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A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE



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A CONCISE HISTORY OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE

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SECOND EDITION



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PREFACE

THE need of a short history of India, incorporating the latest archaeological discoveries and bringing the history of the country down to the establishment of the self-governing Dominions of India and Pakistan, has long been felt. The admirable works of the late Dr V. A. Smith, the pioneer of Indian studies, are now, both in point of fact and in general outlook, out of date, and the whole subject requires to be re-stated. The present work is intended to fill the gap. It is written primarily for the use of the student preparing for the matriculation examination of the Indian universities, and is based on the syllabuses issued by them. In view, however, of the greatly increased interest in India which is now being displayed by the English public, it is hoped that it may also appeal to the general reader who requires a simple, non-technical account of the country and its peoples.

H. G. RAWLINSON

London, 1950

BOOK I

ANCIENT INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHY AND PREHISTORIC CIVILIZATION OF INDIA

Geography. 'Geography', it has been said, 'is the foundation of all historical knowledge.' For this reason, before we begin to study the history of India, we must make ourselves acquainted with her leading geographical and physical features, and consider how far they have determined the course of events.

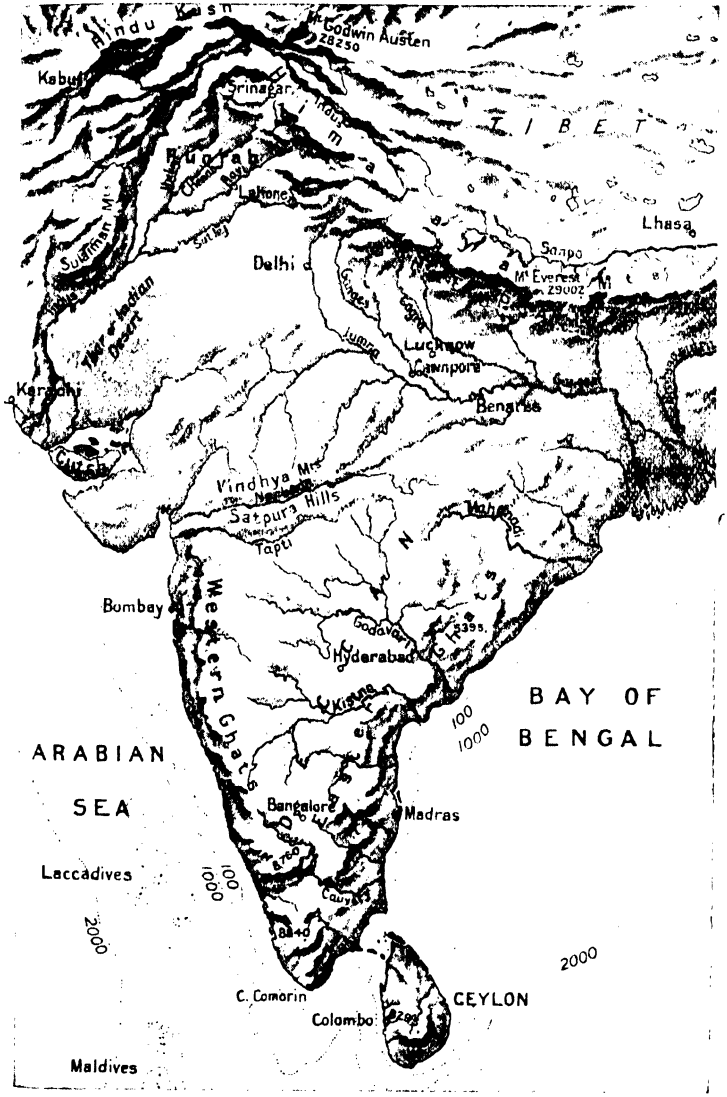
India. The word India is Greek. It means the land of the river Indus (*Sindhu* in Sanskrit), on the upper waters of which the Aryan settlers made their earliest home. The Greeks, as we shall learn presently, first came to know of India through the Persians, who at one time ruled over a portion of the Punjab. Later on, people in the West applied the name of the best known portion to the whole country, and the inhabitants were named Hindus or Indians. But the word does not occur in Sanskrit. There, the nearest equivalent is *Bharata Varsha*, the realm of the legendary king Bharata, who is supposed to have ruled over the whole of Northern India.

Size of India. Though India has from time to time been under the sway of powerful dynasties, which have brought the greater part of it under a single ruler, it is really a continent rather than a country. It is peopled by many races, with different languages and religions. Its greatest length and

breadth are roughly 2,000 miles in either direction. Its area is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ million square miles; that is, it is as large as Europe with Russia left out, and twenty times the size of the British Isles. It has a population of 388 million people, or nearly ten times as many as England, and one-eighth of that of the whole world. Half the inhabitants of the British Empire are Hindus.

Religions. Races. Languages. The peoples of India, if we exclude the Europeans and Parsees, fall into two main groups, the Hindus and Mohammedans. The Hindus outnumber the Mohammedans by about three to one, but this does not give a fair idea of their relative importance, as the greatest Indian rulers were the Moguls, who have left many splendid monuments of their rule in different parts of the country. Apart from a number of Hindus who were converted to Islam, the Mohammedans came from Central Asia. Their official language was Persian. Later, from a combination of Persian and Hindi, they evolved a language known as Urdu, or the language of the Camp. The Hindus consist of a number of races and sects, but nearly all of them share certain common religious beliefs and customs. They belong to two main stocks, Aryan and Dravidian. The Aryan languages are all derived from the same parent stock as Sanskrit, and a man who knows Sanskrit will not have great difficulty in learning any of them. But the Dravidian languages are totally different in character. In the old days, owing to vast distances and lack of good roads, no feeling of common nationality was possible. But now, an ever-increasing number of people is learning to speak English, and improvements in communications by railways, motors and aircraft are bringing various parts of India into closer and closer touch, and the sense of unity is daily growing greater.

Physical Features. A glance at the map will show that India is in shape an enormous triangle. Two sides are washed by the sea, which in the old days could not be crossed by large



PHYSICAL FEATURES. 300 miles to 1 inch. Heights in feet, depths in fathoms.

bodies of invaders. The base consists of the Himalaya mountains. This stupendous mountain-barrier, which shuts her in on the north, isolates her from the rest of Asia. In one corner, however, the north-west, this barrier is pierced by a number of passes. The chief of these are the Khyber Pass, through which runs the road leading to Kabul, and the Bolan Pass, farther south, leading to Kandahar. These have played a great part in the history of the country, as through them have poured countless waves of invasion, Aryan, Persian, Greek, Scythic, Hun and Muslim, from the dawn of time until the middle of the eighteenth century. Now the 'gateway of India', as these passes have been rightly named, is securely bolted and barred, and further invasions from this direction are no longer possible. The history of India is, very largely, a history of the invasions from the north-west.

Natural Divisions of the Country. If we once more consult the map, we shall see that India falls into four distinct regions. These are (1) North-Western India, (2) Hindustan, (3) The Deccan table-land and (4) Southern India. Each of these is watered by its own river-systems. Rivers play an important part in Indian history. In the old days they acted as means of communication, when roads were rare or non-existent. Moreover, in a dry, tropical country, when the monsoon rain fails, the lives of millions of people depend upon water supplied by the rivers. Many of the great empires and capitals of India have arisen on the banks of her mighty streams, and there is little wonder that they are regarded as sacred.

(1) North-Western India. This is the Punjab or Land of Five Rivers. The rivers in question are the Indus and her four tributaries, the Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Sutlej, or, to give them the names by which they were known to the Indo-Aryans, the Sindhu, Vitasta, Asikni, Parushni and Sutudri. The Punjab is bounded by lofty mountain-ranges on the north and north-west, and is separated from Hindustan on the east by the Rajputana Desert. Its well-watered lands

have always proved an irresistible attraction to the wild tribes from Central Asia, and it has been the scene of much fierce fighting throughout the ages. With it is sometimes associated Sind, the land watered by the lower Indus.

(2) Hindustan. Hindustan, or Aryavarta as it was originally called, is the land between the Himalaya mountains on the north and the Vindhyas on the south. It consists of vast alluvial plains, watered by the Ganges and her numerous tributaries, the most important being the Jumna or 'twin' (Yamuna). Here Aryan civilization reached its fullest development, and later it was the seat of great empires, Hindu and Mohammedan. Mighty cities have sprung up on the banks of the Ganges, which was the chief waterway of this part of the country, and the English in Bengal owed their success to the fact that they started by seizing control of it. The Ganges very early succeeded the Indus as the holy river of India, and places of pilgrimage arose near its source (Hardwar), at its junction with the Jumna (Prayag or Allahabad) at Kasi or Benares, and other places on its banks.

(3) The Deccan. Separating northern and central India runs a broad belt of forest-clad mountains, known as the Vindhya and Satpura ranges, which follows the line of the Narbada river. The land between this and the Krishna comprises the plateau of the Deccan (*Dakshinapatha* or southland). Most of it is wild, rugged country, but in the centre is a wide, level expanse of rich soil. The Marathas, the chief inhabitants of the Deccan, are a mixed race, springing from intermarriages between invaders from the north and the earlier inhabitants. Like all mountaineers, they are frugal, hardy and independent. The flat-topped hills are a striking feature of the Deccan; they make excellent forts and, thanks to them and the impassable jungles with which their slopes are covered, the Marathas have always been able to resist conquest. Parallel to the coast, and forming the western wall of the Deccan plateau, runs a ridge known as the Western Ghauts

(*ghats* or stairs). The country between the Ghauts and the sea (Gujarat, the Konkan and the Malabar Coast) is very fertile, as it receives the first and heaviest rainfall when the south-west monsoon winds sweep inland, bearing with them the moisture-laden clouds early in June. Numerous passes lead from the Ghauts to the country beyond.

(4) Southern India. South of the river Krishna lies the Dravidian or Tamil country. The Dravidians belong to a stock totally different from the Aryans, and have developed independently along their own lines. In the centre is the great mass of hills known as the Nilgiris or Blue Mountains; south of this, the country is flat and fertile. Being near the equator, it does not experience the extremes of heat and cold of the north.

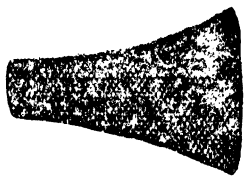
Communication by Sea. Southern India, then, has always had a distinct civilization of her own, because she has been cut off from the North by the great natural barriers lying between them. On the other hand, unlike Hindustan, she has an extensive coast-line. From very early times, traders from the west have visited her shores in order to obtain various kinds of spices, which grow there in abundance. At first this did not make much difference, as the ships were too small to hold a great number of people, and the voyages were long and tedious. But with the improvements in navigation and shipbuilding, the European nations began to cast longing eyes upon India. In 1498, the Portuguese reached Calicut, being the first of India's invaders by sea. They were the forerunners of the Dutch, English and French, and this was the beginning of a new era in her history.

The Earliest Inhabitants. India has been inhabited since the dawn of time. The earliest inhabitants belonged to the Old Stone Age and the New Stone Age, which were so called because they only employed stone implements, and did not understand the use of metals. The implements of the Old Stone Age are very roughly chipped, but those of the New

Stone Age are beautifully shaped and polished. The people of the New Stone Age learnt how to make pottery, and, after a time, discovered the use of the potter's wheel. This is one of the earliest of all human inventions, and you may see it in use in India today, almost exactly as it was thousands of years ago. The people of the New Stone Age buried their dead in cemeteries, and used huge blocks of stone, known as megaliths, for their tombs. Their burial grounds are marked by stone circles. Sometimes the dead men's bodies were put in urns: later, the bodies were cremated, and the ashes placed in the urns instead. Prehistoric remains have been discovered in the Bellary and Tinnevelly districts of Madras, and at Mirzapur in the United Provinces and at other places, and may be seen in museums. Gradually the stone-age men learned to use metal for their weapons. At first they employed copper and, later, iron. Bronze, which is an alloy of tin and copper, does not appear to have been known, except in the Indus valley.

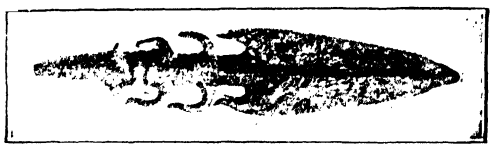


BURIAL URN (Tinnevelly)



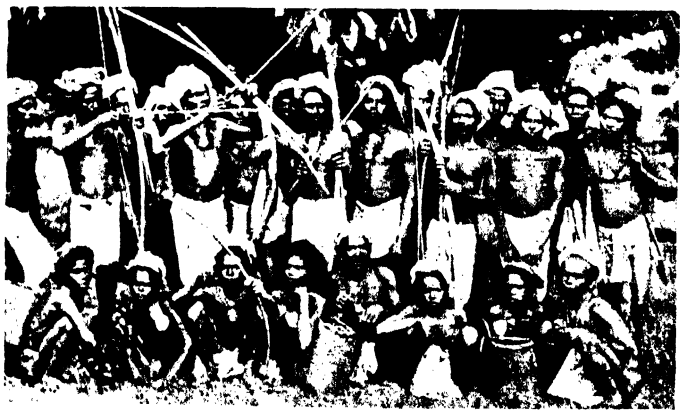
COPPER AXE (Celt)

Survivals of the Stone Age. Descendants of these early peoples still survive in remote parts of India, in the inaccessible jungles



COPPER HARPOON

which are the remains of the great Vindhyan forest. The most important of these tribes are the Santals, west of Calcutta, the Khonds of the Orissa hills and the Gonds of Central India. These people mostly speak dialects of what is called the Munda group of languages, which is quite different from Aryan or Dravidian. They are still in a primitive state of civilization; they live by hunting, and clear patches in the jungle to grow their crops. Their religion is animism, or the worship of the spirits, good and evil, inhabiting the forest. A few have adopted Hinduism, and Christian mission-



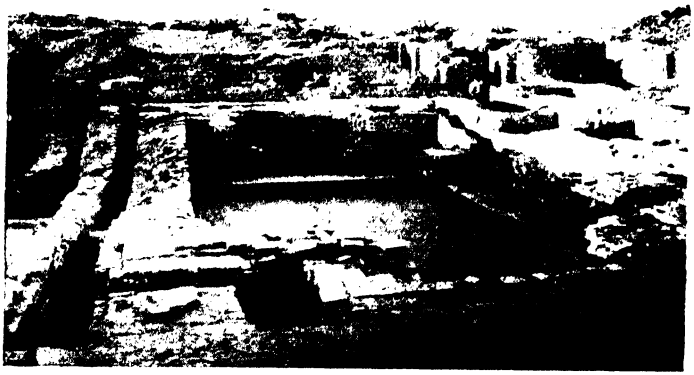
PRIMITIVE HILL TRIBES

aries have done good work among them. Government makes special provisions for the protection of these shy, primitive people.

The Indus Valley Civilization. Investigations carried on by archæologists have brought to light the existence of another great civilization which flourished along the banks of the Indus at a very early date, perhaps about 2,500 B.C. Of this nothing at all was known until a few years ago. Its chief centres appear to have been at Harappa in the Montgomery

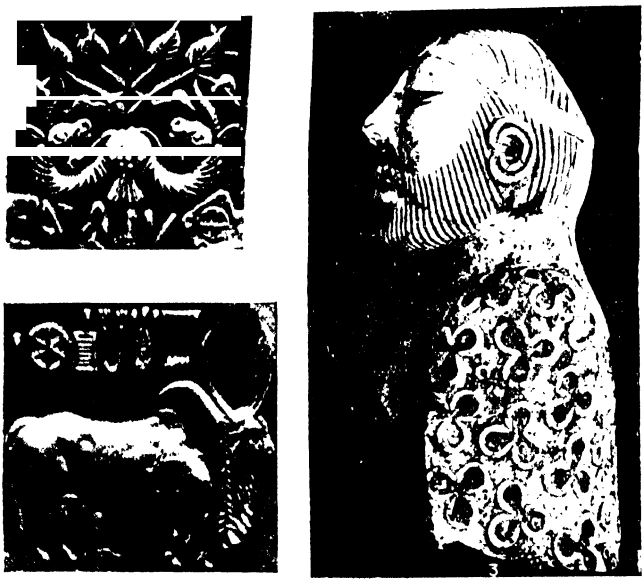


EXCAVATED HOUSES AND STREET, MOHENJODARO



THE GREAT BATH, MOHENJODARO

district of the Punjab, and Mohenjodaro near Larkana in Sind. Excavations at Mohenjodaro have revealed a flourishing city, built of brick, with straight, broad roads, and an elaborate system of drainage. A large, pillared hall and a public bath are conspicuous features. The inhabitants belonged to the 'chalcolithic' age, that is, they used stone as



PICTOGRAPHIC SEALS AND SCULPTURE EXCAVATED AT MOHENJODARO

well as copper weapons. They wore necklaces of gold and silver set with various precious stones; they made fine painted pottery, turned on the wheel, and children's toys of earthenware. They were very artistic, and some stone and bronze statuettes of great beauty have been found. But the most remarkable discovery was that of large numbers of steatite seals, bearing figures of bulls, unicorns and other

animals, most realistically carved. On these seals are words in a script which hitherto scholars have been unable to read. They appear to have been in some way connected with the Sumerians of Mesopotamia. How and when they were overthrown is not known, but they appear to have been a peaceful, unwarlike people, and they may have been overwhelmed by the wild tribes from the hills. Perhaps a change in the course of the Indus, or malaria, may have contributed to their downfall. It is thought by some scholars that the Aryans learnt from them the art of writing and the worship of the god Shiva. But we must wait for further discoveries before we can say anything more for certain. It is very interesting to note that there existed in Sind, 5,000 years ago, cities which were, in many respects, far in advance of many Indian cities of today.

The Dravidians. At some period beyond the dawn of history, the Dravidians entered India. At present we do not know who they were, but it is thought that they originally found their way into India from Baluchistan, either through the Bolan Pass or along the coast. The reason for thinking this is that the Brahuis, a tribe living on the Baluchistan border, still speak a language which scholars have identified as of Dravidian origin. It may be that the Dravidians once inhabited Hindustan, and were driven southward by the Aryans. Others hold that they had settled in southern India long before the coming of the Aryans. When they entered the country where we now find them, they probably intermarried to some extent with the aboriginal inhabitants. The Dravidians are distinguished by their dark complexion and eyes, broad noses and abundant hair. At present they speak four main languages, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese, which are quite different from any Aryan dialect.

Very early they developed a culture of their own, and consolidated themselves into powerful kingdoms, which carried on a thriving overseas trade with Egypt and Western

Asia. At some early date, Aryan missionaries entered the Tamil country, and the Dravidians partly adopted the Vedic gods and ritual, and also, with some modifications, the caste system.

The Indo-Aryans. The Indo-Aryans were an offshoot of tribes which appear to have dwelt originally in the pasture-lands of Central Asia, between the Oxus and Syr Darya rivers. They were a tall, fair people, with long, straight noses and regular features, and talked a language which is akin to Latin and Greek, and to the Celtic, Teutonic and Slavonic languages of Europe. Owing to some cause, perhaps the drying-up of their pastures or pressure from other invading tribes, they migrated southwards. One horde found its way into Iran, and its descendants founded the famous Achaemenian Empire, which lasted from the accession of Cyrus (559 B.C.) to the overthrow of the dynasty by Alexander of Macedon (331 B.C.). Some descendants of these Iranians, the Parsees, found their way to western India in the eighth century A.D. Another horde, calling themselves Arya or kinsmen, crossed the Hindu Kush mountains and entered Afghanistan. From Afghanistan they overflowed through the Kabul, Gumal, Kurram and other passes into the Punjab. The Aryans entered India in successive waves, not as an invading army but as settlers, bringing with them their wives and children and flocks and herds. Some scholars think that there were two separate waves of invaders, one coming from the north-west, and the other from the north, through Kashmir. The invaders did not stay long in the Punjab. As their numbers grew, they began to migrate in an easterly direction, until they reached the country between the Jumna and Ganges rivers. As they advanced they encountered stiff opposition from the earlier inhabitants, who disputed the river-crossings and tried to bar the way. These people were highly civilized and dwelt in walled cities, but the Indo-Aryans, who came from the colder climates of the north and were therefore more

hardy and vigorous, managed to defeat them. The Indo-Aryans, who hated their opponents on account of their dark skins, their flat noses and their strange religious rites, called them Dasyus or Dasas (slaves). But they did not exterminate the Dasyus. They intermarried with them, and the descendants of these marriages adopted many of the customs and even the gods of the older race. The date of the Aryan invasions is uncertain, but scholars think that they took place some time between 2000 and 1500 B.C.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATIONS OF HINDU INDIA: THE VEDIC AGE

The Vedas. We owe our knowledge of the Indo-Aryans to the Vedic hymns, which are by far the oldest literary compositions in any Indo-Aryan language. These hymns consist of invocations of the various Aryan deities, and were intended to be chanted at the time when sacrifices were being offered in their honour. They were handed down from generation to generation in the families of the Rishis or Seers to whom they were originally revealed. This was, of course, long before the invention of writing, and even today, if every written copy were destroyed, they could be recovered, word for word, from the lips of hundreds of learned pundits. There are three Vedas, the Rig, the Sama and the Yajur, but the two latter are really rearrangements of the Rig Veda for ceremonial purposes. There is also a fourth Veda, the Atharva, which mostly consists of charms and spells. The Rig Veda consists of 1,028 hymns addressed to different gods. They are of varying ages, and it is usually supposed that the tenth and last book is a good deal later than the rest. The word Veda means knowledge, and the Vedas are to Hindus

what the Bible is to Christians and the Koran to Mohammedans, the source of all knowledge on religious matters.

Social Life of the Indo-Aryans. The Rig Veda gives us a clear picture of the social life of the Indo-Aryans. They were a simple, hardy folk, much like the peasants of the Punjab of today, for rural life changes very slowly. They lived in villages, surrounded by their flocks and herds. Their main wealth was their cattle. Ploughing was done by oxen, and horses were kept for drawing chariots. Dogs were employed for hunting. They grew crops of barley, but not wheat or rice. Their diet consisted mainly of milk, clarified butter (*ghi*), and cakes made from barley flour, but the flesh of animals killed in the chase was eaten. They drank beer made from barley (*sura*), and at religious ceremonies, the juice of a plant called Soma, which was gathered on the mountains, and pressed with great care. Soma was an intoxicating drink and was supposed to confer immortality. A whole book is devoted to Vedic hymns in praise of Soma. They had made considerable progress in the arts, and potters, weavers, carpenters, jewellers and smiths are mentioned. They used copper and gold, but not silver or iron. Their favourite amusements were chariot-racing, wrestling, dancing and music. At an early date, bards arose, as in later times, who recited the brave deeds of the ancestors of various families. Their besetting sin appears to have been gambling with dice, and one Vedic hymn, 'the gambler's lament', is devoted to warnings about the evils arising from this habit. The Vedas lay great stress on the sanctity of marriage and family life. The wife was the mistress of the house, and enjoyed much more liberty than in later times. Here is a beautiful verse, taken from the Vedic wedding-hymn and addressed to the wife:—

Free from the evil eye, thy husband hurting not,
Kind to our beasts, be friendly, full of energy,
Bear heroes, love the gods, and live in happiness,
Bring welfare to our bipeds and our quadrupeds.

Caste. In the Vedas, we see the beginning of the caste system. Caste is a Portuguese word, meaning purity of race. The original idea of caste was that of colour (*varna*). The fair-skinned Aryans looked down upon the darker aborigines or Dasyus. In those early days occupations were hereditary, and were handed down from father to son. For instance, the task of learning by heart the Vedas, and the various religious ceremonies connected with them, became the monopoly of certain families who came to be known as Brahmins, or members of the priestly caste. They were the descendants of the Rishis or Seers, to whom it was supposed that the hymns were originally revealed. These Brahmins, being devoted to the worship of the gods, were required to be very strict in their mode of life, and to keep themselves from any kind of impurity or defilement. Next to them came the Rajanyas or Kshatriyas, the warrior caste. Thirdly came the Vaisyas or commercial classes. They followed a large number of occupations, as farmers, traders and shop-keepers, goldsmiths, weavers, potters and so forth. Lastly came the fourth caste, the Sudras. These were the degraded descendants of the aboriginal tribes, who lived outside the village and made their living by performing menial tasks as scavengers and sweepers. Religious sects in later days, like the Jains, Sikhs and Lingayats, and tribes migrating to a fresh district and settling among strangers, often assumed the status of a caste.

A caste now consists of a group of families having the same occupation and rules of life (*dharma*), the members of which are bound to marry outside the family, but inside the group. At first, class-distinctions were not so sharply defined as they became later, and Brahmins and Kshatriyas freely intermarried. Caste is at the root of Hindu society, and to destroy it would overthrow the whole social structure. It ensures the handing down of hereditary arts and crafts, and prevents unemployment. It preserves family life. Members of the

same caste stick together, and help one another. On the other hand, the existence of a number of water-tight compartments prevents the growth of a truly national spirit. It leads to jealousy and friction. Democracy is impossible under these circumstances, and the lower castes become degraded and lose their self-respect. Modern conditions, however, are making the caste-system less and less rigid.

Political Organization. The tribe consisted of a number of families or clans, organized on patriarchal lines and living in villages. At their head was the king, the father of the tribe. Kingship was usually hereditary, though in some cases the king was elected, and he had to be approved of by the people before he was crowned by the Brahmins. He was distinguished by his retinue of warriors, and the large body of priests whom he employed to perform sacrifices on behalf of himself and his people. His wealth consisted of booty, slaves and cattle captured in battle. He was not an absolute ruler, but was bound to call assemblies of the whole tribe to approve of his actions, and consult his council of elders. In administering law or tribal custom, he was guided by the advice of his *purohit* or family priest, and other learned Brahmins. The commonest offences were robbery, assault and murder. The thief was put in the stocks. There was no capital punishment, but as among the Anglo-Saxons, the murderer had to pay a fine consisting of a certain number of cows to compensate the family of the victim. Punishments were relative: it was considered a more heinous crime to kill a Brahmin than a Sudra.

War. The Aryans of the Punjab called themselves 'the five peoples', the Purus, the Bharatas, the Anus, the Druhyus, and the Yadus. They were very warlike, and the tribes were constantly forming alliances, and fighting with one another or against the Dasyus. In some of the Vedic hymns, we hear how Sudas, king of the Tritsus, won a great victory over the confederacy of ten kings in a pitched battle on the banks of

the Ravi river. The members of the tribe were marshalled, clan by clan, for battle, under their kings. The common people fought on foot, with bows and arrows, swords, spears, and battle-axes. The nobles wore armour and rode in war-chariots, in each of which there was a warrior and a driver. The armies marched to battle to the sound of drums and musical instruments.

Religion. The religion of the Aryans, like that of the other Indo-Germanic peoples, was the worship of the powers of Nature, the heavenly bodies, the firmament and the earth. There were thirty-three greater deities in the Vedic pantheon. They may be classified as gods of the sky: solar gods and deities of the dawn; storm-gods and gods of the upper air; terrestrial deities and sacred rivers.

The gods are conceived of as having human forms and driving across the sky in their celestial cars. One of the foremost was Indra, the storm-god, who was important because he was the bringer of the long-expected rains to relieve the parched earth at the end of the hot season. His might and terror were suggested by the bursting of the monsoon and the rumble of the thunder in the Himalayas. Agni, the fire-god, has three manifestations. In heaven, he is the sun and the lightning, and on earth he is the sacrificial fire, which springs from the fire-stick of the priest, and bears the offering from the altar to the gods.

The gods enjoy the same food as men on earth—milk, *ghi*, and flour cakes, and they quaff the exhilarating Soma. These reach them by way of sacrifices offered to them. The sacrifices, which only the Brahmins can perform, are the links between gods and men. In return for them, the gods shower upon their worshippers such blessings as rain in due season, and flocks and herds, and protect them against the demons of famine and disease.

Life after Death. When a man died, his body was cremated on a funeral pyre by his relations, and the ashes scattered in

a river, as is done today. The wife was not burned with her husband, but was told to arise and return to the land of the living. It was thought that the soul departed to 'the Fathers', where it was received by Yama, the first man to die and now King of the Dead. Yama judged it, and according to the man's life on earth, it was rewarded or punished in the next world. The idea of rebirth in another body was not yet believed in.

Moral Teaching of the Vedas. The Vedic hymns contain very noble moral ideas about goodness, uprightness and purity of life. Some of the loftiest hymns are those addressed to the god Varuna.

The mighty Varuna, who rules above, looks down
Upon these worlds, his kingdom, as if close at hand.
When men imagine they do aught by stealth, he knows it.
No one can stand or walk or softly glide along,
Or hide in dark recess, or lurk in secret cell,
But Varuna detects him and his movement spies.
Two persons may devise some plot, together sitting,
In private or alone, but He the King, is there,
A third, and sees it all. This boundless earth is His,
His the vast sky, whose depths no man can fathom.

Another hymn describes the Creation of the Universe :—

Nor Aught nor Nought existed : yon bright sky
Was not, nor heaven's broad woof outstretched above.
What covered all ? What sheltered ? What concealed ?
Was it the water's fathomless abyss ?
There was not death, yet there was nought immortal ;
There was no confine betwixt day and night ;
The only One breathed breathless by itself
Other than It there nothing since has been.
Darkness there was, and all at first was veiled
In gloom profound, an ocean without light ;
The germ that still lay covered in the husk
Burst forth, one nature, from the fervent heat.

The ancient Rishis taught that all the gods were only aspects of the One God. 'The True is One, though the wise call Him

by many names.' And behind lies Rita, the Moral Law, unswerving and changeless, which even the gods cannot alter.

Connexion with the Iranians. The Vedic religion is closely connected with that of the ancient Iranians. The Supreme God of the Iranians, Ahura Mazda, resembles the Vedic Varuna. But the Iranian religion was reformed, about 600 B.C., by a great teacher named Zarathustra or Zoroaster, and many of the older gods ceased to be worshipped. The Vedic Aryans left their stamp upon the country, which has never disappeared. Other invaders have come and have been absorbed, but millions of Hindus still follow the precepts laid down by the ancient Rishis. The Hindu religion has greatly changed in the course of time. The Indo-Aryans of Vedic days had neither temples nor images of their gods, and many of the old deities have disappeared, and have been replaced by new ones. But the fundamental principles remain.

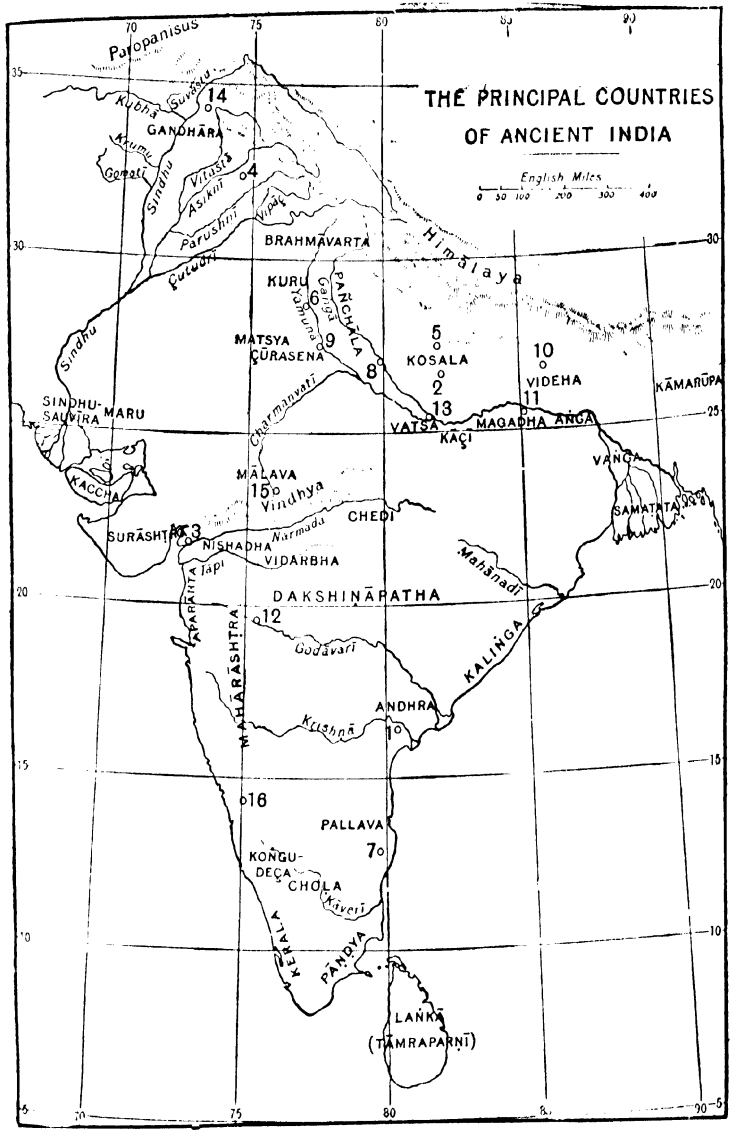
CHAPTER III

THE EPIC AGE: THE RISE OF BUDDHISM AND JAINISM

The Epic Period. As time went on and the Indo-Aryans continued to increase and multiply, they pushed farther and farther eastward in search of fresh pastures. Perhaps the arrival of fresh tribes from the north-west accelerated these movements. At the time when the Vedas were written, they had not got much farther than the Ambala district: when we next hear of them, they have moved through the gap between the mountains and the Rajputana desert, and occupied the fertile country known as the Madhyadesa or Middle Land, between the Jumna and the Ganges. The Punjab was now forgotten, and the Ganges took the place of the Indus as the sacred river. From here, Aryan tribes under adventurous

leaders gradually populated the whole of the Ganges valley. Our knowledge of this period is mainly derived from two great epic poems, the *Mahabharata*, or story of the House of Bharata, and the *Ramayana* or history of Rama. An epic is a poem celebrating the deeds of some great national hero. These poems were originally ballads or songs composed by the bards who used to accompany the kings to battle, and recited in the courts or at public festivals. Both the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* have been greatly enlarged and altered as time went on, but it is probable that they were originally founded upon historic fact.

The *Mahabharata*. The *Mahabharata* is the longest poem in the world. It contains almost 100,000 slokas or verses, and is said to have been composed by the sage Vyasa. It is the story of the great war between rival branches of the Bharata tribe, the Kauravas and the Pandavas. At Hastinapura, near Delhi, Pandu, the reigning king, died, and was succeeded by his brother Dhritarashtra. Dhritarashtra had one hundred sons, known as the Kauravas, and Pandu had five who were known as the Pandavas. The leader of the Kauravas was Duryodhana, while of the Pandava princes, the chief were Yudhishthira, Bhima and Arjuna. Owing to the bitter rivalry between the cousins, the Pandavas went into voluntary exile at the neighbouring court of the Panchalas. Here prince Arjuna won a famous archery contest, as a result of which the princess Draupadi became the joint-wife of the five brothers. Here, too, they also made friends with Krishna, prince of the Yadavas, a tribe dwelling at Mathura (Muttra), much farther to the south. When the brothers returned, Yudhishthira was induced to gamble away his wife and his right to the throne to his cousin Duryodhana, and once more the Pandavas, accompanied by Draupadi, had to leave Hastinapura. This time they lived in the forest, and afterwards took service with the king of the Matsyas. At last they determined to march against Duryodhana and his


THE PRINCIPAL COUNTRIES
OF ANCIENT INDIA
English Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400
Paropanisus
Kubhā
Suvāstu
GANDHĀRA
Krumu
Gomati
Sindhu
Vitastā
Asikni
Parushni
Vipāś
Śutudri
BRAHMĀVARTA
Himālaya
KURU
Yamuna
Gangā
PAÑCHĀLA
MATSYA
ŚŪRASENA
KOSALA
VIDEHA
KĀMARŪPA
SINDHU-SAUVIRA
MARU
Charmanvatī
VATSA
MAGADHA
AÑGA
KĀŚI
MĀLAVA
Vindhya
CHEDI
VAÑGA
SAMATAṬA
KACCHA
SURĀSHṬRA
NISHADHA
Narmadā
VIDARBHA
Mahānadī
Tāpī
DAKSHIṆĀPATHA
APARĀNTA
MAHĀRĀSHṬRA
Godāvarī
KALIṄGA
ANDHRA
Kṛishṇā
PALLAVA
KONGU-DEÇA
CHOLA
Kāverī
KERALA
PĀṆḌYA
LAṄKĀ
(TĀMRAPARṆĪ)

brothers, and claim their kingdom. In this they had as their allies the Matsyas, the Yadavas and the Panchalas, and the kings of Magadha, Chedi and Kasi (Benares). The allies of the Kurus were the peoples of Kosala (Oudh), Videha (Bihar), Anga (Bhagalpur), Banga (Bengal), and Kalinga (Orissa), from the east, and of Sindhu, Gandhara and even Ballika (Bactria or Balkh) in the Punjab and farther west. This is interesting because it shows the extent of the Aryan settlements at the time when the Great War is supposed to have taken place. The armies met on the field of Kurukshetra, near the modern Delhi, and Krishna acted as Arjuna's charioteer. For eighteen days the battle raged, and in the end the Kauravas were all slain. Yudhishthira was crowned king, and celebrated the horse sacrifice[1] amid great rejoicings. After many years, the Pandavas, having grown old and weary of life, installed the young prince Parikshit on the throne and, accompanied by Draupadi, set out for Mount Meru, the Indian Olympus, where they were received into Indra's Heaven.

Besides the main story, the *Mahabharata* contains a number of episodes, which have become famous. Chief of these are the stories of Nala and Damayanti, and of Savitri and Satyavan. Damayanti recovers her lost husband Nala after years of wandering and suffering; Savitri, the Hindu Alcestis, wins back Satyavan from the clutches of Yama, the god of death, by her heroism. Before the battle Krishna addresses Arjuna on the warrior's duty, and his words form the famous *Bhagavad Gita* or Song Celestial, one of the most profound and beautiful philosophical poems in the world.

The *Ramayana*. The *Ramayana*, the story of Rama, was said to have been composed by the sage Valmiki. It is the story of prince Rama, son of Dasaratha, king of Ayodhya in what is now Oudh. Rama is dispossessed by his wicked stepmother, and, together with his wife Sita, daughter of

[1] A solemn sacrifice of a horse (*asvamedha*), to ensure the prosperity of the Kingdom

Janaka, king of Videha or Bihar, and his brother Lakshmana, retires to the Dandaka forest—the great belt of jungle at the foot of the Vindhyas. Here he spends his time in subduing the demons (doubtless the aboriginal forest-dwellers). Meanwhile, Sita is carried off by Ravana, the demon-king, to the isle of Lanka (Ceylon). Rama and Lakshmana go to Ceylon in pursuit, helped by Hanuman, the monkey-god, and his hosts, who build a bridge of rocks across the straits for them to cross. They rescue Sita, and in due course return to Ayodhya, where Rama rules so justly that his reign is still remembered as a Golden Age.

Influence of the Epics. Next to the Vedas, the two great epics are the most famous books in Sanskrit literature. Whereas the Vedas were for Brahmins only, the Epics appealed to people of every class. Heroines like Draupadi and Sita, Savitri and Damyanti, are the ideals of Indian womanhood, just as Rama and Lakshmana, Bhima and Arjuna, are the ideal heroes. The epics are a kind of mine, the treasures of which have been used over and over again by dramatists, poets and story-tellers. In northern India, the story of Rama is known to millions who cannot read Sanskrit, through the Hindi version of the sixteenth century writer, Tulsi Das.

Political and Social Conditions. In epic times, the Aryans had developed a vast number of small kingdoms along the banks of the Jumna and Ganges and their tributaries. These appear to have been almost like clearings in the forest. The forest plays a great part in the epics, and must have been far denser than it was in later days. These Aryans were very warlike and, just as in Vedic times, were constantly forming alliances and waging wars. The four castes were becoming more defined, and the power of the king was growing, though the vast empires of later days had not yet arisen. The king acted on the advice of his ministers and councillors, and a wicked king, who failed in his duties, might be deposed or even put to death. He led his army in battle: if he was

slain, the host became disorganized and fled. Below the king, the nobles and the warriors, were the farmers, the menials and the slaves. Town life was becoming known: we hear in the epics of cities laid out in squares, with well-watered and lighted streets, and surrounded by battlements and moats. Taxes were paid in silver and copper money and in kind.

The Epics tell us much of the social life of the Heroic Age. The king lived in state in his palace, surrounded by his nobles and dancing girls. His favourite occupations were making war, hunting, drinking and gambling. The nobles lived in the same style. Hospitality and sanctuary for a guest were looked upon as sacred obligations. It was regarded as a point of honour never to overlook either a kindness or an insult, or to refuse a challenge to a fight or to a gambling match. The Epics are full of chivalrous sentiments. It was contrary to the rules of war to smite a warrior overcome by another, or one who had turned his back or was running away, or had asked for quarter or was unarmed; or a single charioteer who had alone survived the engagement; or women, children or old men. Women held a high place in society. The Kshatriya princess selected her own husband at a Maiden's Choice (*svayamvara*) where feats of arms and knightly contests were performed. The *Mahabharata* calls the wife 'half the man, his truest friend, a perpetual spring of virtue, pleasure and wealth, a companion in solitude, a father in advice, and a rest in passing through life's wilderness.' When Rama is banished to the jungle, Sita claims the right to accompany him:—

Take me to the pathless jungle, bid me by my lord abide.
Car and steed and gilded palace, vain are these to woman's life,
Dearer is her husband's shadow to the loved and loving wife!
For my mother often taught me and my father often spake
That her home the wedded woman doth beside her husband make.
As the shadow to the substance, to her lord the faithful wife,
And she parts not from her consort till she parts with fleeting life.

The Rise of Hinduism. A number of changes in religion were taking place at the time the Epics were composed. Many older Vedic gods were being gradually forgotten, and new deities were taking their place, though Indra, the warrior-god, was still held in high esteem by the Kshatriya princes. The chief gods were now the Trinity (Trimurti), Brahma the Creator, Shiva the Destroyer and Vishnu the Preserver. Orthodox Hindus today are followers of either Shiva or Vishnu. Shiva or Mahadeva, the Great God, is fierce and terrible. His consort is Parvati (Kali or Durga) and his son is Ganesa the elephant-headed god. Vishnu, on the other hand, is mild and beneficent. From time to time he has descended to earth in various Avatars or Incarnations for the salvation of humanity. His two principal incarnations are the epic heroes, Rama and Krishna, both of whom are worshipped by millions of Hindus. Popular myths about the creation of the world, the gods and their various incarnations, and other legends, were collected in some books known as the Puranas or ' Old Stories '. There are eighteen Puranas, but they were not reduced to writing until much later.

Learning and Education. As time went on, the priestly schools became more and more powerful, and every Brahmin had to belong to one of them. In order to explain the Vedas, commentaries, known as the Brahmanas and Upanishads, were composed for the use of the pupils. The life of the Brahmin was one of devotion to learning and religion. It was divided into four *ashramas*, or stages. Soon after he received the sacred thread, which admitted him to his caste, the boy was attached, as a Chela or disciple, to a Guru or teacher. Under his Guru, he learnt by heart the Veda belonging to his order, together with the Brahmana or prose commentary of his school upon it, and the complicated ritual of the Vedic sacrifices. The old Vedic language was no longer a living tongue, and from the study of it arose the sciences of grammar, metre, and etymology, which were necessary in order that the

sacred texts might be understood and correctly handed down. In the same way, astronomy arose from the study of the stars, by the rising of which religious ceremonies were regulated. This stage lasted about twelve years. Then the young Brahmin entered on the duties of the householder. He married and brought up his family, and busied himself with worldly duties. When old age approached, he forsook the world and, retiring to the forest, lived upon fruits and herbs, and wore clothes made from bark and skins, while he prepared himself for death by prayer and meditation. In the last stage of all, he became a wandering ascetic, with no possessions save the beggar's bowl and water vessel. Teaching was usually confined to the Brahmins, but boys of the three higher or 'twice born' castes were required to go for a certain number of years to an *ashrama* for instruction. Education was oral, for it was necessary to prevent the knowledge of the sacred lore from reaching the ears of the Sudras. In one of the Vedic hymns, the pupils repeating their lessons after the teacher are compared to frogs croaking at the approach of the monsoon!

