulted in their capture of Khiva (June 1873), and the Ministry in England wanted to prevent Russian influence gaining the ascendancy in Afghanistan. Lord Northbrook pointed out (1875) that the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan, which had been followed by his three pre-

decessors Lord Canning, Lord Lawrence, and Lord Mayo was more likely to retain the friendship of the Amir than the proposal to force British Agents on him, or to partition his kingdom, or to occupy certain positions in or threatening Afghanistan, but his advice was not followed, and he resigned. The tour of the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward VII) in India in the cold weather of 1875-6 and his meeting with the Ruling Princes and the people of India brought the British Royal family into personal contact with India, and established a precedent which has been maintained in subsequent reigns.

Lord Lytton.—The choice of Lord Lytton (second Baron) as the next Viceroy (1876—1880) was specially made to carry out the Imperial Government's policy with regard to Afghanistan. But his rule is notable also for other events of importance. Queen Victoria's assumption of the title of Empress of India (Kaisar-i-Hind) was formally announced in India in the great Darbar at Delhi (January 1877). The great famine of 1876—8, which caused a huge mortality in southern India and which in its later stages also affected Upper India, led to the appointment of the Famine Commission (1878—1880) and the preparation of elaborate Famine Codes to deal with such calamities. The holding of the Darbar in spite of the famine, and the Government's Afghan policy were bitterly attacked in the Vernacular Press, which was brought under control by an Act passed

in 1878, but repealed by Lord Ripon in 1882. Lord Lytton took a personal interest in the Musalman movement in favour of English education and opened (1877) Sir Saiyid Ahmad's Aligarh College, which has since become the Muslim University, Aligarh.

Second Afghan War.—The Russo-Turkish War in Europe (1877-78) had increased Britain's anxiety about the Russian advance in Asia. As was foreseen by Lord Northbrook, the pressure put upon Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, to receive a British Agent was resented by him, and the occupation of Quetta (1876) and the control of Baluchistan did not improve British relations with the Amir. The Government of India declared war in November 1878. As in the first Afghan War, everything went according to plan in the first stage, but massacres and risings followed, with the expulsion of the new Amir on whom the Government of India had relied. General Sir Frederick Roberts (afterwards Lord Roberts) seized the Kurram Valley, while two other forces marched into Afghanistan through the Khaibar Pass and through Quetta respectively. The Amir Sher Ali fled, and his son Yakub Khan was recognised as Amir. A treaty was made with the new Amir at Gandamak (May 1879) by which Afghanistan surrendered the control of her foreign relations to the Government of India, ceded some territory, and agreed to receive a British Agent at Kabul.

Its sequel.—Sir Louis Cavagnari was sent as the British Agent, but he had scarcely been six weeks in the Afghan capital before he was murdered, together with his staff and his escort (September 1879). Yakub Khan himself had to flee from his capital. General Roberts occupied Kabul (October 1879), but the Afghans continued to fight. Ayub Khan, a brother of Yakub Khan, marched from Herat, defeated a British force, and shut it up in Kandahar (July 1880). General Roberts successfully accomplished his famous march from Kabul to Kandahar (August), inflicted a severe defeat on Ayub Khan, and retired by way of Quetta (September). Meanwhile Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, who had been in exile, returned to Afghanistan, and was recognised as Amir. He had been a Russian pensioner in his exile, but he was too shrewd a statesman to surrender himself as Amir into Russian hands, and he ruled his country with vigour, wisdom, and success, until his death in 1901.

Lord Ripon.—In England the Liberals had come into power in April 1880, pledged to reverse the Afghan policy of the Conservatives. They had appointed Lord Ripon as Viceroy (1880—1884) in succession to Lord Lytton, who had resigned. Lord Ripon carried out the withdrawal from Afghanistan. He restored Mysore to the rule of its Maharaja (1881). In that year, also, was taken the first general census of India, which has been repeated since at intervals of every ten