The Revolt against Brahminism. Religion had now become a complicated ritual performed by the priests in a dead language, only known to a few. This led to a revolt, especially on the part of the Kshatriyas, against the growing power of the Brahmin priesthood. A number of new beliefs began to spring up. The philosopher Kapila, the founder of the Sankya school, appears to have disbelieved in God altogether. Others taught the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The soul is reborn again and again; if the man in a previous life has lived righteously, he returns to earth as a member of one of the higher castes; if not, he is reborn as a 'dog, a hog or a Chandala'. Moksha, or release from further births, may be attained by penances (*tapas*), or by a religious discipline known as Yoga or 'yoking' the mind. These doctrines first appear in some very ancient prose treatises called the

Brahmanas, which comprised the inner teachings given by the Guru to a few select disciples.

Rise of Jainism and Buddhism. The revolt against the supremacy of the Brahmin priesthood was brought to a head by two great Kshatriya teachers in the sixth century B.C. Both were men of princely family, living in Magadha or Southern Bihar. Mahavira, the founder of the Jain sect, was the son of a nobleman of the Lichchavi clan, and was born at Vaisali near Patna about 550 B.C. Having lost his parents, he joined a band of ascetics, and practised severe penances, but without obtaining the satisfaction he craved for. Then he received enlightenment, and proceeded to found an order of his own, containing both monks and nuns. He died about 477 B.C. At the time of his death, he had 14,000 disciples. He was called the Jina, or Conqueror, and his followers received the name of Jains, or followers of the Jina.



MAHAVIRA VARDHAMANA

Gautama, afterwards called the Buddha or enlightened one, was the son of a nobleman of the Sakya clan. His father was the Raja of Kapilavastu, on the Nepalese borderland. The

young prince, saddened by sights of death, disease and suffering, and disgusted at the idle and useless palace-life, determined to forsake all and go off alone in search of the Truth. This was the Great Renunciation. For a long time, he practised various penances, but this brought him no nearer his goal. At last, while sitting under a pipal tree, he obtained the knowledge (*bodhi*) which he sought, and went to preach his first sermon in the Deer Park at Sarnath, near Benares. Here he was joined by five disciples, and the Sangha or Order was founded. Gautama and his followers went from village to village, preaching to the people of Bihar and Oudh, for forty-five years.



GAUTAMA BUDDHA

Foundation of the Buddhist Order. Buddha died in 483 B.C. of an attack of dysentery brought on by eating some tainted food offered to him by a humble follower, at Kusinagara in Nepal. He was eighty years old at the time of his death. His body was cremated, and the ashes, his begging bowl, and other relics, were distributed among his followers. They were afterwards buried beneath mounds which were known as stupas or dagabas. In order that the Master's teachings might be preserved uncorrupted, before the lapse of time should cause his followers to forget them or remember them imperfectly, 500 monks met at Rajagriha, and all his sayings were collected, learnt

by heart and recited by the whole assembly. The language was Pali, the ancient dialect of Magadha. The sacred books composing the Buddhist bible were divided into three pitakas or 'baskets', the Vinaya, dealing with the discipline of the Order; the Suttas, sayings and anecdotes of the Master; and the Abhidhamma dealing with philosophical questions. The Buddhist creed is very simple. It consists of a threefold declaration, as follows:—

I take refuge in the Buddha.
I take refuge in the Dhamma.
I take refuge in the Order.

Jain and Buddhist Teaching. There is a good deal of similarity between the teaching of Mahavira and the Buddha. Both denied the authority of the Vedas, and the claims of the Brahmins to be the only people who could perform religious rites. Both taught in the language of the common people (Prakrit), and not in that of the priests (Sanskrit). Both admitted disciples of all castes and both sexes, and were opposed to animal sacrifices. Both made the doctrine of *karma*, or the cumulative effect of one's actions in former lives, the central point of their teaching. The soul is born again and again, owing to its *karma*. If, by right living and thinking, we can get rid of this *karma*, the individual will reach Nirvana, and not be reborn. In order to attain Nirvana, people must practise purity of thought, word and deed; they must not take life, or steal, or commit adultery; and they must avoid lies and covetousness and fault-finding, and fleshly lusts and desires. The Buddhist Ten Commandments are:—Not to kill, not to steal, not to commit impure acts, not to tell untruths, not to be double-tongued, not to use bad language, not to use fine, glozing speech, not to covet, not to be angry, and not to take heretical views. Both laid stress on right conduct and right knowledge, and not religious ceremonial and ritual, as the way to obtain salvation. Both sects

appealed chiefly to the mercantile classes, who were not restricted, like the Brahmins, by caste rules. Both sects looked upon the world as evil, and favoured the formation of monastic communities, who retired to caves in the mountain-side, which they converted into dwelling places and halls for preaching and worship. But the Jains advocated extreme forms of penance, and even looked upon it as meritorious to put an end to one's life. The Buddhists were more moderate in their views, and were followers of the Middle Path. So, too, the Jains, in the desire to get rid of all attachments to worldly objects, would sometimes even abandon their clothing, which the Buddhists never did. Both sects regarded the taking of life as a sin, but the Jains carried their views on this point to extreme lengths, and took the strictest precautions so as not even to kill an insect. Both Mahavira and Buddha founded religious sects rather than new religions, but while Jainism has never spread beyond India, Buddhism, which is more universal in its appeal, has become the religion of half the Asiatic continent. Both Buddha and Mahavira began to be looked upon, in the course of time, as something more than mere religious teachers, and were revered as divine beings. Buddhism, as we shall see later, is perhaps India's greatest gift to the world, and has had much the same civilizing effect on the East as Christianity has had upon the West.

Self-Reliance. The most characteristic feature of the teaching of the Buddha is self-reliance. We must learn to be 'lamps unto ourselves'. No prayers, or sacrifices, or penances are of any avail; no one can save us but ourselves. 'Each man is responsible for himself, each man is a maker of himself. Only he can do himself good by good thoughts, by good acts; only he can hurt himself by evil intentions and deeds.'

By ourselves is evil done,
By ourselves we pain endure,
By ourselves we cease from wrong,
By ourselves become we pure.

No one saves us but ourselves,
No one can and no one may,
We ourselves must tread the path,
Buddhas only show the way.

Here are some noble sayings, taken from the Buddhist scripture known as the Dhammapada, or Path of the Law :—

Hatred does not cease by hatred at any time : hatred ceases by loving.

All men tremble at punishment. All men love life. Remember that you are like unto them, and do not cause slaughter.

Not to commit sin, to purify the mind, to do good, this is the teaching of all the Buddhas.

Not by birth does one become an outcast, not by birth does one become a Brahmin. By deeds one becomes an outcast, by deeds one becomes a Brahmin.

CHAPTER IV

THE RISE OF THE EMPIRE OF MAGADHA

India in the Seventh Century B.C. During the seventh century B.C. the eastward migration of the Aryans still went on, and in Buddhist times the centre had shifted from the ' Middle Land ', which was the scene of the Epics, to Magadha or South Bihar. The country was still split up into a large number of petty states, some governed by kings and others tribal republics. Of the latter, the most important were the Lichchavis, the Sakyas (to which Buddha belonged), the Videhas and the Mallas. Of the kingdoms, the chief were Kosala, Magadha and Avanti. Northern India was still principally a land of villages, and towns were rare. The chief agricultural product was now rice, and the villages were grouped on the edge of the rice-fields, with the forest at no great distance. The forest, the survival of the ' Great Wood ',

which once clothed the country, was the haunt of robbers and runaway slaves and wild beasts. Here, too, the cattle grazed under the eyes of the herdsmen. Trade and commerce flourished, and the guilds (*sreni*) were very influential. Rich merchants generously endowed monastic communities. Money, in the shape of rude, punch-marked copper and silver coins, was in circulation. Both to the East and West, the sea had been reached ; Buddhist merchants in the succeeding century made voyages from Champa on the Ganges to Burma, and from Bhrigukachcha or Broach in Western India to Babylon and the Arabian coast. Government was paternal ; in the republican tribes, the clan met at a moot-hall under an elected raja or president. The assembly dealt with such subjects as repairing roads, putting up rest-houses, digging wells and tanks, and administering justice according to tribal custom. Taxes were paid in kind, probably in rice.

The Early History of Magadha. The earliest kingdom of which we know anything definite is Kosala or Oudh, with its capital at Ayodhya, but in historic times it was already being overshadowed by its neighbour, Magadha or South Bihar The original capital of Magadha was Rajgir, and a king named Sisunaga was reigning there about 650 B.C. He founded the Saisunaga dynasty. The fifth ruler of this line was Bimbisara, who married a princess from Kosala, and annexed the neighbouring state of Anga in the modern Bhagalpur district. Gautama Buddha and Mahavira the founder of the Jain sect flourished in the reigns of Bimbisara and his son Ajatasatru. According to one story, Ajatasatru murdered his father and was reproved by the Buddha for his wickedness. He built a fort at the junction of the Ganges and Son, which afterwards became the new capital, and was called Pataliputra. At some time in his reign or that of one of his successors, Kosala passed under the rule of Magadha, which became the foremost power in Eastern India. Meanwhile, the Persian king Darius about 500 B.C. had annexed part of the Punjab. The last king of

the Saisunaga line was overthrown by a low-born usurper named Nanda, who founded the dynasty of the Nine Nandas, of whom we know very little.

Chandragupta Maurya. The curtain rises again about 325 B.C. A young man, perhaps a member of the royal family, of the name of Chandragupta, had been banished from Pataliputra by the Nanda king Mahapadma, and fled to the Punjab. There he met the Greek invader, Alexander the Great, and after Alexander's death, organized a revolt of the people against their foreign rulers. Soon after, he returned, and about 322 stirred up a rebellion and overthrew the Nanda king, who was very unpopular. Chandragupta was a brave, unscrupulous ruler. He was a great organizer, and he subdued the various petty tribal republics and kingdoms, until he had made himself master of a mighty state, including the whole of India north of the Vindhya mountains. Chandragupta was the founder of the first Indian Empire, which he ruled from his capital at Pataliputra. In 305 B.C. Seleucus, one of Alexander's generals who had become king of Syria, thought he would repeat Alexander's exploits and invade India. But Chandragupta, who had a huge army of 600,000 men, besides elephants and war-chariots, defeated Seleucus, who was glad to come to terms. He surrendered two provinces, the modern Baluchistan and Southern Afghanistan, which became part of Chandragupta's possessions. Seleucus gave a Greek princess in marriage to Chandragupta, who, in turn, presented his father-in-law with 500 war-elephants, which proved most useful in his wars with his neighbours in the West, where they were hitherto unknown and caused great consternation among their opponents.

Megasthenes. Seleucus sent an ambassador named Megasthenes to Chandragupta's court at Pataliputra. Megasthenes stayed there for many years, and wrote a most valuable account of India, which is our chief source of information about the state of the country, though we also glean some

details from a Sanskrit book called the *Arthasastra*, said to be the work of Chandragupta's minister, Kautilya. Further particulars are given in the edicts of Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka.

Civil Administration : (1) The Provinces. Chandragupta's empire was governed by a bureaucracy, and this shows how greatly the idea of organized government had developed since the days of the Buddha. It was divided into five provinces or departments. The central province was administered from Pataliputra by the Emperor himself. The others were governed by Viceroys, who were princes of the royal family. This gave them a training for their duties when they succeeded to the throne. Asoka was Viceroy of two provinces before he became king. The Viceroys had their seats at Taxila, Ujjain, Tosali and Suvarnagiri,[1] these being the capitals of the northern, eastern, western and southern provinces respectively. Under the Viceroys were carefully graded hierarchies of officials, forming a kind of Civil Service, including commissioners, district officers, secretaries and clerks.

(2) The Central Government. The central government was under the personal control of the Emperor. He was an absolute ruler, but he was accessible to his subjects, who could at any time approach him to complain of grievances or acts of injustice on the part of his officers. He was assisted by a Council of Ministers.

Administration of Justice. The Emperor was the final court of appeal in all cases, civil and criminal. There were law courts throughout the Empire, and judges who were convicted of unjust dealing could themselves be tried and removed. In criminal matters, trial by ordeal and torture were resorted to, and cruel punishments such as flogging and mutilation were inflicted, even for slight offences. The criminal code was terribly harsh and severe.

[1] Tosali was in Orissa. The identity of Suvarnagiri is uncertain. It may be Maski in the Nizam's Dominions.

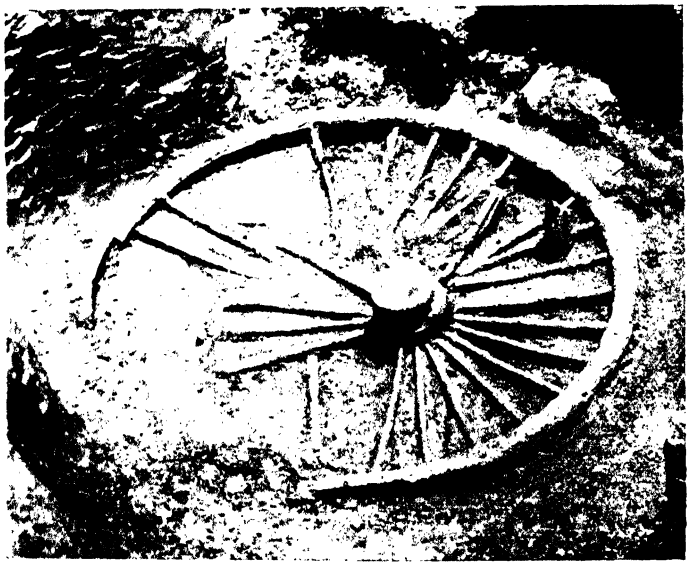
Municipal Organization. The capital, and probably the other great cities in the Empire, was administered by six boards of Municipal Commissioners. These were in charge of such subjects as industry, markets, weights and measures and prices; registration of births and deaths; the welfare of foreigners visiting the city; and the collection of taxes and octroi duties. The city was divided into four wards; the streets were regularly laid out, with drains at the sides, emptying into the moat surrounding the city. The dumping of rubbish into the streets was a punishable offence. As the houses were made of wood, there was a fire brigade, and strict orders about fires were issued.

Revenue. The principal source of revenue, as usual in India, was the land. All agricultural land was looked upon as Crown property. The share of the State was one-sixth to one-fourth of the produce. There were taxes on imports, tolls, and other similar methods of raising money. Trade was encouraged. The Royal Road from Pataliputra to the frontier was well maintained, with rest-houses and other conveniences for travellers at frequent intervals. The Empire was very prosperous, and trade from China and Central Asia, from Burma and the Far East, and from Southern India and the western world poured into the capital.

The Army. The vast army of Chandragupta was divided into four arms, infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. The Army Department was as elaborately organized as the civil government. The capital of Pataliputra was surrounded by a wide and deep moat, and a wall with nearly 600 towers and gates at frequent intervals. The King himself was guarded with all sorts of precautions, as he went in constant fear of assassination. In spite of his good government, he was unpopular. He was looked upon as an upstart, and his rule was regarded as unduly strict by people who were accustomed to the easy-going ways of the older rajas. He employed an army of spies, and never slept twice in the same bedchamber.

Everywhere he went, he was surrounded by a bodyguard of women soldiers, who kept spectators at a distance.

Asoka. Chandragupta died in 298 B.C. He was succeeded by his son Bindusara, of whom we know little. Bindusara died in 273 B.C., and his son Asoka ascended the throne. We are now on much surer ground for writing history, as we have a number of edicts, inscribed upon rocks and stone



MAURYA CHARIOT WHEEL EXCAVATED AT PATALIPUTRA

pillars by the Emperor himself, which tell us a great deal about his methods of government.

Asoka's Conversion. For the first twelve years of his reign, Asoka governed very much as his father and grandfather had done. Then he set out on a campaign for the conquest of Kalinga or Orissa. In this cruel war, 150,000 persons were carried away captive, 100,000 were slain, and many times that

number perished from starvation or disease. Just after this, Asoka was converted to Buddhism. This was an event of tremendous importance in the history of the world, as Asoka determined to govern according to the rules of the 'Law of Piety', as laid down by the Buddha. In most moving and pathetic words, Asoka records his repentance for what he had done. 'Directly after the Kalingas had been annexed, began His Sacred Majesty's zealous protection of the Law of Piety,

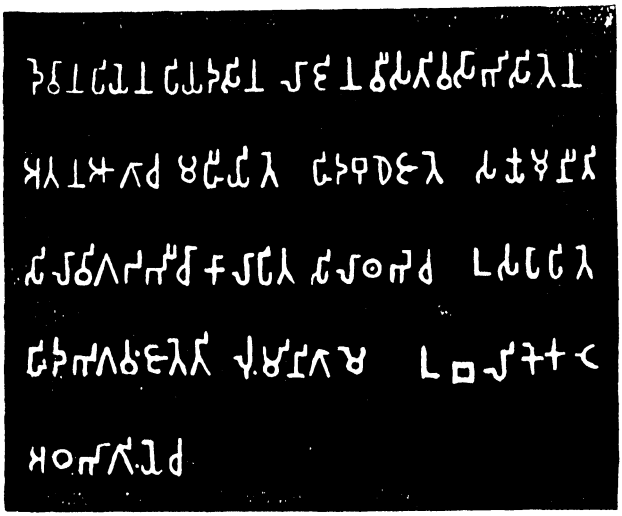


REMAINS OF MAURYA WOODEN WALL EXCAVATED AT PATALIPUTRA

his love of that Law, and his inculcation of that Law. Thence arises the remorse of His Sacred Majesty for having conquered the Kalingas, because the conquest of a people previously unconquered involves the death, slaughter, and carrying away captive of the people. This is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to His Majesty.' Never again did Asoka wage an aggressive war. For the remainder of his long reign, he

devoted himself to the betterment of the subjects of his vast Empire.

Pilgrimages to the Holy Places. Asoka became a lay monk (*upasaka*), soon after his conversion, and accompanied by his preceptor Upagupta and his wife and daughter, he made a pilgrimage to the Buddhist Holy Places, and erected a pillar to mark the spot where the Buddha was born. In 240 B.C.,



ASOKA'S INSCRIPTION ON THE RUMMINDEI PILLAR
(Facsimile)

he called a council of monks at Pataliputra to settle certain disputed points of Buddhist doctrine and to revise the scriptures.

Asoka, the Father of his People. The most remarkable feature of Asoka's character was his devotion to his people. His whole life was spent in trying to better their condition, and for this purpose, he had inscriptions graven on rocks and pillars at the four corners of his mighty Empire explaining the



ASOKA INSCRIBED PILLAR AT LAURIYA NANDANGARH

principles which should guide both governors and governed. These edicts were set up wherever crowds of people collected, in order that as many as possible might have an opportunity of reading them. In all of them, Asoka speaks of himself as 'the father of his people'. 'All men are my children,' Asoka says, again and again. His provincial governors and other high officials he compares to 'nurses'. 'Just as the skilful nurse is eager to care for the happiness of the child, even so my Governors have been created for the welfare and happiness of the country.' He trusted his officials, and gave them wide discretion in the award of honours and penalties.

Asoka made a point of being accessible to his subjects, night and day, to hear any complaints or grievances, whether eating, or in the ladies' apartments, or in his private room, or his carriage. 'I never feel that I have done enough in my exertions for the dispatch of business. Work I must, for the welfare of my people.' Asoka set the example, and expected his officials to follow it. 'Let small and great exert themselves' is his motto, many times repeated.

Asoka's Creed. The creed which Asoka wanted to be generally adopted was a simple and practical one. No mention is made of *karma* or Nirvana, or other deep doctrines which common people would find difficult to understand. The 'Law of Piety' (*dhamma*) consists in 'proper treatment of slaves and servants, hearkening to father and mother, in giving to friends, comrades, relations, ascetics and Brahmins, and abstaining from the sacrificial slaughter of living creatures'.

Asoka was a Buddhist, but, unlike many other rulers, he believed in toleration. Everyone was to have absolute freedom to worship as he wished, provided that this did not involve cruelty, or interference with the liberty of others. Asoka gave endowments impartially to all religious sects.

One thing which Asoka was very anxious to stop was the killing of animals. People must be taught to be merciful

to all living creatures. Animal sacrifices were absolutely forbidden. When he came to the throne, large numbers of animals were being slain daily, in order to supply the royal kitchens with meat. Asoka gradually put an end to this. Hunting, always a favourite pastime of Indian kings, was given up. The king issued lists of animals which were absolutely protected from slaughter, and also made 'close seasons' for the rest. He made arrangements for the comforts of both man and beast when travelling along the dusty high roads in the hot Indian sun, by planting shade-giving trees, digging wells and erecting rest-houses at frequent intervals. Hospitals for man and beast were built, with proper supplies of medicinal herbs and drugs.

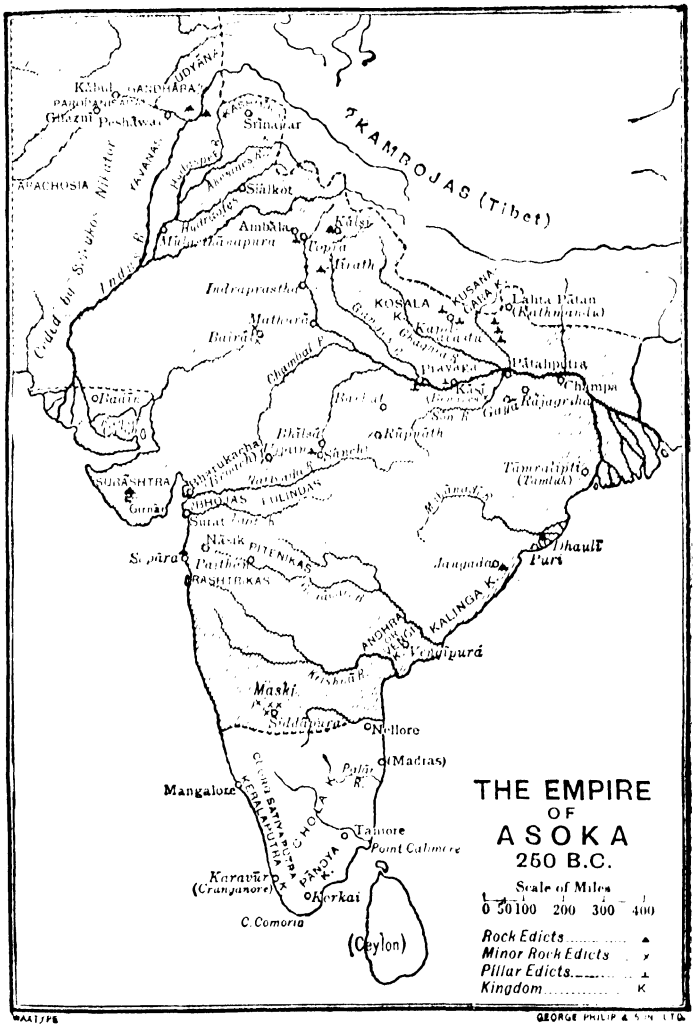
We have seen how terribly harsh and severe the criminal code of Chandragupta was. Asoka did much to mitigate it. Once a year, jails were thrown open, and prisoners set free. Asoka did not abolish capital punishment, but before the sentence was carried out, the condemned man had a respite of three days, during which pious people visited him in order to convert him. Asoka appointed certain high officers called Censors or Overseers (*dharma-mahamatra*) to tour his dominions and see that his wishes were fulfilled. They had special orders to see that the 'borderers', the wild, shy, half-civilized jungle folk, were kindly treated.

Missions. One of Asoka's first acts was to dispatch Buddhist missions to preach the Law of Piety to other countries. Some of these missionaries were sent to his friend Antiochus, king of Syria, Ptolemy, king of Egypt and other Greek rulers. Others were dispatched to South India, Burma and Ceylon. The Ceylon mission was conducted by Mahinda, who went in 250 B.C., and remained until his death. Mahinda was the Emperor's son, or according to other accounts, his brother. Owing to his efforts, Burma, Siam and Ceylon are Buddhist countries today. A recent writer says that 'The missions of Asoka are among the greatest civilizing influences in the

world's history; for they entered countries for the most part barbarous and full of superstition, and among these animistic peoples, Buddhism spread as a wholesome leaven. The history of Ceylon and Burma, as of Siam, Japan and Tibet, may be said to begin with the entrance into them of Buddhism. . . . Buddhism in these Eastern lands has exerted a beneficent influence in putting *karma*, the law of cause and effect, in the place of the caprice of demons and tribal gods, and a lofty system of morals in the place of tribal custom and *taboo*. The Buddhist missionaries, moreover, brought with them much of the culture of their own land. It seems clear, for instance, that it was Mahinda who brought into Ceylon the arts of stone carving and irrigation which his brother had so successfully practised in India; and the Ceylon Buddhist of today thinks of his religion as the force to which his country owes the greatness of her past history.'[1]

Prosperity of the Country. Asoka's Empire was a vast one. The places where the inscriptions and pillars have been found show that it extended over Kashmir, Nepal, and the whole of India, except Assam, as far as the northern borders of Mysore. Probably India has never been so happy, before or since, as during the last thirty years of his reign. Peace, a rare thing in Indian history, reigned undisturbed. There were no enemies within or without her borders. The government was humane and enlightened and very prosperous. Commerce, both from the East and the West, flowed into the capital. Asoka was on friendly terms with his western neighbours, and trade with Antioch and Alexandria flourished. The Royal Road connected Pataliputra with the trade routes to Bactria, Central Asia and the Oxus river. Goods were taken down the Oxus to the Caspian and Black Seas and thence to Europe. Another trade route ran from Pataliputra in a more southerly direction to Ujjain, a great centre, and from Ujjain to Broach, the great port for ships going to Aden and the Persian Gulf.

[1] K. J. Saunders, *The Story of Buddhism*, p. 76.



GEORGE PHILIP & SON LTD.

Buddhist merchants, not being deterred by caste rules like the Hindus, were bold sailors, and went as far as Alexandria. Trade was strictly regulated and taxed; a large part of the revenue came from this source. Trade gilds flourished. In the markets of the capital might be seen gold and silver ware, spices, cosmetics and pearls from Southern India and Ceylon; skins and carpets from Central Asia; muslins, cottons and silks from Burma, China and the Far East. Curiously enough, the only coins were of the rude, punch-marked type, and Greek currencies were in consequence in great demand.

Social Customs. The people were fond of shows and religious processions, which were organized by the State. Professions included doctors, actors, singers, dancers, bards and reciters. Boxing matches, fights between beasts, and dramas were popular amusements. Inns, eating-houses and hostelries were numerous, and no doubt the gilds and companies organized public feasts for their members. Slavery was practised, but slaves were kindly treated and could buy their freedom. Megasthenes was struck by the high moral character of the Indians, their truthfulness and honesty. They had no locks on houses, and theft was almost unknown.

Education. There are many signs that education was widely diffused, as in all Buddhist countries, and no doubt this was largely due to the monasteries. Correspondence seems to have been widely carried on, and book-keeping was employed for government accounts. Sanskrit was the language of the learned, while the Prakrits or vernacular languages were spoken by the common people. Both Mahavira and Buddha taught in the Magadhi dialect, which now became the official language of the Empire. Two forms of writing were employed —the Brahmi, which reads from left to right, and is the parent of the Devanagari of today, and the Kharoshthi, used only on the North-West Frontier, which reads from right to left. Asoka's inscriptions are the earliest written documents in any

Indian language we possess, if we except the Mohenjodaro seals, which have not so far been deciphered.

Sculpture and Architecture. We have seen that the Vedic priests did not use temples of any kind. The Buddhists, however, placed relics of the Master in large brick relic-mounds, which they called stupas or dagabas. They were surrounded with a railing to keep away intruders. A group of stupas,



GATEWAY AND RAILING OF THE BHARHUT STUPA WITH SUNGA INSCRIPTION (late Second Century B.C.)

originally erected by Asoka but encased in stone at a subsequent period, stands at Sanchi in Bhopal State.* The splendid *toranas* or gateways were added later, in the time of the Andhra kings of the Deccan. The rails and gateways are covered with exquisite carvings, representing scenes from the career of the Buddha, and incidentally throwing a flood of light on everyday life at the time. They are executed with great charm and simplicity, and give us a pleasing picture of a

* See illustration on p. 96.

contented, prosperous people. Asoka also erected tall pillars, to mark sacred spots such as the scenes of the birth and death of the Buddha. Ten of these pillars survive, and the tallest is forty feet above the surface of the ground. These pillars are made of a single shaft of sandstone, and are so exquisitely polished that they shine like metal. It was a great feat of engineering to move these huge monoliths from their quarries and erect them at distant spots. Asoka's workmen seem to have learnt the art of carving and polishing stone from the Persians.

End of the Mauryas : The Sungas and Kanvas. Asoka died in 232 B.C., and curiously enough we know nothing about the place or manner of his death. Soon after this, the Maurya Empire began to decline, and the Greeks from Bactria occupied a part of the Punjab. Kalinga also broke away. In 185 B.C. the last Maurya king, Brihadratha, was murdered by his commander-in-chief, Pushyamitra, who founded the Sunga dynasty. Pushyamitra was an orthodox Brahmin, who showed little favour to the Buddhists, and he marked his succession by offering the horse sacrifice. The Greek king Menander overran most of Central India, and was about to attack Pataliputra when he was recalled by an invasion of the Punjab by the Sakas. In 73 B.C. the last Sunga king was deposed and murdered, and for a time Magadha, now reduced to a small kingdom, was ruled over by the Kanva dynasty until this was overthrown in 28 B.C. by the Andhra rulers of the Deccan.

LEADING DATES

The Saisunaga Dynasty

c. B.C. 650	Saisunaga king of Magadha.
543	Accession of Bimbisara.
491	Accession of Ajatasatru.

459 Death of Ajatasatru.
563-483 Gautama Buddha.
550-477 Mahavira the founder of the Jain sect.

470-322 The Nine Nandas.

The Maurya Dynasty

B.C. 322 Accession of Chandragupta Maurya.
305 Seleucus invades India but is defeated.
302 Visit of Megasthenes to Pataliputra.
298 Death of Chandragupta: accession of Bindusara.
273 Death of Bindusara: accession of Asoka.
269 Coronation of Asoka.
261 The Kalinga War.
259 First dispatch of missionaries.
257-6 The fourteen rock edicts, Kalinga edicts, appointment of Censors.
251-0 Conversion of Ceylon.
249 Asoka's pilgrimage to holy places.
242 The pillar edicts.
240-32 Council of Pataliputra.
232 Death of Asoka. Dasaratha and Samprati (grandsons) divide the Empire between them.
232-185 Period of decline.
185 End of Maurya Empire.

185-73 The Sunga Dynasty. Pushyamitra.
165 Invasion of Magadha by Menander.
73-28 The Kanva Dynasty.
28 The Kanvas overthrown by the Andhras of the Deccan.

CHAPTER V

EARLY FOREIGN INVADERS OF NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

The Persian Invasion. As we have seen, the well-watered and fertile plains of the Punjab have always proved a great attraction to the neighbouring countries, and invaders streamed through the passes almost unceasingly until they were closed by the British. The Iranian kinsmen of the Indo-Aryans, the Persians, had built up a great empire in the west, and in 516 B.C. Darius (Daryush) sent a Greek mercenary named Scylax to explore the Punjab. Scylax crossed the mountains into Gandhara,[1] and, building a small fleet, sailed right down the Indus to its mouth, and went back by sea. After this, Darius annexed the Punjab and made 'the province of the Indus', the twentieth satrapy of the Persian Empire. In those days, owing to a much heavier rainfall, Sind was far more fertile than at present, and this satrapy paid a tribute of over a crore of rupees annually. Indian troops fought for the Persians against the Greeks in the Persian invasion of 480 B.C.

Alexander the Great. From the time of Darius to that of Alexander, we hear little about the Punjab, except from Greek writers like Herodotus. The Aryans had moved from the Punjab to the Ganges valley, and looked upon the people west of the Indus as barbarous and uncivilized. The Indus was the boundary between Persia and India. But in 327 B.C. the peace of the country was once more shattered. Alexander of Macedon was one of the greatest conquerors the world has ever seen. Having made himself master of Greece, he decided to overthrow the Persians, who were the hereditary enemies of the Greeks. He beat them in many great battles, and

[1] Gandhara is the name given to Peshawar, Rawalpindi and Kabul districts of today.

Darius, the last Persian king, was slain. Alexander then determined to invade India. He crossed the Hindu Kush and made his base at Kabul. He then subdued the wild tribes dwelling among the mountains which overlook the passes. They were as fierce and independent then as they are now, and Alexander had to teach them a terrible lesson. In the following year, the Macedonian army, with its long spears and shining armour, marched through the passes and entered India. The Indus was crossed at Ohind, about twelve miles from Attock. The capital of the northern Punjab was at Taxila, and here dwelt a prince named Ambhi. He prudently decided to welcome Alexander, and the Greeks went on to Taxila, where they were glad to rest after their exertions. Alexander had brought with him many historians and scientists, and they give an interesting account of Taxila. It was a great 'university town', where people of the higher classes sent their sons to be educated. The three Vedas, as well as medicine, law, and other subjects, were taught. Owing to the Persian occupation, the population was very mixed, and many strange customs were practised. Some of them exposed the bodies of the dead to vultures, very much as the Parsees do today. Other tribes allowed the custom of suttee or the burning of widows. These barbarous practices greatly shocked the



ALEXANDER THE GREAT

Greeks. Alexander was much interested in the sanyasis or religious mendicants, many of whom were to be seen in public places, practising penances and austerities. They reminded him of the Cynics in his own country. One of these ascetics called Kalanos (Kalyana), accompanied the Greeks back to Babylon and burnt himself to death there. At Taxila, Alexander held a great Darbar, with sports and games, and gave presents to his Indian allies.

The Battle of the Hydaspes. The king of the neighbouring state was named Porus (Paurava). He was at enmity with his neighbour, Ambhi of Taxila, and he was not disposed to submit to the Greeks, or to allow them to march through his country. There was only one ford over the Hydaspes or Jhelum river, and here Porus had drawn up his army. He had 30,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 300 chariots, and 200 mighty war-elephants. He himself was a great warrior, six and a half feet tall, and every inch a king. The Greeks were greatly impressed with the martial bearing of the Indian soldiers. 'In the art of war they were far superior to the other Asiatic nations.' The Greek soldiers were unused to elephants, and their horses were terrified by them. The river was in flood, and if they tried to cross, with the enemy waiting on the bank above, defeat was certain. Alexander therefore sent out scouts, and they brought word that there was a spot about sixteen miles upstream, where the force of the river was broken by some islands. Here it might be possible to cross over to the other bank unobserved. One stormy night, Alexander and a large body of cavalry slipped away, and under cover of darkness managed to get across and drive away some Indian troops who were watching the spot. Thus the Indian host was attacked from two sides at once, for while Alexander and his cavalry were advancing on the flank, the Greek infantry were fording the river in front. The Indian troops were drawn up in a solid mass, with the elephants at intervals along the line. In the middle of the front line

was Porus, on a gigantic beast. As the Greeks advanced, the air was filled with the beating of the war drums and the sound of the trumpets. But the Greek cavalry were more than a match for the Indians, whose war-chariots stuck in the mud. The mounted archers rode round and round them, pouring in showers of arrows, and at last the elephants, maddened by their wounds, began to trample upon the soldiers on their own side. Soon all was confusion in the Indian ranks, and a terrible slaughter ensued. But Porus fought on until he was fainting from loss of blood. Then



PORUS MEDAL

he was brought to the conqueror and surrendered. 'How do you wish to be treated?' asked Alexander. 'Act as a king,' replied Porus. 'When I say, "As a king", everything is contained in that.' Alexander acted 'as a king'. He restored Porus to his throne, and he proved to be a loyal ally.

The Retreat. Alexander now pushed on in a south-easterly direction, defeating all who opposed him, until he came to the river Bias (Hyphasis). He had heard of the kingdom of Magadha and the wealth of the Ganges valley, and had thought of marching across India and conquering it. But at the Bias, the soldiers rebelled, and refused to go any farther. So Alexander erected twelve great altars to mark the farthest limits which he had reached, and with a heavy heart turned back. He now formed the bold plan of marching down the

Indus to the coast, and then returning to Babylon from that point. A great fleet of boats was built on the Jhelum. The transport was embarked on these, while the army marched along the banks. At several places, fierce fighting occurred, especially with some people called the Malavas. Strong fortified posts were established at intervals. At length, in October, 325 B.C., the mouth of the river was reached, and Alexander tried to make his way home overland through the Makran, while the navy, under an admiral called Nearchus, went by sea up the Persian Gulf to the mouth of the Tigris. Alexander had a terrible march through the desert, and lost many men from heat and thirst.

Overthrow of the Greek Garrisons. Alexander died at Babylon in 323 B.C., at the age of thirty-two. Though he was so young, he had conquered the greater part of the civilized world. After his death, his mighty empire began to break up. In the Punjab, Chandragupta Maurya started the rebellion in order to expel the foreign garrisons which has been already described in the last chapter, and when Alexander's successor, Seleucus, invaded the Punjab, he was defeated. The Punjab remained under Maurya rule until the death of Asoka, when the empire began to break up.

The Bactrian Greeks. A prosperous Greek state had grown up at Bactria (Balkh), the rich country between the Oxus and the Hindu Kush, where Alexander had left a strong garrison to guard his line of communications.



COIN OF MENANDER

About 175 B.C. the Bactrian Greeks from Balkh invaded the Punjab, and established themselves there. Being cut off from their fellow-countrymen, they rapidly adopted Indian customs. Their greatest king was Menander, who ruled at Sagala (Sialkot). His kingdom included most of the Punjab, and extended from Kabul to Kathiawar. Menander was

converted to Buddhism, and a description of his capital is given in a Buddhist work, which shows that he was a powerful and prosperous ruler. It runs as follows :—

There is, in the country of the Yonakas, a great centre of trade, a city that is called Sagala, situated in a delightful country, well watered and hilly, abounding in parks and gardens and groves and lakes and tanks, a paradise of rivers and mountains and woods. Wise architects have laid it out, and its people know of no oppression, since all their enemies and adversaries have been put down. Brave is its defence, with many and various strong towers and ramparts with superb gates and entrance archways, and with the royal citadel in its midst, white-walled and deeply-moated. Well laid out are its streets, squares, cross-roads and market-places. Well displayed are the innumerable sorts of costly merchandise with which its shops are filled. It is richly adorned with hundreds of alms-halls of various kinds, and splendid with thousands of magnificent mansions, which rise aloft like the peaks of the Himalayas. Its streets are filled with elephants, horses, carriages and foot-passengers, and crowded by men of all sorts and conditions—Brahmins, nobles, artificers and servants. They resound with cries of welcome to teachers of every creed, and the city is the resort of leading men of each of the different sects.

The description goes on to speak of flourishing trade-gilds, and bazaars where jewels, perfumes, Benares muslins and other fine clothes were exposed for sale.

Menander even made an attempt to conquer the kingdom of Magadha. He captured Mathura, and threatened the capital city of Pataliputra : his cavalry all but carried off the sacred steed with which the Sunga prince, Agnimitra, was preparing to celebrate the horse sacrifice. He was recalled, however, owing to an invasion of the Punjab by the Sakas, or Scythians from Central Asia. Soon after, he was killed, probably in battle with the invaders. He was looked upon by the Buddhists as a great saint, and his ashes were preserved under stupas in various places.

Sakas and Parthians. About this time, various Saka and Parthian tribes entered the Punjab, and established kingdoms at Taxila and other more distant places like Malwa, Kathiawar and Gujarat. They gave themselves the Persian title of Satrap. At the court of a Parthian prince named Gondophernes, the Christian Apostle and missionary Saint Thomas is said to have suffered martyrdom.[1]



COIN OF GONDOPHERNES

The Kushans. The Yueh-chi were a nomad tribe which was expelled from western China, and gradually found its way to Bactria. A branch of this tribe, the Kushans, crossed the Hindu Kush, and entered the Punjab about A.D. 48, under Kadphises I. His son, Kadphises II, greatly enlarged his dominions, and reduced most of the Saka satraps to subordination. It is thought that the Saka era of A.D. 78 was really established to commemorate his coronation. He also made extensive conquests in Central Asia, and this brought him into conflict with the Chinese, who defeated him. The greatest of the Kushan monarchs, however, was Kanishka. Kanishka's capital was at Peshawar, but his rule extended as far east as Pataliputra and Buddh Gaya. He sent expeditions to Central Asia, which conquered Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar. This brought him into close contact with the Romans, as he now controlled the great Central Asian trade route which ran from Bactra, the capital of Bactria, to Kashgar, and from Kashgar to China. This was most important, as the silk from China, which was greatly in demand in the Roman Empire, travelled by this route. Kanishka was on very friendly terms with the Romans, and sent more than one embassy to Rome. He coined gold coins in imitation of the

[1] According to another account, Saint Thomas was martyred at Mylapore, near Madras.

Roman *aurei*. It is even supposed that he assumed the title of Caesar.

Growth of Buddhism. It is difficult to say what were originally the religious beliefs of the Kushans. Kanishka's coins represent a number of deities, mostly Zoroastrian, but also Greek and Hindu, which show that he ruled over a very mixed population, holding many different religions. Then, like Menander, he was converted to Buddhism. Buddhism was very popular among these foreign settlers in the Punjab, because it imposed no caste restrictions upon its converts. But Buddhism was undergoing great changes. The philosophy of life taught by the Buddha was a very simple one. 'Get rid of *karma* by right living, and you will enter Nirvana and not be reborn.' It was a plain, practical creed, suited to ordinary, unlearned people. In this form, it had been spread by Asoka's missionaries, and had become the religion of Ceylon, Burma and Siam. This pure, unadulterated Southern Buddhism was known as the *Hinayana* or 'Little Vehicle'. But when Buddhism became the religion of the nomads of the Central Asian Steppes and the frontier tribesmen, it became mixed up with all sorts of other beliefs and superstitions, and altered greatly in character. Buddha was no longer looked upon as a dead Teacher, but as a Divine Being, who had already appeared upon earth in many previous incarnations. These incarnations or Bodhisattvas were regarded as even more important than Gautama himself. In the older, purer form of the religion, there was no idolatry. But now, images of the Buddha and the Bodhisattvas were introduced, with temples and altars, richly decorated banners, vestments, music, incense and processions, and all the paraphernalia of a gorgeous ritual. This was the *Mahayana* or 'Great Vehicle', the Buddhism of the Northern as opposed to the Southern Church. In this form Buddhism reached Tibet, China and Japan along the great trade routes opened up by the Kushans.

Other Religious Developments. Changes in the other religions of India were also taking place. By the second century B.C., Rama and Krishna, who were originally human heroes, were beginning to be regarded as incarnations of Vishnu. Just as the Buddhists had drawn up lists of the Bodhisattvas or previous incarnations of the Buddha, the Jains had similar lists of Tirthankaras or predecessors of Mahavira, and the Vaishnavas had their ten incarnations of Vishnu. The worshippers of Vishnu were called Bhagvatas, or worshippers of Bhagvan, the Adorable One. They taught that salvation was open to all, and could be won by devotion (*bhakti*) to God, rather than by penances and ritual. The cult of Shiva did not lag behind. He was represented as the typical ascetic, and was worshipped under the form of the *lingam*. The bull (*nandi*) became his symbol.

Kanishka as a Patron of Art and Literature. Kanishka is an example of the manner in which Buddhism civilized and refined the wild nomads of the Central Asian steppes. After his conversion, he became a liberal patron of art and literature. He built a splendid capital at Peshawar, with many Buddhist monasteries. He erected a lofty tower to enshrine some precious relics of the Buddha. He gathered together a number of Buddhist scholars at his court, the most famous of whom were Nagarjuna and Asvaghosha. Asvaghosha was a poet, musician and dramatist. He wrote one of the earliest Hindu dramas, on the subject of the conversion of two Buddhist saints. He also wrote a poem on the life of the Buddha in Sanskrit. Sanskrit and not Pali was the language of the Mahayana school of Buddhism.

The Great Buddhist Council. Asvaghosha and another learned scholar named Vasumitra presided at the great council which Kanishka called to settle the various disputed points of Buddhist doctrine. It met at Kanishkapura in Kashmir, and drew up a number of decrees which were engraved on copper plates and buried beneath a stupa. It is said that the

council was attended by 500 monks from various parts of India.

The Gandhara School of Art. Kanishka employed Greek artists to decorate his buildings. A reliquary, containing ashes of the Buddha, was found near Peshawar; on it were the words 'Agesilaos, overseer of Kanishka's *vihara*'. At first it had not been the custom to make images of the Buddha, who was only represented by various symbols. But these artists represented him in the form of the Greek god Apollo, and the Buddha figures made in China and Japan today exhibit traces of the Greek models which were in vogue at the court of Kanishka. Many beautiful friezes, depicting stories from the *Jataka* books, were carved, and may be seen in museums at Lahore and other places. This Indo-Greek school of sculpture is known as the Gandhara school, from the district where it is chiefly found (see illustration, p. 28).



THE CASKET CONTAINING RELICS OF THE BUDDHA ENSHRINED BY KANISHKA

Character of Kanishka. Though he was of foreign extraction, Kanishka was one of India's greatest rulers. From his coins, and from a statue, unfortunately broken, which was found at Mathura, we know that he was, in appearance, a typical Central Asian. He was a tall, bearded, burly man, with a big nose. He wore a long, quilted coat, such as may be seen

in Turkestan today, and soft leather riding boots, and sat on a chair in European fashion. His mother-tongue seems to have been an Iranian form of speech. Next to Asoka, he was one of the greatest patrons of Buddhism, and just as Asoka spread it to the south, Kanishka did to the north. Thanks to the efforts of these two rulers, Buddhism became the religion of the greater part of Asia.

Fall of the Kushan Empire. After a reign of over forty years, Kanishka died. According to one story, he was murdered by his officers. He was succeeded by his son Huvishka probably in the year A.D. 162. Huvishka was succeeded by Vasudeva I, in whose reign the Kushan Empire began to decline in power, and gradually split up into a number of petty kingdoms.

Foreign Influences in Indian Civilization. We have, then, seen that from 516 B.C. to A.D. 220, India was continually in more or less close contact with the great empires of the West. To what extent has this affected the development of Hindu civilization? This is a very important and interesting question. First of all, there were the Persians, who ruled in the Punjab for nearly two centuries. It is quite possible that through the Persian officials, the Indians first acquired the art of writing, and the earliest written documents, the rock edicts of Asoka, were suggested by those which Darius and other Persian kings put up at places like Behistun. Before the time of Asoka, Indian buildings were of wood, like those of Burma today. It was from Persia that Asoka learnt the use of stone. Asoka's pillars, with their beautifully polished surfaces and their bell-capitals, resemble those found at the royal city of Persepolis in Persia.

From the Greeks who had settled in the Punjab, and also from Greek workmen imported from Syria, the Hindus and Buddhists seem to have learnt to make images of their gods and to set them up in temples for worship. Indian architects and sculptors took many ideas from the Greeks. Until they

saw the beautiful coinage of the Greeks and Romans, even great Hindu rulers like Asoka were content to issue rude punch-marked coins, and it may be said that here is something which India definitely owes to the West. It is probable that India borrowed many astronomical and mathematical terms from Alexandria, the great centre of trade and learning at the mouth of the Nile. It is sometimes said that the Hindu drama was influenced by Greek plays which were acted at the courts of monarchs like Menander, but this is doubtful. What must be borne in mind is that India was on very friendly terms with Greece and Rome during the first four centuries of the Christian era, and that Indian merchants were constantly visiting Western cities like Antioch, Palmyra and Alexandria, while Greek ships came in great numbers to Indian ports. About A.D. 45 a Greek sailor named Hippalus discovered the fact that the monsoon winds blew regularly, and this made it possible to sail across the Indian Ocean in forty-five days, instead of hugging the Arabian coast. It was said that the journey from Rome to India only took sixteen weeks. This brought East and West very near together, and by land the Indian and Rome frontiers were only 600 miles apart, as the Roman had advanced as far as the Tigris. We have seen how friendly many Indian kings, Chandragupta, Asoka and Kanishka, were with their Greek and Roman neighbours. It would indeed be strange if this had no result.

LEADING DATES

B.C. 327	Alexander crosses the Hindu Kush and enters India.
326	Battle of the Hydaspes.
325	Alexander leaves India.
323	Death of Alexander.
322	Expulsion of Greeks from the Punjab.

305	Seleucus invades India but is repulsed by Chandragupta.
200-130	Bactrian Greeks in the Punjab (180-160, Menander king of Sagala).
130	Parthian and Saka invasions of Western India.
A.D. 48	Kushans conquer Taxila. Kadphises I.
78	Kadphises II. Commencement of Saka Era.
120-162	KANISHKA, ruler of North-Western India, capital at Peshawar.
162-182	Huvishka.
182	Vasudeva I, decline of Kushan Empire.

CHAPTER VI

THE GOLDEN AGE OF HINDUISM: THE GUPTAS. HARSHA

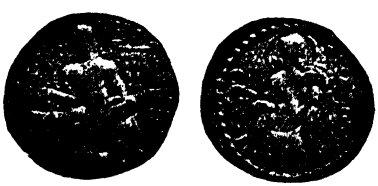
The Guptas. After the overthrow of the Kanva dynasty by the Andhras, we know little about Magadha for about three centuries. The next ruler of whom we have any definite information is a prince who bears the name of Chandragupta. He sprang into fame by marrying a princess of the old and historic family of the Lichchavis, of whom we heard so much in the time of the Buddha. Perhaps owing to his marriage, he managed to establish himself on the throne at Pataliputra, and to extend his rule as far as Prayag (Allahabad) at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna. Finally, he was crowned with great pomp, and celebrated the event by starting a new era, the **Gupta Era**, of which the first day is 26th February, A.D. 320.

Samudragupta. Samudragupta, the son of Chandragupta and the Lichchavi princess, succeeded to the throne ten years later, in A.D. 330. He was one of the most warlike of Indian

monarchs, and has been called 'the Hindu Napoleon'. He first of all subdued the whole of northern India between the Himalaya mountains and the Narbada river, while various smaller principalities in Malwa and the Punjab became his feudatories. He did not attempt to extend his empire south of the Vindhya mountains, but he carried out a wonderful military raid into southern India, which occupied over two years. Marching through the thick jungles of the Vindhya mountains, he reached the coast of Kalinga (Orissa), and followed the coast-road as far as Nellore. On his return journey, he received the submission of the rajas through whose territory he passed, together with huge sums in the way of tribute, but made no effort to annex them permanently. So great was the fame of Samudragupta, that the king of far-distant Ceylon sent ambassadors to him. Samudragupta received them graciously, and gave permission for the foundation of a splendid Buddhist monastery at Buddh Gaya, where stood the sacred tree beneath which the Buddha was sitting when he received enlightenment. On his return from his expedition to the south, Samudragupta offered in solemn state the horse sacrifice, which was always performed by rulers who claimed the supreme sovereignty in India. Gold coins bearing the symbol of the horse were struck for distribution to the Brahmins, and some of these have been found.



COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA
(Horse sacrifice type)



COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA
(Lyrist type)

Personal Accomplishments. Samudragupta was a most accomplished

man—warrior, poet and musician—and in his leisure moments, he took delight in playing the lute (*vina*), writing poetry, and in discussing the sacred scriptures with learned pundits. Gold coins have been discovered depicting the Emperor in his high-backed chair, with a lute in his hand. Though a follower of Brahminism, he encouraged the Buddhists, and the celebrated Buddhist sage Vasubandhu enjoyed his patronage. Our chief authority for the events of his reign is a remarkable poem (*kavya*), written by the poet laureate Harisena, and engraved on a pillar of Asoka standing at Prayag (Allahabad). It is one of the ironies of history to find, written in polished classical Sanskrit, accounts of sanguinary wars and conquests side by side with the edicts, in simple Prakrit, of the great ruler who, six centuries before, held that 'the chiefest conquest is that of the Law of Piety'.

Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya. Samudragupta died about A.D. 380, and was succeeded by his son Chandragupta Vikramaditya ('Sun of Valour'). One of Chandragupta's first acts was to overthrow the powerful Saka kingdom which had been established at Ujjain. He slew the ruler, the satrap Rudrasinha, and annexed his dominions. This was most important, because Ujjain was a great commercial centre, and also because in Rudrasinha's dominions lay the harbours of Broach, Surat, Kalyan and Sopara, which traded with western Asia and Alexandria. This brought the Gupta court under the influence of European ideas, which travelled to India with the goods of the Alexandrian merchants. During the reign of Chandragupta II, the chief city of the Empire appears to have been Ayodhya rather than Pataliputra. Chandragupta died in 415. His name was long remembered as the 'Bikram of Ujjain', about whom all sorts of fabulous stories and legends arose later. According to some authorities, the Vikrama era of 58-7 B.C. was for some reason named after him.



JAATYPE
GEORGE PHILIP & SON, LTD.

The Decline of the Guptas. Chandragupta was succeeded by Kumaragupta (415-55) and Skandagupta (455-67). During the reign of the latter ruler, the Hunas or Huns, fierce nomad tribes from Central Asia, broke into India by the unguarded passes on the North-West Frontier. Skandagupta defeated the invaders with great slaughter, but fresh hordes followed, wave after wave, and under their relentless attacks the fabric of this mighty empire gradually crumbled away, as invariably happened when intruders from the north found their way into India. The Gupta dynasty lingered on for some time, but Skandagupta was the last of the great Imperial Guptas, as Aurangzeb was the last of the great Moguls.

The Golden Age of Hinduism : Fa Hian. The age of the Guptas has rightly been called the Golden Age of Hinduism. Except, perhaps, for a brief period under the Emperor Asoka, India has never been so prosperous as she was between A.D. 320 and 480. For the general condition of the country, we are fortunate in possessing the accounts of a number of Chinese pilgrims, who had been converted to Buddhism and had come to India in order to study Sanskrit and Pali at Indian Universities, collect manuscripts, Buddhist images and relics, and visit scenes of the chief events in the life of the Buddha while he was on this earth. The earliest of these pilgrims was Fa Hian. He set out from China with five companions in A.D. 400. After nine months of travelling, they found themselves upon the confines of the Lop Nor desert. The crossing was a terrible business. For seventeen days the little party toiled across the burning sand, and the path was marked by the skeletons of men and beasts who had perished in the attempt. At last they reached the Buddhist kingdom of Khotan, which was a centre for merchants trading in silk between China and India, and here they were warmly welcomed. But their perils were not yet ended. The lofty mountains leading into Kashmir had to be climbed. The passes were 10,000 feet high ; the precipices were like

stone walls, and far beneath rushed the Indus in a mighty torrent. Two of Fa Hian's companions perished in a blizzard; two turned back in despair, and the intrepid pilgrim reached the frontier town of Peshawar alone. Fa Hian was in India from 405 to 411, during the reign of Chandragupta II. On his return journey, he took ship from Tamralipti on the Ganges to Ceylon, where he spent a considerable time, and then returned to China by way of Java, after many adventures.

Fa Hian's Description of India. Fa Hian was greatly struck by the prosperity of India. 'The inhabitants', he says, 'are prosperous and happy. Only those who farm the royal estates pay any portion of the produce as rent, and they are not bound to remain in possession longer than they like. The king inflicts no corporal punishment, but merely fines the offenders, and even those convicted of incitement to rebellion after repeated attempts are only punished with the loss of the right hand. The Chief Ministers have fixed salaries allotted to them. The people of the country drink no intoxicants and kill no animals for food. They have no shambles or wineshops in their market places.' Among the many humane institutions which impressed the traveller were the excellent free hospitals, endowed by the citizens. 'Hither come all poor and helpless patients, suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of, and a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their wants.' It is noteworthy that, though Buddhism was still popular, Hinduism was regaining its power. Pariahs and Chandalas had to live outside the city walls; if they entered, they had to strike a gong in order to warn passers-by not to touch them.

Language and Literature. One of the features of the period was the development of classical Sanskrit, and it is said that the 'nine gems' of learning flourished at the Imperial Court. The Kavya or Court Epic was encouraged, and the Emperors maintained poets laureate like Harisena to write poems

about their exploits, which were engraved on pillars. So great was the output of literature, art, science and drama, that the Gupta age has sometimes been called the Hindu Renaissance, and it has been compared with England under the Tudors. The Guptas were, in particular, patrons of the drama, and during the reign of Chandragupta II lived the famous Kalidasa, the Indian Shakespeare. Kalidasa wrote three great dramas, *Sakuntala*, *Vikramorvasiya* and *Malavikagnimitra*, but his masterpiece is *Sakuntala*, which has won the admiration of the whole world. Other great dramas of the period are *Mricchakatika* and *Mudrarakshasa*. The latter is particularly interesting, because it is an historical play, written about the emperor Chandragupta Maurya, and his minister Chanakya or Kautilya. Lyric poetry was also very popular. Kalidasa was equally distinguished as a lyric writer; his most beautiful poem was the *Meghaduta* or Cloud Messenger, in which the exiled Yaksha sends a message by the dark raineloud to his beloved wife in the distant Himalaya mountains. Both this poem and the *Ritusamhara*, or Cycle of Seasons, abound in lovely imagery.

Religious Literature. During the Gupta period owing to the revival of Brahminical Hinduism, there was great activity in religious and legal literature. The great legal code, the Manava Dharma Sastra or Laws of Manu, was drawn up, setting out in detail the duties, rights and privileges of the four castes and their relations to one another. The six orthodox systems of philosophy were compiled. The *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* were revised in their present form, and in the latter was inserted the great philosophical poem, the *Bhagavad Gita* or Lord's Song. Arjuna is terrified at the prospect of a battle in which so many of his kinsfolk are doomed to perish. Krishna, who is Arjuna's charioteer, consoles him by explaining that there is no sin in doing one's duty, provided that it is done without any thought of reward or punishment. Each caste has its own particular Dharma or

set of duties, but all duties rank the same with God. It is not necessary for a man to renounce the world in order to achieve salvation. This noble poem contains the loftiest exposition of the Hindu religion in a practical form, and has been the consolation of millions of pious Hindus throughout the ages. It is the most popular and universally read of all Sanskrit religious works.

Growth of Science. Between the third and seventh centuries A.D., books came into common use. In the north, they were written in ink on birch bark ; in the south, they were written with an iron stylus on palm leaves prepared for the purpose. The use of books no doubt assisted the growth of science. Astronomy and mathematics flourished ; Hindu astronomers borrowed a good deal of their knowledge from Alexandria. The movements of the sun, moon and planets were accurately described. An attempt was made to estimate the diameter of the earth. The astronomer Brahmagupta was the first to enunciate the law of gravitation ; he stated that the earth, by its nature, attracted other bodies to it according to their weight. Mathematics made considerable progress, and the Vaisesika school of physicists propounded the atomic theory. Medicine and surgery were taught. Students dissected dead bodies, and operations were performed. No doubt the hospitals which were erected all over the country assisted the practice of medicine. The two principal writers on medicine were Charaka and Susruta. From the habit of studying the effect of drugs, both vegetable and mineral, the sciences of botany and chemistry began to be evolved.

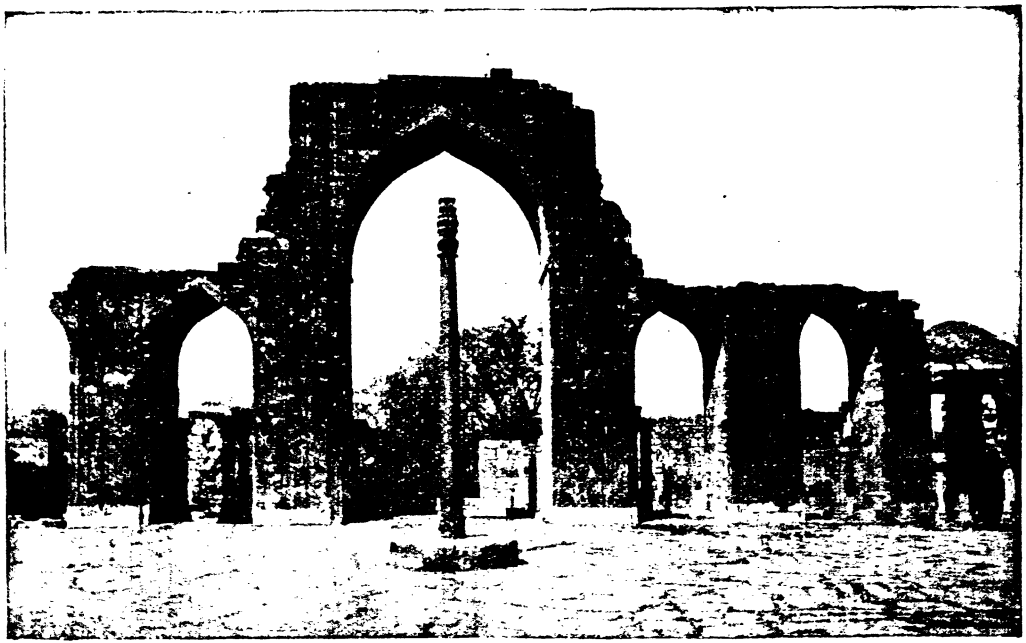
Art. Artists found liberal patrons in the enlightened Gupta monarchs, and some beautiful sculptured work was produced. The Greek influence seen in the Gandhara school has now been absorbed, and the sculptures are thoroughly Indian in spirit. The figures are tall, graceful and refined and the treatment of the drapery, which is so delicate and transparent as to show the outline of the limbs, is very



COLUMN, GUPTA PERIOD

striking. The Buddha now appears as a divine being, with a halo. Painting, as a decoration for the walls of temples, began to be practised, and reached its highest perfection in the famous Ajanta cave paintings.[1] Structural buildings of the period have mostly perished, but we know from the descriptions of them given by the Chinese pilgrims that they were of great size and elaborately decorated. The working of metals was well understood, and the famous iron pillar at Mehrauli, near Delhi, which bears an inscription of Chandragupta II (about A.D. 413) is a wonderful example of the iron-worker's skill. The casting of statues in copper was also brought to a high state of perfection. At this time, northern India was in touch with Greece, Persia and China, and this gave a great stimulus to her progress in the arts and sciences. All these

[1] See frontispiece.

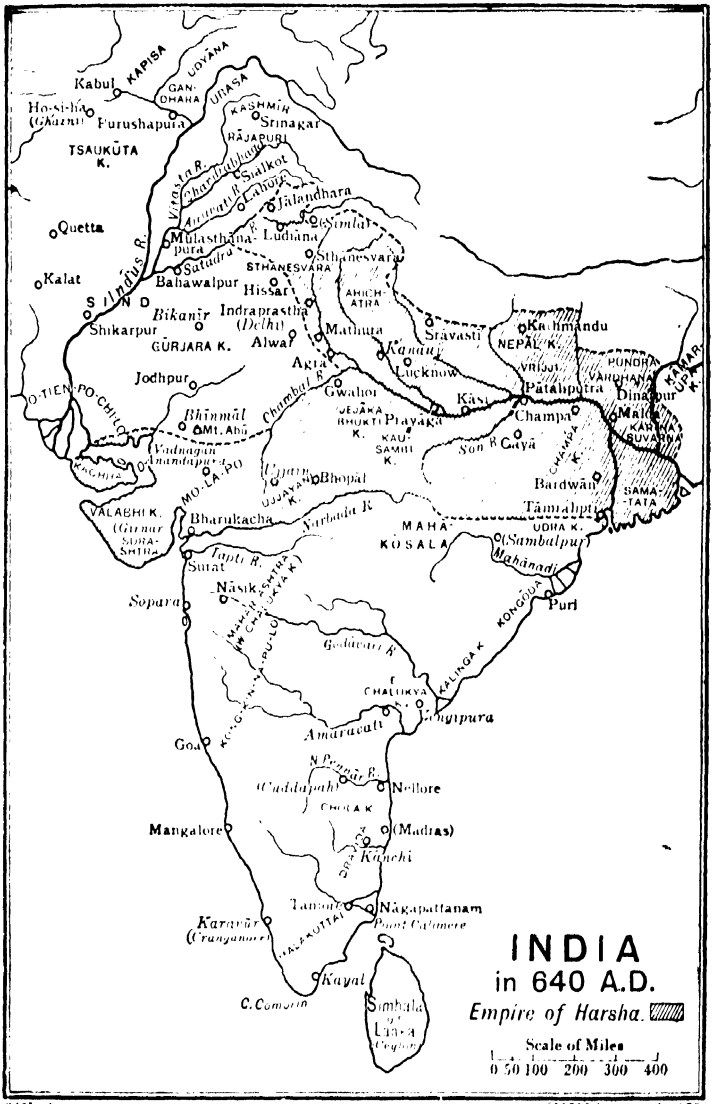


THE MEHRAULI IRON PILLAR

countries benefited from the exchange of ideas. Long journeys by sea and land were common, and people went to Alexandria, Java, and even the Chinese coast.

The Hun Invasions. We must now go back to the Hunas or Huns, whose first attacks on India in the time of Kumaragupta have already been mentioned. They were fierce and cruel savages, who carried fire and sword in their wake; with their flat noses, deep-set eyes and beardless faces, their hideous appearance and repulsive habits, they created a panic wherever they appeared. The Hun invasions altered the course of history, both in the East and the West. Pouring down from the Central Asia steppes, they divided into two main streams. One moved westwards to the Volga and, under Attila, overran the Roman Empire (A.D. 453). The other horde, known as the Ephthalite or White Huns, after killing the Sassanian king Firoz in 484, established themselves in Bactria and Gandhara, and renewed their attacks on India. They invaded Malwa and seized Kashmir. The leader of the Huns was a tyrant named Mihiragula; but he was defeated by a confederacy of Hindu princes under a Raja named Yasodharman in A.D. 528. After this, the Huns, and a kindred tribe known as the Gurjaras or Gujaras founded a kingdom at Bhinmal in Rajputana, and overran Kanauj and Broach. Some of them found their way into Gujarat, the *Gujara rashtra* or land of the Gujaras as it was subsequently called. Many Huna and Gujara tribes who entered India at this time settled down in the country and adopted the Hindu religion. After a time they came to be regarded as Hindus.

The Rise of Harsha. The political centre of northern India now shifts once more from Pataliputra to the Kurukshetra, the holy land between the Jumna and the Ganges. Here, at the sacred city of Thanesar, reigned a Raja named Prabhakara Vardhana. Prabhakara had two sons, Rajya and Harsha, and a daughter named Rajyasri. Prabhakara was a mighty warrior, constantly engaged in wars against the



MARTINE
GEORGE PHILIP & SON, LTD.

Gurjaras, Hunas and other invaders. Prabhakara died of fever, and, soon after, Rajya Vardhana was treacherously assassinated by Sasanka, king of Gauda in Bengal, whereupon the nobles unanimously elected to the throne the young prince Harsha, who had already distinguished himself as a soldier. This was in October, A.D. 606. After a long campaign, lasting for six years, Harsha subdued the whole of northern India, from Assam to Kathiawar: but when he tried to cross the Narbada, he was defeated by the powerful Chalukya king, Pulakesin II. Rajputana, Sind and the Punjab remained under their Huna and Gurjara conquerors, and were never subdued. During five years, it is said, 'The elephants never quitted their harness, nor the soldiers their armour.'

Harsha as a Monarch. We are fortunate in having two vivid descriptions of the reign of Harsha. One is a prose *kavya* or historical romance entitled the *Harsha Charita*, by Bana. The other is an extremely interesting account of the country and its ruler by that great Chinese pilgrim and traveller, Hiuen Tsang, 'The Master of the Law', who set out from China in A.D. 629 and spent no less than fifteen years in India, in the course of which he visited every kingdom in the country, making numerous notes about the peoples, customs and religions of the places which he saw. Eight of these years he passed at the court of Harsha, or in his dominions.

Harsha's capital was at the historic city of Kanauj on the Ganges. It was a wealthy town, well laid out with tanks and public gardens. A conspicuous feature was the number of monasteries, with crowds of yellow-robed monks, living on the bounty of the king and other wealthy patrons. Like all successful Hindu rulers, Harsha was a benevolent autocrat, who depended largely upon his personal exertions and influence. Except in the rainy season, he toured indefatigably, supervising his officers and personally investigating complaints.

Officers had to keep careful accounts and diaries for the Emperor's inspection. Wherever he travelled, temporary camps of bamboo and reed were erected, and burnt after his departure. Couriers were stationed along the roads, to keep him in touch with different parts of his vast dominions. The country, however, was not so orderly as in the days of Fa Hian. Brigandage was frequent, both on the roads and the river-highways, and Hiuen Tsang, in spite of his sanctity as a Buddhist elder, was more than once attacked, and was lucky to escape with his life. Punishments were severe, and though the death penalty was not inflicted, mutilation was practised, and prisoners were left to starve to death. Torture and trial by ordeal were allowed in order to ascertain a prisoner's guilt or otherwise. Like the Guptas, Harsha maintained rest-houses for travellers, hospitals for man and beast, and other charitable institutions.

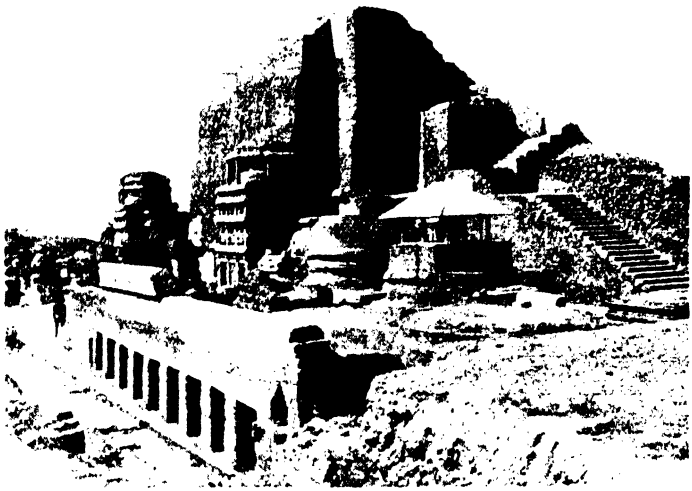
The Common People. Hiuen Tsang gives a very interesting description of everyday life in India as he saw it.

> Although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable. In money matters they are without craft, and in administering justice they are considerate. They dread the retribution of another state of existence, and make light of the things of the present world. They are not deceitful or treacherous in their conduct and are faithful to their oaths and promises. In their rules of government there is remarkable rectitude, while in their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness. With respect to criminals and rebels, these are few in number, and only occasionally troublesome.

The Administration (he tells us) is mild, and the executive simple. The revenues from crown lands are divided into four parts. The first is for carrying out affairs of state; the second, for paying the ministers and officers of the crown; the third, for rewarding men of genius; the fourth, for giving alms to religious communities. In this way, the taxes on the people are light, and the services required of them are moderate. Everyone keeps his worldly goods in peace, and all till the soil for their subsistence. Those who cultivate the royal estates

pay a sixth part of the produce as tribute. The merchants who engage in commerce travel to and fro in pursuit of their calling. Rivers and toll-bars are opened for travellers on payment of a small sum. When the public works require it, labour is exacted but paid for. The payment is in strict proportion to the work done.

The University of Nalanda. But most interesting of all is the description of the Buddhist University of Nalanda, for



EXCAVATED STUPAS AT NALANDA OF VARIOUS DATES SHOWING HOW THE GROUND LEVEL HAS CONSTANTLY RISEN

here we see a lifelike picture of an Indian University thirteen hundred years ago.

The whole establishment is surrounded by a brick wall. One gate opens into the great college, from which are separated eight other halls, standing in the centre of the quadrangle. The richly-carved towers and fairy-like minarets cluster like pointed hill-tops; the upper storeys and observatories are lost in the morning mists. From the windows one sees the wind wreathing the clouds into various shapes, and from the

soaring eaves one may observe the conjunction of the planets. Down below, the deep, transparent ponds bear on their surfaces the blue lotus, mingled with kanaka flowers, of a deep red colour; at intervals the amra groves throw a grateful shade over everything. All the outside courts, in which are the priests' chambers, are of four stages. The stages have carved and coloured eaves, pillars and balustrades, and the tiled roof reflects the light in a thousand shades.

The lecture-rooms were about one hundred in number, and often the number of resident students amounted to ten



EXCAVATED MONASTERIES AND OTHER BUILDINGS, NALANDA

thousand. Yet the pupils were earnest and grave, and breaches of the rules were practically unknown. As in medieval monasteries in Europe, the necessaries of life—rice, butter and milk—were supplied by neighbouring villages. Discipline was strict.

The pursuit of pleasure belongs to the worldly life, the pursuit of knowledge to the religious life. To return to a secular career after taking up religion is considered disgraceful. For breaking the rules of the community the transgressor is

publicly rebuked; for a slight fault he is condemned to enforced silence; for a graver fault he is expelled. Those who are thus expelled for life wander about the roads finding no place of refuge; sometimes they resume their former occupation.

The course, which included grammar, medicine, logic and psychology, often went on from the pupil's seventh to his thirtieth year. 'Then his character is formed and his knowledge is ripe.' This is how examinations were held and degrees conferred:—

When a man's renown has reached a high distinction, he convokes an assembly for discussion. He judges of the talent or otherwise of those who take part in it, and if one of the assembly distinguishes himself by refined language, subtle investigation, deep penetration and severe logic, he is mounted on an elephant covered with precious ornaments, and conducted by a retinue of admirers to the gate of the monastery. If, on the contrary, one of the members breaks down in his argument, or uses inelegant phrases, or violates a rule in logic, they daub him with mud and cast him into a ditch.

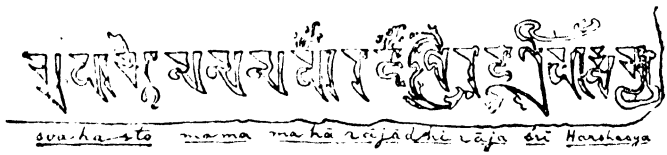
Religious Assemblies. Harsha, who was deeply religious, convoked assemblies at Prayag once every five years. Hiuen Tsang was fortunate enough to arrive just in time for one of these. The king marched in procession along the banks of the Ganges to Kanauj, attended by the rulers of Kamarupa and Valabhi and eighteen other feudatory rajas, 4,000 Buddhist monks, an equal number of Brahmins and Jains, and three hundred elephants. Harsha himself, attired as a god, helped to carry on his shoulders an image of the Buddha in a palanquin, and another and taller image, life-size, was set up in a tower on the river bank for adoration. After a great feast, a public disputation was held, but as the king had ordained that, if anyone spoke against the Master of the Law, his tongue should be torn out by the roots, Hiuen Tsang did not find very many opponents!

Another striking assembly was held at Prayag, on the sands where the Jumna and Ganges join, and must have resembled the fairs which still annually meet there. It went on for twenty-five days. Gifts were distributed to Buddhists, Brahmins, Jains and 'heretics', and a huge concourse of people was present. The king bestowed in religious charities all his personal wealth and adornments which had accumulated during the last five years—his robes, ear-rings, bracelets and head-dress. 'All being given away, he begged from his sister an ordinary second-hand garment, and having put it on, he paid worship to "the Buddhas of the ten regions", and rejoiced that his treasure had been bestowed in the field of religious merit.'

Return of Hiuen Tsang. Hiuen Tsang returned to his native country by way of the Pamirs, crossing the lofty mountain passes of Kashgar and the formidable Lop Nor desert. He reached his native land in 645, and the king of China and all classes of the population came to welcome him. He spent the remainder of his life in translating and editing the precious manuscripts which he had brought with him. He died in 664, at the age of sixty-four. It is difficult to find in the annals of travel anyone who can be compared to the pious, learned and courageous 'Master of the Law'.

Harsha's Personal Character : his Death. It is, indeed, a lucky chance that has given us these fascinating glimpses of the everyday life of a great Hindu ruler in pre-Mohammedan days. It shows that India, when free from foreign invasion, was happy and prosperous, and her rulers enlightened and hard-working, and patrons of art and religion. Harsha himself was an excellent scholar, and held debates at his court in which his widowed sister, whom he had rescued from the funeral pyre when her husband was killed in battle, took a prominent part. He was the author of three dramas, of which one, the *Ratnavali*, or 'Pearl Necklace', is of considerable merit. He was an accomplished calligraphist, and,

curiously enough, his actual signature is appended to one of his inscriptions. Amongst the many men of letters at his court, the most celebrated was Bana, who wrote two prose works, the *Harsha Charita*, a life of his patron, and a romance



SIGNATURE OF HARSHA

entitled Kadambari, in the highly ornate, polished and involved Sanskrit which was then the fashion. Towards the end of his life, Harsha became a strict Buddhist, and forbade the killing of animals through his realms. He died in A.D. 647, leaving behind him no heir to the throne, and his empire broke up into a number of petty, warring States, every man's hand being against his neighbour.

Decay of Buddhism. In spite of the patronage of Harsha, there are signs that Buddhism was gradually beginning to lose its power. The Mahayana form of Buddhism was very much like Hinduism, and the two religions gradually moved nearer and nearer, until orthodox Hinduism absorbed its rival. We can see evidence in the account of Hiuen Tsang of the bitter jealousy existing between the two sects. At the religious assembly at Kanauj, the wooden structure built to contain the image of Buddha was set on fire by the Brahmins, and an attempt was made to assassinate the king. We are also told that Sasanka, raja of Bengal, a devout Saivite, destroyed the sacred tree and footstep of the Master at Buddh Gaya, and burnt the monasteries. Pataliputra, the great Buddhist centre, was almost deserted, and the palace of Asoka was in ruins. The caste system was deeply rooted in Hindu life, and the power of the Brahmins was never really broken. Today there are no Buddhists in India proper, but Buddhist

ideas have left their mark on Hinduism. It is due to Buddhism that animal sacrifices have been so largely abandoned. Jainism, on the other hand, has survived, and has many followers today, especially in Gujarat.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 320	Accession of Chandragupta I. Beginning of Gupta Era.
330	Accession of Samudragupta.
380	Accession of Chandragupta II.
395	Conquest of western India.
405-11	Travels of Fa Hian in India.
415	Accession of Kumaragupta I.
455	Accession of Skandagupta : Huna Invasions.
480-90	Decline of the Gupta Empire.
500-42	Hunas rule in Malwa and Rajputana.
528	Defeat of Huna ruler, Mihiragula, by confederacy of Hindu kings under Yasodharman.
606	Harsha Vardhana succeeds to the throne of Kanauj.
606-12	Conquest of northern India by Harsha.
620	Defeat of Harsha by Pulakesin II, Chalukya.
629-45	Travels of Hiuen Tsang.
643	Religious assemblies at Kanauj and Prayag.
647	Death of Harsha.

CHAPTER VII

THE RAJPUT KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA

Rise of the Rajputs. After the death of Harsha in A.D. 647 the whole of northern India was thrown into a state of anarchy, and the unity of history is temporarily lost. As so often happened in the course of Indian history, the death of

a strong ruler was followed by a general collapse of law and order.

When at last, about A.D. 850, order once more emerges from chaos, we find that Hindu civilization has greatly changed. A large number of foreign tribes have entered the country and settled down there, bringing with them new customs and new gods, and intermarrying with the women of the land. It is now that we first come across certain clans, calling themselves Rajputs or 'sons of kings', who had settled in northern Gujarat, Oudh, and the country now called Rajputana, and gradually spread all over Hindustan. The origin of the Rajputs is a much disputed point. There are thirty-two Rajput clans, divided into three great classes, Suryavamshi, Chandravamshi and Agnikula; the two former claim descent from the Sun and Moon, and the third was said to have been created by the gods from the fire-pit on Mount Abu. The legend says that when Parasu Rama, 'Rama with the Axe', had exterminated the Kshatriyas, men were without leaders or masters, and evil and wickedness spread over the land. So the gods raised up a new set of Kshatriyas to protect the world. It is supposed that this story refers to the fact that, after the invasions by the Gurjara, Huna and other tribes from Central Asia, there was a period of anarchy and rapine. Then these tribes gradually settled down, and their leaders were admitted to the Hindu fold by the Brahmin priests. There were four great Agnikula clans, the Pawars, the Parihars, the Chauhans and the Solankis or Chalukyas. It is probable that the Rajputs do not belong to a single race. Some of them were descendants of the old Aryan nobles, and others were invaders. But however this may be, the old distinctions were quickly forgotten. The Rajputs spread all over Gujarat, Rajputana and Hindustan. They looked upon the head of the Sisodia clan of Mewar as their foremost chief. He belonged to the family of the Sun, and claimed descent from the hero-god Rama of Ayodhya.

Life at the Rajput Courts. In the Rajput families, the boys were brought up very much as the squires were in the castles of the knights in the days of European chivalry. As soon as the young man was old enough to go out to battle with his father, he was initiated by means of the ceremony of *karg-bandai*, or 'binding on the sword'; at this ceremony he was presented with his lance and shield, and his sword was buckled on. He was told that his duty was to fight for his chief, to protect cows and Brahmins, and to help the weak and helpless. One of the principal people at the Rajput court was the bard, whose work it was to sing the heroic deeds of the ancestors of the family, and inspire his hearers with noble ideals. The bard was a sacred person, who acted as a herald, and saw that the rules of war were properly observed. The Rajput women were as brave as their husbands. They would burn themselves to death on a pyre, rather than fall into the hands of the enemy. Unfortunately the Rajputs were always quarrelling among themselves, and when the Mohammedan invasions began they were unable to combine against the foe.

Early Rajput Kingdoms. The Rajput clan which first rose to distinction was that of the Pratiharas or Parihars. The word means doorkeeper or chamberlain, and it is thought that the first members of the family held an office of this kind, just as in later days the great Maratha leader, Mahadaji Sindhia, the founder of the House of Gwalior, was originally an official at the Court of the Peshwa. The most powerful ruler of this dynasty was Raja Bhoja Parihar, who established himself at Kanauj, the former capital of Harsha, and ruled over Kathiawar and the western and central portions of the Ganges valley. The Chandels, another Rajput tribe, were established in Bundelkhand, while in Malwa a second king of the name of Bhoja, who was a Pawar Rajput, reigned at his capital of Dhar for more than forty years (A.D. 1018-60). Bhoja's death thus almost coincided with the Norman Conquest of England. He was a great warrior and also an

enlightened patron of art and learning. He was himself the author of works on astronomy, architecture and poetry, and may be compared to Samudragupta, who was also a great scholar: indeed, many of the Indian princes of those days were learned men, and wrote poetry and dramas and other works. Bhoja built a Sanskrit college, which was dedicated to Saraswati, the goddess of learning, and a lake at Bhojpur, south-east of Bhopal, which covered 250 square miles, was constructed by erecting a stone dam, which showed great skill in engineering. Bhoja is remembered to this day as a model Hindu ruler.

The Pala and Sena Dynasties of Bengal. Meanwhile a powerful dynasty known as the Palas arose in Bengal and Bihar. The origin of this dynasty is obscure, but the suffix of *-pala* (protector) seems to show that they rescued their part of the country from the anarchy which arose after the death of Harsha. Gopala, the first of the line, was chosen by the local chiefs about A.D. 750 as their king. His successor Dharmapala extended his kingdom as far as Kanauj, but was here checked by the Rashtrakutas. The next ruler, Devapala, enjoyed a very long reign, and annexed Assam and Kalinga. The ninth king, Mahipala (A.D. 978-1030) was attacked by the Tamils under Rajendra Chola, who advanced as far as the Ganges. The Palas were patrons of Buddhism, and sent Buddhist missionaries to Tibet, which is now a great centre of Buddhism. Buddhism survived in Bengal long after it had ceased to exist in the rest of India, though in a very corrupt form. At that time there were so many monasteries (*viharas*) in northern Bengal that it was given the name of Bihar. It was said of the capital that 'the whole of the city and fortress was a college'. The Pala dynasty was a remarkable one. It lasted for four and a half centuries, which was very unusual in India. The Palas made Bengal one of the chief states of India. They were great patrons of art, and painting, sculpture and casting in



STATUE OF SURYA, PALA PERIOD

bronze and other metals made considerable progress. They also built vast tanks for irrigation purposes. About A.D. 1100 a rival dynasty arose in Bengal, known as the Senas. The founder of this dynasty is said to have come from the Deccan. The last Sena king was Lakshmanasena, who lived to an advanced age, and was greatly revered. His capital was at Nudiah (Nuddea), near Calcutta, where there was a great Sanskrit college for teaching logic, which still survives.

In A.D. 1199 the Pala and Sena dynasties were swept away by a Mohammedan invasion led by Muhammad Bakhtyar. The rich country of Bengal was a tempting prey. Apparently the people were peaceful and unarmed, and quite unprepared for an invasion : this may have been due to the presence of so many Buddhist monks. The town of Bihar was taken by surprise by only two hundred horsemen. The monks were put to the sword, and the slaughter was so great that, when the victor wanted someone to explain to him the books in the library, not a soul could be found to do so ! Those monks who escaped took refuge in Tibet, taking with them Sanskrit manuscripts, which were translated into Tibetan. Copies of these may be seen in the libraries at Lhasa and other Tibetan monasteries today. After sacking Bihar, Muhammad Bakhtyar went on to Nuddea. It is said that he entered the town disguised as a horse-dealer, accompanied by a handful of men, and surprised the aged king at his dinner ! This shows how peaceful and unprepared the people were. The king fled barefoot, and his wives, children and attendants, together with elephants and booty beyond counting, became the spoil of the invaders. The Mohammedans built themselves a new capital at Gaur.

Jaipal and the Mohammedan Invasions. Meanwhile, stirring events were occurring on the North-West Frontier. The rise of the Mohammedan religion will be described in the next book. The Hindus were well acquainted with the Arab rulers of Bagdad, and for a long time the Hindu kings had

been trading with the Mohammedan province of Sind. But now, in the mountains of Afghanistan, a new Mohammedan state had arisen with the little town Ghazni as its capital. The Amir of Ghazni, Sabuktigin, attracted by the fertile plains of the Punjab, invaded the country. He encountered a Rajput prince named Jaipal, whose capital was at Bhatinda, near the modern Patiala, and defeated him (A.D. 986). In A.D. 991 Jaipal formed a confederacy of Hindu princes, including the Parihar king of Kanauj, to repel the invader, but Sabuktigin won a great victory over the Rajputs, and captured the important frontier city of Peshawar.

Mahmud of Ghazni. In A.D. 997 Sabuktigin was succeeded by his son Mahmud, who assumed the title of Sultan of Ghazni. Mahmud was a great conqueror. Every cold weather he invaded the rich Indian territories, plundering and destroying. At the end of the campaigning season, he would retire over the passes laden with spoils and driving thousands of prisoners before him, including skilled artisans to erect buildings at Ghazni. So many poor captives perished in the passes that the mountains were called the Hindu Kush or 'Hindu slaying' mountains. In 1001, Mahmud captured Jaipal and his family. Jaipal was so ashamed that he burnt himself to death on a pyre; being a Rajput, he felt that he could not survive this dishonour.

Battle of Peshawar. Jaipal's son, Anandpal, was eager to avenge his father. He organized a confederacy consisting of the rulers of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kanauj, Delhi and Ajmir. The confederates took the field with a mighty host. For forty days the Rajputs and Muslims watched one another on the plain of Peshawar, and the Sultan was obliged to form an entrenched camp. The Rajputs stormed the camp, and were on the point of victory, when Anandpal's elephant took fright and ran away. The Rajput soldiers, thinking that this was a signal to retire, fell back. Immediately the Muslims charged them, and turned defeat into victory. The great fortress of Kangra

was taken, with much booty. This was the end of Rajput resistance for the time being.

Raids on Mathura and Somnath. After this, Mahmud made raid after raid upon India, which was now almost defenceless. In 1018, he captured the holy city of Mathura, sacred to the god Krishna. It contained a magnificent temple, of indescribable beauty and splendour. In this were 'five idols of red gold, each five yards high', and their eyes were formed of priceless rubies. Mahmud razed this and other temples to the ground. He now advanced against Kanauj, the capital of the Parihar Rajputs and the chief city of northern India. The Raja, Rajyapal, submitted, and this so angered the other Rajputs that they put him to death as a traitor. In the following year, Mahmud determined to punish them for this act, and advanced into the territory of Ganda Chandel, who had collected a mighty army to oppose him. But at the last moment Ganda Chandel's heart failed him, and he stole away in the night, leaving his camp and 580 war-elephants to fall into the hands of the Sultan. In 1024-5, Mahmud carried out his last and most remarkable raid. This was directed against the rich temple of Somnath, standing on the sea-coast of Kathiawar. In order to reach it, Mahmud had to cross the Rajputana desert. But, advancing by Multan and Ajmir, he managed to overcome all obstacles.