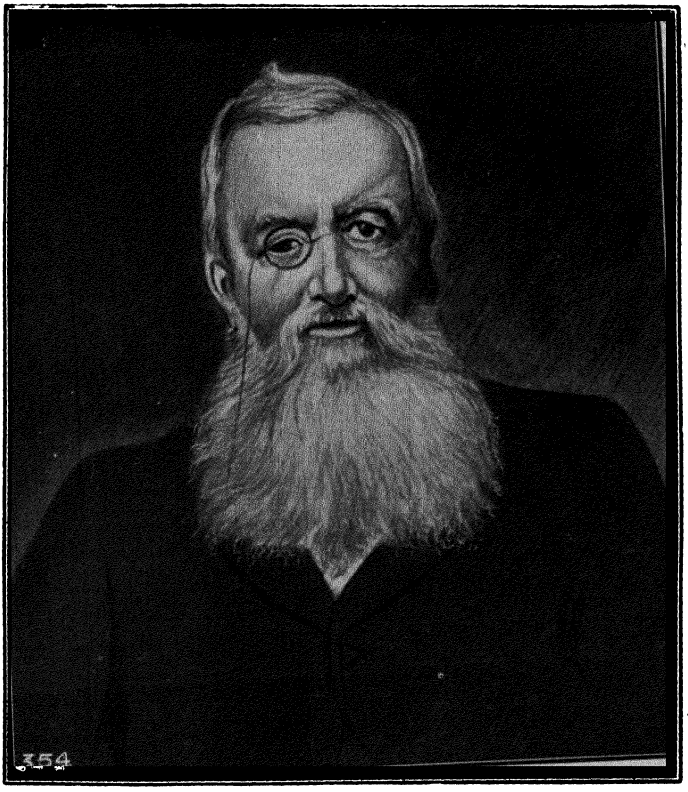


Fig. 23 *To face p. 365*

LORD RIPON

years. The first International Exhibition to be held in India was opened at Calcutta in 1883. There was a certain amount of friction with Burma, but war was avoided till 1885. A proposal to amend the Code of Criminal Procedure so as to confer jurisdiction on magistrates irrespective of the race of the trying Magistrate or the accused person (the Ilbert Bill) had to be greatly modified on account of the opposition of the European community in India. Lord Ripon's most notable act was the introduction of elective local self-government in Municipalities, District Boards, and Local Boards. It was "a measure of political and popular education," but its development took many years, and even now India has yet to travel far on the road of civic patriotism before local self-government becomes universally effective.

Lord Dufferin: Upper Burma annexed.—Lord Dufferin (1884—1888), who succeeded Lord Ripon, was a mature diplomatist, and did much to calm down India after some of the controversies through which the country had passed. The Burmese trouble came to a head during his viceroyalty. After a two weeks' campaign (November 1885) in the Third Burmese War, King Thibaw surrendered, and Upper Burma was annexed to British India. For some time the French had been advancing in Eastern Asia, as the Russians had been advancing nearer to the North-West Frontier of India. France and Russia had been drawing together in European politics, as against Germany,

and the annexation of Upper Burma was inevitable in order to secure the north-eastern frontier of India against France. On the North-West Frontier, also, Lord Dufferin's tact and diplomacy kept the Afghan Amir friendly, and prevented a collision between him and Russia at the frontier post of Penj-Deh (1885).

Progress in India.—Among internal events may be mentioned the passing of various Tenancy Acts for the protection of agricultural tenants in different Provinces, the creation of a University at Allahabad and a Legislative Council for the North-Western Provinces (now the United Provinces), and the celebration of Queen Victoria's 50 years' Jubilee with great enthusiasm (February 1887). Lady Dufferin left a memorial of her sympathy with the women of India in a scheme for their medical relief. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885, and its demands for a greater voice in the government of the country found a response in Lord Dufferin's proposals for an expansion of the Legislative Councils and an enlargement of their powers, which were carried out in 1892.