The Sack of Somnath. When Mahmud approached the edifice, he found it strongly fortified and the walls crowded with defenders, who defied him to attack them. The next morning the green banner of the Prophet was unfurled and the Muslims advanced with scaling ladders, while the archers kept up a heavy covering fire on the defenders. But as fast as they gained a footing, they were hurled down, until at last, worn out with fatigue, they retired. Meanwhile, the Rajput princes of Gujarat assembled an army, under the Raja of Anhilwar, to go to the relief of the temple. But the relieving force was repulsed, and a fresh attack was made. The

Brahmins crowded round the central shrine imploring the god to come to the aid of his worshippers, but this was of no avail. The storming party was at last successful and the temple was taken. Some of the defenders escaped, but most of them were put to the sword. The slaughter was terrible. The Hindus offered vast sums if the *lingam* were spared, but Mahmud said he was a breaker and not a seller of idols, and smashed it with his club. The booty captured at Somnath in gold and jewels of all kinds was enormous, and after great suffering from heat and thirst, the soldiers made their way home across the desert loaded with spoil.

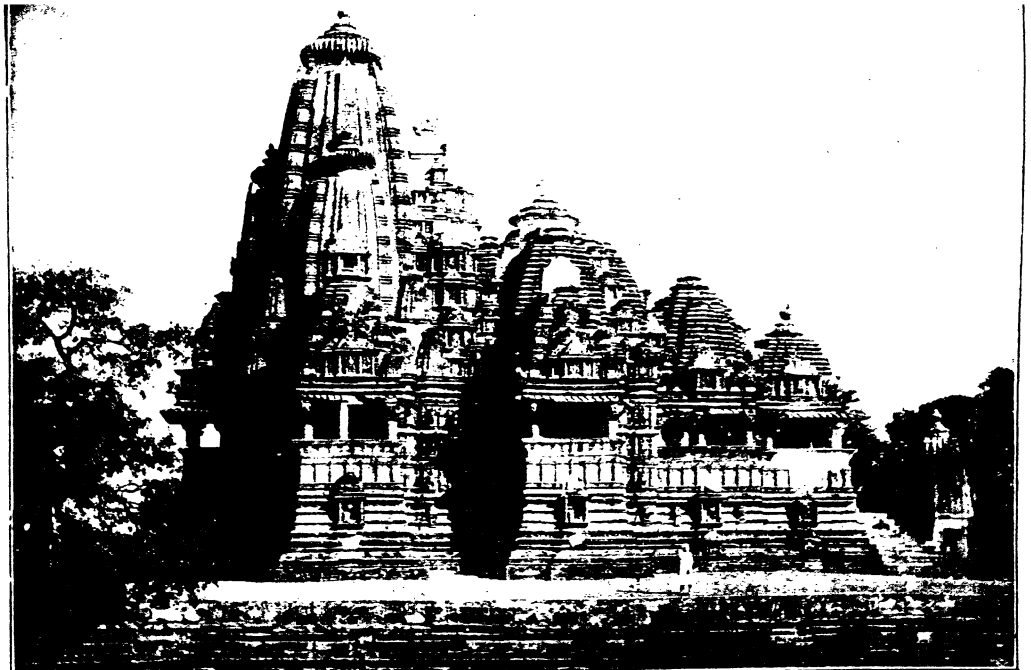
Death of Mahmud of Ghazni. This was the last important raid of Mahmud of Ghazni. He died in A.D. 1030. Though cruel and fanatical, he was a patron of art and literature. He adorned Ghazni with fine buildings and mosques, many of them erected by Hindu craftsmen whom he had taken prisoners. Among the writers at his court were the poet Firdausi, the author of the *Shah-Nama* or Book of Kings, which is the great national epic of Persia, and the celebrated scholar Alberuni, who wrote a most important work about India. Mahmud annexed the Punjab, but he did not make any attempt to occupy permanently the other parts of India.

Rajput Powers of the Twelfth Century. During the period succeeding the raids of Mahmud of Ghazni, several changes took place in India. The Rathors replaced the Parihars at Kanauj, and in A.D. 993 another Rajput tribe, the Tomaras, set up a new capital at Delhi, on the site where the Kutb now stands, and adorned it with many fine temples. The Gehlots or Sisodias had settled in Mewar, and had built the fortress of Chitor; but they did not rise into prominence until later.

Prithvi Raj, the Rajput Champion. In 1172 the great champion of Hinduism was Prithvi Raj. His grandfather was Visala Deva the Chauhan, who conquered Delhi from the Tomaras, and married his son Somesvara to the daughter of

the Tomara chief. From this union sprang Prithvi Raj. His first great exploit was the abduction of the princess of Kanauj. Her father, Jaichand the Rathor, claimed the proud title of *Chakravartin* or Universal Sovereign, and ordered all the princes of India to be present when he performed the horse sacrifice. Prithvi Raj refused, and Jaichand made a golden statue of him, which he set up at his gate to be his doorkeeper. But Prithvi Raj visited the court of Jaichand in disguise and fell in love with Jaichand's beautiful daughter. While a *svayamvara* was being held for the maiden's hand, Prithvi Raj, with a few chosen companions, rode boldly in, and seizing the princess, cut his way out and carried her off. He waged many wars against his neighbours, but the news of a fresh Mohammedan invasion led by Muhammad Ghori, who had succeeded to the throne of Mahmud of Ghazni, induced all the Hindus to lay aside their domestic quarrels and combine against the intruder.

The Battles of Tarain. In 1191, Prithvi Raj found himself the leader of a mighty army, to which every ruler in northern India had sent contingents. They waited for the invader at Tarain, in the legendary plain of Kurukshetra, the scene of so many battles in Indian history. The Mohammedans were defeated, the Sultan himself being wounded in the arm. Next year Muhammad Ghori returned, burning to avenge the disgrace. Unfortunately Jaichand and the Raja of Anhilwar held aloof, and this was fatal to the Rajput cause. Moreover, the Hindus still relied chiefly on their elephants, just as they had done in the days of Alexander the Great, and their infantry were untrained. The Mohammedan mounted infantry rode round the huge, unwieldy host, pouring in showers of arrows until they were thrown into confusion. Then the battle was decided by a charge of mail-clad Mussulman horsemen. Prithvi Raj was captured and put to death in cold blood. Ajmir was sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword or sold into slavery. After this, Delhi, Benares,



TEMPLE OF VISVANATH, KHAJURAHO

Gwalior and other places were taken and Bengal was overrun. Hindu dominion in Upper India was at an end.

The Chand Raisa. Prithvi Raj, or Rai Pithora as he is sometimes called, is the popular hero of northern India today, and his brave deeds are the subject of countless ballads, recited by the bards. The most famous of these is the Chand Raisa, originally composed by Prithvi Raj's friend and court poet Chand Bardai. It is said to contain 125,000 verses, but it has been added to from time to time.

General State of Art and Literature. The Rajput princes were orthodox Hindus, and only the Palas supported Buddhism, which finally disappeared from Indian soil after their defeat. Many of the Rajput rulers kept magnificent courts, and built splendid temples. Some of the most remarkable are the Khajuraho temples in Central India, built by the Chandel kings about A.D. 1000, and those at Konarak and Bhuvanesvar in Orissa. Literature and drama were encouraged by many rajas. Rajasekhara, who lived at the court of Mahendrapala of Kanauj and his successor Mahipala, wrote many amusing comedies, which are distinguished by their clever use of Prakrit. Raja Bhoja of Dhar and Visala Deva of Delhi were great patrons of literature and poetry, and their courts were full of scholars and artists. Kalhana, the author of the *Rajatarangini*, or Chronicle of Kashmir, lived at Srinagar about A.D. 1150. Jayadeva, the author of the *Gita Govinda*, a highly poetical description of the loves of Krishna and Radha, lived in Bengal at the court of Lakshmanasena about A.D. 1100. About this time, the Indian vernaculars began to develop from the Prakrits. The ballads sung by the Rajput bards are the earliest examples which we have of old Hindi.

Social Conditions. Of social conditions in Rajput India, we get a vivid picture from the pages of the learned Muslim writer Alberuni. Women were well educated, and took an active part in affairs. Girls learned to read and write, and studied Sanskrit, painting and music. The age of marriage,

however, was becoming earlier, and the dreadful custom of Sati was common among the Kshatriyas. The power of the Brahmins was increasing; the Vaisyas were regarded as Sudras, and religious rites were confined to the higher classes. Pilgrimages to holy places were popular, and Alberuni mentions particularly the *Lingam* at Somnath, the Idol of the Sun at Multan, and of Vishnu at Thanesar. People also went to rivers for bathing festivals, and the Hindu feasts at Dasara, Divali and Holi were observed. The higher classes looked on the gods as forms of the One God. Justice was mild; in civil cases, plaints were filed, and witnesses heard. Taxes were light; the land-tax was one-sixth of the crop, and the mercantile community paid income-tax. The chief defect of the Hindus, according to Alberuni, was their exclusiveness. They were too proud to learn from others. 'They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. According to their belief, there is no country but theirs, and no created being beside them has any knowledge of science whatever. . . . If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their minds, for their ancestors were not so narrow-minded.'

Causes of Mohammedan Success. There were many reasons for the comparative ease with which the Mohammedans overcame the Hindus, in spite of the splendid valour shown by the latter in the field. The Muslim armies were composed to a great extent of fierce, hardy, meat-eating tribes from Central Asia. Being far from home, they knew that there was no retreat; they must conquer or die. The Hindus were refined and highly civilized, and had been weakened by centuries of prosperity. Buddhism and Jainism, by their doctrines of *ahimsa*, had made the bulk of the people peace-loving and unwarlike, and content to leave the duty of defending their country to professional soldiers. The

Mohammedans, again, were united by their religion, which is simple, manly and warlike, and teaches that all members of it, regardless of race and rank, are brothers. Anyone who accepts Islam, no matter whether he is a slave or a nobleman, can rise to the highest rank: the Hindu must remain in the caste in which he is born. The Hindus are split up into numberless castes and sects. The Rajputs, though brave, were proud and indolent, and always quarrelling among themselves. It is possible that, had a strong emperor like Chandragupta or Harsha been reigning in northern India, things might have been different. But the Rajputs were too proud to submit to any overlord. Finally, the organization of the Indian army was clumsy and lacking in mobility. Whenever it was attacked by a mobile force of cavalry, it was quickly thrown into disorder.

Greater India : Java and Cambodia. Mention has been made already of Asoka's missions to Ceylon, and of the voyages of Buddhist merchants to the Persian Gulf and Alexandria on the West, and to Burma (*Suvarna Bhumi* or the Golden Chersonese) on the East. But Hindu colonists now began to push much farther afield and expeditions went by sea and formed settlements in Sumatra, Java, Bali, and even Cambodia on the east coast of Asia. These colonists came from both Gujarat and Kalinga or Orissa. A number of Hindu kingdoms sprang up which were united under the Sailendra dynasty. The Sailendra capital was at Srivijaya in Java, and it dominated the Eastern Archipelago until overthrown by the Mohammedans in about 1250. There are many Hindu and Buddhist remains in Java, but by far the finest is the wonderful Buddhist temple at Borobudur, built in A.D. 750. In Cambodia, an empire known as the Khmer empire was founded by Hindu settlers, which became very prosperous in the fifth century A.D. In A.D. 900 King Yasovarman built himself a capital, known as Angkor Thom or Yasodapura, and two centuries later a huge Saivite temple

at Angkor Vat was erected. The Chinese pilgrim, I-Tsing, who came from India to China by sea, mentions a whole chain of seaports, with Indian inhabitants, at which he halted. Voyages to the Chinese coast were quite common, and Buddhist missionaries and traders visited Japan from time to time. Hindus of the higher castes were forbidden to cross the water, but this did not apply to Jains and Buddhists, or to the mercantile classes. The spread of Hindu culture in the wake of these pioneers, and its civilizing effect upon the peoples of south-eastern Asia, is one of the most important episodes in the history of medieval India.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 750	Rise of the Pala Dynasty of Bengal.
816	Foundation of the Parihar Kingdom.
840-90	Bhoja King of Kanauj.
993	Foundation of Delhi.
997	Mahmud becomes Sultan of Ghazni.
1001	Mahmud of Ghazni defeats Jaipal.
1008	Mahmud of Ghazni defeats Anandpal and takes Kangra.
1019	Defeat of Rajyapal Parihar and conquest of Kanauj.
1018-61	Bhoja King of Malwa.
1025	Mahmud sacks Somnath.
1030	Death of Mahmud of Ghazni.
1163	Rise of the Chauhan Rajputs.
1173	Accession of Muhammad Ghori.
1191-2	Battle of the Tarain, near Thanesar. Prithvi Raj Chauhan defeated and slain by Muhammad Ghori. Ajmir, Delhi and Benares taken.
1197-9	Bihar and Bengal sacked by the Mohammedans. End of the Pala and Sena dynasties.

1203	Surrender of Kalanjar in Bundelkhand. All northern India, except Gujarat and Rajputana, in Mohammedan hands.
1206	Murder of Muhammad Ghori.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN AND GUJARAT

Early History of the Deccan. In the olden days, the Deccan (*Dakshinapatha* or South Country) was separated from northern India by an almost impenetrable belt of dense jungle. Much later than this, an Alexandrian sea captain describes it as 'consisting of desert regions and vast mountains, swarming with wild beasts of every description—leopards, tigers, elephants, huge snakes, hyenas, and monkeys of various kinds.' The Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian says that it was impossible for the traveller to find his way without guides, who passed him on from one to another. In the *Ramayana*, the Deccan is spoken of as inhabited by 'Dasyus and Rakshasas' or demons. These were doubtless the aboriginal inhabitants, driven by the Aryan invaders to take refuge in these wild fastnesses, in parts of which their descendants may be found today. In the *Ramayana*, we doubtless find a poetical account of how Aryan civilization was carried into the Deccan by adventurous young princes, leading colonies of settlers and pioneers to seek new homes.

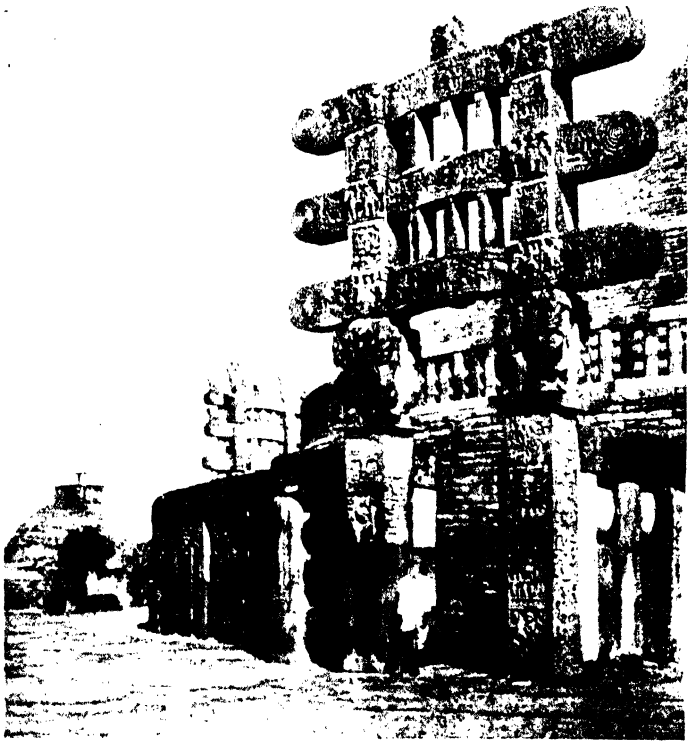
The Andhras. The earliest rulers of the Deccan of whom we know anything definite are the Andhras, a Dravidian race, now represented by the Telugus, dwelling between the estuaries of the Godavari and Krishna rivers. In the days of Chandragupta Maurya, the Andhras are spoken of as powerful monarchs, with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants. The Andhras, together with the Bhojas,

Pitenikas, Rastikas, Pulindas and others, are enumerated among the nations brought under the 'Law of Piety' by Asoka. Hence we may conclude that the Andhras were at one time vassals of the Emperor Asoka, but regained their independence at the time of his death. In 28 B.C., we are told, an Andhra king killed the last of the Kanva rulers of Magadha. After this, the Andhra monarchs, who all claim to belong to the Satavahana or Satakarni family, rapidly extended their dominions as far as the sacred city of Nasik, at the source of the Godavari. During the next two or three centuries, the Andhras were constantly increasing their power. Their greatest king, Gautamiputra Sri Satakarni, drove the Saka rulers out of Gujarat, and ruled over the whole country watered by the Godavari, together with Berar, Malwa, Kathiawar, Gujarat and the Konkan. This was about A.D. 120. A few years later, his son, Sri Pulumayi, made war on Rudradaman, the powerful Satrap of Ujjain, whose daughter he married. The long line of Andhra kings came to an end about A.D. 225.

The Deccan under Andhra Rule : Buddhist Monasteries. Many people in the Deccan had been converted by Asoka's missionaries, and the Andhras, though themselves orthodox Hindus, were liberal patrons of Buddhism, and there was little or no antagonism between the two religions. One of the most remarkable features of the country is the number of caves which were excavated in the side of the Ghauts to serve as monasteries or *viharas* for communities of Buddhist monks. These were often very elaborate. In the centre was a spacious Chaitya hall or chapel, often with rows of pillars at the two sides. It contained a stupa, which enshrined some sacred relics. All around the central hall were cells and living-rooms for the monks. Fine specimens of these monasteries, carved out of the living rock with infinite labour, are to be seen at Karli near Poona, Nasik, Kanheri and other places. They were amply endowed by

the kings, and the trade gilds and mercantile communities contributed generously to the work of constructing them.

Prosperity. The Deccan prospered greatly under the



EAST GATEWAY AND RAILING OF THE MAIN STUPA, SANCHI, WITH SMALLER STUPA IN BACKGROUND

Andhras. The population was very mixed. Besides the various indigenous tribes and ruling families there were

Sakas, Yavanas and other foreigners. Trade flourished. Along the western coasts were a number of ports, at Broach, Kalyan, Thana, Supara and other places, which were filled with shipping going to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian coast. To these came the Greeks from Alexandria, bringing wine and glass and specie, and taking in exchange the onyx stones, fine muslins and scents and unguents beloved by the Roman ladies. Good roads ran over the Ghauts to the



CAVE TEMPLE, KARLI

inland marts of Tagara and Paithan, which were the depots for trade with northern India and the Bay of Bengal. Paithan is described as 'the jewel and glory of Maharashtra', with rich palaces, cool temples, wide roads, strong walls and moats, and white market places. The Andhras struck their own coins, of gold, silver and copper, and some of these bear the emblem of a ship. The inscriptions mention many classes of merchants and tradesmen, such as heads of caravans (*sarthavaha*), goldsmiths, druggists and others, and also clerks and physicians. Craft gilds (*sreni*) were

numerous and powerful. They acted as bankers, and money for public endowments was invested with them. They regulated hours of work and pay, and provided for the education of the children of the members. The affairs of the gild were managed by an assembly of the members, presided over by the chief *seth* or merchant. Members found guilty of breaking rules were fined, and the money was devoted to charitable purposes.

The Government. For purposes of government, the country was divided into *rashtras* or districts, and these were under feudatory chieftains, the Mahabhojas being in charge of the northern Konkan, and the Maharathas of the country above the Ghauts. Under them were officials called Amatyas, Mahamatras, and Bhandagarikas or Treasury Officers. The lower orders were divided into households, each with its headman. The capital was at Nasik, a place of great sanctity, as here the Godavari river is said to rise. It is a famous centre for pilgrimages, and has many temples and Brahmin priests. The Andhra kings were patrons of literature, and the Maharashtri Prakrit, which originated in Berar and was commonly used at their court, was said to be the purest of the five great Prakrit dialects. The *Sattasai*, an anthology of love lyrics in Prakrit by the poet Hala, is said to have been composed in the Deccan in the time of the Andhras.

The Fall of the Andhras. The fall of the Andhras led, as usual, to the break up of their empire, and a number of races sprang into power in various parts of their dominions. These persisted with varying fortunes until the end of the sixth century A.D., when they were absorbed in their turn into the rule of the all-conquering Chalukyas. The most important of these were the Abhiras and Traikutakas of the western Deccan, the Vakatakas and Kalachuris of the centre and east, and the Kadambas and Gangas of the Kanarese districts. Of these, the Vakatakas were especially

important, because they were related by marriage to the Imperial Guptas, and, owing to their central position, were the channel by which the art and culture of the great northern empire were transmitted to the Deccan, and to the Pallavas of the south.

The Chalukyas of Badami. The Chalukyas were one of the most powerful of the later dynasties which ruled in the Deccan. They claimed to be Rajputs from western Rajputana but it appears to be more probable that their ancestors were originally Gujaras who found their way into the Punjab from Iran. Many branches of the tribe ruled in Gujarat and various parts of the Deccan from time to time. Probably Pulakesin I, the first independent ruler of the line, was descended from a military adventurer from the north, who had taken service under the Kadamba king of Banavasi in the North Kanara district. Pulakesin took an opportunity to revolt, and set up a capital at Badami or Vatapi in the Bijapur district, about A.D. 550. His grandson, Pulakesin II (A.D. 608-42), was a mighty warrior, who soon reduced to submission practically the whole of the old Andhra kingdom. He was a very capable ruler. He was a contemporary of Harsha of Kanauj, and when Harsha tried to invade the Deccan, Pulakesin beat him off. The Narbada was the boundary between the two kingdoms.

Visit of Hiuen Tsang to the Deccan. Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese traveller, paid a visit to the Deccan in A.D. 641. At that time Pulakesin's court was at Nasik, and the traveller had much difficulty in finding his way through the dense, robber-infested jungles. The country was then known by its present name of Maharashtra. Hiuen Tsang was profoundly impressed by the benevolent rule of Pulakesin and the loyalty of his vassals. He gives us an interesting account of the people. 'Their manners', he says, 'are simple and honest. They are tall, haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service

may count on their gratitude, but he who offends them will not escape their revenge. If anyone insults them, they will risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If one applies to them in difficulty, they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which, each dons his cuirass, and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle, they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life.' Pulakesin's fame was such that it reached the ears of Khusru II, King of Persia, with whom he doubtless had commercial relations. Pulakesin sent ambassadors to Khusru and exchanged letters and presents with him.

Death of Pulakesin. Hiuen Tsang was greatly struck by Pulakesin's army, and tells us that 'the martial heroes who led the van went into battle intoxicated, and the elephants were also made drunk before an engagement. Relying on the strength of his heroes and his elephants, the king treated neighbouring countries with contempt.' Very shortly after this, his inveterate foe, the Pallava king Narasimhavarman, suddenly invaded the country while the bulk of the Chalukya forces were in the north, and 'wrote the word Victory on Pulakesin's back, which was turned in flight, as upon a plate'. He savagely destroyed Vatapi, putting the inhabitants to the sword, contrary to the laws of Manu, which bid the conqueror to spare gods and Brahmins and the civil population. Pulakesin appears to have fallen in battle, and the Chalukya empire at once began to fall to pieces, as the remoter provinces threw off the yoke. For about twelve years the Deccan was in a state of anarchy, but afterwards it partially recovered, and in 674 the Chalukya king Vikramaditya took Kanchi, the Pallava capital. The struggle went on, with

varying fortunes, until A.D. 757, when the Chalukyas, who had now split up into a number of dynasties, were again overthrown, this time by the Rashtrakutas.

The Deccan under Chalukya Rule : Decline of Buddhism. Under the Chalukyas, Buddhism was steadily declining, and was being replaced by Brahminism and Jainism. The Jains were particularly numerous in the Kanarese districts of the southern Deccan. The Ganga dynasty, which reigned in Mysore from the second to the eleventh century, zealously



HEAD OF STATUE OF GOMATA, SRAVANA BELGOLA

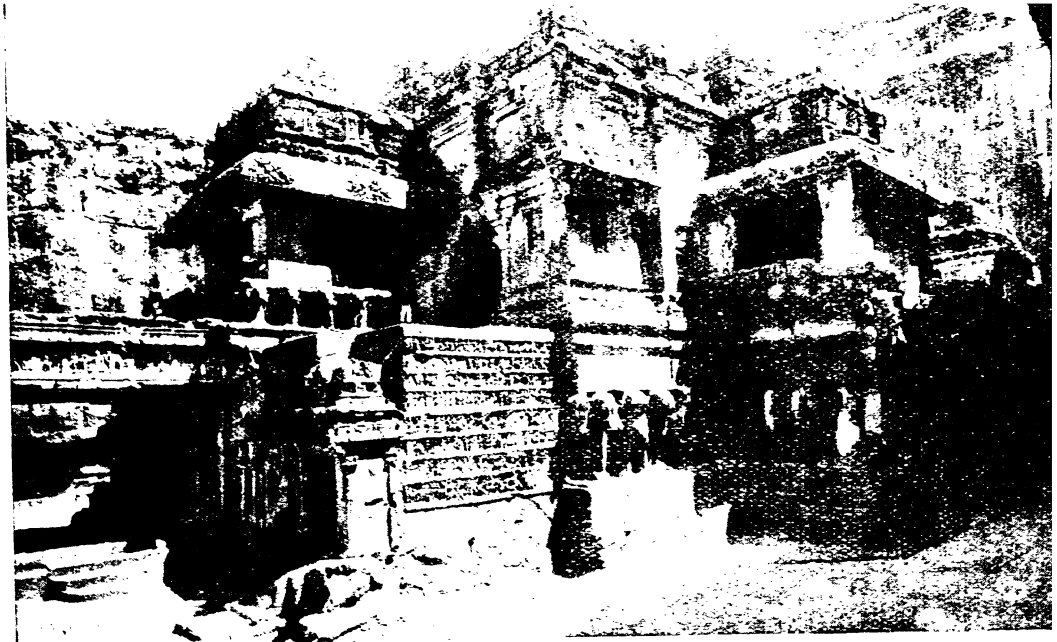
patronized the Jains, and erected some colossal Jain statues, hewn out of single blocks of granite, in various parts of their dominions. The most striking of these is a statue of the Jain saint Gomata, 56 feet high, on a hill at a place called Sravana Belgola. The Brahminical forms of worship were revived in the Deccan, and magnificent temples were erected to Shiva and Vishnu. The practice of excavating cave temples in the hillsides was also copied by the Hindus and Jains from the Buddhists, and specimens are to be seen at Badami, Ellora, and Elephanta. The Elephanta cave temple, with its colossal *trimurti*, or three-headed image of Shiva, Vishnu and Brahma, is especially striking. But the

palm must be given to the magnificent caves at Ajanta, with their marvellous carvings and still more wonderful mural paintings, which may be dated between A.D. 550 and 642. These are the latest and most splendid monuments of Buddhist art in India.[1]

Arrival of the Parsees. Another event of the period which should be mentioned is the arrival in A.D. 735 of the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers, the ancestors of the Parsees. They were driven out of Khorasan by the Mohammedans, and settled at Sanjan in Gujarat in A.D. 735, where they were kindly received, on condition that they complied with certain Hindu customs, e.g. not eating beef. About this time, or earlier, a small body of Christians from Syria settled on the coast of Malabar.

The Rashtrakutas. The Rashtrakutas, who overthrew the Chalukyas in A.D. 757, were an indigenous race, the descendants of the feudatory nobles who governed a portion of the Deccan under the Andhras. Like their predecessors, they spent most of their time in wars with their neighbours. One of the earliest of the Rashtrakuta kings, Krishna I, was responsible for making the famous Kailasa temple at Ellora. This temple was formed by cutting away the hillside so as to leave a solid block of stone, which was then carved into shape and adorned with sculptures. It is one of the architectural wonders of India. The most famous of the Rashtrakuta kings was Amoghavarsha (A.D. 815-77), or Vallabha Rai, as he is sometimes called. The Rashtrakuta empire at the time of its greatest power stretched from sea to sea and was extremely rich and prosperous. It included the greater part of the Bombay Presidency, and was visited by Arabian travellers and merchants. The ports on the west coast maintained a flourishing trade with the Persian Gulf and the Arabs of Sind. The Rashtrakutas were overthrown in A.D. 973.

[1] See frontispiece.

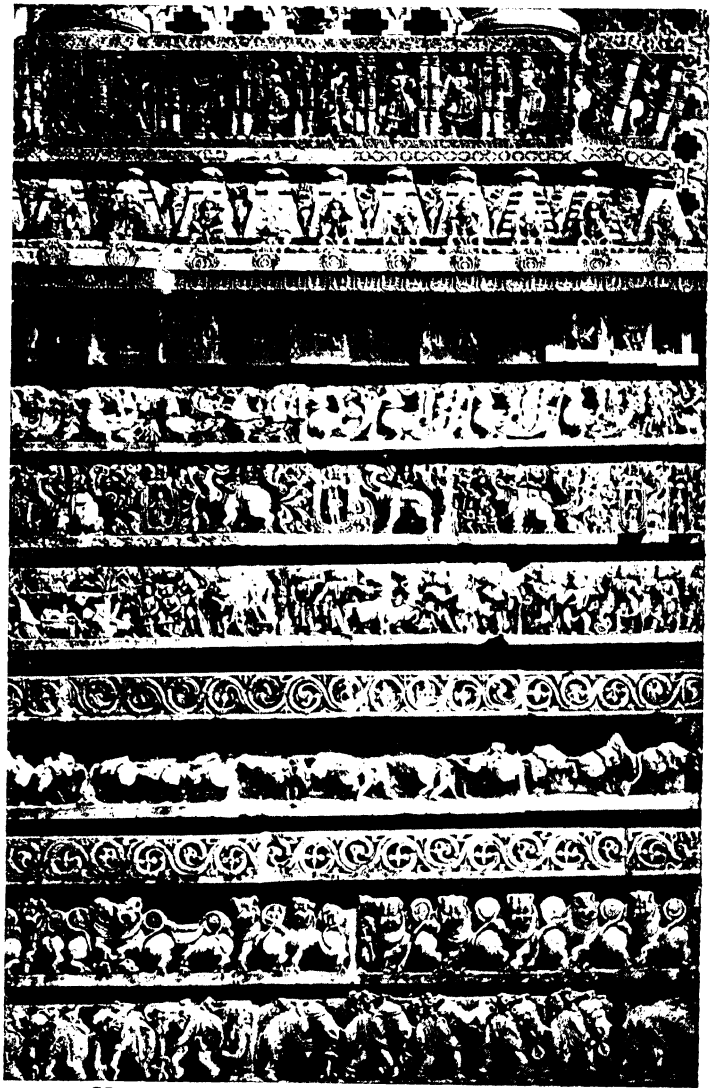


ROCK-CUT KAILASA TEMPLE AT ELLORA, *c.* A.D. 760

The Restored Chalukyas of Kalyani. From A.D. 973 to about 1200, the Deccan was governed by a restored branch of the Chalukyas, whose capital was at Kalyani in the Nizam's dominions. The most famous king of this dynasty was Vikramaditya, who reigned from A.D. 1076 to 1126, and carried on successful wars against his Chola and Pallava rivals. The most important event of the period was the rise, about A.D. 1167, of the reformed Hindu sect known as the Vira-Shaivas or Lingayats. This sect was said to have been founded by Basava, the Brahmin minister of a usurping raja named Bijjala, as the result of a double revolt against the tyranny of the Brahmin priesthood and the heretical beliefs of the Jains. According to one story, Bijjala, who was a Jain, persecuted the Lingayats and was assassinated. The Lingayats, who are still numerous in the Kanarese country, worship Shiva in the form of the *lingam*, and reject Brahminism and the authority of the Vedas.

The Hoysalas. The Hoysalas were a Mysore family, whose capital was at Dorasamudra, the modern Halebid. Bittiga, the first ruler of this line, was a great conqueror. He was an ardent devotee of the Jain religion, and rebuilt many Jain temples which had been destroyed in the wars. But his successor Vishnuvardhana was converted to the worship of Vishnu by the celebrated philosopher Ramanuja, and built some magnificent temples at Halebid and Belur, in a new style of architecture, which have been greatly admired.

The Yadavas. The great rivals of the Hoysalas were the Yadavas of Devagiri or Daulatabad in the Nizam's dominions. Both dynasties were overthrown by the Mohammedan invaders. In 1294, Ala-ud-din, nephew of the Sultan of Delhi, crossed the Narbada and forced the Yadava ruler, whose name was Ramchandra, to ransom his life for six hundred maunds of pearls and other precious stones. His son-in-law Harpala, who rebelled in 1318, was flayed alive. In 1310, another Mohammedan force, under a general named Malik Kafur,

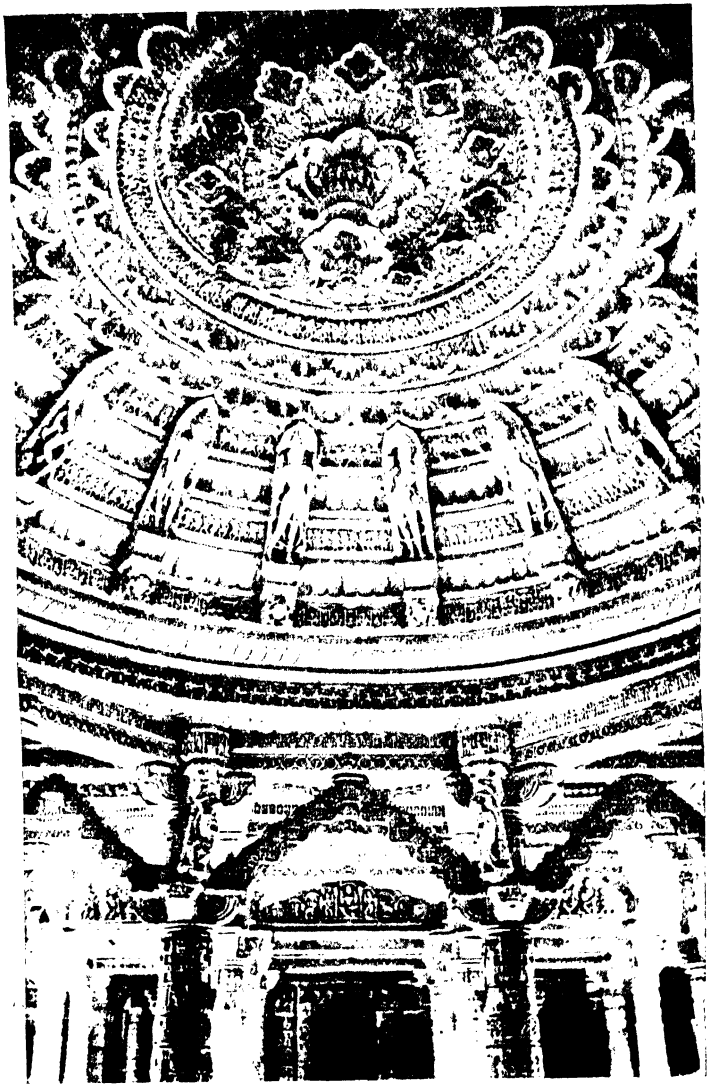


SCULPTURES ON HOYSALESVARA TEMPLE, HALEBID
(Twelfth Century)

plundered the Hoysala capital. He afterwards overran the Coromandel coast and sacked Madura, inflicting horrible cruelties on the inhabitants. He returned to Delhi laden with plunder, which is a proof of the prosperity of the country. In 1327, Halebid was destroyed by Muhammad bin Tughlak.

Religious and Literary Movements. During the reign of Ramchandra lived the famous Sanskrit jurist Hemadri or Hemadpant, who wrote many works dealing with Hindu rites and ceremonies. He is said to have built many temples, and to have introduced the *modi* or cursive script into Maharashtra. It was during the reign of the same monarch that the first Marathi poem, the *Gita* of Jnaneshwar, was composed at Alandi in the Deccan. Another early Marathi poet was Namdev, a votary of the god Vithoba at the temple of Pandharpur. Both Pandharpur and Alandi became famous places of pilgrimage in the Deccan.

Gujarat. Gujarat, the land of the Gujaras, is the fertile country between the Western Ghauts and the sea, north of the Tapti river. With Gujarat is often included the peninsula of Kathiawar or Surashtra. It was one of the provinces of the Maurya Empire, and when that broke up, it was invaded by Yavanas from the Punjab, and Pallavas and Sakas from Seistan. It was under the rule of Saka princes, known as the Great Satraps, and was taken from them by the Guptas; when the Gupta Empire dissolved it was once more overrun by invading hordes of Hunas and Gujaras, who gave the country its present name. A dynasty which took the title of Maitraka (perhaps worshippers of Mitra, the Iranian Sun God) arose at Valabhi in Kathiawar, and became subordinate to Harsha. This kingdom acquired great wealth and importance and was a renowned centre of learning. After the overthrow of the Maitrakas of Valabhi, their place was taken by the Chalukyas or Solankis, kinsmen, no doubt, of the Deccan rulers of the same name. Their capital was at Anhilwar.



WHITE MARBLE CEILING OF VIMALASAHA TEMPLE, MOUNT ABU
(A.D. 1031)

the modern Patan. It was during the reign of this dynasty that Mahmud of Ghazni invaded the country in A.D. 1024 and plundered the temple of Somnath, carrying away huge treasures of gold and jewels. Their greatest king was Siddharaja, who came to the throne in A.D. 1094. Siddharaja was a great admirer of the Jains, and was the patron of the famous Jain scholar Hemachandra, who lived at his court. He was succeeded by a king named Kumarapala, who also favoured the Jains. During this period, both the kings and the rich Jain merchants built beautiful temples in great abundance, in a very rich and ornate style. Some of these crown the sacred hills of Girnar and Satrunjaya in Kathiawar, and others may be seen in various parts of Gujarat. Perhaps the most wonderful of all of them are the Dilwara temples at Mount Abu, built of white marble and carved in an exquisite manner. The Solanki raja defeated Muhammad of Ghori with great slaughter, but Anhilwar was captured by the Muslims in 1197 and eventually Gujarat became a province of the Empire of Delhi.

LEADING DATES

230 B.C.-A.D. 225	Andhra dynasty rules over the Deccan. Capital at Nasik.
A.D. 550	The Chalukya dynasty. Pulakesin I. Capitals at Vatapi (Badami) and Nasik.
608-42	Pulakesin II.
620	Repulse of Harsha.
625	Visit of Persian Embassy.
641	Visit of Hiuen Tsang to the Deccan.
642	Pulakesin II defeated and killed by the Pallavas.
757-973	The Rashtrakuta dynasty.
760	Krishna I builds the Kailasa temple at Ellora.

973-1190	The restored Chalukyas.
1000	Rajaraja Chola invades the Deccan.
1111-1327	The Hoysala dynasty.
1167	Rise of the Lingayat sect.
1191-1318	The Yadava dynasty of Devagiri.
1310	Capture of Halebid by Malik Kafur.
1318	Overthrow of the Yadavas by Mubarak Shah.
1327	Destruction of Halebid by Muhammad bin Tughlak.

CHAPTER IX

THE TAMIL KINGDOMS OF SOUTHERN INDIA

The Tamil Country. The Dravidian or Tamil country lies to the south of the Krishna river, and has a distinct culture and literature of its own. Its languages are totally different from those of the Aryan north, from which it was separated by the hills and forests of the Deccan. We do not know very much about its early history, but apparently a few bodies of Aryan missionaries or colonists found their way southwards, probably along the east coast, at a very early date. One of these is said to have been led by the Vedic Rishi Agastya. They sought to introduce Hindu customs and religious ceremonial, but these were only accepted in a modified form. The caste system, and the laws of marriage and inheritance, differed greatly from those of the north.

The Three Kingdoms. At the earliest time of which we know, the Tamil country was divided into three kingdoms, the Keralas or Cheras of the Malabar coast, the Pandyas of the south, and the Cholas of the east or Coromandel[1] coast. Besides these, there were a number of small, independent rulers, probably of aboriginal tribes, in the hilly country of the centre, who were constantly at war with their Dravidian neighbours.

[1] Coromandel is a corruption of *Chola mandalam*.

The Tamil country was very rich, owing to its overseas trade. It produced spices, pepper, cotton goods, precious stones, pearls and gold, all of which were eagerly sought after by nations of the West. As early as 800 B.C. the Jewish king Solomon sent ships to southern India to fetch 'ivory, apes and peacocks', to adorn his palaces.

Early Culture : Literature and Art. About 309 B.C., a party of Jain emigrants from northern India, under a leader named Bhadrabahu, found their way to Sravana Belgola in Mysore, and formed a settlement there. Jainism was very popular in southern India for a long time. In 259 B.C., the Emperor Asoka, the southern boundary of whose realm was probably the Pennar river, sent Buddhist missionaries to 'the Pandyas, Cholas and Keralaputras, as far as the Tamraparni river', but Buddhism never had a great hold in the south, except in Ceylon. About the time of the beginning of the Christian era, a number of academies (*sangam*) of Tamil literature sprang up. The chief of these was at Madura, the capital of the Pandya kingdom. Among the many religious works in the Tamil language, the most famous is the *Kural*, which is attributed to a poor weaver called Tiruvalluvar. He is said to have lived about A.D. 200. It has been called 'the Bible of the South', 'the most venerated and popular book south of the Godavari'. It contains over 1,300 short poems on religious and moral subjects. Its teaching stands above caste, creed and race. Here is an English translation of one of the poems from the *Kural* :—

How good are they who bear with scorn,
And think not to return it !
They're like the earth that giveth corn
To those who dig and burn it.

Though men should injure you, their pain
Should lead you to compassion :
Do nought but good to them again,
Else look to thy transgression.

Nearly all Tamil poetry consists of lyrical hymns composed by leaders of the various religious sects for their followers. Manikka Vachakar, who lived in the tenth century A.D., wrote the *Tiruvachakam* or hymns in honour of Shiva, of which it has been said, 'He whose heart is not melted by the *Tiruvachakam*, must have a heart of stone.' These hymns are used in the daily worship in Shaivite temples. Meanwhile, the twelve Alvars wrote some equally beautiful hymns in honour of Vishnu, in which salvation is offered to all men, irrespective of caste, who believe in him. The greatest of the Alvars was Tiru Mangai, and one of them was a woman, named Andal. Saint Andal was a devotee of Krishna. All these Tamil poets taught that salvation could be obtained by *bhakti* or personal devotion to God. Sanskrit poems like the *Mahabharata* were translated into Tamil. Besides poetry, music, painting and sculpture were cultivated, and a Tamil theatre, in which dramas of both the Dravidian and Aryan type were produced, was encouraged by some of the royal courts.

Commerce. The Tamils owed much of their prosperity to trade with the Roman Empire. In 27 B.C. Augustus made himself first Emperor of Rome, and the Romans became the masters of the western world. This led to peace all over the Empire, and encouraged commerce. The great centre of trade was Alexandria. Roman merchants from Alexandria went to Aden, and from Aden to the Malabar coast and Ceylon. The chief port on the Malabar coast was Cranganore. The Romans bought pepper, spices, cotton cloth, various kinds of precious stones such as beryls and diamonds and pearls, and paid for them in gold coin. Many Roman coins have been found, and it is even thought that there were Roman colonies at Madura and other places. A Tamil poet writes about 'the beautiful large ships of the Greeks, bringing gold, which come splashing the waters of the Periyar, and return laden with pepper'. In 20 B.C. a Pandya king sent an embassy

to Augustus, offering free passage to all Roman citizens through his dominions. The Tamil kings themselves maintained large navies, which sailed across the Bay of Bengal, and traded with Ceylon, Burma, Java, Sumatra and the Far East.

Early History. Nothing is known definitely about the early history of the Tamils. The first historical king is a Chola ruler named Karikal, who is supposed to have lived about A.D. 100. He invaded Ceylon, and brought back thousands of captives to work on the great dam of the Kaveri river, which he constructed. We gather that there were almost continuous wars between India and Ceylon, and also between the various Tamil rulers among themselves, but it is not possible to give any details.

The Pallavas. A new dynasty suddenly makes its appearance in the fourth century A.D. These are the Pallavas. No one knows how they originated. At first it was thought that they were Pahlavas or Parthians from north-western India, but this appears to be improbable. Some consider that they were an aboriginal tribe, whose original home, the Tondai mandalam, was in the district round Madras. Others hold that they were a branch of the Vakataka dynasty of the Deccan. Be this as it may, from A.D. 600 to 750 the Pallavas were the ruling power in southern India. Their territories comprised the modern districts of north and south Arcot, Chingleput, Trichinopoly and Tanjore, but from time to time they extended their rule far more widely. About A.D. 350 these intruders had established themselves at Kanchi (Conjeeveram) in the heart of the Chola country, but the earliest king of whom we know anything definite was Simhavishnu Pallava, about A.D. 550, who boasts of having conquered the Chola, Pandya and Chera kings, and the kings of Ceylon.

Wars with the Chalukyas. The Pallavas carried on a ferocious war with the Chalukyas. Usually, Indian campaigns

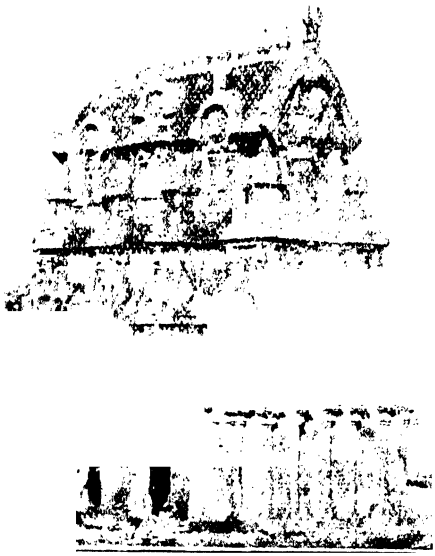
were waged by professional soldiers, just as the barons did in England in the Middle Ages, and the common people took little part in them. But in the wars between the Chalukyas and the Pallavas, each sacked the other's capital, sparing neither Brahmins, women nor children. In A.D. 610, the Chalukya king Pulakesin II took the province of Vengi, between the Krishna and Godavari rivers, from the Pallavas, but in 642 the Pallava king, Narasimhavarman, avenged the defeat by killing Pulakesin II, and levelling his capital to the ground.

Visit of Hiuen Tsang. In 640 Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi, the Pallava capital. He says that the language was different from that of the north, and the inhabitants were brave, trustworthy and public-spirited, and loved learning. The soil was fertile and well cultivated. The Chola country, on the other hand, was in a wild state, covered with jungle and haunted by brigands.

Overthrow of the Pallavas. After the defeat of Pulakesin II, the Chalukyas remained in a subdued condition for about thirteen years, while the Pallava king extended his dominions far into the Deccan, and became the leading ruler in southern India. He was in close alliance with the king of Ceylon, who sent troops to help him. In A.D. 740, however, the Chalukyas, who had recovered their power, captured Kanchi, taking much gold and rubies and multitudes of elephants. This greatly weakened the Pallavas, and in the next century the supremacy passed to the Cholas, who became the dominant power in the south. Thus passed away one of the most brilliant and interesting of the southern dynasties.

Pallava Culture. The Pallava kings were at first patrons of the Buddhist and Jain sects, but they were afterwards converted to the worship of Shiva. Their city of Kanchi was one of the sacred places of India, and was a noted centre of learning. It was strongly fortified, with moats and triple walls. It was well laid out, and contained many fine

temples. But the most characteristic Pallava works of art are at Mamallapuram, near Madras. These are the famous Seven Pagodas, constructed by king Narasimhavarman (A.D. 625-45), the conqueror of Pulakesin II. Like the Kailasa temple at Ellora, each of these is carved from a single boulder of rock. On the sides of other rocks are some wonderful relief



GANESA RATHA, ONE OF THE SEVEN PAGODAS

sculptures, the most notable being the famous one depicting the Descent of the Ganges.

The Rise of the Cholas. After the fall of the Pallavas, the Cholas became the leading dynasty in southern India. The first of the restored Chola line was Aditya, the conqueror of the Pallavas, but the most prominent ruler was **Rajaraja the Great**, who came to the throne in A.D. 985. He subdued the whole of the Madras Presidency, except Madura and Tinnevelly.

He had a powerful fleet, and annexed the Laccadive and Maldive Islands. In A.D. 1005 he sheathed his sword, and left the government to his son, the *yuvaraja* Rajendra Chola-deva. Rajendra, like his father, was a great conqueror, and defeated Mahipala, the ruler of Bihar and Bengal. He sent his fleet across the Bay of Bengal as far as Martaban in Burma and the Malay Peninsula. To commemorate his expedition to the banks of the Ganges, Rajendra built a new capital, which he called Gangaikonda Cholapuram, adorned with a magnificent palace, a gigantic temple and a vast lake. The Cholas, like the Pallavas, continued to carry on sanguinary wars against their northern neighbours, the Chalukyas of the Deccan, in which first one and then the other got the upper hand. In 1052, the Chalukyas defeated the Cholas in a great battle at Koppam on the Krishna river.

Chola Administration : Local Self-Government. The Chola kings were constitutional monarchs, and gave the people a share in the government of their own affairs. From very early times, their powers were limited by the 'five great assemblies' of people, priests, astrologers, physicians and ministers. A large degree of local self-government was permitted. The unit was the *kurram* or group of villages. Each group elected its own board (*mahasabha*) for one year, by drawing lots. This board had its own treasury, and was responsible for justice, irrigation, roads and village lands in its area. The important place given to the village assemblies assured the central government of popular support, and cultivated a sense of responsibility among the villagers. These village groups were combined to form Districts (*nadu*) and the districts, again, were combined into Divisions (*kottam*). These were managed by royal officers (*adhikari*). The whole kingdom was divided into six Provinces.

Revenue. The government took one-sixth of the produce of the land as revenue. Besides this, taxes were levied on imports, mines, etc., which proved a rich source of income.

The land was regularly surveyed. Payment was made in gold or in kind.

Chola Art. The Chola kings were magnificent builders. They constructed large artificial lakes, one of them being sixteen miles long, and knew how to erect dams across rivers for irrigation purposes. They built handsome temples, usually in the form of a hollow square with a tank in the middle. The finest specimen is that at Tanjore. The striking feature of the Tamil temples is the lofty tower or steeple (*gopuram*) over the gateway, which may often be seen for many miles. The single block of stone forming the summit of the tower of the Tanjore temple is 25½ feet square, and is said to weigh over 80 tons. In order to place it in position, a ramp four miles long had to be constructed. This gives us an idea of the mighty feats of engineering undertaken by the Cholas.

The Pandyas : Marco Polo. The Pandyas, who were in a subordinate position during the period of the Pallava and Chola ascendency, threw off Chola yoke, and during the thirteenth century were the foremost power in the south. The greatest of the Pandya kings was Sundara Pandya, who defeated the Hoysalas and made himself master over the whole peninsula. Their capital was at Madura, which was adorned with a noble temple. Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveller, twice visited the port of Kayal at the mouth of the Tamraparni river, in 1288 and 1293. He says it was a 'great and noble city'. He tells us that the reigning Pandya king had rich stores of pearls and precious stones. He ruled justly and encouraged foreigners to come and trade in his dominions. He also says that on the east coast a widowed queen was ruling who administered her realm 'as well as her husband did or better, and as she was a lover of justice, equity and peace, she was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before.' This was Queen Rudramma (1257-95) of the Ganapati dynasty of Warangal.



HINDU TEMPLE, MADURA (early Seventeenth Century)

Religious Reformers: Sankaracharya and Ramanuja. The later Pallavas and the Chola and Pandya kings were orthodox Hindus, and were mostly followers of Shiva. The Buddhist and Jain sects began to decay, and their buildings were converted into Hindu temples. It is said that the Pandya and Chola kings persecuted the Jains and put numbers of them to death. The overthrow of these heretical sects was probably due to a great extent to the preaching of two great religious reformers, Sankaracharya and Ramanuja. Sankaracharya, who is said to have been born in Malabar about A.D. 788, was the chief Acharya or teacher of the Saivites. He was a great organizer, and went about the country founding *maths* or monasteries. He was a profound scholar, and wrote many commentaries upon the Hindu scriptures. He expounded the Vedanta school of philosophy. The central point of his teaching is the doctrine that nothing is real except Brahman, of which the human soul is part. Material objects are *maya* or illusion.

Ramanuja, the Vaishnava teacher, who lived about A.D. 1100, was the chief opponent of Sankaracharya's doctrines. He was educated at Kanchi, and taught at Srirangam, near Trichinopoly. He converted the Hoysala king Vishnuvardhana from Jainism to Hinduism. Ramanuja taught that the Supreme Deity is Vishnu, who, out of love for humanity, from time to time comes to earth in human incarnations or *avatars* for the salvation of mankind. Ramanuja's teaching included very rigid rules for bathing, eating and living, which prevented it from being popular in northern India, where people were less orthodox and strict about these matters than in the south.

LEADING DATES

A.D.	600-750	The Pallava dynasty of Kanchi.
	642	Narasimhavarman defeats Pulakesin II, and builds the 'seven pagodas' at Mamallapuram.

740	Defeat of the Pallavas by the Chalukyas.
907-1053	The Chola dynasty.
985	Accession of Rajaraja the Great.
1023	Expedition of Rajendra Choladeva to Bengal.
1052	Battle of Koppam: Cholas defeated by Chalukyas.
1160	Rise of the Vira Saiva or Lingayat sect.
1251-1310	Rise of the Pandya dynasty.
1288, 1293	Visits of Marco Polo to southern India.
1302-1311	Southern Campaigns of Malik Kafur.
1318	Overthrow of the Yadavas by Mubarak Shah.
1327	Overthrow of the Hoysalas by Muhammad bin Tughlak.

BOOK II

MEDIEVAL INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE MUSLIM CONQUEST OF NORTHERN INDIA, 1175-1526

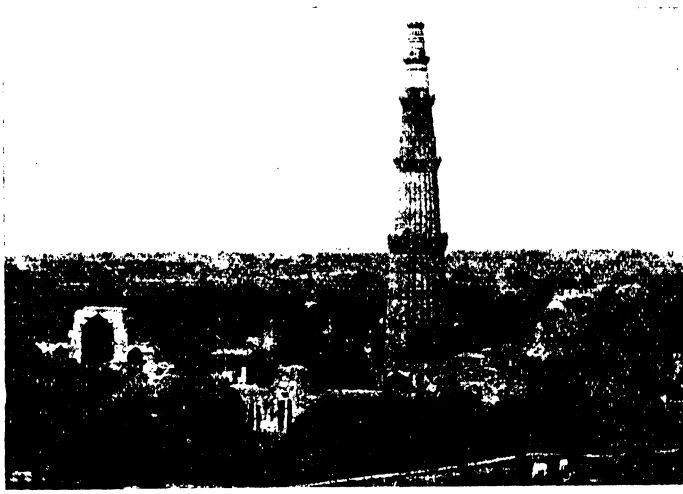
The Rise of Mohammed. The rise of Mohammedanism is one of the most extraordinary events in the world. It changed the whole history of Asia, just as, in another way, Christianity had changed the history of Europe. Mohammed was a native of Mecca in Arabia, near the Red Sea coast. Arabia in the seventh century after Christ was distracted by tribal wars and dissensions, and the people were idolaters. Then Mohammed proclaimed himself as an Apostle, sent to recall the people of Arabia to the worship of the One God. But he was fifty years of age before he acquired any followers outside his own family circle. The people of Mecca were so hostile that he had to retire to the neighbouring town of Medina. This was called the year of the Hijra or Flight, and the year in which it happened, A.D. 622, is the beginning of the Mohammedan era. But after this, the tide began to turn, and when Mohammed died ten years later, in A.D. 632, he had been accepted as the Prophet and divinely appointed leader of the Arab race. His successors, the Khalifas or Caliphs, then led the Arabs against the neighbouring countries. The Byzantine and Sassanian empires of Asia Minor and Persia were overthrown. Within one hundred years of the Prophet's death, the Arabs had also overrun Egypt, northern

Africa and Spain in the West, and Turkestan in the East. Mohammedanism was a militant religion: its followers thought it to be their mission to convert those with whom they came into contact, and war against unbelievers was a Holy War, to die in which was to go straight to paradise as a martyr.

The Caliphate of Bagdad. When the first wave of conquest was spent, the Arabs settled at various places as wide apart as Alexandria, Damascus, and Cordova in Spain, where they built splendid capitals with beautiful mosques and palaces, and became patrons of art and literature. One of the most famous was Bagdad, where the great Caliph Harun al Rashid reigned from A.D. 781 to 805. Bagdad became a centre of learning, frequented by travellers from India and other parts of the world, and Greek and Indian books were translated into Arabic by order of the Caliphs. In this way, many Indian treatises on astronomy, medicine and other subjects reached Europe. In A.D. 711, the Arabs were provoked by the seizure of one of their ships by the Hindu king of Sind, Raja Dahar. They sent an expedition under Muhammad bin Kasim, which eventually conquered the country, but they were unable to advance farther to the east, owing to the Rajputana desert and the strong Parihar kingdom of Kanauj. They kept on friendly terms with the Hindu Rajas of Gujarat and the Deccan, with whom they traded.

The Turks. After a time, however, the Mohammedan religion spread to the wild nomad tribes of Central Asia, the Turks and Mongols. These were fierce, warlike men, simple and fanatical and, like all people brought up in the mountains, extremely hardy, and excellent soldiers. They easily defeated the more civilized inhabitants of the plains. In 1258 the Mongols sacked Bagdad, and put the Caliph to death. In the tenth century a Turkish slave founded a kingdom of his own at Ghazni, between Kabul and Kandahar. His fourth successor was Sabuktigin, whose son was the famous Mahmud of Ghazni (born A.D. 967 ; succeeded 997 ; died 1030). We have

read in the previous book of Mahmud's seventeen destructive raids on India. After the decline of the Ghaznavi dynasty came the rise of the kingdom of Ghor, a mountainous district between Ghazni and Herat. In 1150, Ghazni was taken and destroyed, and Muhammad Ghori and his general, the ex-slave Kutb-ud-din, overran, as we have seen, the whole of northern India, from Peshawar to the Bay of Bengal.



KUTB MINAR, DELHI (early Thirteenth Century)

The Slave Kings of Delhi, 1206-90

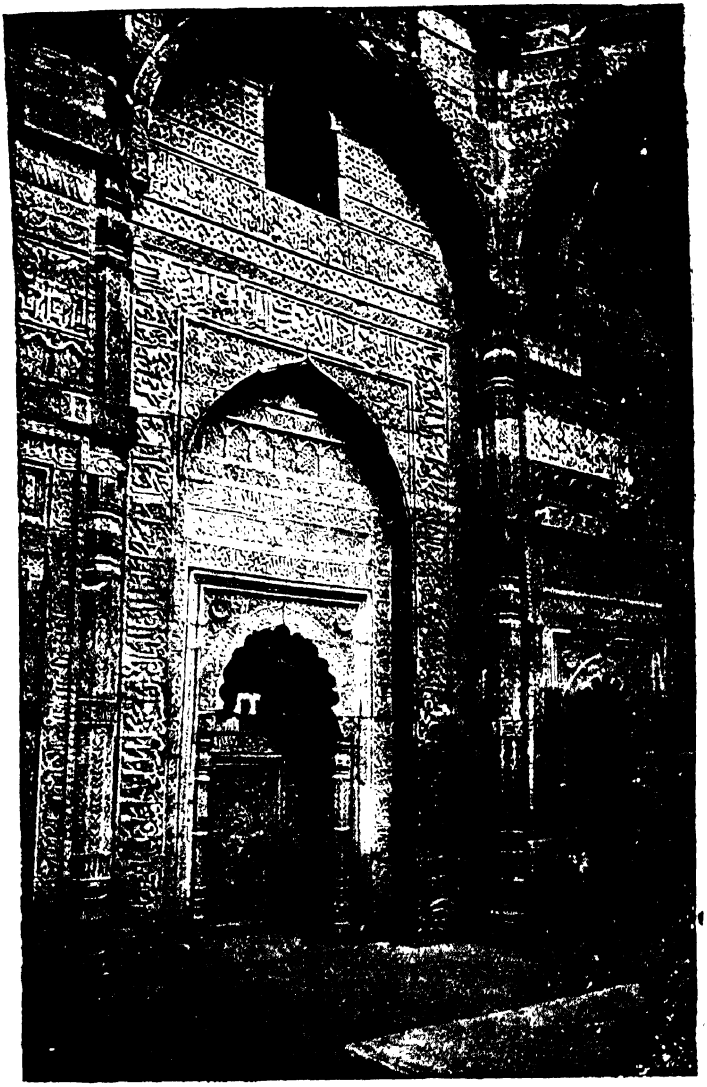
(1) Kutb-ud-din Aibak (1206-11). Kutb-ud-din Aibak had started life as a Turkoman slave, and had originally been the property of a rich merchant of Nishapur. His master soon discovered the lad's great abilities and sent him to school. After the death of the merchant, he fell into the hands of Muhammad Ghori. Aibak rose to high favour with his new master, and became his most trusted general and adviser.

It was said that an arrow fired from his bow caused the death of Raja Jaichand of Kanauj, and his lieutenant Muhammad Bakhtyar conquered Bengal and Bihar. For his services, Muhammad Ghori gave him the title of Kutb-ud-din or 'Polestar of the Faith'. After the murder of Muhammad Ghori by a fanatic in 1206, Kutb-ud-din Aibak became first Sultan of Delhi.

(2) Sultan Shams-ud-din Altamsh (1211-36). Kutb-ud-din Aibak having been killed by a fall from his horse in 1211, the nobles elected as his successor another Turki general who had started life as a slave, and had risen by his ability and bravery to be governor of Bihar. Altamsh, or Iltutmish as he was sometimes called, finished the great Kutb mosque at Delhi, which is largely constructed from remains of Hindu temples, and raised that wonderful tower, the Kutb Minar, with its amazing carvings. It is 238 feet high, with fluted sides, gradually tapering to the summit. The lower storeys are of red sandstone and the upper ones of white marble. It is visible for many miles.

In 1226, Altamsh was formally acknowledged as Sultan of India by the Caliph. During his reign, the Mongolian hordes under Chingiz Khan threatened to sweep down upon India, but fortunately they turned back at Peshawar and moved westwards instead.

(3) Sultana Raziyah-ud-din (1236-40). Sultan Altamsh took the unusual step of nominating his daughter, Raziyah-ud-din, as his successor. She was the first of the Mohammedan princesses, such as the Empress Nurjahan, the wife of Jahangir, Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar, and, in recent years, the late Begum of Bhopal, to take a prominent part in state affairs. We are told that she was 'a great sovereign, sagacious, just and beneficent, a patron of the learned, a dispenser of justice, the cherisher of her subjects, of warlike talent, and endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings.' She married a Turki chief in the hope that he



TOMB OF ALTAMSH

would be able to assist her. She commanded her troops in person, seated on an elephant in full armour. But she was no match for the jealous band of Turki chiefs, known as 'the Forty', who, moreover, hated being ruled over by a woman. In the end she was forced to flee, and eventually she and her husband were murdered by some peasants.

(4) Ghyas-ud-din Balban (1266-87). After the death of Sultana Raziyah, a period of anarchy ensued, and puppet rulers were set up and deposed by 'the Forty', in whose hands the real power lay. At last Ghyas-ud-din Balban, a man of lowly origin who had risen from being a slave and a water-carrier to the governorship of a province, was made Sultan. Balban was an old man, but he put down rebellion and misrule with ferocious severity. Rebels were impaled or trampled to death by elephants. Balban was a severe but just ruler. He defended the frontiers against the Mongols, and cut roads through the jungles to overawe the wild tribes. His death at the age of eighty was hastened by the news that his only son had fallen in battle against the Mongol invaders.

The Khilji Dynasty, 1290-1320

Jalal-ud-din Khilji (1290-6). After the death of Balban, anarchy once more prevailed, until the nobles raised to the throne another old man named Jalal-ud-din of the Khilji tribe. He was over seventy, and his wars were mostly conducted by his nephew, Ala-ud-din. A great Mongol invasion was repelled, and some of the invaders settled down near Delhi. During the latter part of the reign, Ala-ud-din conducted his famous invasion of the Deccan. He marched 700 miles into Berar, and forced the Yadava king Ramchandra to surrender. In 1296, he returned, laden with booty. The old king went out to welcome his victorious nephew and, while he was clasping his hand, Ala-ud-din basely caused him to be murdered by one of his followers.

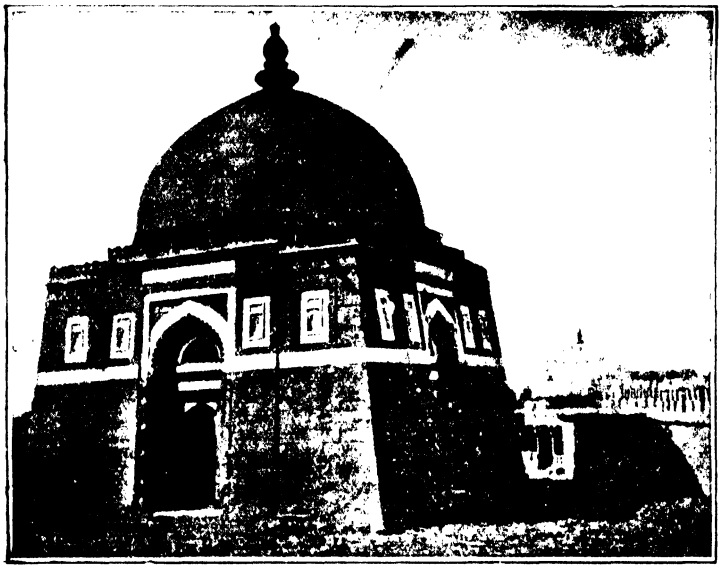
Ala-ud-din Khilji (1296-1315). Ala-ud-din advanced upon Delhi with his uncle's head held aloft upon a lance. He used his spoils in order to bribe the nobles to support him. Ala-ud-din was an able but unscrupulous man. He repelled five Mongol invasions, and in 1297, he put to death all their kinsmen who had settled in Delhi. He conducted a campaign against the Rajput fortresses of Chitor and Ranthambhor. Chitor underwent the first of its many sieges by the Mohammedans, and the women committed *jauhar* by casting themselves into the flames. He annexed Malwa and Gujarat. Malik Kafur, Ala-ud-din's low-born favourite, made a remarkable plundering raid into the heart of southern India between 1302 and 1311, in the course of which he overthrew the Yadava kingdom of Deogiri and the Hoysala kingdom of Mysore. He sacked the great Hindu temple of Madura, and returned with 300 elephants, 20,000 horses and 2,750 pounds of gold, besides loads of other plunder. Ala-ud-din devised special measures for 'grinding down the Hindus', and they were forbidden to ride on horses or carry arms. He tried to impose strict rules about drink and other infringements of the Koranic law and to restrain his turbulent nobles. In order to enforce his regulations, he employed an elaborate system of espionage. He had wild and ambitious dreams of universal conquest, and called himself a 'second Alexander'. He built the beautiful Alai Darawaza at Delhi, and the famous Persian poet, Amir Khusru, 'the parrot of Hind', lived at his court. He died, or was murdered, in 1315. He was succeeded by his son **Kutb-ud-din Mubarak** (1315-18), who seized and brutally flayed alive the Yadava Raja of Deogiri, Harpala, because he had rebelled. In 1318 he was murdered.

The Tughlak Dynasty, 1321-88

Ghyas-ud-din Tughlak (1321-5). After three years of anarchy, the nobles raised to the throne Ghyas-ud-din of the Tughlak family, often called Tughlak Shah, who was said to

have been the son of a Turki father and a Hindu mother. Ghyas-ud-din was a capable general, who kept his local governors under control. It is supposed that he was murdered by his son Muhammad, who succeeded him.

Muhammad Tughlak (1325-51). Muhammad Tughlak, who reigned for the unusually long period of over a quarter of a



TOMB OF TUGHLAK SHAH

century, was an extraordinary man, and we are fortunate in possessing a detailed account of him from the pen of the famous Arab traveller Ibn Batuta, who was at the court of Delhi from 1342 to 1347. Muhammad Tughlak was brilliant but eccentric; he was greatly exasperated by the rebellious behaviour of his subjects, and took terribly severe measures by way of punishing them. He has been described as a 'mixture of opposites', for at the same time he was a pious

Muslim, abstaining from wine and strictly conforming to the precepts of his religion in his private life. He was a good scholar, skilled in logic and mathematics, and an elegant letter-writer. He was fond of trying experiments in administration, which usually ended disastrously.

Evacuation of Delhi. One of his many arbitrary actions was to order the evacuation of the capital in 1326-7. This was partly done for economic reasons, as a severe famine had broken out, and the Sultan thought that it would be a good plan to remove the population to a more central position at Daulatabad or Deogiri, the old capital of the Yadava kings of the Deccan. Another reason was to punish the inhabitants for their disloyal and impudent behaviour. Two unhappy men, one blind and the other lame, who failed to obey, were seized. The lame man was shot from a catapult, and the blind man was dragged along the road until he perished. Then the Sultan mounted the roof of his palace, and, seeing not a fire or a light or smoke in the whole vast city, said, 'Now my heart is satisfied, and my feelings are appeased.' Finding, however, that the scheme had no good results, he tried to repopulate Delhi, but without much success, and the capital did not recover its prosperity for many years. Notwithstanding this failure, he tried to repeat it some ten years later, when famine again broke out.

Military Expenditure. Enormous sums of money were wasted on projects for the invasion of Persia and China by vast hordes of cavalry. Then the Mongols threatened Delhi, and had to be bought off by giving them blackmail. In order to meet current expenses, the Sultan issued a token currency in copper. Unfortunately it was easy to make counterfeit coins, and very soon the worthless tokens were piled up in huge heaps at Tughlakabad, 'of no more value than stones'. Rebellions followed, and were savagely suppressed. Oudh was ravaged, until the people fled to the jungles, and even then they were hunted out and slain. His nephew Baha-ud-din, who revolted,

was killed in a horrible manner, and his skin stuffed with straw, and exposed publicly. The same fate was meted out to a governor of Bengal who rebelled. But in spite of repression, Bengal and the province of Coromandel or Malabar in southern India became independent.

Ibn Batuta's Description. Ibn Batuta gives a character sketch of Muhammad bin Tughlak, which brings out both sides of the Sultan's character.

Muhammad (he says) above all men delights in giving presents and shedding blood. At his door is seen always some pauper on the way to wealth or the corpse of some poor wretch who has been executed. Stories are rife among the people of his generosity and courage, and of his cruelty and severity. Yet he is the most humble of men and one who shows the greatest equity; the rites of religion are observed at his court; he is most strict about prayer and the punishment of those who neglect it. But his chief characteristic is his generosity. Countries at a great distance from India, like Yemen, Khorasan and Persia, are full of anecdotes about him, and their inhabitants know him well: and they are not ignorant of his beneficence towards foreigners, whom he prefers to Indians and favours and honours greatly. He will not have them called foreigners, for he thinks that the name must wound the heart and trouble the mind.

One of the nobles of India alleged that the Sultan had executed his brother without just cause, and cited him to appear before the Kazi. The Sultan went on foot to the court, without arms, saluted, made obeisance, and stood before the Kazi, whom he had notified beforehand not to rise at his entry or budge from his seat. The judge gave his decision that the sovereign was bound to satisfy the plaintiff for the blood of his brother: and the decision was duly obeyed. . . .

The Sultan is severe upon such as omit the congregational prayers, and chastises them heavily. For this sin he executed in one day nine people, one of whom was a singer. He sent spies into the markets to punish those who were found there during prayer times, and even the men who held the horses of the servants at the gate of the Hall of Audience, if they missed prayers. He compelled the people to master the

ordinances for ablutions and prayers, and the principles of Islam. They were examined on these matters, and if ignorant they were punished. The folk studied these things at court and in the markets, and wrote them out. The Sultan is rigorous in the observance of the canonical law. He abolished in 1340-1 the dues which weighed heavily on commerce, and limited taxation to the legal alms and the tenth. Every Monday and Thursday he would sit in person, with assessors, to investigate acts of oppression. No one was hindered from bringing his plea before the king. When there was such a famine in India that a maund of corn cost six dinars he ordered six months' food to be distributed to all the inhabitants of Delhi from the royal stores. Each person, great or small, free or slave, was to have a pound and a half a day.

Death of Muhammad bin Tughlak. The whole of the vast empire was now in a terrible state. The people were devastated by famine and plague, and ruined by over-taxation. Rebellions broke out in Gujarat and Sind. While the Sultan was in Sind, he caught a violent attack of fever, of which he died in 1351, after a reign of twenty-six years, in the course of which he had brought the country to the verge of disaster.

Firoz Shah Tughlak (1351-88). Firoz Shah Tughlak, a cousin of the deceased monarch, was at once elected as Sultan. He extricated the army from its dangerous position in the Sind desert with some difficulty, and marched back to Delhi with all speed, where he was formally proclaimed Sultan.

Firoz Shah's Campaigns. Firoz Shah tried in vain to reconquer the provinces lost by the folly of his predecessor. He waged costly wars in Sind and Bengal, but without effect. He had to acknowledge their independence, and also that of the Deccan.

His Government. Firoz Shah was a just ruler, and did his best to restore the prosperity of the country. He introduced irrigation schemes into the famine-stricken areas; canals were constructed, and old tanks, which had fallen into disrepair, were restored. Taxation was light, and cruel punishments such as mutilation were abolished. The Sultan

was a cultured man, with a passion for building. He founded the cities of Hissar, and Jaunpur in what is now the United Provinces, but his chief undertaking was the erection of a new capital at Firozabad, on the site of the old Indraprastha, which he adorned with two of Asoka's stone pillars. The removal of these was in itself a great engineering feat. For his building schemes, Firoz Shah used vast numbers of slaves, who had been taken prisoners in his wars. Many of these were skilled artisans. Hindu temples were demolished, and the materials utilized for erecting mosques.

The Administration. Under Firoz Shah, we see the first signs of the growth of a regular administrative system among the early Mohammedan rulers. The king was supreme, and was his own Commander-in-Chief; the provinces were governed by generals, usually princes of the royal family. Under the king was a minister. Officials were paid by jaghirs, or assignments of the revenue of certain tracts of land. There was an elaborate system of accounts, which had to be kept by all provincial governors and were audited at regular intervals. There was a gold and silver coinage, the standard of which was carefully kept up. The chief source of income was land revenue, but another important item was the *Jizya* or poll-tax on non-Mohammedans. Many Hindus embraced Islam in order to escape the *jizya*, and this was the origin of a large part of the existing Muslim population of India today. Firoz Shah's army consisted almost entirely of cavalry, and was far superior to the clumsy Hindu hosts, with their hordes of badly trained infantry soldiers. The men brought their own horses.

Death of Firoz Shah : Invasion of Timur. After a reign of thirty-seven years, the old Sultan died, and in the anarchy which ensued India was invaded by Timur-i-lang (Tamberlane). Timur was a Barlas Turk, who had overrun Central Asia, just as Chingiz Khan had done before him. In 1398, he crossed the passes, and on the historic battleground of

Panipat, in the narrow plain between the desert and the mountains, where the fate of India has so often been decided, he scattered the opposing armies like chaff. He then advanced upon Delhi, which he looted without mercy. For five days the pillage went on: 50,000 were killed, and 100,000 were driven off into slavery. Timur returned to Samarkand leaving a trail of famine and pestilence behind him. 'The city was utterly ruined; the inhabitants who were left died, and for two whole months not a bird moved a wing in Delhi.'

The Saiyid and Lodi Dynasties, 1413-1526

The Saiyids. Timur left an officer named Khizr Khan in charge of Delhi; when he died in 1421, he was succeeded by three members of his family who claimed to be Saiyids or descendants of the Prophet. The last of these was forced to abdicate in favour of an Afghan noble named Bahlol Lodi.

The Lodis. Bahlol Lodi, who succeeded in 1450, was a good ruler. He is described as a man of simple habits, pious and generous. But he spent most of his time in wars against the kingdom of Jaunpur, which had broken away from the Delhi Sultanate during the confusion which followed upon Timur's invasion. His son, Sikandar Lodi, carried on the campaign against Jaunpur; he was a good administrator, and it is said that food was cheap during his reign. But he was a bigoted Mussulman, and destroyed Hindu temples and images whenever he had an opportunity to do so. He was the first king to make Agra his place of residence. He died in 1517, and was succeeded by his son Ibrahim Lodi, who was a bad and incapable ruler. He quarrelled with his nobles, who decided to call in Babur, the king of Kabul. Babur, nothing loth, accepted the invitation, and once more the fate of India was decided at Panipat, the gateway to Hindustan. This battle, which will be described later (page 164), cost Ibrahim Lodi his crown and his life, and brought to an end the last of the early Sultanates of Delhi.

Causes of the Downfall of the Delhi Sultanate. The early Mohammedan invaders were a small body of men, and the country they overran was vast in extent. Communications were defective, and the splendid roads with their regular posts afterwards set up by the Moguls, did not exist. It was therefore very difficult for the Sultan at Delhi to control the doings of the governors of the provinces, who took the opportunity, when a weak king was ruling, to make themselves independent. Matters were made worse when Sultan Firoz set up the system of jaghirs or estates for the nobles, instead of payment, as this weakened the control of the central government still further. The mad experiments of Muhammad Tughlak, and especially his attempt to transfer the capital, ruined the state, which never wholly recovered. There were always two factions in Delhi, the converts and native-born Mussulmans on the one side, and the foreigners on the other, and they were constantly quarrelling. Sultans were set up and overthrown first by one party and then by the other, and there was no permanence or stability.

Conditions of Life under the Delhi Sultanate. During this period of 300 years, the Hindus underwent a terrible ordeal. The earlier invaders, Greeks, Sakas and Hunas, had been absorbed into Hinduism, but the Mohammedans with a well defined religion and culture of their own, remained apart as the ruling race. The early Mohammedan invaders were fierce and bigoted, and looked upon it as a right to plunder and enslave the Hindus, and a religious duty to destroy temples and idols. But as time went on, things began to change. Mohammedans began to intermarry with Hindu women, and the children of these marriages were more tolerant in their outlook. Hindus of the lower castes were converted to Islam, but retained many Hindu customs, such as not eating beef or allowing widows to remarry. Hindus adopted many Mohammedan social customs, ceremonial, and dress, and started the practice of keeping women behind the

purdah. The Mohammedans were foreigners, who knew nothing of Indian languages or customs ; they allowed many Hindu nobles to retain their estates on condition that they paid tribute, and they employed a large number of Hindu officials as district officers. It is probable that the peasantry were not so greatly affected by the change of rulers as the higher castes. Many Hindus learnt Persian in order to get government posts, and a mixed language, called Urdu or the 'camp language', which consists of Hindi with a mixture of Persian words, gradually sprang up. Mohammedan rulers employed Hindu craftsmen to build and decorate their mosques and palaces.

Religious Movements. During this period, important religious developments took place. The belief began to gain ground in the principle of *bhakti* or personal devotion to God, which had been taught by the *Bhagavad Gita*. Followers of this school of thought believed that salvation was within reach of everyone, whatever his caste, and independently of rites and ceremonies. There is no doubt that Hindus were also influenced by the Islamic insistence upon the old Vedic belief that 'God is One', and the Sufis, a sect of Persian mystics who included many famous poets, held beliefs which had much in common with Hinduism. A teacher named Ramanand in the fourteenth century continued the work of Ramanuja, who had migrated to northern India from the south (see page 118). He preached devotion to the Deity in the form of Vishnu in his incarnations as Rama and Krishna, and was particularly anxious to save the souls of the poor, depressed classes. He made no distinction between high caste and low, Hindu and Mohammedan. He had twelve chosen disciples, among them being a Rajput, a leather-worker, a barber and a Mussulman weaver. The last of these was the celebrated Kabir. Kabir attacked with amazing courage the beliefs of orthodox Hindu and Mussulman alike. 'Beads are of wood ; the gods are made of stone ; Rama and

Krishna are dead and gone: the Vedas are old stories.' He composed a number of verses in western Hindi, which are still sung by millions of people in northern Hindustan, where his name is a household word. The essence of Kabir's teaching is that 'God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.' A beautiful story is told of his death, which occurred in about 1518. His disciples were arguing, as he lay dying, whether they should burn him as a Hindu or bury him as a Mussulman. He told them to wait until he had passed away, and then to raise the shroud. If his face were turned towards Benares, he should be cremated; if towards Mecca, he should be buried with Mussulman rites. They did so, and when they raised the shroud there was no body, but only a heap of roses. Half of them were buried by the Mohammedans, and half were taken to Benares, where they were burnt, and the ashes scattered on the Ganges.

Here are two typical poems by Kabir:—

O servant, where dost thou seek Me? Lo! I am beside thee.
I am neither in temple nor in mosque; I am neither in Kaaba nor Kailash.
Neither am I in rites and ceremonies, nor in Yoga and renunciation
If thou art a true seeker, thou shalt at once see Me: thou shalt meet Me in a moment of time.
Kabir says: 'O Sadhu! God is the breath of all breath.'

II

It is needless to ask of a saint the caste to which he belongs:
For the priest, the warrior, the tradesman, and all the thirty-six castes, alike are seeking after God.
It is but folly to ask what the caste of a saint may be:
The barber has sought God, the washerwoman and the carpenter.

Even Raidas was a seeker after God.
The Rishi Swapacha was a tanner by caste.
Hindus and Moslems alike have achieved that end, where remains no mark of distinction.

The Rise of the Sikh Religion: Nanak. Another result of the teachings of Ramanand was the rise of the Sikh brotherhood under Nanak, the first Guru or Prophet, who died in 1538. Nanak, like Kabir, sought to abolish caste distinctions and idolatry, and bring together Mussulman and Hindu. Here are two of his poems :—

I

Make Love thy mosque, Sincerity thy prayer-carpet, Justice thy Koran ;
Modesty thy circumcision, Courtesy thy kaaba, Truth thy guru, Charity thy creed and prayer ;
The Will of God thy rosary, and God will preserve thy honour, O Nanak.

II

Evil-mindedness is the low-caste woman, cruelty is the butcher's wife, a slanderous heart the sweeper-woman, wrath the pariah-woman ;
What availeth it to have drawn lines round thy cooking-place, when these four sit ever with thee ?
Make Truth, Self-Restraint and Good Acts thy lines, and the utterance of the Name thine ablutions.
Nanak, in the next world he is best who walketh not in the way of sin.

Once, when he was reproached by a Mussulman for sleeping with his feet towards Mecca, he replied, 'Turn my feet in a direction where God is not.'

In 1601, the Guru Arjun compiled the *Adi Granth*, or Sikh Bible, which contained religious hymns in the Western Hindi and Punjabi dialects. We shall hear later how the tenth Guru, Govind Singh, turned the brotherhood into

a great religious and military order, and of its fierce struggles against the Emperor Aurangzeb, who cruelly persecuted it (page 209).

An important follower of the teachings of Ramanand was the celebrated Tulsi Das (1532-1623). Tulsi Das was a devotee of Rama, about whom he wrote a beautiful epic called the *Ramacharit Manas*, 'the Lake of the Deeds of Rama', in the Eastern Hindi dialect. Tulsi Das wandered about northern India, living the life of a roaming singer, and won the people's love in a manner which has lasted till the present day. India, it has been said, has many reformers, but none, except perhaps the Buddha, has excited so profound an influence as a religious teacher. His poem not only gives us a touching picture of Rama's life and adventures upon earth, but it describes him as having returned to Heaven as a God, able to sympathize with man's sufferings and to save him.

Another set of religious reformers of this school made the god Krishna the centre of their worship. In Bengal, a great religious revival was started by Chaitanya (1486-1534) who was an ardent devotee of Krishna. Chaitanya preached against animal sacrifices, eating meat and wine-drinking; he stirred up people's religious emotions by means of processions which marched from place to place singing religious songs and playing on musical instruments. In the Deccan there arose a school of poets who were devotees of Vithoba, a form of Vishnu, whose temple was at Pandharpur. The most famous of these Marathi poets was Tukaram, the friend and contemporary of Shivaji.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 569	Birth of Mohammed.
622	Flight of Mohammed to Medina. Beginning of the Hijra or Mohammedan Era.

632	Death of Mohammed. Invasions of Asia Minor and Persia.
641	Arab Conquest of Persia.
762-1258	Empire of the Caliphs of Bagdad.
712	Invasion of Sind by Muhammad bin Kasim.
986	First raid into Indian territory by Amir Sabuktigin of Ghazni.
998-1030	Mahmud of Ghazni.
1001	Defeat of Rajah Jaipal.
1019	Capture of Kanauj.
1024-5	Sack of Somnath.
1175-1206	Muhammad Ghori.
1191-3	Battles of the Tarain : reduction of Delhi, Benares and Bihar.
1199-1200	Conquest of Bengal.

Sultans of Delhi.

I.	1206-90.	**The Slave Kings.**
II.	1290-1320.	**The Khilji Dynasty.**
	1290-6	Jalal-ud-din.
	1296-1315	Ala-ud-din. Malik Kafur's campaign in Southern India 1302-11. Sack of Chitor 1303.
	1315-18	Kutb-ud-din.
III.	1321-1414.	**The Tughlak Dynasty.**
	1321-5	Ghyas-ud-din Tughlak.
	1325-51	Muhammad Tughlak.
	1351-88	Firoz Shah (last important king : minor rulers to 1414).
	1398	Sack of Delhi by Timur.
IV.	1414-50.	**The Saiyid Kings.**

V. 1450-1526. **The Lodi Dynasty.**

1450-89	*Bahlol Lodi.*
1489-1517	*Sikandar Lodi.*
1517-1526	*Ibrahim Lodi.*
1526	**First battle of Panipat.**

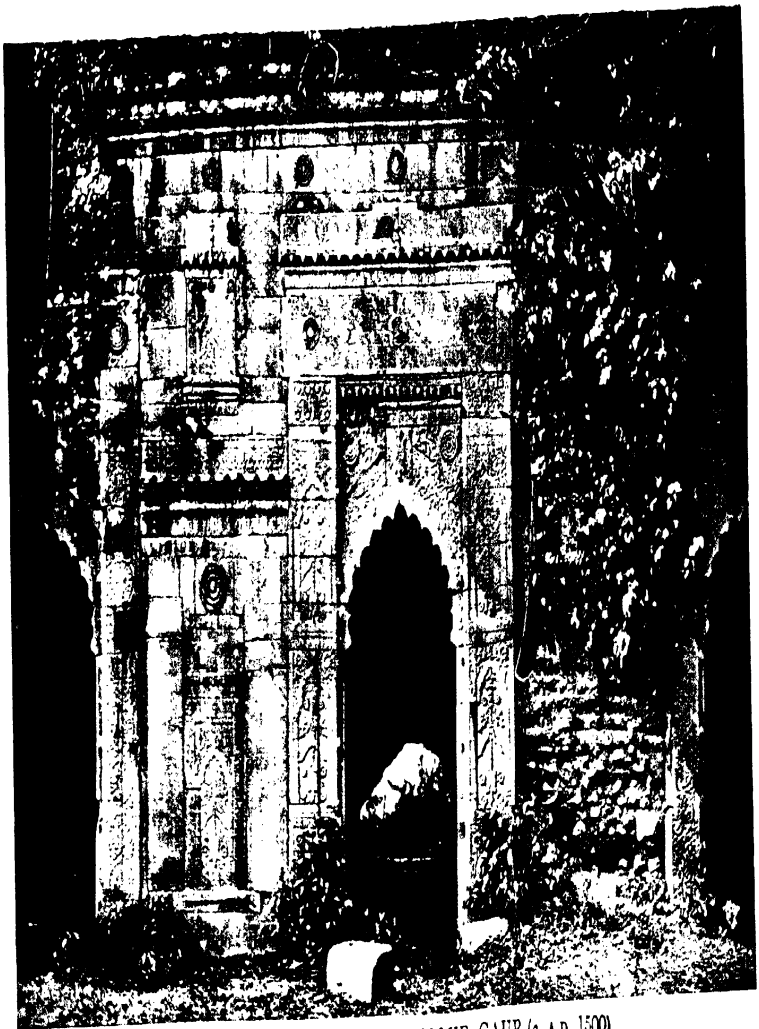
CHAPTER II

THE MOHAMMEDAN KINGDOMS OF BENGAL, GUJARAT AND THE DECCAN AND THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

1340-1687

Independent Kingdoms. During the reign of the Sultans of Delhi, the outlying provinces were in charge of generals who acted as their representatives. But the central government, which was generally involved in wars and dynastic troubles of its own, could not control them and, after a time, they threw off the yoke, and became independent rulers. Most of these dynasties date from the invasion of Timur in 1398, which for the time being rendered the rulers of Delhi quite helpless and unable to keep order.