Lord Lansdowne: Currency Legislation.—Apart from the demarcation and strengthening of the Frontier, the chief interest of Lord Lansdowne's viceroyalty (1888—1894) centred in currency legislation and constitutional reform. The fall in the value of silver compared with gold had been going on since 1870 and earlier, but it had about this

time become alarmingly rapid. Lord Dufferin wrote in 1888: "The fall in silver .... has made me a poorer Viceroy by three millions a year than I was when I arrived in the country," and this was the experience, on a smaller scale, of all British officials in India. Indian finance involved large payments in England in gold, and the fall in the exchange value of the rupee made it difficult to frame or balance the Budget. It was decided (1893) to close the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver. The result of this was that the Government, by limiting the issue of rupees, could raise the price of the rupee artificially, independently of the actual value of the silver contained in it. If rupees became too scarce or dear, fresh coinage by Government could restore the balance. The exchange value of the rupee was thus gradually steadied to about 16*d* in British currency, and this ratio continued until the Great War.

Constitutional Reform.—In constitutional reform the cautious lead which Lord Dufferin had given in 1886 bore fruit in the Indian Councils Act, 1892. Although the elective principle was not embodied in the Act itself, it empowered the Governor-General to make rules for the nomination of members of Legislative Councils, and such rules introduced the elective principle. The Councils were at the same time expanded, and members were empowered under certain restrictions, to ask questions and discuss the Budgets but not to move resolutions on them. This Act was passed by the

Conservative Government of Lord Salisbury, just before they were replaced by Mr. Gladstone's Liberal Ministry. It was at this General Election in England (1892) that the first Indian—Mr. Dadabhoy Naoroji—was elected to the British Parliament. Mr. Naoroji afterwards (1893) presided for the second time at the Indian National Congress, and thus a personal contact was established between Indian and British politics. The Irish Home Rule movement in England had much influence on subsequent political movements in India.

Lord Elgin: *Anarchical Crime.*—Unfortunately, along with the constitutional movements, came organised anarchical crime, hitherto foreign to the soil of India. This gathered head in the viceroyalty of Lord Elgin II (1894—1899). The outbreak of plague in 1894 and the great famine 1896-7, with the extraordinary rise of prices, caused a great deal of distress among the people, and intensified their discontent. Frontier risings further helped to unsettle people's minds. A fall in the rupee exchange and a deficit in the Budget added to the embarrassments of India. The Government were out of touch with the people, and their measures of quarantine against plague were viewed with suspicion, and gave rise to murders, riots, and conspiracies, especially in the Bombay Deccan.

Lord Curzon: *foreign policy.*—The six years of the viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899—1905) were a period of feverish activity in all departments of

Government, in which Lord Curzon took a personal initiative and bore a prominent part. His extensive travels previous to his appointment as Viceroy and his three years' experience under Lord Salisbury at the British Foreign Office enabled him to deal with the foreign affairs of India and her frontier problems with the authority of first-hand knowledge. In dealing with Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf he strengthened Britain's position. He created the North-West Frontier Province in order to bring Frontier administration directly under the central Government. His frontier policy, in so far as it aimed at the employment of tribal forces in the defence of tribal country, broke down in the Third Afghan War (1919), and has had to be revised, but its principle of concentration of military strength behind the frontier and development of communications has been applied with increasing advantage in recent times. His Tibetan expedition (1903-4) yielded no permanent results for India. His relations with Indian States had the glamour of Imperial pomp and splendour, but his virtual annexation of Berar (1902) under the name of a "perpetual lease" sowed the seeds of prolonged friction with the Nizam of Hyderabad.

Internal affairs.—In administrative affairs his immense driving power was a little in advance of the Indian conditions of his day, and called forth a good deal of opposition. He dealt with the great famine of 1900 with untiring energy, and re-

vised the Famine Codes and the machinery of famine relief on the basis of the experience then gained. He studied the land revenue policy of Government, and clearly formulated the principles on which it was based. The recent trend of land revenue legislation, however, has been in a direction which he could not foresee. He encouraged the Co-operative movement and sanctioned an Act for the Panjab to prevent the alienation of land to non-agriculturists (1900). The policy of this Act has been criticised, but it has benefited the Panjab peasants. His work for the conservation of Indian historical monuments and the study of Indian archæology was of great value. His Universities Act (1904) aimed at the improvement of the machinery of higher education, but there were features in it which were unacceptable to educated Indian opinion. His great Coronation Darbar at Delhi in the cold weather of 1902-3 was magnificently conceived and carried out. Queen Victoria, the first British sovereign who had directly ruled India, died in 1901,—a great and good Queen who had won the love and admiration of India. The Coronation of her successor King Edward VII was celebrated by the Imperial Darbar at Delhi, and her own memory was commemorated in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. This was designed by Lord Curzon as a great British memorial in marble, but was not completed till many years later.

Partition of Bengal.—The measure of Lord

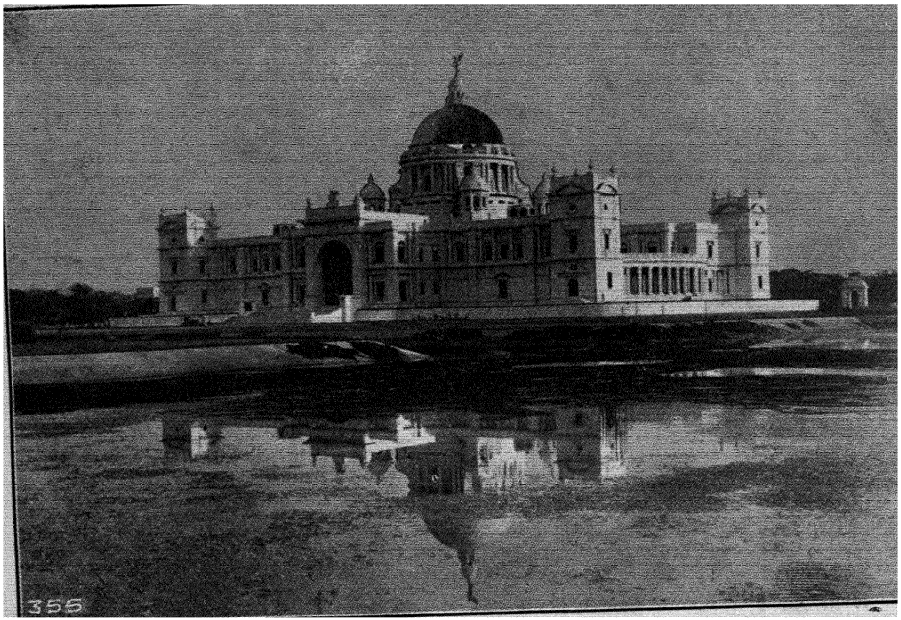


Fig. 24 *To face p. 370*

VICTORIA MEMORIAL, CALCUTTA

Curzon which excited the fiercest controversy among Indians was the Partition of Bengal into two Provinces (1905). In English education Bengal was the most advanced of the Provinces, and had evolved some idea of national unity. Bengal therefore resented being divided into two, and began a bitter agitation which was echoed all over the country. A movement was also begun for the boycott of British goods, and the discontent generally aroused encouraged seditious and criminal movements. The partition was reversed in 1911. Lord Curzon's difference with Lord Kitchener (the Commander-in-chief) on an important constitutional issue in which the Viceroy had not the support of the Home Government, led to his resignation in 1905.

Lord Minto II.—The sedition, crime, and discontent grew worse as the years went by. Lord Minto II (1905—1910) described some of the unrest as "loyal," some of the political discontent as "thoroughly justifiable, and due to causes which we were bound to examine." Mr. G. K. Gokhale, whose combination of true patriotism with sound commonsense made him a power in the Viceroy's Legislative Council, suggested the "conciliation of the educated classes" and their association with the government of their country. Lord Minto agreed, and in Mr. John Morley (subsequently Lord Morley), who was Secretary of State for India (1905—1910) he found a sympathetic colleague and a strong supporter. They both felt,

on the one hand, that violence, sedition, the cult of the bomb, and all murderous conspiracies should be firmly suppressed, and on the other, that all reasonable causes of discontent should be removed. The Panjab peasants' discontent on account of adverse legislation relating to the Chenab Colony was allayed by withholding assent to the unpopular Act of the Panjab Council (1907). Indians were appointed to the Secretary of State's Council in London, and later, to the Viceroy's Executive Council and to the Secretariat of the Government of India. Every effort was made to bring round moderate opinion in favour of Government.