The Kingdom of Bengal (Gaur). Two kingdoms arose in eastern India, with their capitals at Gaur and Jaunpur respectively. Bengal had been conquered in 1199 by Muhammad Bakhtyar, and became practically independent in 1340, when Fakhrudin rebelled against Muhammad Tughlak. The most famous of the Bengal rulers was Husain Shah (1493-1519), who was said to have enjoyed a peaceful and happy reign, beloved by his Hindu subjects and respected by his neighbours. Early in the sixteenth century, Bengal came under the rule of Sher Shah, the Afghan governor of Bihar who was afterwards

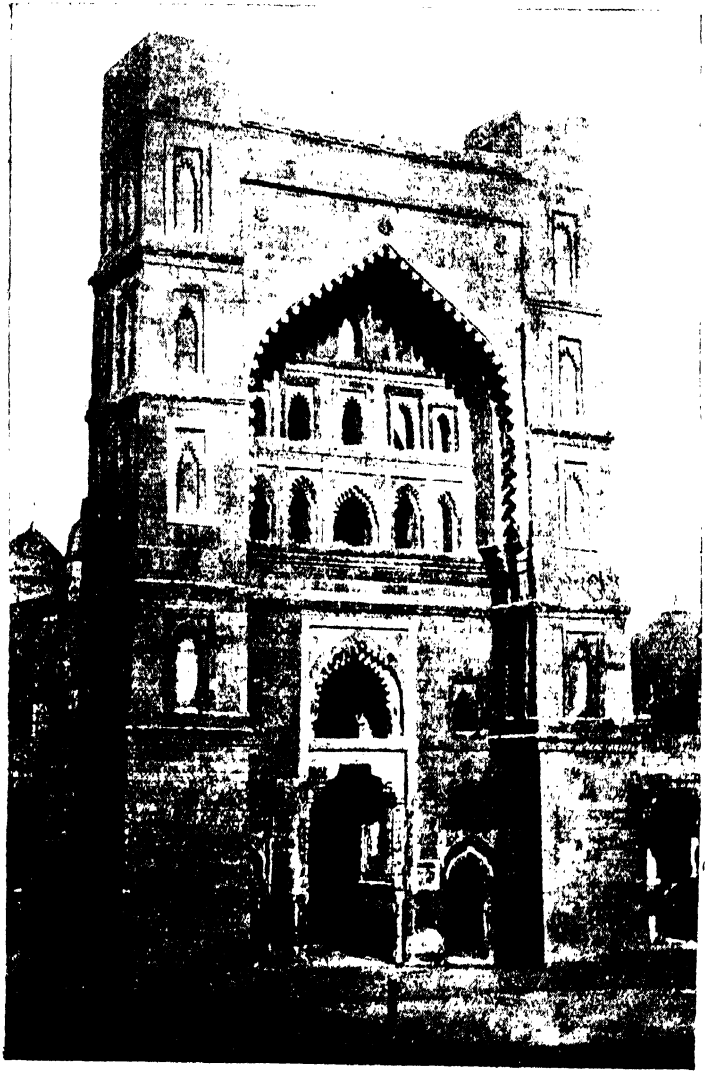


GATEWAY OF SMALL GOLDEN MOSQUE, GAUR (c. A.D. 1500)

ruler of Delhi. In 1576, Daud Shah, the last of the Afghan line, was defeated by Akbar's troops, and Bengal became a suba of the Mogul Empire. The Sultans of Bengal built some magnificent mosques at Gaur, which was their capital, and also at Pandua and other places in their kingdom, and encouraged the use of the Bengali language. The patronage of these Mohammedan rulers gave the first impetus towards the recognition of Bengali in the courts of the Hindu nobles, who were more inclined to favour Sanskrit, the language of the pandits. Bengali translations of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* were made in this way, which were among the earliest literary compositions in the language.

The Kingdom of Jaunpur. The shortlived dynasty of the rulers of Jaunpur on the river Gumti, north of Benares, dates from 1394, when the local ruler, Khwaja Jahan, proclaimed himself Sultan-ush-Shark, or Lord of the East. The most famous of the Jaunpur kings was Ibrahim Shah (1400-40), who is described as an active and good prince, beloved in life and regretted after his death by all his subjects. The Jaunpur rulers were cultured men, patrons of music, literature and the arts. They adorned their capital with noble mosques, built in a massive simple style, with no minarets and imposing gateways. Jaunpur was such a handsome city that it was popularly known as 'the Shiraz of India'. The last king, Husain Shah, was overthrown by Sikandar Lodi in 1476, and had to take refuge in Bengal, where he was kindly received by his namesake.

The Kingdom of Gujarat. The fertile province of Gujarat was annexed by an officer of Ala-ud-din Khilji in 1297, and its governor, Muzaffar Shah, declared himself independent in 1401. His grandson Ahmad Shah (1411-53) founded the city of Ahmadabad. The most famous of the rulers of Ahmadabad was Mahmud Begarha (1459-1511), about whom many curious stories and legends were told by European travellers. His appearance was awe-inspiring. He was of gigantic size, with a



ATALADEVI MOSQUE, JAUNPUR (A.D. 1408)

beard that descended below his waist, and long moustaches twisted like bullock's horns. It is said that he consumed twenty pounds of rice a day, besides quantities of meat and fruit. He was in constant dread of being poisoned, and had consumed such quantities of antidotes that he was said to be completely immune. He was a splendid warrior and a great administrator and, though only a boy at the time of his accession, he put down a dangerous conspiracy. The Mohammedans of Gujarat remember him as the Hindus do Siddharaja. He waged incessant wars against the Rajput princes, and captured the two great strongholds of Girnar and Champaner, for which he received the title of Begarha or 'two forts'. Champaner had long been a thorn in the flesh of the Sultans of Gujarat, and Mahmud had set his heart upon it. The siege lasted for twenty-one months, and then the inhabitants performed the rite of *jauhar*, burning their women and children before rushing out to their doom. Mahmud led an expedition to lower Sind, where his father-in-law was having trouble with his unruly Hindu subjects.

The Portuguese. The Portuguese, who came to India in 1498, and captured Goa, a fine harbour belonging to the Sultan of Bijapur, in 1510, now began to make their presence felt. They were determined to seize some ports on the Gujarat coast, where they could trade. The Muslim rulers deeply resented their presence. The Portuguese were taking away their commerce with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, and were interfering with the pilgrim traffic to Mecca; large numbers of Mohammedan pilgrims went every year to Mecca by sea from ports like Broach and Surat. Mahmud was helped by the fleet of the Turkish Mamluks of Egypt, which came from Aden, but the Portuguese defeated them in a great sea-battle off Diu, on the coast of Kathiawar. After this, the Portuguese established a factory at Diu.

Death of Mahmud Begarha: Muzaffar II. Mahmud Begarha died in 1511. He was succeeded by his son

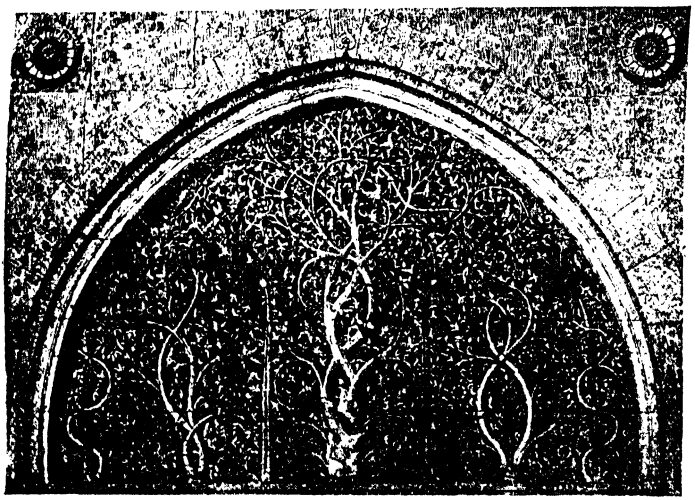
Muzaffar II (1511-26). Muzaffar II carried on a great campaign against the Rana of Mewar. The Rajputs had been interfering in the affairs of Malwa, and had occupied Mandu. Muzaffar II besieged the fortress, and the Rajput garrison, after performing the *jauhar* rite, were all put to the sword.

Bahadur Shah (1526-37). Bahadur Shah was the last of the great rulers of Gujarat. He had an adventurous and chequered career. He carried on successful wars against his neighbours, the Sultans of Ahmadnagar and Berar. He annexed the fertile province of Malwa, and in 1534 laid siege to the great Rajput fortress of Chitor, in order to put an end to the interference and aggression of the Rana of Mewar. When the garrison saw that matters were hopeless, the Queen Mother, who was acting as regent, had her little son Udai Singh smuggled away to a place of safety. Then, sword in hand, she led her men out to battle. They all perished, and the Rajput women, 13,000 in number, once more performed the *jauhar* rite. Bahadur appointed a Mussalman governor of Chitor, but the line of Mewar was kept alive by Udai Singh.

Bahadur then foolishly quarrelled with Humayun, the Mogul Emperor at Delhi. Humayun attacked him, and Bahadur had to take refuge with the Portuguese at Diu. Fortunately, Humayun was recalled by troubles at Delhi. Bahadur, while a refugee at Diu, had made many promises to the Portuguese, and now repented of doing so. He went on board a Portuguese man-of-war in order to discuss the matter; a quarrel broke out, in the course of which he was pushed overboard and drowned (1537).

End of the Sultans of Gujarat. After the death of Bahadur, the dynasty declined. His successor, Mahmud III, carried on a war with the Portuguese, in which he was defeated and had to make concessions in the way of ports and trading rights. In 1554 he was murdered, and after a period of anarchy Gujarat was annexed to the Mogul Empire by Akbar in 1572.

Prosperity of Gujarat. Ahmadabad was described as the most beautiful, charming and splendid city of its time. It is situated in the midst of fertile country, with good rivers leading to the sea. It was famous for its weavers in silk, cotton and gold thread. Its population was said to have numbered 900,000 and to have included many millionaires. It continued to be the richest city in western India until



WINDOW SCREEN OF SIDI SAIYID'S MOSQUE, AHMADABAD
(*c.* A.D. 1500)

Gujarat was ruined by the Maratha invasions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when it declined, though now it has partially recovered its former prosperity, owing to the cotton trade. The Mohammedan rulers of Gujarat adorned Ahmadabad, Cambay and other cities with stately mosques and palaces; many of these were constructed by Hindu workmen out of materials taken from Hindu temples. Their carved stonework, and especially the exquisite lattices of the

windows, is universally admired. There were other small Mohammedan kingdoms in Malwa and Khandesh, which were conquered by Akbar. The capital of Malwa was the picturesque fort of Mandugarh, of which many romantic stories are told.

The Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan. In 1347, during the reign of Muhammad bin Tughlak, an Afghan officer named Hasan, and surnamed Gangu Bahmani, who claimed descent from an ancient Persian king of the name of Bahman, set up an independent kingdom with its capital at Gulbarga, now in the Nizam's dominions. The Bahmani kingdom lasted for about one and a half centuries, and at the time of its greatest power it stretched from sea to sea, and included a large part of the present Bombay Presidency, the state of Hyderabad and the Northern Circars. There were two factions among the nobles of the court, the Deccanis and the Foreigners, who were constantly intriguing against one another. The first king, Ala-ud-din Hasan, was a good organizer: he divided his kingdom into four provinces, each with its governor and other officials. Among the other rulers, the most prominent were Muhammad Shah I (1358-73) and Firoz (1397-1422). They waged fierce wars against the rajas of Vijayanagar and their allies, the kings of Warangal. The main object of dispute was the Raichur Doab, between the Krishna and Tungabhadra rivers: first one side and then the other would invade this territory. Ahmad Shah (1422-35) subdued the kingdom of Warangal, and changed his capital from Gulbarga to Bidar. The result of these continual wars was great misery and suffering for the Hindu peasantry; in 1395 the terrible Durga Devi famine broke out and lasted for twelve years, and much of the land went out of cultivation for a long time. In 1481, the Bahmani troops made a raid on the famous Hindu city of Kanchi, south-west of Madras, which they looted, destroying many temples and killing the Brahmins.

Decline of the Bahmani Kingdom. The Bahmani kingdom reached the zenith of its power during the time of Mahmud Gawan, the wise and tolerant minister of Muhammad Shah III (1463-82). 'Mahmud Gawan stands out broadly and grandly,



not only among his contemporaries, but among all the ancient Mohammedans of India, as one unapproachably perfect and consistent. His noble and judicious reforms, his skill and bravery in war, his justice and public and private benevolence have no equals.' He spent the whole of his vast wealth in

building a college at Bidar and providing endowments for poor students, while he himself lived on two rupees a day, slept on a mat, and used earthen eating and drinking vessels. He presented to the college his library of 3,000 volumes. The building, with its lofty halls and lecture-rooms, still stands, though greatly damaged. He served as regent during his master's minority, spurning every temptation to usurp the throne or enrich himself. His measures to put down corruption earned him the hate of the Deccani party, and they forged a treasonable letter to the Raja of Orissa. The king asked him what should be the punishment for a traitor. 'Death by the sword,' was the reply. 'You are condemned out of your own mouth,' said the king, and showed him the letter. Mahmud Gawan in vain protested his innocence. 'The death of an old man is of little moment,' he warned the king, 'but to your Majesty it will mean the loss of your character and the ruin of your empire.' Then, kneeling down, he repeated the creed, and submitted himself to the executioner. 'Praise to God for the blessings of martyrdom!' were his last words, as the sword fell. Mahmud Gawan's words proved to be prophetic. Muhammad Shah discovered his mistake too late: he was overwhelmed with remorse, and drank himself to death. Faction fights between the Deccanis and the Foreigners became matters of daily occurrence, and the later kings became mere puppets in their hands. The last ruler appealed to the Emperor Babur at Delhi, and was obliged to flee to Ahmadnagar, where he died, probably by poison, in 1527.

The State of the People. The rule of the Bahmani kings was severe, but the roads were well policed, irrigation works were introduced, and a regular system of land-revenue was started. Taxation was heavy, and a Russian traveller, Athanasius Nitikin, says that the nobles went about in silver litters, while the common people were ill-clad and very poverty-stricken. Only Mohammedans were admitted to high offices. Education among the Mohammedans was encouraged,

and nearly every mosque had a *mullah*, who taught the boys reading and writing, and to repeat verses of the Koran. Many fine buildings were erected, and Bidar was a handsome city, well planned and laid out. Unfortunately, drink was the prevailing vice of the Bahmani kings, and this prevented them from controlling their officials as they should have done.

The Five Kingdoms. Five principalities arose out of the revolted provinces of the Bahmani kingdom. These were the Adil Shahis of Bijapur, the Nizam Shahis of Ahmadnagar, the Imad Shahis of Berar, the Barid Shahis of Bidar, and the Kutb Shahis of Golkonda.

The Adil Shahi of Bijapur. This dynasty was founded by Yusuf Adil Shah, the Governor of Bijapur, who revolted in 1489. He was said to have been the son of the Sultan Murad II of Turkey, and belonged to the Shiah sect. He was a wise and enlightened prince, who encouraged artists and men of letters to come to his court from Persia and Constantinople. He married a Maratha lady, and was tolerant to Hindus. He introduced Marathi in place of Persian as the official language, which was a great boon to his Hindu subjects. In 1510, after much fighting, the Portuguese managed to take Goa, the chief port of the Bijapur kingdom. In 1564, the four Sultans of Bijapur, Bidar, Ahmadnagar and Golkonda made a league against their common rival, the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar. The armies met near Talikot, on January 23rd, 1565, and the Hindus were completely defeated. Vijayanagar was destroyed, and the last vestiges of Hindu domination in the south disappeared. But the allied Bijapur and Ahmadnagar states were less successful in their attack on Goa in 1570, although the town was only held by a handful of Portuguese soldiers and priests, and Christian converts. Ali Adil Shah married a princess of Ahmadnagar named Chand Bibi, and when he was murdered in 1576 she acted as regent for her son, Ibrahim Adil Shah, until he grew to manhood.

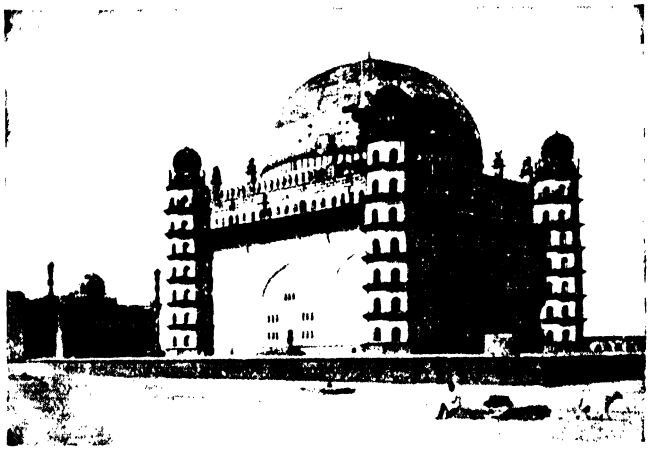
Reign of Ibrahim Adil Shah II (1580-1626). Ibrahim Adil Shah was the greatest of all the Sultans of Bijapur. His reign was a peaceful one, and he introduced a system of land settlement similar to that of Akbar's minister, Todar Mal. He was tolerant of Hinduism and Christianity, and employed Hindus as his officials. He encouraged the Portuguese to trade in his dominions and allowed them to build churches

Decline of Bijapur. The last great Sultan of Bijapur was Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-56), who maintained a magnificent court, and ruled from sea to sea, including part of the old kingdom of Ahmadnagar and the greater part of the Karnatak. In 1635, the Emperor Shahjahan determined to overthrow the kingdoms of the Deccan. The Bijapur territories were remorselessly ravaged, but the city was saved by flooding the surrounding country. Peace was made in 1636. In 1655, the Bijapur arms received a serious reverse, when Shivaji the Maratha annihilated Afzal Khan's army at Pratapgarh. In 1685, Bijapur was attacked by the Emperor Aurangzeb. It surrendered after a siege of fifteen months, and the young Sultan was sent to the state prison at Gwalior, where he died fifteen years later.

Art and Architecture. Bijapur was a magnificent city, and even today its remains are very striking. It was surrounded by a wall, mounted on which were some gigantic cannon. One of these, the *Malik-i-Maidan* or Lord of the Plain, is a masterpiece of the gun-founder's art. The Bijapur Sultans, being of Turkish extraction, were cosmopolitan in their tastes, and employed Turkish, Hindu and Christian craftsmen. After the fall of Vijayanagar, many stone-masons from that town migrated to Bijapur. It is impossible to mention all the fine mosques and palaces and tombs in Bijapur, but among the most beautiful are the mosque of Ali Adil Shah, built to commemorate the fall of Vijayanagar, and the tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. But all these are dwarfed beside the gigantic Gol Gumbaz, the mausoleum of

Muhammad Adil Shah (1626-56), which has one of the largest domes in the world. Besides this, Bijapur produced fine carpets and illuminated manuscripts. The great Mohammedan historian Firishta, the author of *The History of the Deccan*, lived at the court of Ibrahim II.

Other Kingdoms. Of the other kingdoms of the Deccan, the most interesting is that of Ahmadnagar, founded by an officer named Malik Ahmad (Ahmad Nizam Shah) in 1490.



GOL GUMBAZ, BIJAPUR, THE TOMB OF MUHAMMAD ADIL SHAH
(mid Seventeenth Century)

The Nizam Shahi kings were closely allied with Bijapur, and took part in the war against Vijayanagar. The most celebrated figure in the history of Ahmadnagar is the gallant princess Chand Bibi, wife of the Bijapur king Ali Adil Shah, who, after her return to her native city, organized the resistance to the Mogul armies under Prince Murad. This valiant lady led her soldiers in person, fighting at their head in full armour. In 1600, the 'noble queen' was murdered by her generals, who hated the indignity of being ruled

over by a woman. In 1600, the Nizam Shahi king was captured and sent to Gwalior as a prisoner, but the state was revived by a clever Abyssinian minister named Malik Ambar, who was the first to discover that the famous Maratha light cavalry was more than a match for the Mogul armies. He transferred the capital to Kirki, the site of the later city of Aurangabad, and introduced a land settlement scheme. In 1625 Malik Ambar died, and was succeeded by his son, Fath Khan. Fath Khan set up another puppet king, but, being besieged in the fortress of Daulatabad, he was bribed to surrender it to the Moguls in 1632. For a time the struggle was carried on by Shahji, the Maratha nobleman who was the father of the famous Shivaji, but in 1635 the Emperor marched into the Deccan, and Shahji was permitted to transfer his services to Bijapur.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1340-1576	Kingdom of Bengal.
1398-1476	Kingdom of Jaunpur.
1401-1573	Kingdom of Gujarat.
1459-1511	Mahmud Begarha, Sultan of Gujarat.
1507-9	War with Portuguese.
1510	Foundation of Goa.
1526-37	Bahadur Shah, Sultan of Gujarat.
1531	Conquest of Malwa.
1534	Capture of Chitor.
1535	Defeat of Bahadur Shah by the Emperor Humayun.
1537	Bahadur killed by the Portuguese.
1572	Annexation of Gujarat by the Emperor Akbar.

KINGDOMS OF THE DECCAN

BAHMANI DYNASTY of Gulbarga and Bidar, 1347-1526

IMAD SHAHI dynasty of Berar (Ellichpur), 1484-1575 (absorbed by Ahmadnagar).	NIZAM SHAHI dynasty of Ahmadnagar, 1490-1632 (annexed by Shah jahan).	ADIL SHAHI dynasty of Bijapur, 1489-1686 (annexed by Aurangzeb).	BARID SHAHI dynasty of Bidar, 1492-1609 (annexed by Bijapur)	KUTB SHAHI dynasty of Golkonda, 1518-1687 (annexed by Aurangzeb).

CHAPTER III

THE HINDU EMPIRE OF VIJAYANAGAR, 1336-1646

The Foundation of Vijayanagar. Vijayanagar, 'the City of Victory', on the banks of the Tungabhadra river in the Bellary District of the Madras Presidency, was founded by five brothers, who were determined to stay the advance of the Mohammedans and the destruction of the Hindu *dharma* in southern India. These brothers were Telugus from the Hindu kingdom of Warangal, or, as others think, from the Hoysala kingdom. The place they chose was in the midst of wild and rugged country, and at first they attracted no attention as they rallied round them, little by little, the outcasts and fighting men of the Hindus who had been driven out of their original homes by the Muslim conquerors. Among the brothers, the two leaders were Hukka and Bukka. About 1343, Bukka found himself strong enough to declare his independence, and began striking his own gold coins. This brought about a war with Muhammad Shah Bahmani, but when he died in 1373, Bukka had the satisfaction of knowing that he had established his new kingdom on a sound basis; his son Harihara (1379-1404) openly assumed royal state and titles, and extended his rule over the Trichinopoly and Conjeeveram districts. The next king, Deva Raya I (1406-10), became involved in the famous 'War of the Goldsmith's Daughter', a beautiful maiden whom he endeavoured to carry off. Thereupon, Vijayanagar was besieged by the Bahmani king Firoz Shah, who reduced it to such straits that Deva Raya had to give his daughter in marriage to the Mohammedan Sultan. In 1425, the Bahmani Sultanate was greatly strengthened by the conquest of the kingdom of Warangal which had been a staunch ally of Vijayanagar. In 1485 the Bahmani Empire broke up,



PORTRAIT IMAGE OF KRISHNARAYA DEVA

but the Vijayanagar kings continued to wage war on their successors, particularly the Adil Shahi rulers of Bijapur. In 1486, the original dynasty of Vijayanagar came to an end, and the throne was usurped by a general of the name of Narsinga Saluva.

Krishnaraya Deva (1509-29). Vijayanagar reached the height of its glory under Krishnaraya Deva, who was a contemporary of Henry VIII of England. He was the last great Hindu ruler of southern India. He was a mighty warrior, and took the fortress of Raichur from the Bijapur king and captured the town of Gulbarga, the old Bahmani capital. He even invaded and plundered Bijapur itself. Krishnaraya Deva was a man of noble character. He was kind and chivalrous to those whom he conquered in battle, and was tolerant to all religious sects. He spent vast sums of money in building and endowing temples and monasteries, and was a patron of art and literature. He encouraged foreign travellers to visit his country for purposes of trade, and people from all parts of the world, Christian,

Mohammedan and Hindu, met at his court. He was an enlightened and able monarch.

Extent of the Kingdom : Government and Administration. At the time of Krishnaraya Deva, the Empire of Vijayanagar comprised the whole of the Madras Presidency, together with the modern states of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore. It was divided into two hundred provinces, each governed by a great noble. These nobles had to pay half their revenues to the royal treasury, and supply a certain number of troops. The taxation was very heavy, and in consequence, while the higher classes were very rich, the common people were poor and oppressed. The king could remove anyone who displeased him. Punishments for crime were severe. Thieves and robbers were liable to have their hands and feet cut off, and even noblemen who rebelled were trampled to death by elephants or executed in other barbarous ways. The government was despotic, and an old traveller tells us that 'the people are so subject to the King, that if you told a man on his behalf that he must stand still in a street holding a stone on his back all day till you released him, he would do it.' Duelling with swords was a common way of settling disputes. Suttee was practised, and one traveller tells us that the king had 12,000 wives, of whom 2,000 or 3,000 had to burn themselves when he died. Meat, except beef, was eaten, and sold in the bazaars. Animal sacrifices were practised on a large scale : it is said that at one religious festival, 250 buffaloes and 4,500 sheep were killed every year.

Splendour of the Capital. Many travellers, Portuguese and Mohammedan, have left us accounts of the city of Vijayanagar at the height of its glory. It was surrounded by seven lines of fortifications, and the population was over half a million. The total circumference of the walls was estimated at sixty miles. The great central road connecting the northern and southern gates was eight miles long. The streets were well laid out and paved, and adorned with splendid public and

private buildings, palaces and temples, built of stone. It was supplied with water from a huge reservoir formed by damming the Tungabhadra river; the water was conveyed by an aqueduct cut through the solid rock, fifteen miles in length. All through the city were gardens, orchards, groves of trees, lakes and channels. Fruit and vegetables were abundant, and were on sale in the shops. The streets were so thronged with people, elephants and pack-oxen, that it was difficult to make



HINDU TEMPLE AT VIJAYANAGAR

one's way. The wealth of Vijayanagar was due to the precious stones which were found in its mines, its fertile soil and, above all, to overseas trade. The coast had excellent harbours. The Raja of Cochin was a feudatory, and the rulers of Vijayanagar were on intimate terms with Goa and did much business with the Portuguese, especially in Arab horses. A striking sight in Vijayanagar was the bazaars, with their lofty arcades and magnificent galleries. Each trade gild had its own group of shops: rubies, pearls, emeralds, diamonds and other precious stones were exposed for sale upon open stalls. The

royal demesne was in an enclosure in the heart of the city, and was a town in itself, with thirty-four streets. The palace was exquisitely decorated. One room was completely lined with ivory—floor, ceiling and walls—and had ivory pillars carved with roses and lotuses. All the vessels, even the water-jars, were of solid gold or silver. The court was entertained by spectacles such as dramas, ballets performed by dancing-girls, animal fights, boxing matches and religious processions. Every year there was a splendid review of the troops. Some idea of the splendour displayed may be obtained from the account of the wedding between Sultan Firoz and the daughter of Deva Raya I. For six miles the road was carpeted with cloths of gold, velvet and satin. The Raja himself always dressed in white satin, with enormous jewels, and a turban of rich gold brocade. Well might the traveller Abdur Razzak remark, 'the city is such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth'. Even imperial Delhi in the reign of Shahjahan did not surpass Vijayanagar in splendour. The rajas encouraged learning, especially Telugu poetry, and among the learned men of the court was Sayana, who wrote a celebrated commentary on the Vedas, and his brother Madhavacharya, the head of the Sringeri monastery. Painters, sculptors, architects, jewellers and craftsmen of every description naturally resorted to Vijayanagar from all over the East. The buildings were so strongly constructed that they have survived the ravages of time and the fury of the Mohammedan invaders, who tried in vain to destroy them.

The War with the Four Sultans, 1565. The existence of this rich and splendid Hindu state at their doors naturally excited the jealousy of the Mohammedan rulers of the Deccan. It seemed as though a truce between the rivals might be patched up when Firoz Shah Bahmani married the Vijayanagar princess in 1406, but the haughty Hindu raja refused to accompany his son-in-law to the boundary of his kingdom,

and this act of discourtesy gave great offence. After the fall of the Bahmani kingdom, the states of Vijayanagar and Bijapur were in close contact, sometimes waging fierce wars for the possession of the much-disputed fortress of Raichur, and at other times combining to attack one or other of their neighbours. In 1542, Rama Raja, son of the minister of Krishnaraya Deva, usurped the power of the ruling monarch, and in 1558, he made an alliance with the Sultan of Bijapur against Ahmadnagar. The Hindu soldiery behaved in an arrogant and barbarous fashion, stabling their horses in mosques and performing their religious rites in Mohammedan holy places. When the Nizam Shahi king kissed his conqueror's hand in token of submission, Rama Raja sent for a ewer of water to wash away the defilement! He treated his allies with contempt, and would not allow them to be seated in his presence. This so enraged them that the four sultans of Bijapur, Ahmadnagar, Golkonda and Bidar combined to attack him. Late in 1564, they concentrated their troops near Talikot on the banks of the Kistna river. Rama Raja was now ninety-three, and really too old to command. But he was a man of great courage, and he assembled his army, a mighty host of nearly half a million men. It was composed of levies from all parts of the empire, Kanarese and Telugus from the frontiers, Mysoreans and Malabaris from the central districts and Tamils from the far south.

The Battle of Talikot. After successfully crossing the river Kistna by a clever feint which completely deceived the enemy, the four sultans drew up their forces in line on the level plain at a place called Rakshastangadi, about thirty miles from Talikot, in preparation for the greatest battle in the history of southern India (23rd January, 1565). In the centre were the Ahmadnagar troops under Hussain Nizam Shah, burning to avenge the indignities which they had suffered. They had no less than 600 guns of different calibres, cast in the foundries for which Ahmadnagar was famous. On the right wing was the Sultan

of Bijapur, and on the left, the forces of Golkonda and Bidar. In front were dense masses of archers, thrown out in lines of skirmishers. The Hindu host advanced to the attack. In the centre was the aged Rama Raja, carried in a golden litter because he was too old to mount his war elephant. Round him were piled heaps of gold and pearls to reward his men for bravery in battle. At first the Hindus appeared to be getting the better of the fight: the skirmishers of the enemy were driven in, when suddenly the Ahmadnagar troops unmasked their batteries, loaded with bags of copper pice, and poured a heavy fire into the densely packed Hindu masses at short range; 5,000 were left dead on the field, and before they could recover from the confusion, the Mohammedan cavalry charged down upon them. In the *melée*, Rama Raja's litter-bearers, frightened by a war elephant which appeared to be about to trample them under foot, dropped their precious burden and fled. The Raja was brought as a prisoner to Hussain Nizam Shah, who, it is said, struck off his head with his own hand, exclaiming, 'Now I am avenged of thee! Let God do what He will with me!' The decapitated head was stuck upon a lance and held high in the air. At the sight of it, the Hindu army broke and fled, pursued by their victorious opponents. One hundred thousand were slain and the river ran red with blood. As almost invariably happened in contests between the Hindus and Mohammedans, the huge, unwieldy army of Vijayanagar was defeated by the smaller, better drilled and better armed force of their adversaries.

The Fall of Vijayanagar. Meanwhile, in the capital, life was going on as usual. The inhabitants had full confidence in their great army and their impregnable walls. Even when things had gone badly in the past, the enemy had been bought off. But now the survivors of the defeated host began to pour through the gates into the streets. With them came the princes of the royal house, who hastily packed the state

insignia, the throne, and all the jewels and other precious things they could lay hold upon, on the backs of elephants, and made off, basely leaving the city to its fate. Had the defeated army been rallied and the walls manned, Vijayanagar, with its seven lines of fortifications, might easily have held out, and exacted favourable terms from its besiegers. But the people were leaderless, and a panic set in. Soon the roads were thronged with a flying mob. And now the jungle-folk and robber tribes, the Brinjaris, Lambadis and Kuruvas, began to arrive; entering by the unguarded gates, they started looting, burning and plundering.

The victorious Mohammedan army rested for three days, feasting and rejoicing. Then it advanced on Vijayanagar, and for five months the work of destruction went on. With fire and crowbar and axes the conquerors went to work, reducing the whole town to a vast ruin. A traveller who visited the city shortly after, found it a mere shell, inhabited by tigers and other wild beasts. 'The plunder was so great that every private man in the allied army became rich in gold, jewels, effects, tents, arms, horses and slaves, as the Sultans left every person in possession of what he had acquired, only taking elephants for their own use.' Thus perished the last and most splendid of the Hindu empires of southern India, which for over two hundred years had acted as the last bulwark of Hinduism against the invaders. The survivors fled to the fortress of Penukonda; the dynasty lingered on in obscurity for some centuries, though most of the land was overrun by the Sultans of Bijapur and Golkonda, until they in their turn were overthrown by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1686-7. The most important of the Hindu dynasties which arose from the ruins of Vijayanagar was that of the Nayaks of Madura: Tirumal Nayak, one of the rulers of this line, adorned that city with some fine palaces and temples.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1336	Foundation of Vijayanagar by Hukka (Harihara I) and Bukka.
1376	Death of Bukka.
1376-1404	Vijayanagar an independent kingdom.
1406-10	Deva Raya I. Wars with the Bahmani kings. Firoz Shah marries a Vijayanagar princess.
1486	Usurpation of Narsinga Saluva.
1509-29	Reign of Krishnaraya Deva. Empire of Vijayanagar at its zenith.
1558	Attack on Ahmadnagar.
1542	Usurpation of Rama Raja.
1564-5	Alliance of four Sultans. Battle of Talikot, 23rd January 1565. Fall of Vijayanagar.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDATION OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE: BABUR, SHER SHAH AND HUMAYUN, 1526-56

Babur's Early Career. It will have been seen that at the beginning of the sixteenth century, India was once more in a disunited state. The Lodi dynasty exercised very little control, and independent kingdoms had sprung up all over the country. At this time a young prince of the name of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad, nicknamed Babur or 'the Lion', had appeared in Central Asia. He claimed descent from two of the greatest Asiatic conquerors, Timur on his father's side, and Chingiz Khan on his mother's. His ambition was to be master of Samarkand, the ancient capital of the descendants of Timur, but in this he was foiled by his rivals, the Uzbegs.

So in 1504, he set out with a few chosen companions to carve out a kingdom for himself, and took possession of Kabul. Here he heard news of the rich plains of the Punjab, and in 1519 he made a raid into the country, taking back with him much booty.

Invasion of India. This whetted Babur's appetite, and when, in 1524, a quarrel broke out between Sultan Ibrahim Lodi and his nobles, and he received an invitation from Alam Khan, the Sultan's uncle, and Daulat Khan, the governor of the Punjab, he gladly accepted it. He marched to Lahore and took it, and set up the Sultan's uncle as governor. Then he returned to Kabul, where his son Humayun had been gathering troops for him. Even then he had only 12,000 men, but with this tiny force he again crossed the Indus in the cold weather of 1525. This time, Daulat Khan, who had come to the conclusion that Babur meant to conquer India, opposed him. Babur, however, easily defeated him and pressed on towards Delhi.

The First Battle of Panipat. Ibrahim Lodi awaited the invader at Panipat, the historic battleground between the Rajputana desert and the mountains, where the fate of India has so many times been decided. Ibrahim Lodi had a vast host of 100,000 cavalry and 100 elephants. Babur had no elephants, but he had excellent artillery, a new weapon, till then little used in India. On the approach of the enemy, Babur formed a 'square' of baggage wagons lashed together, and lined it with his guns and matchlockmen. On 26th April 1526, Ibrahim Lodi's troops marched out to attack the laager. They advanced in dense masses, which suffered terrible losses when they came under the fire of the guns at short range. The confusion was completed by Babur's mounted archers, who galloped round the flanks and rear of the enemy's army, pouring in showers of arrows. When all was in a state of disorder, the cavalry charged again and again, until they were thoroughly routed. Ibrahim Lodi

himself and 15,000 men lay dead on the field, and the rest were in full flight. Prisoners, elephants and heaps of spoil were brought in. Among the latter was the famous Koh-i-nur diamond, now the property of the British Crown. But Babur did not delay. Before the enemy could recover, he sent on his cavalry to occupy Agra and Delhi, and on Friday, 27th April the day after the battle, the *Khutba* was recited in the mosques in the name of Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur, the first of the 'Great Moguls', a dynasty destined to rule India gloriously for over two centuries. As a matter of fact, Babur was not a Mogul, but a Barlas Turk, the bitter enemies of the Mongolians; but the term Mogul was applied generally to all invaders from Central Asia.

Occupation of Upper India. Babur's task had only begun when he defeated Ibrahim Lodi's army and occupied his capital. He was isolated, with a tiny force, in the middle of a hostile country. None of the fortresses, save Agra and Delhi, had opened their gates. Worst of all, his men began to rebel. They disliked the heat of India, and longed to return to their cool mountain homes, to enjoy their booty as their forefathers had done. It was now that Babur showed all the qualities of a great leader. Calling his officers together, he addressed them as follows: 'A mighty enemy has been overcome, and a rich and powerful kingdom is at our feet. And now, having attained our goal and won our game, are we to forsake all that we have gained, and flee to Kabul like beaten men? Let no man who calls himself my friend ever again mention such a thing; but if any of you fears to stay, let him go.' This pacified the malcontents, and many of the Afghan chiefs, won over by Babur's conciliatory manner, became friendly; others were subdued by Prince Humayun, with a flying column of cavalry.

The Rajput Campaign. But a new peril now threatened Babur. The Rajputs had hoped that the conflict would so weaken the Mohammedans that the Hindu Raj would be

restored, and they thought that if they attacked the intruder now, some of the Afghan leaders would also rise. So Rana Sanga, the Sisodia, the Rana of Mewar and the head of the Rajput confederacy, called to his standard all the chiefs who acknowledged his supremacy. A mighty host of 80,000 horse, the flower of Rajput chivalry, and 500 elephants, took the field. At the head was Rana Sanga himself, the hero of a hundred fights, lacking an eye and an arm, and bearing on his body the scars of eighty wounds. Babur was at Agra, and he moved out to Sikri to meet his opponents. When his men saw the huge Hindu army, outnumbering them by seven to one, they lost heart. But once more Babur rose to the occasion, like the great soldier he was. He told them to quit themselves like men. This was a *jihad* or Holy War against idolaters : everyone who fell would be a martyr, and go straight to Paradise. He himself had been addicted to drinking wine, but now he broke his cups and poured all his stores of wine on the ground, and swore never to touch strong drink again. Then the whole army, inspired by their leader's example, took an oath on the Koran to conquer or die. Battle was joined at a place of the name of Kanwa, about twenty miles from Agra, on 16th March 1527. Babur pursued the same tactics as before. He entrenched himself behind a laager of wagons and awaited the attack. The Rajput cavalry dashed in vain against the entrenched line, only to be mowed down by the artillery. Meanwhile, Babur's mounted archers were sweeping round their flanks and attacking them in rear. But still the fighting went on all day, and it was not until evening that the Rajputs retreated, cutting their way through all who tried to bar the road. Thousands were left dead on the field, including many chiefs, but Rana Sanga escaped. Once more a vast, undisciplined Hindu host, despite all its bravery, had been beaten by a small, well-equipped, mobile army with more modern weapons and better tactics.

Babur Master of Hindustan. Babur followed up his victory by storming the Rajput fortress of Chanderi in Malwa, and by a campaign against Nasrat Shah, the Afghan king of Bengal. Here he won another great victory on the banks of the river Gogra, not far from Patna. 'In three battles, Babur had reduced northern India to submission.' His rule now stretched from the mouth of the Ganges to the Oxus. He divided his vast dominions into fiefs, ruled over by his officers, who were responsible for maintaining order and raising revenue, and supplying troops when called up. The great Hindu nobles and landowners were mostly left undisturbed, on condition that they submitted.

Death and Character of Babur. Babur now retired for a brief rest to Agra, which he beautified with gardens and watercourses in imitation of his beloved Samarkand. But he disliked India as much as his officers did. Its people were ugly, he said, without refinement or artistic sense, and the climate and country was no better than the inhabitants. There were 'no good horses, no good flesh-meat, no grapes or melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread, no baths or colleges.' To the end, the Moguls retained their dislike of the Indian hot weather. They introduced various comforts from Central Asia such as marble baths and pavilions to try and mitigate it, but whenever it became unbearable the court moved up to Kashmir.

A touching story is told of Babur's death. His beloved son Humayun was dangerously ill, and Babur performed the well-known ceremony of walking three times round the young prince's bed, saying, 'On me be all that thou art suffering.' The son recovered, but the father sickened and died. He passed away in his garden-house at Agra on 26th December 1530. He was only forty-eight, but he had been ruling and fighting since the age of twelve, 'a king of thirty-six years, crowded with hardship, tumult and strenuous energy'. His body was, at his own request, carried to Kabul, and laid to



BABUR VISITING THE PALACE OF JALAL KHAN, NEAR AGRA
(An illustration from the *Babur-Nama*)

rest in a garden on a hill outside the city, in a tomb surrounded by the flowers and running streams which he loved. His consort sleeps beside him. A century later the Emperor Shahjahan built a delicate shrine of white marble to mark the spot, and people still offer prayers at the grave of the founder of the Mogul Empire.

Babur was a remarkable man. He was a great soldier and leader, gay and reckless and of indomitable courage. He was a poet and musician, and a keen lover of beauty in Nature and Art. His *Memoirs*, written in Turki and translated into Persian by order of the Emperor Akbar, are one of the most delightful books in the world.



GRAVE OF THE EMPEROR BABUR
in his favourite garden at Kabul

Humayun. Prince Humayun, who succeeded, was brave, refined and courteous, but he was addicted to taking opium, and had little of his father's energy. While he idled away his time at Agra, risings were taking place all over the country. The Afghan nobles began to throw off the yoke. Bahadur in Gujarat and Sher Khan, a very able and powerful Afghan general who had made himself master of Bihar, refused allegiance to him. His brother Kamran in Kabul was also secretly disloyal. Humayun was thus surrounded by a ring of enemies. At first he won some successes, and then turned his attention to Bengal. But he was no general, and in 1539 and again in 1540, Sher Khan decisively defeated him in the

field. After the latter battle, Humayun had to flee for his life. He wandered about, poor and homeless, trying in vain to persuade some of the nobles to espouse his cause. At last he retired, a hunted fugitive, to the deserts of Sind, with only a handful of followers, and here his son Akbar was born at the little town of Umarkot, 23rd November 1542. He then attempted to enter Afghanistan, but his brother Kamran refused to admit him. He agreed, however, to take charge of Akbar. Humayun then went on to Persia, where Shah Tamasp received him kindly, and consented to help him if he agreed to conform to the Shiah sect. With the help of Persian troops, Humayun managed to expel his brother from Kabul and Kandahar, and to set himself up there as ruler.

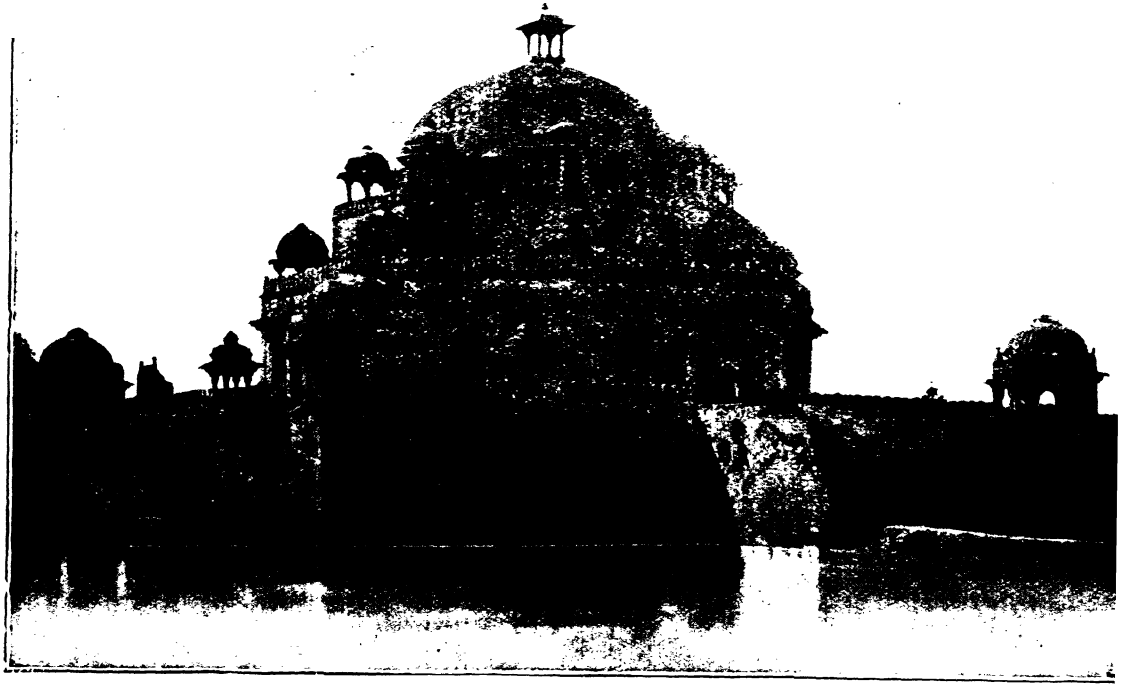
Government of Sher Shah. Meanwhile Sher Khan had made himself master of Delhi, and had assumed the title of Sher Shah. He was one of the greatest rulers that ever occupied that throne. He put down the disaffected and turbulent Afghan nobles with a strong hand. He built good roads, planted shady trees along their sides, and furnished them with rest-houses and wells at regular intervals. One of these roads stretched for 2,000 miles, from Bengal to the north-west frontier. Horse-posts carried mails, and enabled the Central Government to maintain control over the distant provinces. Law and order were strictly maintained, and it was said that 'an old woman with a pot of gold might securely lay herself down beside her burden, even in the desert'. Religious persecution was stopped, and Hindus could practise their rites unmolested.