Minto-Morley Reforms.—In working out the Reform Scheme of 1909, known as the Minto-Morley Reforms, the object held in view was to make the Legislative Councils more truly representative of Indian opinion. The number of members was increased; the members were now chosen by election instead of nomination by Government; and fuller powers of discussion were granted, including the power of moving resolutions, putting supplementary questions, and discussing the Budget. The elected members were given a majority in all Provincial Councils. The Muslim minority were given separate representation, through constituencies of their own; and in order not to create too great a gulf between them and the Hindu community, they were also allowed to participate in the general constituencies. The wholesale importation of British institutions into

India was expressly disclaimed, but British statesmen, it was argued, could not act on any other but the *spirit* of British institutions, *viz.* the spirit of reasonable liberty, give-and-take, and representative Legislatures.

Revolutionary Crime.—These Reforms did not kill sedition, and repressive measures of various kinds had to be taken to deal with revolutionary crime. Among these were a Press Act, restrictions to the right of public meeting, an Explosives Act to deal with the insidious crime of bomb outrages, and the use of old Regulations for the deportation of men suspected of dangerous revolutionary activities. This last measure was much criticised, but was defended by Lord Morley as necessary in the interests of public safety.

Royal Darbar, 1911.—The death of King Edward VII in the summer of 1910 necessitated a new Coronation. For the first time, the reigning King and Queen of England visited India in person. Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, Emperor and Empress of India, held a solemn Coronation Darbar at Delhi in December 1911, and took the opportunity of announcing various measures intended to conciliate Indian opinion, improve Indian administration, and advance the cause of Indian progress. Among these were: the cancellation of Lord Curzon's Partition of Bengal, the creation of the new Province of Bihar and Orissa, the announcement of the change of capital from Calcutta to Delhi, and the foreshadowing of

a policy of rapid expansion in education.

Lord Hardinge: the Great War.—The Royal Darbar and the outbreak of the Great War (1914—1918) were the chief events of Lord Hardinge's viceroyalty (1910—1916). Among the features of his policy may be mentioned his scheme for the development of autonomous Provinces in India and his courageous stand for the rights of the Indians in South Africa. The treatment of Indians in British Dominions and Colonies had been a sore question for many years, and nowhere had it given rise to more bitter feeling than in South Africa. Mr. M. K. Gandhi's Passive Resistance movement in South Africa (1906—1914) had aroused universal sympathy in India. The emigration of Indian labour to Natal was stopped in 1911, and the whole system of "indentured labour" from India was abolished in 1916. Lord Hardinge spoke up against the "invidious and unjust laws" against Indians, and though he was much criticised for his outspokenness by his own countrymen, he had given expression to one of the great causes of Indian discontent with the Empire. At the outbreak of the War with Germany and Austria, Lord Hardinge's popularity in India was a great asset for his nation. All political controversies were suspended by the educated classes even of the most extreme school, and the Princes and People of India gave a hearty response to England's call in the hour of crisis. When Turkey joined in the War against England, the

operations in Mesopotamia were conducted from India, and the early reverses in this theatre of the War (December 1915) called forth a great deal of criticism in England, and eventually led to a change in the office of Secretary of State for India, to which Mr. E. S. Montagu succeeded in 1917.

Lord Chelmsford: India's new status.—As the War progressed, and the early enthusiasm died down, the situation in India became less favourable to Government. Lord Chelmsford (1916—1921) had a difficult task in meeting the various political movements for self-government that arose about this time. The horizon of the whole world was changed; the position of mixed Empires, small nations, and peoples not enjoying self-government was discussed; and the relations of the different parts of the British Empire—with its ideal of a federation of free nations—came up for examination. In India itself there was no non-official unanimity. But officially India contributed largely in men, materials, munitions, and finance to the prosecution of the War, and she was represented in the Imperial War Conferences of 1917 and 1918, and in the Peace Conference of 1918-19. She became one of the original members of the League of Nations when it was formed (1920), and has sent her representatives to its eight annual meetings since. Her partnership in the Empire was recognised, and Indians were granted the King's Commissions in the Army.

After the short Third Afghan War (1919) Afghanistan lost her subsidy from the Government of India, but won back her independence in foreign policy.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms: *Provincial Councils.*—It was not easy to work out a scheme for "the progressive realisation of responsible government," which could satisfy all parties concerned. An attempt was made by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy (Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford), and their joint labours ended in the production of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, which were embodied in an Act of Parliament in 1919. In the Major Provinces (now nine in number) the executive government is vested in the Governor, assisted by an Executive Council and by two or more Ministers. The Executive Council contains both British and Indian members nominated by the King-Emperor. The Ministers are chosen by the Governor from among the elected members of the Legislative Council and are responsible to the Council. The subjects with which they deal are the Transferred Subjects, such as Education, Sanitation, Local Self-government, Agriculture, etc. The subjects dealt with by the Executive Council are the Reserved Subjects, such as Law and Order, Police, etc. This dual system of government is called Dyarchy. The Provincial Councils, as enlarged, have a complete elected majority, and there are few restrictions on its powers as a legislature body, except such

as arise from the retention of the Governor's powers of control. Separate electorates for the Muslim community are maintained, and separate electorates have also been conceded to other communities, such as Sikhs and Europeans. The Muslims no longer participate in general electorates, as they did in the Minto-Morley scheme.

Government of India.—In the machinery of the Executive Government of India itself the alteration was smaller, except that the Indian element was strengthened. The Viceroy's Legislative Council now consists of two Chambers, the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. A Bill must pass through both Chambers and receive the Viceroy's assent before it becomes law. A bill refused by the Legislature may be "certified" to be necessary by the Viceroy, and in that case it becomes law: this exceptional power is also vested in a Provincial Governor in respect of his Legislative Council. There is no division of subjects (Dyarchy) in the Government of India. Besides the two Chambers of the Viceroy's Legislature there is a Chamber of Princes, a consultative body outside the ordinary scheme of legislation for British India.

Devolution of Power.—In addition to these important changes in the machinery of government and legislation, there was a great deal of devolution of power from higher to lower authorities. The Government of India in Delhi and Simla got larger powers transferred to it from the Secretary

of State and Parliament. The High Commissioner for India (in London) became an agent for the Government of India for many functions which had previously been discharged by the Secretary of State. In relation to the Government of India the Provincial Governments got larger powers, and in relation to the Provincial Governments the local bodies (Municipalities, District Boards, etc.) got enlarged powers. The scheme was not meant to be final. It is to be revised after ten years' working, and the revision is due in 1929.

Non-co-operation movement.—His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, the uncle of the King-Emperor, personally inaugurated the new Indian Legislature (February 1921) after the elections. But the Indians did not all accept the scheme as published in 1919. A strong party, the Non-co-operation Party, led by Mr. Gandhi, held aloof from the Councils, the schools, and the law-courts established by the Government. The repressive legislation that was considered necessary led to disturbances and martial law in the Panjab in 1919, and the Muslim dissatisfaction with the terms of peace offered to Turkey led to the formation of a Khilafat Party, which joined hands with the Non-co-operation Party.

Lord Reading.—In this disturbed and confused state of politics Lord Reading (1921—1926) came out as Viceroy. He had been the Lord Chief Justice of England, and had negotiated important and delicate missions with conspicuous success on

behalf of the Empire. He was equally successful in his mandate in India, which was to work the Reforms, to pacify Indian feelings, and to produce a calm atmosphere for the consideration of public questions. The visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in the cold weather of 1921-22 was meant to smooth over some of the social difficulties by the personal charm and tact of the most eminent of the Imperial ambassadors of good-will. Trials were held for sedition, but at the same time the new institutions making for progress were fostered, and the gradual Indianisation of the services, civil and military,* was accepted as a reasonable process leading up to self-government. The pace was considered slow by Indian opinion in the Legislative Assembly, and the use of the Viceroy's power of "certification" was resented. But the Viceroy acted with due deliberation and published in full his reasons for the steps which he considered it necessary to take. The Non-co-operation Party lost its influence. The new Swaraj Party, under the leadership of Mr. C. R. Das, agreed to enter the Councils, though in a spirit of opposition to Government. Mr. Das's death in June 1925 deprived the country of a powerful leader, and there have been further divisions in the ranks of the Congress parties.