Sher Shah's Administrative Reforms. Sher Shah introduced stringent rules for the collection of revenue, to prevent extortion on the part of his provincial rulers and peculation by his treasury officers. He divided the provinces into districts, each with a military governor, a treasurer, a judicial officer, and two accountants, one of whom wrote in Hindi and the other in Persian. Land was surveyed and assessed.

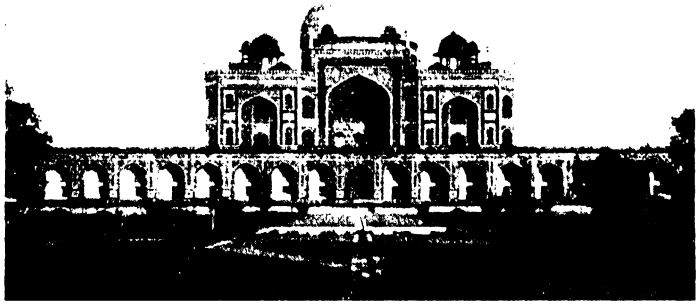
The share of the state was fixed at one-fourth of the produce, and the peasant could pay in cash or kind. Sher Shah employed Hindus as well as Mohammedans, and this ensured tolerance and fair treatment. Landowners who tyrannized over the peasantry were punished, and the village officers were made responsible for maintaining order and detecting crime or robbery within their districts. In order to stimulate trade, tolls and other vexatious duties were abolished. An excellent silver coinage was issued, the standard of the rupee being fixed at 180 grains. This standard was adopted by the Moguls and later by the British Government. Sher Shah personally supervised everything, and to this fact much of his success is due, as a strong personal rule has always been essential for success in India. 'It behoves the great always to be active,' was his favourite saying, and he regretted that, 'having come into power late in life, he had only so short a time to be of use to his country and to promote the welfare of its people.'

Importance of the Reign of Sher Shah. During the five brief years during which he was in power, Sher Shah accomplished wonders. But his real importance lies in the fact that he paved the way for Akbar. 'After the Mogul restoration, Sher Shah's officials passed into Akbar's service, and this far-sighted man, even after his death and the overthrow of his dynasty, remained the originator of all that was done by mediéval Indian rulers for the good of the people.' Raja Todar Mal, Akbar's minister, wisely copied many of Sher Shah's institutions.

Death of Sher Shah : Restoration and Death of Humayun. Sher Shah was unfortunately killed by the explosion of a powder magazine in May 1545, while laying siege to the Rajput fortress of Kalinjar in Bundelkhand. He is buried beneath a magnificent tomb at Sahasram in Bihar. After his death, his son, Islam Shah, reigned from 1545 to 1554, and then a dispute for the throne broke out between three rival



TOMB OF SHER SHAH



HUMAYUN'S TOMB, DELHI (A.D. 1565-6)

claimants. Taking advantage of these disorders, Humayun returned from Kabul. He reoccupied Delhi in July 1555 but, in January of the following year, he died from the effects of a fall on the polished stairs of his library.

CHAPTER V

THE MOGUL EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH: JALAL-UD-DIN AKBAR, 1556-1605

Accession of Akbar. At the time of Humayun's death, Akbar was in the field, under his tutor Bairam Khan, taking part in a campaign against one of Sher Shah's nephews. He was only thirteen, but, like his grandfather, he had started on his military career while still a mere boy. Having been born while his father was a fugitive, he had received no formal education. It is even probable that he could not read or write; but he had a prodigious memory and a passion

for knowledge, and eagerly absorbed the contents of books which were read to him. When the news arrived, Bairam Khan hastily arranged for Akbar to be crowned as Padshah, before rival claimants should have the opportunity of rising. The coronation took place at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur district, on February 14th, 1556.



AKBAR

The Second Battle of Panipat. The only rival of importance was Hemu, a clever but unscrupulous Hindu minister of the *bania* caste, who had done good work under Sher Shah and his nephew Shah Adil. He promptly seized Agra and Delhi, and assumed the title of Rajah Vikramaditya, which had been borne by the Hindu monarchs of old. Thus the Hindu Raj was revived at Delhi for a brief space. Hemu bribed many of the Afghan nobles to support him, and for a time things looked so serious that Akbar's counsellors thought of retiring to Kabul. But Bairam Khan decided to risk a battle before coming to a decision, and once more the fortunes of India were decided on the field of Panipat. The two armies joined battle on 5th November 1556. Hemu was successful in routing the flanks of his enemy's army, and might even have won, when he was struck in the eye by an arrow. His forces, being now leaderless, were at once thrown into confusion and fled. The wounded man was dragged into the young prince's presence and Bairam Khan wished him to put him to death. Akbar indignantly refused, and Hemu was dispatched by one of the attendants. Vast spoils fell into the hands of the victors, including 1,500 elephants. After this

there was little more resistance, and Agra, Delhi, Ajmer and Gwalior were occupied by Bairam Khan's garrisons.

Akbar Assumes the Reins of Government. For the next four years Akbar was under the control of his tutor Bairam Khan, who acted as regent with the title of Khan-i-Khanan. But in 1560, being then eighteen, the young king determined to take the government into his own hands. He dismissed Bairam Khan, suggesting that he should go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. At first Bairam Khan was inclined to be rebellious, but eventually he submitted to the inevitable. He was murdered on the way to the coast by a private enemy. Akbar now found himself surrounded by intriguing courtiers, including his mother and foster-mother, and a son of the latter, a general named Adham Khan. Adham Khan behaved with more and more insolence, and one day even went so far as to murder a rival in the precincts of the palace itself. Akbar was so enraged that he felled him with a blow of his fist, and then ordered the attendants to hurl him over the battlements. This was done, and Akbar then seized his uncle, Khwaja Muazzam, and shut him up in the state prison at Gwalior (1564). After this no one dared to interfere again. Akbar treated his mother with respect, but did not allow the harem faction to meddle any further in state affairs.

Akbar's Policy. Akbar now clearly saw that it would be impossible to maintain himself in India without the support of the people at large. He and his followers were a tiny minority, while all around them were, not only the great Rajput chiefs, but the Afghan nobles, who regarded the Moguls as intruders, and disliked him because he had overthrown the family of Sher Shah, whom they looked upon as their leader. His first thought was to win the Hindus over to his side. For this purpose he married, in 1562, a Rajput princess. She was the daughter of Raja Bihar Mall of Jaipur, and the Jaipur family became firm supporters of the emperor. Other measures were taken to conciliate the

Hindus. The pilgrim tax and the *jizya*, or tax on non-Muslims, were abolished, and it was forbidden to make slaves of prisoners of war and their families. This was exactly the opposite to the policy of the former Sultans of Delhi, who treated the Hindus as a conquered race. The Sisodias of Mewar, however, who were the leading Rajput clan, refused to submit to Akbar. The Rana declined to come to Akbar's court or pay homage to him, and condemned those Rajput princes who gave their daughters in marriage to the Mussulman.

The Conquest of India. In 1561, Akbar's dominions included the Punjab and Hindustan, from Peshawar to Allahabad and as far south as Gwalior and Ajmer. He now determined to extend his rule as far as possible over the whole of India. Akbar was a great conqueror, and during his long reign, save for brief periods, his sword was seldom sheathed. His general Adham Khan had already conquered Malwa, and its ruler Baz Bahadur had entered his service. In 1564 he sent Asaf Khan against the Hindu state of Gondwana in Central India. The brave queen Durgavati led her troops in person against the invader. But she was no match for Asaf Khan and, being wounded in a cavalry charge, she stabbed herself to the heart in order to avoid the dishonour of being captured. Shortly after this, a number of rebellions broke out among the Uzbeg chiefs in the eastern part of Akbar's domains. These chiefs were strict Sunnis. They disliked Akbar's unorthodox ways, particularly his friendliness with Hindus, and wanted to call in his cousin Hakim from Kabul. Akbar marched against the rebels and defeated them near Allahabad, and the rising was crushed with terrible severity. A fortress was built at Allahabad on the junction of the Ganges and Jumna to control the country.

The Siege of Chitor. In 1567 Akbar was at last free to turn his attention to the haughty and defiant Rana of Mewar. As he was the head of the Rajput confederacy, Akbar knew that, if he could force him to submit, the other Rajput nobles

would give no further trouble. The Rana was Udai Singh, who, it will be remembered, had survived when Chitor was sacked by Sultan Bahadur of Gujarat in 1534. Akbar laid siege to Chitor in October 1567, and for four months the great fortress resisted all attempts to take it. But at last Akbar managed to kill the Rajput general, Jaimal, with a lucky shot from his musket. After this, the defenders lost heart, and after the women had once again performed the dreadful *jauhar* rite, the heroic garrison opened the gates and, sallying forth, threw themselves upon the swords of the Muslims (23rd February, 1568). Akbar was so enraged at the obstinate defence that he put the inhabitants to death. The gates of the fortress and the kettle drums which used to summon the clans to war were taken off to Agra. Chitor was laid waste, and it was for many years desolate and uninhabited, as it was supposed that there was a curse upon it. But Udai Singh escaped, and founded a new state at Udaipur. After this the fortress of Ranthambhor surrendered, and the rest of the Rajput chiefs submitted. In 1570, Rajput princesses from Bikaner and Jaisalmer entered the Emperor's harem, and the Rajputs became his friends and allies. By this wise policy, Akbar won over to his side the great military race which had so long resisted conquest. Rajputana became a Suba or province of the Empire with its capital at Ajmer. But Rana Pratap Singh, the son of Udai Singh, never submitted. After being defeated again in 1576, he retired to remote strongholds where the Imperial troops could not penetrate, and held out there till his death.

The Building of Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar spent much of the early part of his reign at Agra. But two of his children died there, and he resolved to remove his court to Sikri, about twenty miles away, where dwelt a famous saint, Shaikh Salim Chishti. The Shaikh promised him a son, and his Rajput wife, the Jaipur princess, gave birth to an heir in August 1569, who was named Salim in honour of the



AKBAR INSPECTING THE BUILDING OF FATEHPUR SIKRI
(an illustration from the *Akbar-Nama*)

saint. From 1570 to 1585, Akbar made his residence at Sikri, and adorned it with magnificent buildings in red sandstone, which still survive, almost uninjured by time. Shaikh Salim Chishti rests beneath a beautiful tomb of white and black marble, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, in the Great Mosque. Later, Akbar abandoned Sikri and for thirteen years the court resided at Lahore.

Conquest of Gujarat. In 1572, Akbar took the opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Gujarat. He had long desired to annex it on account of its seaports and its trade. It had also harboured his cousins, the Mirzas, who were continually rebelling against his authority. The sultan Muzaffar III, was captured while hiding in a cornfield, and Ahmadabad was taken. Akbar also took Cambay and Surat, and saw the sea for the first time; what was more important, he came into contact with the Portuguese. On this campaign, Akbar was accompanied by his Rajput friends, Bhupat and Bhagwan Das of Amber. One day the three of them were caught by the enemy's cavalry, but managed to cut their way out. Bhupat was killed, and Akbar never forgot how Bhagwan Das and his brother had saved his life. In the following year, there was a rising in Gujarat, and Akbar, with a tiny force, left Sikri at a moment's notice and, riding 800 miles in nine days in spite of the monsoon, arrived before Ahmadabad when the Imperial garrison was at its last gasp. The rebels were completely taken by surprise and defeated. On his triumphant return to his capital, Akbar named it Fatehpur Sikri, or the City of Victory, and commemorated the event by building the grand Buland Darawaza or Lofty Gateway, one of the most impressive buildings in India.

Conquest of Bengal. In 1574, Daud, the Afghan king of Bengal, assumed an attitude of open defiance, and Akbar took the opportunity to overthrow him. As in the case of Gujarat, he attacked him during the monsoon, when troops were usually in bivouac and campaigning was suspended. Akbar

used the rivers as means of transporting his forces, and after two campaigns Daud was defeated and put to death in 1576, and Bengal was annexed.

Extent of the Empire in 1576. In 1576, Akbar's first series of conquests came to a close. He was now master of the whole of northern India, except Sind and Kashmir, from the Himalayas to the Narbada, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. It was probably the richest and most populous empire in the whole world at that time.

Todar Mal's Reforms. Akbar now took a short rest from the field, and occupied the time in organizing his dominions. One of his chief objects was to check the power of the nobles, and prevent further rebellions. Another was to give the people just government, and prevent extortion and the misappropriation of money. For drawing up a system of administration, Akbar employed the services of a clever Hindu from Oudh, named Raja Todar Mal. Akbar very wisely followed the lines laid down by his predecessor Sher Shah, and made use of the officials trained by him.

Land Settlement. The first thing which Todar Mal did was to complete Sher Shah's survey of the land, and the 'settlement' or assessment of the land revenue, which was the principal source of income. This assessment was based upon the area under crop, the kind of crop, and the fertility of the soil. The amount to be paid was calculated at one-third of the average produce, and had to be given in cash to the local treasury officer. The amount realized came to about nineteen crores of rupees, while about as much again was raised by customs, tolls and other duties. The system started by Todar Mal is the basis of that followed in India today. Many vexatious dues were at the same time abolished. The peasants now knew just how much was due from them, and this made oppression on the part of officials a far more difficult matter. The assessment was high, but trade was good and prices low.

Provincial and District Organization. Akbar's Empire was divided into a number of provinces or Subas. There were at first twelve provinces, namely (1) Agra, (2) Ahmadabad, (3) Ajmer, (4) Allahabad, (5) Bengal and Orissa, (6) Bihar, (7) Delhi, (8) Kabul (including Kashmir), (9) Lahore, (10) Malwa, (11) Multan (including Sind), (12) Oudh. To these, the three Subas of Ahmadnagar, Berar and Khandesh were added later. The Subas were divided into Sarkars or districts, and the Sarkars into Parganas or Mahals. The Sarkar was the administrative unit, like the Collectorate today.

The Imperial Service. Each Suba was governed by a Subadar or Sipah Salar. He was always a great noble, or a member of the Imperial family. Under the Subadar were the Mansabdars, a carefully graded body of officials, who were classified according to the number of horsemen they were supposed to supply to the Imperial Army. The three highest grades, the Commanders of 10,000 to 7,000, were reserved for royal princes. Below these were thirty grades, down to the Commanders of Ten. These officials were paid out of the treasury : Akbar gave up the practice of assigning jaghirs or fiefs, which gave the holders too much independence. Thus the Mansabdar was both a civil and a military officer. He was responsible for the maintenance of law and order in his district, and for the collection of the revenue due to the Imperial exchequer. He also settled criminal cases. Punishments were severe ; the death sentence was inflicted for murder, robbery or rebellion, and blinding, mutilation and other barbarous penalties were commonly imposed. Torture was used to extract evidence. There was no written code, civil or criminal. Civil cases between Muslims were adjudicated, on lines laid down by Mohammedan law, by the Kazi. In the case of Hindus, it is probable that the majority of the disputes were settled by panchayats and caste juries according to the precepts of the *sastras*. Towns were under the control of an officer called the Kotwal, and had their own

regulations. Akbar was careful to see that offices did not become hereditary, as so often happened in India. This again acted as a powerful restraint upon his officials, who were liable to be removed at any time for misconduct. But owing to lack of communications, district officers had considerable powers, and it was difficult to keep a check upon their actions.

The Central Government. The Emperor was an absolute monarch, supreme head of the civil administration and commander-in-chief of the army. His rule was personal ; he could remove, punish, or even execute any of his officers at will. From time to time he appeared in public audience, and would receive petitions and redress grievances. He was, however, assisted in his work by his ministers. The chief ministers were :—

The Vakil-ul-Mulk (Prime Minister).
The Vazir or Diwan (Finance Minister).
The Bakshi (War Minister).
The Sadr (Ecclesiastical Minister).

The Army. Akbar's army was chiefly composed of cavalry. This was the striking force, which could move quickly about his vast dominions to whatever point they were required. The infantry were untrained, and played a subordinate part, and elephants were chiefly used to draw the artillery. Akbar was of a mechanical turn of mind, and made several improvements in firearms. He kept a small standing force, consisting of about 25,000 troopers, and including a bodyguard of *Ahadis* or gentlemen volunteers. But when war was declared, the militia was called up, and the Mansabdars had to come in with their contingents. The Mansabdars' contingents were inspected from time to time, and the horses were branded in order to prevent fraudulent musters. Each trooper was paid a fixed salary and had to provide and maintain his horse and equipment.

Akbar's Religious Reforms. The sixteenth century was an age of religious ferment all over the world. In the West,

Martin Luther had started the movement against the authority of the Pope, and in England Henry VIII, who died nine years before Akbar's accession to the throne, had declared himself Supreme Head of the Church in his realms. The bold preaching of Kabir, that Mohammedanism and Hinduism are only different ways of worshipping the One God, has already been mentioned. In Persia, similar doctrines were being taught by the Sufis or Persian mystics. From early days Akbar was deeply interested in religious questions. His tutor, Abdul Latif, was a broad-minded and tolerant man. From his father he inherited a leaning towards the Shiah sect, and a dislike for the rigid orthodoxy of the Sunnis. He also came to learn a great deal about Hinduism from his Rajput wives and friends. Then he fell under the influence of a bold and original thinker of the name of Shaikh Mubarak and his two sons, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi. Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi became Akbar's bosom friends, and the former, who was one of the most learned men of his age, was the author of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, or Institutes of Akbar, a survey of the Empire and the Imperial system, which took ten years to compile. It is part of a vast work, the *Akbar-Nama*, or History of the Reign of Akbar. Abul Fazl shared many of Kabir's views on the subject of religion. The following is a verse from one of his poems :—

O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee ; in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee !
If it be a mosque, people murmur the holy prayer ; if it be a Christian church, they ring the bell for love of Thee.
Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the mosque ;
But it is Thou whom I seek from temple to temple.

Akbar's aims were both religious and political. He was a mystic, trying in vain to pierce behind the veil of forms and ceremonies to find the hidden Truth. In this quest, he tried creed after creed, only to be disappointed. Finally

he determined to form an eclectic religion of his own, combining the common doctrines of all religions. But at the same time, he was working for a political object. Just as in England his contemporary, Queen Elizabeth, tried to found a common Church which would reconcile all reasonably minded people, Protestant and Catholic, so Akbar sought to found a common creed which would embrace all the religions of his vast Empire. In the words of the poet, he attempted

> To gather here and there
> From each fair plant, the blossom choicest grown,
> To wreathe a crown, not only for the King,
> But in due course, for every Mussalman,
> Brahmin and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
> Through all the warring world of Hindustan.

Akbar was determined, like Henry VIII of England, to be Head of the Church (*Imam-i-Adil*) and not to be ruled over by the Maulvis. He was Emperor of India and not merely of the Mussulmans, and only in this way he could insist on universal toleration. For this purpose he issued in 1579 his famous 'Infallibility Edict', in which it was declared that the Emperor had the right to decide 'for the benefit of the nation, and as a political expedient', any religious question about which there is a conflict of opinion. In June of the same year, he ascended the pulpit at the Great Mosque at Fatehpur Sikri, and himself recited the *Khutba*, or bidding prayer, composed for him by Faizi, who was now Poet Laureate.

The Parliament of Religions: the Jesuits. In order to try and arrive at the truth, Akbar built his famous *Ibadat Khana* or 'Hall of Worship', to which he invited Hindus, Jains, Zoroastrians and Christians, as well as Muslims, to hold religious discussions. Akbar took the greatest delight in these debates, suggesting topics and presiding in person at them. Perhaps the most interesting of the visitors to Fatehpur Sikri was the little party of Jesuit priests from Goa, whom Akbar invited

to visit his court in 1579. They were Father Ridolfo Aquavira, Father Antonio Monserrate and Franisco Enriquez, a convert from Islam who acted as interpreter. They made the long and dangerous journey across India, and were received with great honour. Akbar even allowed them to build a chapel. They stayed from 1580 to 1583, and it seemed at one time as if the Emperor were about to be received into the Church. The Jesuits brought as presents from Goa a number of European articles, including miniatures and Italian religious paintings. The latter greatly interested Akbar, who had them copied. Other Jesuit missions visited Akbar's court in 1592 and 1595, and they have left invaluable accounts of their experiences. The Jesuits also acted as Portuguese ambassadors and gained a great deal of political influence at the court.

The *Din Ilahi*. Finally, in 1582, Akbar promulgated an eclectic creed of his own, which he termed the *Din Ilahi* or Divine Monotheism. It was a kind of freemasonry, and the details were only known to the initiates, but apparently all adherents to it had to surrender themselves to Akbar, as their spiritual guide, or rather as God's vice-regent on earth. The Emperor became in their eyes a semi-divine being. Forms of worship included elements borrowed from the Zoroastrians and Hindus. The sun was adored, and meat was not eaten. Candidates for admission were required to abjure Islam altogether. The experiment was not a success. Only about eighteen persons from Akbar's inner circle of friends were admitted, and it died with its author. Needless to say, this heretical behaviour on the part of the Padshah, 'the King of Islam', greatly displeased orthodox Mohammedans, but they were powerless to interfere.

Akbar's Later Conquests. After Akbar became absorbed in administrative and religious questions, he appeared less often in the field, leaving conquests more and more to his generals. In 1580, a very dangerous and widespread rebellion broke out



THE SUBAS

(1) Kabul; (2) Lahore (Punjab), including Kashmir; (3) Multan, including Sind (4) Delhi; (5) Agra; (6) Awadh (Oudh); (7) Allahabad; (8) Ajmer; (9) Ahmadabad (Gujarat); (10) Malwa; (11) Bihar; (12) Bengal, including Orissa; (13) Khandesh; (14) Berar; (15) Ahmadnagar

among his nobles in various parts of the empire, who were shocked at his heresy, and again wanted to call in his cousin Hakim from Kabul. But Akbar marched on Kabul and Hakim at once submitted. In 1586, the beautiful and fertile valley of Kashmir was annexed and became the summer resort of the Mogul court. Sind, Baluchistan and Kandahar were conquered in the West, and Orissa in the East. The Emperor now turned his attention to the Deccan, and on the death of Chand Bibi, the gallant queen of Ahmadnagar, that state was annexed in 1600. In the next year the great fortress of Asirgarh, which commanded Khandesh, was taken by treachery: some disloyal officers were bribed to open the gates. Akbar was now master of the whole of India down to the Godavari, together with Baluchistan and Afghanistan. Three new subas, Khandesh, Berar and Ahmadnagar, were added to the empire, making fifteen in all.

The Coming of the English. In 1585, as will be narrated later (p. 242), two English merchants, Ralph Fitch and William Leedes, arrived at Fatehpur Sikri with a letter from Queen Elizabeth, but this event attracted no attention at the time.

The Tragedy of Akbar's Later Years. The great Emperor's latter years were clouded by sorrow. His children proved to be worthless, vicious drunkards. Prince Murad died of drink in 1599



ABUL FAZL

and Prince Danival of the same cause in 1614. But the crowning blow came from his favourite son, Prince Salim. Salim lived in open rebellion at Allahabad, where he assumed kingly airs and refused to come to court. Worst of all, in 1602 he heartlessly bribed a chief named Bir Singh to waylay and murder his father's beloved friend and counsellor Abul Fazl. In 1605 Akbar died of dysentery at Agra. He was buried in the tomb which he had built for himself at Sikandra. His funeral was a poor, hurried affair and, in 1691, the Jats, who had risen in revolt, plundered the tomb and scattered his ashes. 'Thus does the world treat those from whom it expects no good and fears no evil.'

Akbar's Personal Appearance. Here is an account of Akbar's personal appearance by one of the Jesuit Fathers :—

One could recognize even at the first glance that he is the King. He has broad shoulders, somewhat bandy legs well suited for horsemanship, and a light brown complexion. He carries his head bent towards the right shoulder. His forehead is broad and open, and his eyes so bright and flashing that they seem like a sea shimmering in the sunlight. His eyelashes are very long. His eyebrows are not strongly marked. His nose is straight and small, though not insignificant. His nostrils are widely open, as though in derision. Between his left nostril and upper lip there is a mole. He shaves his beard, but wears a moustache. His body is exceedingly well built and is neither too thin nor too stout. He is sturdy, hardy and robust. When he laughs, his face becomes almost distorted. His expression is tranquil, serene and open, full also of dignity, and when he is angry, of awful majesty.

His Character. Akbar had all the characteristics of his grandfather Babur. He was a brave soldier, and was never so happy as when leading his men to battle. He loved adventure and peril for their own sake. His great dignity impressed all who beheld him. Although he was liable to terrible outbursts of wrath, he was merciful and just, and ready to listen to all who approached him. Ever since his boyhood,

he had been sincerely religious, though he rebelled against narrow and orthodox views. In crushing rebellion, he was often forced to act with much severity and even cruelty, but we must remember that he was at the beginning of his career surrounded by enemies, and misplaced leniency would have been fatal. He was a great organizer, and was the founder of a system of administration which persists until today. Unlike the earlier Mohammedan rulers, he never forgot the fact that the majority of his subjects were Hindus, and that all alike were entitled to equal treatment. At the same time, he did his best to abolish evil customs like child-marriage and suttee. Though he was formally illiterate, he had an insatiable thirst after knowledge. Books on theology, history and science were read to him, and he had others translated from Arabic, Sanskrit, Portuguese and other languages. He was very interested in mechanics.

Architecture, Art and Literature. Akbar was a great builder, and his buildings combine the solid and impressive dignity of the early Sultans of Delhi with motives borrowed from Hindu architecture. His favourite material was red sandstone. Some of the chief buildings of his reign are the fort at Agra, the tomb of Humayun, and his ' dream city ' of Fatehpur Sikri, which is practically intact and is his noblest monument. He loved painting and music. He had none of the scruples felt by orthodox Mohammedans about the representation of the human form, and gave court painters every encouragement. Some of these came from Persia, and others were Indians. Between them they evolved a new and very beautiful style, which was further modified by the influence of the Italian paintings introduced by the Jesuit fathers. Illuminated and illustrated manuscripts, portraits of celebrated people, and frescoes to adorn the walls of the palaces were produced. Among the musicians who found liberal patronage at Akbar's court, the greatest was Tansen of Gwalior.

Literature flourished. Among Persian writers, the most noteworthy were the historians Badaoni and Abul Fazl. These are particularly interesting, as they write from opposite points of view—Badaoni that of the orthodox Mussulman, critical and disapproving, and Abul Fazl from that of the courtier and enthusiastic admirer. Abul Fazl's brother Faizi, the Poet Laureate, translated the *Bhagavad Gita* into Persian verse, and wrote many religious poems. Akbar had a splendid library, but curiously enough, he never thought of setting up a printing-press, though he must have been shown printed books by the Jesuits. Among Hindi poets, we have already mentioned Tulsi Das. Others were Sur Das, the blind poet of Agra and an enthusiastic devotee of Krishna, and Rahim, the son of Bairam Khan.

State of the People. Akbar did an immense amount to relieve the lot of the common people, to stop religious persecution, and to obliterate the distinctions between Hindus and Mohammedans. He introduced a uniform system of taxation, and tried to put an end to extortion. Tax collectors who were caught in extorting money or defrauding the government were beaten and imprisoned. But, as we have seen, it was difficult for the Central Government to keep control over what went on in distant provinces, many hundreds of miles away. Taxation was high, and though the nobles lived in far greater pomp and luxury than the upper classes do today, the peasantry were very poor. Travellers speak of them as ill-fed and almost unclothed. The middle class, consisting of merchants, professional men and government officials, was much less numerous than now. Education was almost wholly religious and was confined to a small number of people. Terrible famines broke out from time to time, and owing to lack of communications it was difficult to bring supplies into the affected areas. In the great famine which lasted from 1595 to 1598, Abul Fazl says that men ate their own kind, and the roads were blocked with dead bodies.

Akbar's Place in History. Akbar's claims to greatness rest on two achievements. He converted what had been a merely military occupation into one of the mightiest and most famous empires that the world has ever seen. Secondly, he made a successful attempt to weld India into a single nation.

It is true that his work was to a very great extent undone by the bigoted policy of his great-grandson, but Akbar was the first to be inspired with the vision of a united India. He put into practice what Kabir and the mystics had dreamed. At a time when the stake, and rack and the rope were all too familiar sights in Europe, he established a system under which all could freely practise their creeds, without let or hindrance. It was an age of great monarchs—Elizabeth of England, Henry IV of France and Shah Abbas of Persia—but in many ways he surpassed them all. 'He was a born king of men, with a rightful claim to rank as one of the greatest monarchs of history. That claim rests securely on the basis of his extraordinary natural gifts and magnificent achievements.'

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1556	Death of Humayun and enthronement of Akbar. Second battle of Panipat.
1562	Akbar assumes the reins of government.
1568	Fall of Chitor.
1569	Foundation of Fatehpur Sikri.
1572	Conquest of Gujarat.
1576	Conquest of Bengal.
1579	Akbar Head of the Church (*Imam-i-Adil*).
1580	Jesuit mission arrives at Fatehpur Sikri.
1582	Proclamation of the *Din Ilahi*, or New Religion.
1585	English merchants arrive at Fatehpur Sikri.
1586-7	Conquest of Kashmir.
1588-90	Conquest of Sind.

1595-1600	Campaign against Ahmadnagar: death of Chand Bibi.
1595-8	Great Famine in Hindustan.
1601	Fall of Asirgarh.
1602	Revolt of Prince Salim.
1605	Death of Akbar (October).

CHAPTER VI

THE MOGUL EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH: JAHANGIR AND SHAHJAHAN, 1605-66

Accession of Jahangir. Prince Salim had been indicated by Akbar on his deathbed as his successor, and he now ascended the throne under the title of Jahangir or 'World Grasper'. He was unpopular, and some of the younger nobles joined in a rising to crown his son Khusru instead. Khusru fled to Lahore, where he was helped by the Sikh Guru Arjun. Father and son met in battle, and Jahangir was easily victorious. The rebellion was put down in a most barbarous fashion. Hundreds of Khusru's followers were impaled on stakes, and the unfortunate young prince was forced to witness their dying agonies. Arjun was also tortured to death. Afterwards further risings took place, and Khusru was blinded and thrown into prison. After a time Jahangir relented and treated him kindly, but this aroused the jealousy of his brother Khurram, who caused him to be poisoned. He died in 1622, and was buried at Allahabad. He was a kindly and enlightened prince, and greatly beloved by the people.

The Empress Nurjahan. In 1611, Jahangir married Nurjahan, the widow of a Persian nobleman named Sherafghan. She was a most remarkable woman, and completely dominated her husband, appearing with him in public at



JAHANGIR

the *jharokha* or palace window and in the hunting field, issuing *firmans*, and having her name impressed on the coinage. Her ruling passion was love of power, to obtain which she was quite unscrupulous. Together with her father, Itimad-ud-daulah, and her brother, Asaf Khan, she formed a 'palace party', which supported Prince Khurram, who was married to Asaf Khan's daughter. The nobles, headed by Mahabat Khan, hated to see the empire ruled by a woman and her relatives, and were bitterly opposed to Nurjahan. Later on, there was a good deal of jealousy between Nurjahan and her brother Asaf Khan, each of whom wanted to be supreme, and endless intrigues and plots were the result.

The Portuguese and English. When Jahangir first came to the throne, he showed great favour to the Jesuits, who were very powerful at court, and he was on friendly terms with the Portuguese at Goa. But in 1608 the East India Company sent to Surat a fleet of merchant-ships, on board of which was Captain William Hawkins. Hawkins went to Agra, and there, being able to talk Turki, he became for a time very popular with the Emperor, whom he joined in his drinking bouts. Hawkins was anxious to obtain for the East India Company permission to set up a factory at Surat, but the Jesuit Fathers, who hated the English both as trade rivals and as Protestants, were bitterly opposed to this. The Portuguese were now gradually falling into disfavour. In 1613, the authorities at Goa made the great mistake of seizing four Mogul ships, and Jahangir retaliated by closing the Christian Chapel at Agra and throwing the Portuguese residents into prison. About the same time some English merchant-ships beat off an attack by the fleet from Goa at the mouth of the Tapti, and in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe arrived at Agra as an ambassador from King James I of England. The climax came in 1632, when Jahangir's successor Shahjahan sent an army to attack the Portuguese settlement at Hugli on the Ganges. After standing a siege of three months, the heroic little garrison was

obliged to surrender. The survivors, about 4,000 in number, were taken to Agra, where they were offered the choice between slavery or conversion to Islam, but few deigned to save themselves in this manner. The French traveller Bernier says that the misery of these people was unparalleled in modern times. From this time, the power of the Portuguese, and their influence at the Mogul court, began to decline.



SIR THOMAS ROE

Campaigns. Jahangir inherited a well-organized and peaceful empire from his father, and it was unnecessary for him to wage any important campaigns ; in any case, he was too indolent to prosecute a war with vigour. In the province of Kabul, Kandahar was captured by the Persians in 1622, while in the Deccan, the clever Abyssinian minister, Malik Amber of Ahmadnagar, gave endless trouble to the Imperial troops. Malik Amber was the first to use the Maratha light cavalry in the way that Shivaji and his successors did later, to harass the Imperial armies, avoiding at the same time a pitched battle. The situation was made worse by the quarrels which were always breaking out between the Mogul officers. In the end, Prince Khurram was sent to the Deccan with a large force, and succeeded in restoring order. The rebel kingdoms were fined five crores of rupees. Jahangir's most successful feats were the reduction of the strong fortress of Kangra in the Punjab, and the submission of the gallant prince Amar Singh, the son of Rana Pratap Singh of Mewar.

Court Intrigues. About 1622 Jahangir's health began to fail, and intrigues for the succession broke out with redoubled vigour. The Emperor had four sons, Khusru, Khurram, Parviz and Shahryar. Khusru, as we have seen, was murdered by Khurram's orders. Khurram was supported by his father-in-law Asaf Khan, and Parviz by another great nobleman, named Mahabat Khan. A civil war broke out, during which the whole country was in confusion, and many districts in the Deccan were lost. At first, Prince Khurram was defeated and Mahabat Khan seized the Emperor and Empress. But in 1626, Khurram, who had assumed the title of Shahjahan or 'Lord of the World', returned from the Deccan, and Parviz died of drink. Meanwhile Nurjahan succeeded in freeing herself and her husband. In November 1627 Jahangir died on his way from Kashmir. Asaf Khan at once placed his sister under arrest and sent for Shahjahan, who was proclaimed Emperor at Lahore. Shahryar, who tried to oppose him, was seized, blinded, and thrown into a dungeon, where he and other princes who might be possible claimants to the throne were put to death. Nurjahan, realizing that her power was at an end, retired with a liberal pension. Asaf Khan was rewarded by being made minister. Then Shahjahan, having removed all possible rivals from his path, went to Agra, where he was formally enthroned. Jahangir was buried in the midst of a beautiful garden in Lahore, and a stately mausoleum was erected over his remains. Close by sleeps his powerful and ambitious consort, in a simple tomb bearing the inscription,

Let neither lamp nor rose adorn my poor grave,
To save a moth from courting death, or a nightingale the trouble of a song.

Character of Jahangir. Jahangir was in many ways an able and gifted man, and his *Memoirs* show him to have been an excellent writer of Persian, a connoisseur of painting and



THE EMPEROR SHAHJAHAN ON THE PEACOCK THRONE
(Painted about A.D. 1630)

literature, and a lover of nature. At the beginning of his reign, he tried genuinely to govern justly, but his natural indolence was increased by indulgence in strong drink and opium. Jahangir's worst fault was his cruelty. Like his father, he was subject to violent fits of rage, and tells us without any compunction how he executed a poor servant for a trivial fault. But Akbar never gloated with enjoyment over human suffering, or inflicted hideous tortures for sheer love of cruelty as Jahangir did. Jahangir seems to have been a free thinker in religious matters. In early life he leaned towards Christianity, and favoured the Jesuits. Later, for political reasons, he acted as an orthodox Mussulman.

Shahjahan's Wars in the Deccan. Shahjahan continued the useless and expensive attempts to subdue the Deccan, where a general named Khan Jahan Lodi had stirred up a rebellion. Khan Jahan Lodi was beaten, and Shahjahan then turned his attention to Ahmadnagar and Bijapur, with little result at first except that the whole countryside was ravaged and the peasantry suffered cruelly. However, in 1633, Shahjahan at last succeeded in bringing the kingdom of Ahmadnagar to an end by bribing the treacherous minister, Fath Khan, to surrender the impregnable fortress of Deogiri. He then ordered Golkonda and Bijapur to acknowledge him as suzerain. The Sultan of Golkonda submitted, but Bijapur held out. In 1636, however, Shahjahan returned ; this time the Sultan came to terms, and was fined twenty lakhs of rupees.

Prince Aurangzeb Viceroy of the Deccan. In 1636, Prince Aurangzeb was made Viceroy of the Deccan. As an orthodox Sunni, he hated the Sultan of Bijapur, who was a Shiah. The Deccan was divided into four provinces, Khandesh, Telingana, Berar and Daulatabad. Aurangzeb was in the Deccan from 1636 to 1644, and had succeeded in reducing it to some sort of order, when he was temporarily recalled, in order to take charge of military operations in the province of Balkh in Central Asia. He returned in 1653 to find most of his work

undone. His first action was to employ a clever officer named Murshid Kuli Khan to restore the finances. Murshid Kuli Khan introduced a system of land assessment on the lines of Todar Mal's famous settlement. He also induced Mir Jumla, a powerful minister of Golkonda State, to come over to his side. Mir Jumla was a very able general, and possessed a useful park of artillery. In 1656, Aurangzeb attacked Golkonda and Bijapur, but in both instances Shahjahan, who had no desire to see his son become too powerful, intervened and made peace. The Marathas, under a nobleman named Shahji and later under his son Shivaji, began to make themselves more and more prominent about this time, and added greatly to Aurangzeb's difficulties.

Central Asian Policy of Shahjahan. The Moguls never forgot that their real home was not in India but Central Asia, and both Jahangir and Shahjahan cast longing eyes towards the north. In 1645, Prince Murad Bakhsh was sent to capture the famous city of Balkh, which is of immense importance as it commands the high road to India. Afterwards he was succeeded by Aurangzeb, who was driven out and lost 5,000 men while retreating to India. Kandahar, the great bone of contention between Persia and the Moguls, had been taken in 1622, but was betrayed to Shahjahan in 1638. Ten years later the Persians once again seized it. Both Aurangzeb and his brother Dara Shikoh from 1649 to 1653 spent vast sums of money in trying to recapture it, but without result.

The War of the Succession. The death of a Mogul Emperor was always the signal for the outbreak of intrigues, ending in wars for the succession. Shahjahan had four sons, and he tried to prevent them from quarrelling or plotting against him by sending them to distant parts of his empire. Dara Shikoh, the eldest, was a gifted and amiable prince. He inherited his grandfather Akbar's liberal views; he was deeply interested both in Christianity and Hinduism, and was

on friendly terms with the Rajputs. He was Viceroy of the Punjab. Prince Shuja governed Bengal and Orissa, while Murad Bakhsh ruled over Gujarat. Prince Aurangzeb, the third son, was Viceroy of the Deccan. He was a good general, but extremely narrow and intolerant in religious matters. He disliked his eldest brother for his heretical opinions. All four sons were practically kings, ruling over vast territories with armies of their own, and as the Emperor became old and infirm, they acted as independent monarchs, living in royal state and striking their own coins. In 1657, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad Bakhsh were in open rebellion. Dara Shikoh, who commanded the Imperial forces on behalf of his father, defeated Shuja, but in May 1658 he was himself beaten at Sambhugarh, near Agra, by the combined armies of Murad Bakhsh and Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb at once seized Agra and made his father a prisoner. He then proceeded to do away with his brothers and their adherents. First of all he arrested his ally Murad Bakhsh and had him executed on a trumped-up charge. Then he sent Mir Jumla in pursuit of Shuja. Shuja was chased right out of Bengal, and took refuge in the jungles of Arakan, where he and all his family perished miserably. Then he went in pursuit of Dara Shikoh. Dara Shikoh fled to western India, where he roamed from city to city in search of help. He hoped for support from the Rajputs, but Aurangzeb bribed Raja Jaswant Singh of Marwar, the leading Rajput prince, to remain neutral. Dara Shikoh was brought to action near Ajmir and defeated, but fled to Sind. Here he wandered from place to place in the Sind desert, accompanied by his beloved wife Nadira Begum, and relentlessly pursued by the Imperial troops. At last Nadira Begum, worn out by her exertions, died, and Dara Shikoh was betrayed and captured. He was taken to Delhi and paraded through the streets in beggar's rags. The people, who loved him, attempted to form a rising in his favour, whereupon Aurangzeb sent some executioners who put him to death in his dungeon.



DARBAR OF SHAHJAHAN
(From a MS. in the Bodleian Library)

Death of Shahjahan. Thus Aurangzeb waded through blood to the throne. He kept his father a close prisoner in Agra fort, where he was devotedly tended by his daughter Jahanara. Shahjahan died in 1666, at the age of seventy-four. He was laid to rest by the side of his beloved wife, in the splendid mausoleum he had erected for her.

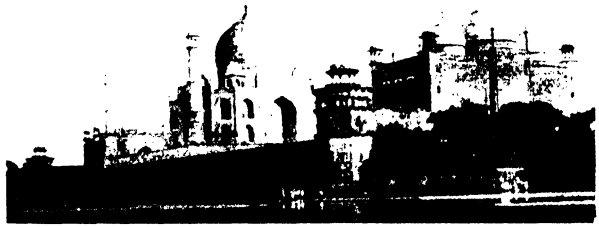
The Golden Age of Mogul Rule. The reign of Shahjahan has been called the 'Golden Age' of the Mogul Empire. Shahjahan was fabulously rich. The organization of the empire by Todar Mal had borne good fruit; the annual revenue was said to have been 22 crores of rupees, and immense treasure was hoarded in the strong-rooms beneath the fort at Agra. Shahjahan's court was one of unparalleled magnificence. Painters and poets were encouraged, and the buildings of his reign were of a splendour which far surpassed anything which India had previously witnessed. He erected the Jama Masjid at Delhi, together with the fort and palace. In the latter is the Hall of Public Audience, with its pierced marble screen bearing the Scales of Justice, and here formerly stood the famous Peacock Throne, with its golden legs and pillars, each of which bore two peacocks encrusted with rubies, diamonds and emeralds. It cost one hundred lakhs, and was carried off to Persia by Nadir Shah one hundred years later. Equally striking is the Hall of Private Audience, with its famous inscription,

> If on earth be an Eden of bliss
> It is this, it is this, none but this.

At Agra, the Pearl Mosque is one of the most exquisite buildings in a cluster of lovely monuments, but all are dwarfed by the famous Taj Mahal, which the Emperor erected for his wife Mumtaz Mahal, the daughter of Asaf Khan, who bore her husband fourteen children before she died in 1631. It took twenty years to complete, and cost four crores of rupees. Twenty thousand workmen were employed upon

its construction. Here husband and wife sleep side by side, surrounded by a screen of pierced marble, beneath the lofty dome.