*The establishment of a Royal Indian Navy will also give India a direct interest in naval defence.

Lord Irwin.—In April 1926 Lord Irwin took over the viceroyalty from Lord Reading. One of the first questions which confronted him was the violent animosity between the Muslim and Hindu communities, which took many different forms and broke out into sanguinary riots in all parts of the country. These communal disturbances have gone on increasing for many years and are a blot on our social life and a clog to our progress. They are all the more to be regretted, because the remarkable progress of education in recent years has not resulted in their diminution. In 1896-7 there were 4.3 millions of pupils in recognised and unrecognised schools, and the number had increased to nearly 10 millions in 1924-5. The expenditure, direct and indirect, on education had risen in the same period from 3½ crores of rupees to nearly 21 crores. The number of Universities, which before 1915 had been only 5, now stands at 17, including the two Universities in the Indian States of Hyderabad and Mysore, which are recognised by the British Government. Educational reformers, however, are not satisfied with the quality of education or its suitability for meeting the needs of modern India. The South African question, if not entirely solved, has, after the mutual interchange of delegations, entered a new phase. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri, of the Servants of India Society, has been appointed India's resident Agent-General in South Africa, to protect Indian interests and increase the good-will between the



Fig. 25 *To face p. 379*

HIS EXCELLENCY LORD IRWIN,
VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL

two countries.

Problems before the country.—The Report of the Royal Commission on Currency and Exchange (August 1926) is before the country for consideration. Its recommendation that the exchange value of the rupee should be fixed at 18*d* has been accepted, but its proposals for the foundation of a Reserve Bank for the issue of currency notes is still (August 1927) under consideration. Another Royal Commission is still pursuing its enquiries into the conditions of India's primary industry—agriculture. The approaching enquiry into the working of the Reforms and the possibilities of their further development is engaging the attention of all interested in Indian politics. But the solution of the communal question is of all questions the most pressing in the political, social, and business life of the country.

APPENDIX I

LANDMARKS IN INDIAN HISTORY

Aryan Invasion	*Pre-historic*
Buddha's Life	about B.C. 563—483
Asoka's Reign	about B.C. 274—237
Gupta Empire in vigour	A.D. 320—455
Muhammad Qasim in India	712—715
Reign of Mahmud of Ghazni	997—1030
Delhi Sultanate	1206—1526
Deccan invaded	1294
First European ships in India	1498
Mughal Empire in vigour	1526—1707
Life of Shivaji	1627—1680
Nadir Shah's Invasion	1739
British control Bengal	from 1765
Governors-General of Bengal	1774—1833
British recognised as supreme in India	1818
Life of Ranjit Singh	1780—1839
The Great Mutiny	1857-1858
Governors-General of India	1833—1927
British Viceroys of India	1858—1927

APPENDIX II

LIST OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL

(Temporary holders of the office are omitted)

Governors-General of Bengal.

1.	Warren Hastings	1774—1786
2.	Lord Cornwallis	1786—1793
3.	Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth)	1793—1798
4.	Earl of Mornington (Lord Wellesley)	1798—1805
5.	Lord Cornwallis (second time)	July—Oct. 1805
6.	Lord Minto I	1807—1813
7.	Earl of Moira (Lord Hastings)	1813—1823
8.	Lord Amherst	1823—1828
9.	Lord William Bentinck	1828—1833

Governors-General of India

1.	Lord William Bentinck	1833—1835
2.	Lord Auckland	1836—1842
3.	Lord Ellenborough	1842—1844
4.	Sir Henry Hardinge (Lord Hardinge I)	1844—1848
5.	Lord Dalhousie	1848—1856
6.	Lord Canning	1856—1858

Governors-General and Viceroys

1.	Lord Canning	1858—1862
2.	Lord Elgin I	1862—1863
3.	Sir John Lawrence (Lord Lawrence)	1864—1869
4.	Lord Mayo	1869—1872
5.	Lord Northbrook	1872—1876
6.	Lord Lytton	1876—1880
7.	Lord Ripon	1880—1884
8.	Lord Dufferin	1884—1888

9.	Lord Lansdowne	1888—1894
10.	Lord Elgin II	1894—1899
11.	Lord Curzon	1899—1905
12.	Lord Minto II	1905—1910
13.	Lord Hardinge II	1910—1916
14.	Lord Chelmsford	1916—1921
15.	Lord Reading	1921—1926
16.	Lord Irwin	1926—

APPENDIX III

BOOKS FOR FURTHER STUDY

CHAPTER I

1. COL. SIR THOMAS H. HOLDICH: *India.* London, 1904. (Valuable maps and diagrams).
2. *Oxford Survey of the British Empire,* vol. ii, *Asia,* ed., A J. Herbertson and O. J. R. Howarth. Oxford, 1914 (see pp. 1-295).
3. D. N. WADIA: *Geology of India.* London, 1926. (See especially chapters i, ii, xvii, xxv, and xxvi).

CHAPTER II

4. ISAAC TAYLOR: *Origin of the Aryans.* London, 1906.
5. V. GORDON CHILDE: *The Aryans, a study of Indo-European origins.* London, 1926. (Both Nos. 4 and 5 use the term "Aryan" in the sense of "Indo-European").
6. H. H. BENDER: *Home of the Indo-Europeans.* Princeton, 1922 (a good brief summary of the question).
7. A. A. MACDONELL: *History of Sanskrit Literature.* London, 1905. (Pp. 1-243 bear on this chapter).
8. G. SLATER: *Dravidian Element in Indian Culture.* London, 1924.

Chapter III

9. Any of the works of T. W. Rhys Davids may be consulted on Buddhism, but particularly his *Buddhism,* London, 1910.
10. Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia* gives a poetical account of Buddha's life and doctrine.
11. C. T. Strauss: *The Buddha and his Doctrine.* London, 1923 (A short popular book).
12. *Encyclopædia Britannica,* Articles on Buddha and Buddhism.
13. J. G. Buhler: *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas,* ed. J. Burgess. London, 1904.

Chapter IV

14. *Cambridge History of India,* vol. i., *Ancient India,* edited by E. J. Rapson. Cambridge, 1922. For Kosala, pp. 178-182, 308-9, etc. For Magadha, pp. 182-5, 189-92, etc. For Alexander, pp. 345-386. (A great mass of authorities skilfully reviewed. I have mainly followed the chronology of this book, rather than of No. 15.
15. V. A. Smith: *Early History of India,* 4th ed., revised by S. M. Edwardes. Oxford 1924. See pp. 28-120.
16. E. J. Rapson: *Ancient India.* Cambridge, 1916. Pp. 78-98 (A brief, handy, and very useful volume).
17. J. W. McCrindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great.* London, 1893. (Gives relevant extracts from Greek writers, and useful notes and maps, which however require correction in the light of later scholarship).

Chapter V

No. 14 above. Cambridge History of India, vol. i. See pp. 467-513, for the Maurya Empire. (I have again followed the chronology of this book, p. 503, for my dates in connection with Asoka).

No. 15 above. V. A. Smith's Early History. See pp. 121-205. (For dates see above).

18. V. A. Smith: *Asoka* (Rulers of India Series). Oxford, 1920.

19. Hultzsch: *Inscriptions of Asoka.* Oxford, 1925. (The best and latest book in which the inscriptions can be studied in original as well as English translations. I have used Hultzsch's translations. Mr. F. J. Monahan: *Early History of Bengal*: gives a running summary of the inscriptions, pp. 188-204).

Chapter VI

No. 15 above. V. A. Smith, Early History, pp. 233-292.

20. V. A. Smith: *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon.* Oxord, 1911. Pp. 97-131. (Profuse illustrations of Gandhara School).

21. Sir John Marshall: *Guide to Taxila.* Calcutta, 1918. Pp. 23-34.

Chapter VII

No. 15 above. V. A. Smith: Early History, pp. 295-373.

22. John Allan: *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta*

Dynasties, etc. [in the British Museum]. London, 1914. (Apart from the Plates of Gupta coins, the historical narrative is most illuminating.

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