Sufferings of the Peasantry. But behind all this pomp and splendour, the lot of the peasantry was far from enviable. In the provinces, law and order were relaxed, and the roads were infested with robbers. The officials were corrupt and tyrannical. The expenditure of huge sums of money on costly but useless edifices instead of upon works of public utility caused much suffering. The farmers' carts and bullocks were impressed for work on royal buildings, and



THE TAJ MAHAL, AGRA
(Commenced A.D. 1632 and completed in A.D. 1653)

wages were low, while taxation was high. An artisan only received three or four rupees a month. The French traveller Bernier tells us that many of the peasants had given up cultivating their land altogether and, in despair, had enlisted as troopers in the service of some nobleman. In consequence, irrigation channels had fallen into disrepair, fields were untilled, and houses were everywhere in a ruinous condition. 'The country is ruined by the necessity of defraying the enormous charges required to maintain the splendour of the numerous court, and to pay a large army maintained for the purpose of keeping the people in subjection. No adequate idea can be conveyed of the sufferings of that people. The

cudgel and the whip compel them to incessant labour for the benefit of others, and driven to despair by every kind of cruel treatment, their revolt and flight is only prevented by the presence of military power.' Even those who managed to make a little money by trade had to conceal the fact, for fear that it would be taken away from them upon some trumped-up charge. 'So much is wrung from the peasants that even dry bread is scarcely left them for their food.' From 1630 to 1632, a terrible famine raged in Gujarat. 'Life was offered for a loaf, but none would buy; rank was sold for a cake, but none cared for it. For a long time, dogs' flesh was sold for goats' flesh, and the pounded bones of the dead were mixed with flour and sold. Destitution at last reached such a pitch that men began to devour each other.' In Surat, we are told, the dead lay piled up in the street, with no one to remove them, as pestilence had come in the train of the famine. The Imperial authorities did what they could: soup kitchens were established, a lakh and a half of rupees was distributed in charity, and large remissions of land revenue were made. At first, the British had great difficulty in fighting famine, but today improved communications and irrigation works have made a recurrence of such calamities impossible.

LEADING DATES

Jahangir, 1605-27.

A.D. 1605	Accession of Jahangir.
1606	Rebellion of Khusru.
1608-11	Captain Hawkins at Agra.
1611	Marriage of the Emperor and Nurjahan.
1615-18	Sir Thomas Roe at the Court of Jahangir.
1620	Capture of Kangra.
1622	Persians capture Kandahar.

1624	Civil war breaks out: Prince Khurram in the Deccan.
1626	Jahangir seized by Mahabat Khan.
1626	Death of Parviz.
1627	Death of Jahangir.

Shahjahan, 1628-66

1628	Accession of Shahjahan.
1631	Death of Mumtaz Mahal.
1632-53	Building of Taj Mahal.
1632	Destruction of Portuguese settlements at Hugli and Chittagong.
1632	Overthrow of kingdom of Ahmadnagar.
1636-44	Prince Aurangzeb's first viceroyalty of the Deccan.
1645-7	Central Asian War: Aurangzeb driven out of Balkh.
1648	Transfer of capital to Shahjahanabad (Delhi).
1649	Capture of Kandahar by the Persians.
1649-53	Attempts to recover Kandahar.
1653	Aurangzeb's second viceroyalty of the Deccan.
1657	Aurangzeb attacks Golkonda and Bijapur.
1657	Outbreak of the War of Succession.
1658	Defeat of Shuja and Dara Shikoh by Aurangzeb. Murad Bakhsh seized and imprisoned (executed 1661).
1659	Enthronement of Aurangzeb. Execution of Dara.
1666	Death of Shahjahan.

CHAPTER VII

THE MOGUL EMPIRE AT ITS ZENITH: AURANGZEB ALAMGIR, 1659-1707

Aurangzeb, the Last Great Mogul. Aurangzeb, having successfully disposed of all his rivals, was formally crowned in Delhi, with the title of Alamgir, in May 1659. His long reign of fifty years falls into two nearly equal parts. From 1659 to 1681 he was mostly in northern India, leaving the affairs of the Deccan to his viceroys; from 1681 to his death he was in the Deccan, engaged in his fruitless attempt to subdue the Marathas.

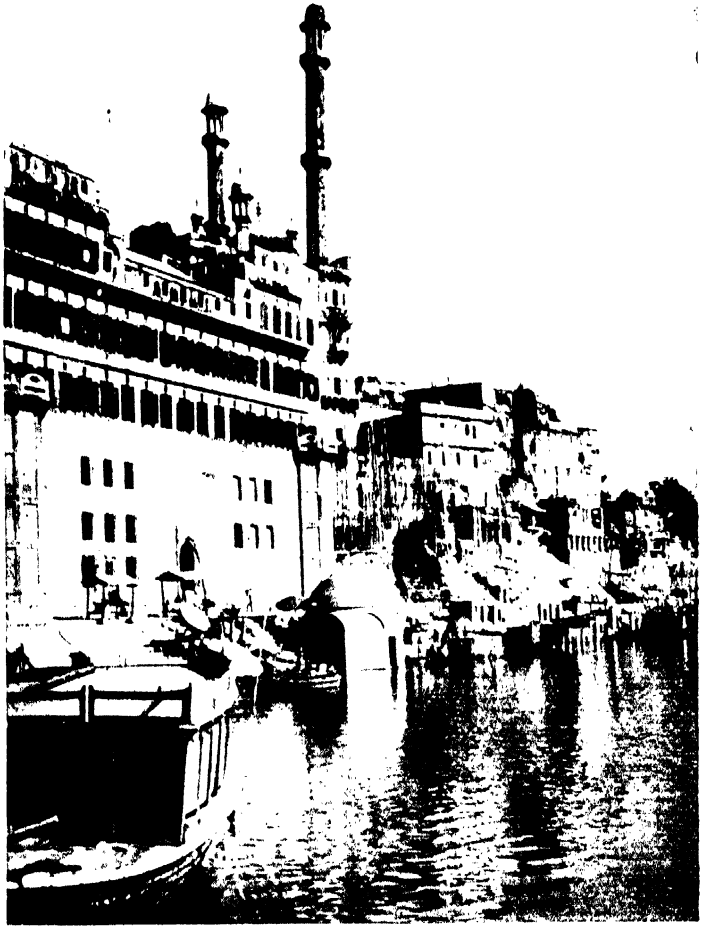


AURANGZEB

Frontier Wars. The first twenty years of his reign were comparatively peaceful and prosperous, and were only broken by frontier wars, which did not disturb the tranquillity of Hindustan. On the eastern frontier, Mir Jumla and, after his death, the Emperor's maternal uncle Shayista Khan, were engaged in expeditions against Assam and Arakan, and in clearing out the nests of pirates round the deltas of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and at Chittagong. Chittagong was taken in 1665 by Shayista Khan, who was governor of Bengal from 1664 to 1677.

Operations against the turbulent tribesmen of the North-West Frontier were less successful. They gave the Mogul armies as much trouble as they did the British in later times. In 1672, they ambushed an Imperial army in the Khyber Pass and heavily defeated it, and it was not until 1675, after the Emperor in person had visited the scene of operations, that order was restored.

Aurangzeb's Religious Policy and its Results. Aurangzeb was the first of the Mogul rulers since Babur to hold strictly orthodox views. He was greatly shocked at the laxity, immorality and extravagance of the nobles, which were undermining the empire. His cherished ambition was to purge India of idol-worship from end to end, and to make it a land 'fit for Islam'. The great Akbar had striven to break down the religious and social barriers dividing his subjects, and weld them into a united people; Aurangzeb sought to stamp out every religion but his own. His hatred of the Shiah heresy was only one degree less than that of Hinduism. For the first ten years of his reign he did not feel himself strong enough to take any drastic steps, but in 1669 he issued a rescript to all provincial governors 'to destroy with a willing hand the schools and temples of the infidels, and put an entire stop to the teaching and practice of idolatrous forms of worship'. Temples were demolished all over the country and not even the sacred cities of Benares and Mathura were spared. Religious festivals and pilgrimages were stopped. The hated *jizya* or poll-tax, which was regarded as a sign of national humiliation, was revived. This policy had its inevitable results. There was widespread discontent, followed by risings all over the country. The sturdy Jat peasantry, enraged at the desecration of the great temple of Mathura, rebelled in 1669, and slew the Mohammedan governor of the district. Though put down with difficulty, they rose again in 1681, and in 1691 even presumed to desecrate Akbar's tomb at Sikandra; the Mogul Government was powerless



THE RIVER GANGES AT BENARES, SHOWING AURANGZEB'S MOSQUE

to prevent them. Another serious rising broke out in what is now Patiala State by a Hindu sect known as the Satnamis, in 1672, and was suppressed with ruthless severity.

The Sikhs. Among those who were driven to rebellion by Aurangzeb's repressive policy were the Sikhs. Akbar had wisely befriended this religious sect, whose founder had tried to bring Hindus and Mussulmans together in a common religion, and allowed them to build the Golden Temple at Amritsar. But they had incurred the wrath of Jahangir by helping Prince Khusru. Jahangir put the fifth Guru, Arjun, to death. It was this action which transformed the Sikhs from a peaceful religious sect into a military brotherhood. Hargobind, the sixth Guru (1605-45), waged constant war against the Imperial troops. Aurangzeb seized the ninth Guru, Tegh Bahadur, and ordered him to embrace Islam. When he refused, he was put to death by torture. Govind Singh, the tenth and last Guru (1675-1708), was the real founder of the Sikh power. He organized them into a body called the Khalsa or Pure. They bound themselves to abstain from wine, tobacco and drugs, and all who were admitted to the brotherhood received the name of Singh or Lion; they adopted as their badge the 'five *Ks*' (*kes*, *kacch*, *khara*, *kirpan*, *kanga*), long hair, short drawers, an iron bangle, a small dagger, and a comb. After the murder of Govind Singh in 1708, the Sikhs found a new leader in an adventurer named Bandah, sometimes styled the 'false Guru', who started a rebellion which gave endless trouble to the Imperial officers. Low-caste people flocked to his standard, and he sacked the town of Sirhind, putting the inhabitants to the sword because the Governor had executed the sons of Guru Govind. The rising was only suppressed after much hard fighting, and Bandah was put to death with fiendish tortures.

The Rajputs. But Aurangzeb's greatest blunder was to alienate the Rajputs, whom Akbar regarded as the pillars

of his empire. In spite of their splendid services, Aurangzeb took no pains to conciliate them. The three leading states were Marwar or Jodhpur, ruled over by the Rathors, Mewar or Udaipur, ruled over by the Sisodias, and Jaipur, ruled over by the Kacchawahas. In Udaipur and Jaipur, over 250 temples were destroyed in one year. The Rajputs were not exempted from the *jizya*, though this was only supposed to be levied on those who were unable to bear arms, and was therefore especially insulting to them. In 1678, Aurangzeb went a step farther, and even attempted to seize their ancestral domains. Rajah Jaswant Singh of Marwar having died while serving the Emperor on the North-West Frontier, Aurangzeb had the meanness to take over the state and attempt to remove the prince's widow and her little son to Delhi, in order that the latter might be brought up as a Mussulman.

Rajput War. This caused the greatest indignation ; the Imperial troops were attacked and the princess and her son were rescued and carried off to safety. Aurangzeb sent his son, Prince Akbar, to annex Marwar, which was treated as a conquered province. Jodhpur was occupied; temples were razed to the ground and mosques built on their sites. Aurangzeb then ordered his son to attack Mewar, on the ground that the Rana had helped his kinswoman, and had refused to allow a princess of his house to enter the Emperor's harem. A plan of campaign for the conquest of Rajputana was formed, and two of Akbar's brothers, Muazzam and Azam, were dispatched for the purpose. Prince Akbar wrote a noble letter to his father, protesting against his policy : ' Blessings be on this race's fidelity to salt, who, without hesitation in giving up their lives for their master's sons, have done such deeds of heroism that for three years the Emperor of India, his mighty sons, famous ministers and high grandees have been moving in distraction against them, although this is only the beginning of the contest.' When the Emperor

refused to listen, the Rajputs persuaded the young prince to throw in his lot with them. In 1681, Akbar and his Rajput allies advanced against Aurangzeb, but the Emperor, by a clever trick, managed to make it appear to the latter that this was only part of a plot to entrap them. Suspecting treachery, the Rajputs made off, and Akbar, finding himself deserted, was obliged to flee to the Deccan, and afterwards to Persia. After this, peace was made with Mewar, which was exempted from the poll-tax and given other privileges. But a guerilla campaign went on in Marwar until after the death of the Emperor, when the Rana's title was formally recognized.

Affairs in the Deccan. The interest now turns once more to the Deccan, whence Prince Akbar had fled from his father, and in order to understand what was happening it is necessary to go back for some years. Shahji Bhonsle, the Maratha chieftain, was one of the leading supporters of the Nizam Shahi kings of Ahmadnagar. When Ahmadnagar was overthrown in 1636, he was allowed to transfer his services to Bijapur. The Bijapur government employed Shahji on distant military campaigns, and while he was away his wife Jijabai gave birth to a son, whom she named Shivaji, at the hill fortress of Shivner, which towers above the town of Junnar in the northern corner of the Poona district.

Boyhood of Shivaji. Shivaji was brought up by his mother and his tutor Dadaji Kondadeva. Formal education he had little or none, but he listened eagerly to stories that his mother told him of the Hindu heroes of old, Arjuna and Bhima, and Rama's combats with the demon Ravana. Jijabai was a typical Maratha lady, passionately attached to her race and religion, and she inspired the boy with devotion to Amba Bhavani, the family goddess of the Bhonsles. The Deccan was in a pitiful state. For years it had been the battleground of contending armies. Lands lay uncultivated and overrun by wolves, and terrible famines had broken out. Jijabai longed to see her country freed from the domination

of alien rulers, and her son grew up with the sense of a mission. The companions of Shivaji's boyhood were the Mavalis, or local hillmen, who taught him to ride and shoot, and to find his way through the tangled mazes of jungle and ravine and precipice which cover the Deccan hill country. The Mavalis became devoted to their young leader, and would follow him anywhere. As Shivaji began to grow up, he formed his plans for striking a blow for the delivery of his country, with the aid of the Mavalis.

Shivaji's Early Exploits. One of the outstanding features of the Deccan is the high, flat-topped hills, easily convertible by means of a few bastions into forts which are almost impregnable without the use of siege artillery. Some of these had been occupied by Mohammedan garrisons, but were carelessly guarded. At the age of nineteen, with his chosen companion Tanaji Malusare, Shivaji determined to seize these forts and the strongholds of Torna, Purandar and Kondana were taken without difficulty. Others followed, and at last the Bijapur government became seriously alarmed. At first the blame was put on Shahji, but Shahji explained that he had no control over his son. However, the Bijapur government was fully occupied by the campaign against Prince Aurangzeb, and it was not until 1659 that they were able to fit out an expeditionary force, under a general named Afzal Khan, to put Shivaji down. He retreated until he had drawn his opponent into the wild country on the edge of the Ghauts, beneath his stronghold of Pratapgarh, not far from the



SHIVAJI

present hill station of Mahabaleshwar. Here he induced Afzal Khan to come to a conference. Afzal Khan, who apparently had some thoughts of entrapping his wily foe, agreed. No one knows for certain who struck the first blow, but Afzal Khan was cut down by Shivaji, and his whole army surprised and annihilated. This was a terrible blow to Bijapur and, at the same time, left Shivaji master of the Deccan, together with an ample supply of arms, ammunition and horses, of which he stood in great need.

Aurangzeb's Deccan Policy. Meanwhile, Aurangzeb had become Emperor, and he determined to reduce the bold rebel to submission, Bijapur having so signally failed. He sent his maternal uncle, Shayista Khan, to the Deccan to restore order. The Marathas, however, refused to be drawn to a pitched battle, and hung upon the flanks of the Mogul army, cutting up the baggage train and giving it no peace. When Shayista Khan retired to Poona for the rains, Shivaji and a few followers boldly raided his headquarters in the middle of the night, and the unlucky general barely escaped with his life. Aurangzeb then replaced Shayista Khan by Prince Muazzam and the famous Rajput general, Jai Singh of Jaipur. They were no more successful, and in 1664 Shivaji made a lightning raid on the rich seaport of Surat, which he sacked. Before the Mogul armies could come up, he had retired to his stronghold at Raigarh, loaded with booty. Aurangzeb now resolved to try his favourite weapon, diplomacy. Jai Singh persuaded Shivaji to make terms with the Emperor and come to the court at Agra. On arriving at the Imperial Court, however, he was treated as a mere Mansabdar, or Commander of 5,000 Horse. Enraged at the insult, he determined to return, but found himself virtually a prisoner in his house. However, by the devotion of his followers he managed to escape, and after incredible adventures he returned in the guise of a sanyasi to his people (December 1666). After this the Maratha power grew stronger and stronger, and in

June 1674 Shivaji was solemnly crowned, with all the ceremonial of the ancient Hindu rajas, at his fortress of Raigarh. This was an event of great importance. For the first time since the death of the last Yadava king in 1318, a Hindu monarch sat on the throne of the Deccan. It is significant that the Moguls were powerless to interfere.

Shivaji's Death and Character. In 1676, Shivaji set out on his great southern expedition, which made the Marathas masters of the Karnatak. He made terms with Bijapur and Golkonda. He took the strong fortresses of Jinji, Vellore and Bellary, and made his brother Venkaji, the ruler of Tanjore, surrender half his territory. He died in April 1680. Shivaji was one of the greatest men of his age. As a guerilla leader, an organizer and administrator, he was equally talented. He was the first to revive the spirit of Hinduism, which had lain dormant and crushed beneath the heel of the Muslim conqueror for so many centuries. He was the founder of the Maratha Empire, which was destined to play a decisive part in the history of India. But most remarkable of all was his chivalry and kindness to his captives in an age which knew little of such qualities. This is how Khafi Khan, the Mohammedan historian, and his bitter opponent, speaks of him :—

He made it a rule that, wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to mosques, the Book of God or the women of anyone. Whenever a copy of the sacred Koran came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Mussulman followers. When the women of any, Hindu or Mohammedan, were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty.

The Maratha Poets. Shivaji was a sincerely religious man. His Guru or spiritual adviser was Ramdas Swami, a great poet and philosopher. It is said that in 1655, when Ramdas,

according to the practice of the mendicants, came to ask alms, Shivaji fell at his feet and made over his empire to him. Ramdas returned the gift, but told the prince he was to hold it in trust from God. In token of this, Shivaji adopted the mendicant's orange robe as the national banner (Bhagwa Jhenda). Another contemporary of Shivaji was Tukaram, 'the sweet singer of the Deccan'. Tukaram's poems are written in honour of the god Vithoba of the great Deccan shrine of Pandharpur, and they remind us of the poems of Kabir, the poet-saint of northern India. Like Kabir, Tukaram was a low-caste man, and believed that all, whether high or low, could find salvation by means of *bhakti*, or devotion to God. The national uprising produced other Maratha poets, but Tukaram was the most popular, and his verses are still on everyone's lips.

Shivaji's Administration. Shivaji was a great organizer, and did his best to introduce settled government into the Deccan, in the brief intervals between his campaigns. He endeavoured to find appropriate work for every caste in his kingdom. He was assisted by a Council of Eight Ministers, of whom the head was the Peshwa or Prime Minister. The others were in charge of finance, foreign affairs, the army department, records, religious matters, and justice. Revenue-farming was stopped, and a regular assessment made. Tribute in the form of *chauth*, or 'one quarter', and *sardeshmukhi*, or an extra tenth, was levied on foreign territories overrun by the Maratha troops. Shivaji prevented his ministers and generals from becoming insubordinate by paying them from the Treasury, instead of assigning jagirs. He refused to allow any office to become hereditary. He was a strict disciplinarian. Plundering was forbidden, and anyone bringing a woman into the army or otherwise disobeying orders, was sentenced to death.

Aurangzeb in the Deccan. Shivaji was succeeded by his son Sambhaji, a clever but dissolute prince, destitute of his father's virtues. Sambhaji sheltered Prince Akbar, and this

brought down Aurangzeb to the Deccan in person. Aurangzeb arrived at Ahmadnagar in 1683, and two years later moved his camp to Sholapur, but his attempts to catch his son were unsuccessful. He then turned his attention to the reduction of the last two independent Mohammedan states, Bijapur and Golkonda. Bijapur was taken in October 1686, and the Adil Shahi dynasty, which had reigned so gloriously for all but two centuries, came to an end. Golkonda was most gallantly defended by a brave general named Abdur Razzak, who repelled every attack until Aurangzeb bribed an officer to open the gates. Then Abdur Razzak fell, fighting to the last, and was taken prisoner. Aurangzeb treated him honourably, and when he had recovered from his wounds, took him into his service.

Execution of Sambhaji. In 1689, Sambhaji was captured. He was offered a pardon on condition that he became a Mussulman, but declined and was tortured to death in a barbarous fashion. But the Marathas still refused to submit. Sambhaji was succeeded by his brother Rajaram, and when Rajaram died, his widow Tarabai, a true Maratha lady, carried on the national movement.

Death of Aurangzeb. The Emperor was now over eighty, and too old to remain in the field. But the conquest of the Deccan had become an obsession with him. He wasted his time and energies in besieging the hill forts, from which the clever enemy always escaped in time. Satara, Purandar, Sinhghar, and Shivaji's capital of Raigarh were taken. At last all the forts were reduced except Jinji in the south, and in front of this the Imperial troops sat down for no less than seven years. In 1697, Jinji was captured, but the Mogul general, Zulfikar Khan, allowed Rajaram to slip through his fingers, to carry on the war. The Marathas relentlessly harried the Imperial army, which, with its endless train of followers, numbered half a million souls and when encamped covered many miles of ground. At last the Mogul army was compelled to fall back on Ahmadnagar,

from which it had marched out with such pomp and glory to the conquest of the Deccan nearly a quarter of a century previously. Here, exhausted and heartbroken, the Emperor passed away, at the age of eighty-nine, on 21st February 1707. Doctor Gemelli Careri, who saw him shortly before his death, describes him as of low stature, with a large nose, and slender and stooping with age. 'The whiteness of his round beard was the more visible owing to his olive skin. He was clothed in plain white muslin and wore a turban adorned with a large emerald. I admired to see him endorse the petitions with his own hand, without spectacles, and by his cheerful, smiling countenance, seem to be pleased with his employment.' His last letters are full of pathos. 'I know not who I am, where I shall go, or what will happen to this sinner full of sins. Now I will say goodbye to everyone in this world, and entrust everyone to the care of God. My famous and auspicious sons should not quarrel among themselves, and allow a general massacre of the people who are the servants of God. . . . My years have gone by profitless; God has been in my heart, yet my darkened eyes have not recognized His light. . . . There is no hope for me in the future. The fever is gone, but only the skin is left. . . . The army is confounded and without hope, even as I am; apart from God, with no rest in the heart.' The Great Puritan of India was laid to rest in a plain shroud worth only five rupees, which he earned as the price of making caps; 300 rupees, the proceeds of the sale of copies of the Koran, written by himself, were distributed to the poor. He lies in an unadorned tomb at Daulatabad, in striking contrast to the magnificent structures which cover the remains of other members of his line.

Aurangzeb's Character and Achievements. Aurangzeb was the most remarkable of the Mogul Emperors except Akbar. His whole life was devoted to religion, as he understood it. He saw with disgust the corruption which was sapping the *morale* of his people. He himself lived with the

utmost austerity, wearing only the simplest clothes, and observing strictly the fasts and hours of prayer prescribed by his religion. He conceived it to be his duty to stamp out idolatry, and undertook the task with ruthless severity. His cruelty to his father and brothers has been severely criticized, but it must be remembered that this was a struggle for existence, and, had circumstances been different, Aurangzeb himself would have been shown little mercy. Yet Aurangzeb's life was a failure. 'He had crushed the heretics; he had tortured and slain infidels; to the end of his life he had striven in person against the unbelievers; and he had extended to the sea the great empire which he had received from his father, only to witness, with his own eyes, the unmistakable symptoms of its dissolution.'

Literature and Art. Aurangzeb, like his English contemporary, Oliver Cromwell, who died in 1658, was a fanatical Puritan. Not only were Hindu temples and idols destroyed but painting, music and other arts were forbidden. A ban was even put upon writing history. The only building of importance erected during the reign of Aurangzeb was the mosque at Benares, with its tall and slender minarets, built to overawe the Hindu worshippers at the sacred city.

Causes of the Decay of the Mogul Empire. Contemporary European travellers throw ample light upon the decay which was fast overtaking the Mogul Empire. The country had been ruined by the heavy taxation imposed in order to provide the splendid buildings of Shahjahan. The Moguls who followed Babur from his mountain home were splendid men, bred in a cold climate and filled with the spirit of adventure; their descendants lived in idle luxury, allowing others to toil for them. They went to war in palankeens, surrounded by hordes of camp followers. The local governors were no longer under proper control, and government was oppressive and corrupt. The army was a worthless rabble, and a French visitor to the country declared that 30,000

trained soldiers could conquer the whole Mogul Empire. Fifty years later, Clive proved this statement to be true. Aurangzeb tried to stem the tide by bringing back the court to the puritanical simplicity of the early Caliphs, but it was too late. Another cause of the downfall of the Mogul Empire was Aurangzeb's own mistaken policy. By reimposing the *jizya*, trying to stamp out idolatry, and other oppressive measures, he undid all Akbar's far-sighted endeavours to weld Hindus and Mussulmans into a single people. Worst of all, he offended the Rajput princes, who were 'the sword and shield of the empire'. This was a suicidal act, as the government was without any deep roots in Indian soil; the Moguls were foreigners, and they made little appeal to popular and patriotic sentiment. An able and sympathetic ruler like Akbar could hold India together for a time by the force of his personality, and the decline really dates from his death. The empire was further weakened by the disastrous wars of succession at the decease of Shahjahan. Lastly, Aurangzeb's Deccan campaign was a fatal mistake. It left the Treasury empty. The Emperor's prolonged absence from the capital allowed misgovernment of every sort to flourish unchecked. Even then, Aurangzeb might have succeeded, had he sought the co-operation of the Mohammedan kingdoms of the Deccan; but they were Shiahs, and he was determined to overthrow them also. This made his task an impossible one. 'The mountain rat', as Aurangzeb called Shivaji, gnawed away the supports upon which the Imperial fabric was based, and brought it down in ruins.

LEADING DATES

Aurangzeb

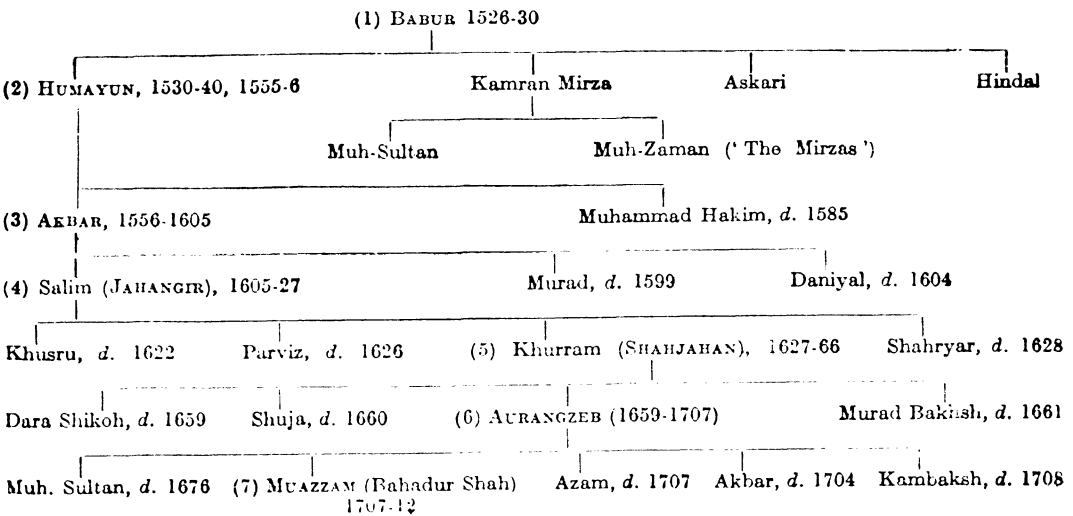
A.D. 1659	Accession of Aurangzeb.
1661-3	Mir Jumla's campaign in Assam.
1664-77	Shayista Khan governor of Bengal.

1666	Capture of Chittagong.
1666	Death of Shahjahan.
1669	Aurangzeb orders the destruction of Hindu temples.
1669	Jat rebellions.
1672	Satnami rebellion.
1675	Sikh rebellion: Tegh Bahadur, ninth Guru, executed.
1678	Rajput war.
1680	Rebellion of Prince Akbar.
1681	Aurangzeb goes to the Deccan.
1686	Conquest of Bijapur.
1687	Conquest of Golkonda.
1707	Death of Aurangzeb.

The Marathas

A.D. 1627	Birth of Shivaji.
1645	Shivaji seizes the hill forts of the Deccan.
1655	Annihilation of Afzal Khan and the Bijapur Army.
1660	Shayista Khan transferred to the Deccan.
1664	Sack of Surat.
1665	Shivaji goes to Agra; imprisonment and escape.
1674	Coronation of Shivaji.
1676	Shivaji conquers the Karnatak.
1680	Death of Shivaji: succession of Sambhaji.
1689	Execution of Sambhaji: Shahu taken to Imperial court.
1689	Rajaram, brother of Shivaji, regent.
1690-7	Siege of Jinji.
1700	Death of Rajaram: Tarabai regent.
1705	Satara, Sinhgarh, Raigarh, and other forts reduced.
1707	Retreat of the Mogul armies to Ahmadnagar. Death of Aurangzeb.

GENEALOGY OF THE GREAT MOGULS, 1526-1712.



CHAPTER VIII

THE DECLINE OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE MARATHAS, 1707-1800

Break-up of the Mogul Empire. On the death of Aurangzeb the usual war of succession broke out between his sons, and was ultimately decided in favour of Prince Muazzam (Shah Alam), who defeated his brothers and was crowned Emperor with the title of Bahadur Shah. He was a pious man but a weak ruler. He died in 1712, and, after another civil war, Jahandar Shah became Emperor, only to be deposed after a short reign by his nephew, Farrukhsiyar. Farrukhsiyar fell into the hands of two brothers, Abdullah and Husain Ali, known as the Saiyids or 'King Makers', who put him to death in 1719. The next Emperor, Muhammad Shah, managed to get rid of the King Makers, and reigned until 1748. But the empire was fast breaking up. In 1724, Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, disgusted at the corruption and disorder in the court, which he was unable to check, shook the dust of Delhi from off his feet and retired to the Deccan, where he founded the great state of Hyderabad. In the same year, Saadat Khan, the Nawab of Oudh, set himself up as a virtually independent ruler, and Alavardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, followed his example in 1740. To the north of the Ganges, the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe, had established themselves in the rich territories now known as Rohilkhand.

Shahu King of the Marathas. After the execution of Sambhaji, the Emperor Aurangzeb had brought his son Shahu to the Imperial court, hoping to make a Mussulman of him, and then send him back to rule over the Deccan. Shahu refused to be converted, but he was enervated by his luxurious upbringing, and was friendly to the Moguls. Zulfikar Khan persuaded the Emperor Bahadur Shah to carry out Aurangzeb's policy, and restore Shahu to the throne as a feudatory

of the Mogul Empire. This was done, and in 1707 Shahu returned to the Deccan under escort. As was expected, the return of Shahu threw an apple of discord into the Maratha camp, some of the chiefs declaring in favour of Shahu, whose headquarters were at Satara, and others for his aunt, Tarabai, and her stepson Sambhaji, at Kolhapur.

Rise of the Peshwa Balaji Vishvanath. Shahu was in a terrible dilemma among these warring factions, when his difficulties were solved by a clever Brahmin from the Konkan, named Balaji Vishvanath, who came to his rescue. After settling domestic quarrels, Balaji saw that the first thing to be done was to get Shahu acknowledged as an independent ruler by the Mogul Emperor. So he made friends with Husain Ali Khan, the Mogul Viceroy of the Deccan, and one of the so-called 'King Makers'. Together they marched on Delhi, and the wretched Emperor Farrukhsiyar was thrown into prison, blinded and murdered. His successor, Muhammad Shah, was forced to concede to Shahu the *swarajya* of the six provinces in the Deccan ruled over by Shivaji at the time of his death, with the right of levying the taxes of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* on them. This meant that Shahu's position was recognized. Balaji returned in triumph with this firman, which made his master's position secure and unquestioned.

Bajirao I, the Second Peshwa. Balaji Vishvanath left two sons, Bajirao and Chimaji Appa. As so often happens in India, the office had already become hereditary, and Bajirao was invested by King Shahu with the robes of the Peshwaship. Bajirao was a fine soldier and a man of bold and original ideas. The Marathas in their descent upon Delhi had discovered the rottenness of the Mogul Empire, and Bajirao conceived the plan for attacking and annexing the Mogul territories in Central India. There was a good deal of opposition among the Maratha chiefs to the bold schemes of the ambitious young Brahmin, but in the end Bajirao prevailed. 'Let us strike at the trunk of the withered tree,' he said to Shahu. 'The

branches will then fall of themselves. Then will the Maratha flag fly from the Krishna to the Indus.' In other words, Bajirao's aim was to overthrow the Mogul Empire, and replace it by a *Hindu Pad-Padshahi*. In 1723, the Maratha armies crossed the Chambal. Malwa and Bundelkhand were overrun and Gujarat was invaded. About this time, the Maratha generals began to carve out territories for themselves, Malharrao Holkar in Indore, Ranoji Sindhia in Gwalior, and Damaji Gaikwar in Baroda. In 1737, the Maratha horsemen, who had pushed on ever farther and farther, appeared before the gates of Delhi, causing a terrible panic.

Capture of Bassein. Bajirao's last great achievement was the capture of Bassein. The rich island of Salsette had long excited the cupidity of the Marathas, and the power of the Portuguese was now declining. Bajirao entrusted the expedition to his brother Chimaji Appa, who captured the outpost of Thana in April 1737. But operations had to be suspended during the rainy season, and the Portuguese put up a gallant resistance. It was not till 13th May 1739, after mines had been exploded under the walls, that Bassein surrendered. Chimaji treated the survivors with great chivalry, and the English in Bombay helped them to return to Goa. The Konkan, the fertile country below the Ghauts, was now in Maratha hands.

The Invasion of Nadir Shah. Meanwhile, tragic events were happening in the north. The great Persian ruler Nadir Shah, hearing of the pitiable condition of the Mogul Empire, resolved to invade the country. Marching through Ghazni, Kabul and Lahore, he defeated the Imperial troops with great slaughter at Karnal, not far from Panipat. Then he occupied Delhi. At first all went well, but a quarrel having broken out between the Persian soldiers and the inhabitants, Nadir Shah ordered a massacre, which went on for nine hours. The gutters ran with blood, and corpses were piled up in the streets. At length Nadir Shah gave orders to stop the

slaughter, which instantly ceased. The city was then ransacked from end to end, and at length the Persians returned, laden with booty. Among the loot was Shahjahan's famous peacock throne. Delhi had never been plundered so systematically since Timur's famous raid in 1398. Nadir Shah's invasion completed the ruin of the Mogul Empire, and Afghanistan became an independent monarchy.

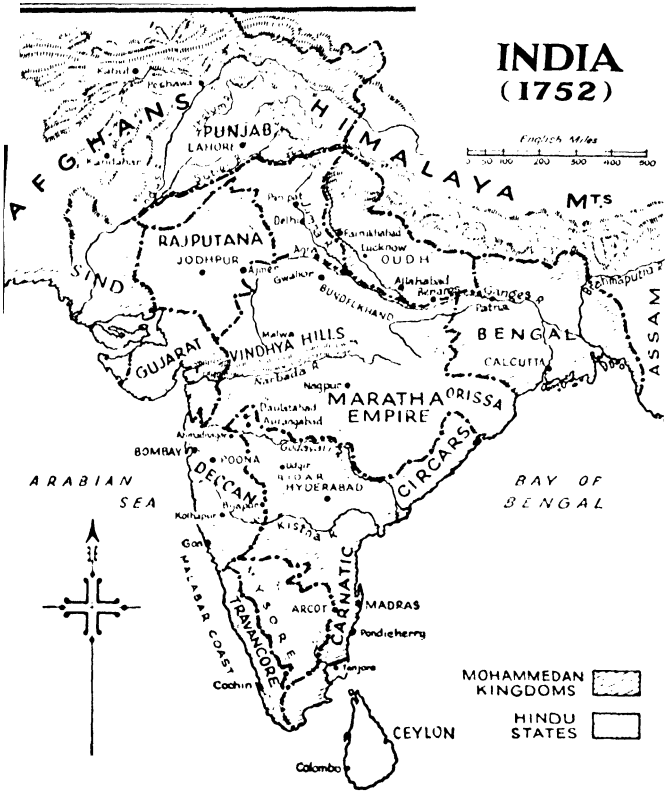


NADIR SHAH

Balaji Bajirao, the Third Peshwa. Bajirao Peshwa died in 1740. He was, next to Shivaji, the greatest ruler which the Maratha nation had produced. He had extended the Maratha power to the borders of Hindustan. Bajirao's eldest son, Balaji, although he was only nineteen, was made Peshwa by the king. Nine years later, Shahu died. He was a pious and amiable man, not unlike his English contemporary, George III, in character. He loved hunting and hawking and other rural pursuits, and was content to leave affairs of state to his ministers. After his death, Balaji Bajirao planned and executed a *coup d'état*. Ramraja, the heir to the throne, was made a state prisoner in Satara fort, and his aunt Tarabai was also shut up. After this, the Maratha kings became mere puppets, and the Peshwas openly ruled the country. The real centre of the confederacy was at Poona, where the Peshwas built a huge palace, though the nominal capital was at Satara.

The Maratha Empire at the Zenith of its Power. Under Balaji Bajirao, the Maratha Empire was at the zenith of its

power. In the Deccan, the Emperor's rescript had confirmed King Shahu in the six districts which comprised Shivaji's *swarajya*. Members of the Bhonsle family ruled at Kolhapur,



Tanjore in the far south, and Nagpur. Gujarat, Malwa and part of Bundelkhand were ruled over by Maratha chiefs. The Marathas had watered their horses in the Indus, and

knocked at the gates of Calcutta. In southern and central India, only Mysore, Arcot and Hyderabad remained independent, and Hyderabad had been greatly weakened by the death, at an advanced age, of the great Asaf Jah in 1748. For a time, the Nizam managed to resist with the help of the French general, Bussy; but after his recall the Marathas captured his chief depot at Ahmadnagar and forced him to cede Bijapur, Aurangabad, the fortress of Daulatabad, and part of Bidar. They inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hyderabad troops at Udgir in 1760. The Marathas, however, avoided on the whole making extensive territorial acquisitions. They preferred to leave the ruler upon his throne, and to levy tribute in the form of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The Maratha Empire was really a loosely-knit confederacy, with ramifications all over India, and its centre at Poona.

Events in Northern India. Meanwhile, stirring events were happening in northern India. Nadir Shah died in 1747, and Ahmad Shah Abdali continued his policy of raiding the declining empire. In 1751, Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh, called in Malharrao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia to help him against the Bangash Afghans, who had occupied the rich territory near Farrukhabad. The Marathas ransacked the whole country, not allowing a single man to escape. Every article of value they carried away as booty, and thus earned the undying hatred of the Afghans. In 1757 Ahmad Shah Abdali placed his son Timur in Lahore as his viceroy, but scarcely was his back turned when the Maratha general Raghunathrao, the Peshwa's brother, together with Sindhia and Holkar, marched to Lahore and drove him out.

The Durrani Returns. Ahmad Shah Abdali was furious when he heard this. Mustering an army, he suddenly swooped down upon India, and surprised and killed Dattaji Sindhia and his brother. Then he attacked and routed Malharrao Holkar, who only just escaped with his life. The news of the annihilation of their armies in the north reached

the capital just as the Marathas were filled with exultation at their victory over the Hyderabad troops at Udgir, and the Peshwa at once decided that the defeat must be avenged and the insolent intruders chased back over the mountains whence they had come.

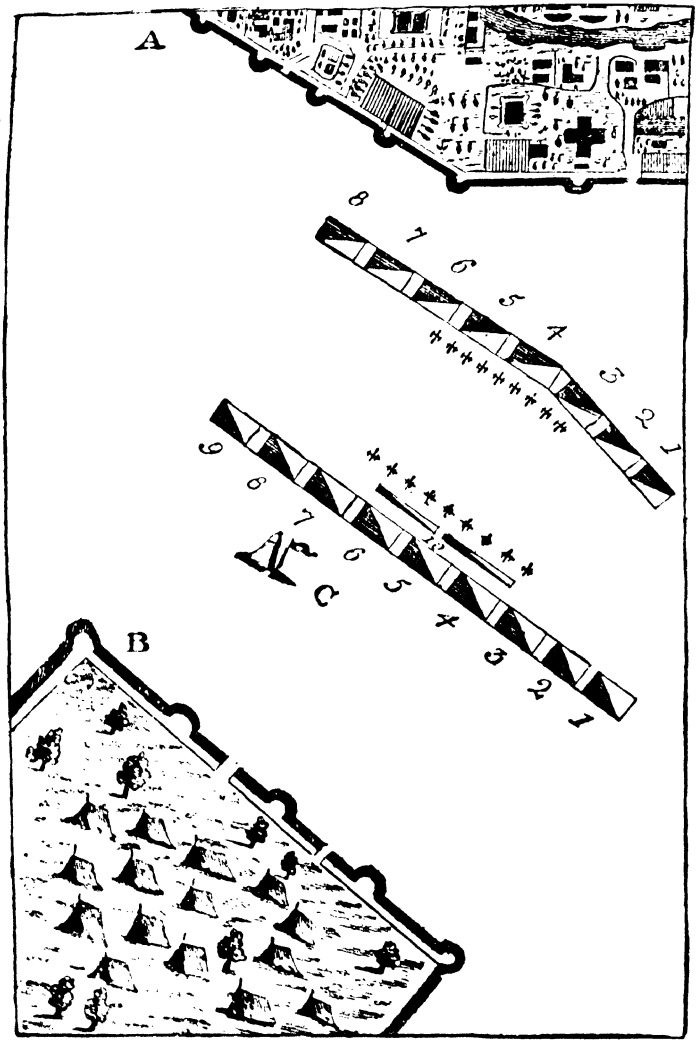
Departure of the Maratha Force for the North. Balaji at once assembled the most splendid and imposing Maratha force which ever took the field. It was placed under his cousin Sadashivrao (the Bhao Saheb), the son of Chimaji Appa, the conqueror of Bassein, and with it, as nominal commander, went Vishvasrao, the Peshwa's young son. Conspicuous among the troops was the artillery train, consisting of forty pieces of cannon, commanded by Ibrahim Khan Gardi, who had been trained under Bussy. But an observer would have noted many ominous signs. The sturdy Marathas who helped the great Shivaji to found his empire travelled without equipment, subsisting on a handful of parched grain carried in their saddlebags, and sleeping on the ground. Shivaji had made it a penal offence to bring a woman into his camp, but now the Marathas took the field with elephants and silken tents, and hordes of followers. The officers wore uniforms of cloth-of-gold, and their wives and families accompanied them. As the mighty host slowly moved northwards, Malharrao Holkar, burning to avenge his defeat, Jankoji Sindhia, Damaji Gaikwar and a host of chiefs poured in with their contingents. The march became a crusade. Everyone realized that if the Marathas were victorious, the *Hindu Pad-Padshahi* would be established in Delhi on the ruins of the Mogul Empire.

The Maratha Army Reaches Delhi. The Maratha army left the Deccan in March 1760, but owing to the rains, it was the end of July before Delhi was reached. At Bharatpur, Suraj Mal, the Jat chieftain, joined them. He was an experienced soldier, and he begged the Bhao Saheb to leave behind his artillery and baggage in some stronghold, and to carry on the campaign in the traditional manner of the Marathas, avoiding pitched

battles and constantly harrying the enemy. Holkar and Sindhia agreed. But the Bhao Saheb, who was haughty and imperious, dismissed their wise counsel as 'the chatter of goatherds and zemindars'. Suraj Mal was dismayed, and determined to slip away at the first opportunity. Delhi shut its gates against the invaders, but the Marathas scaled the walls and took the city. Here the Bhao Saheb behaved most unwisely. He spoke of seating Vishvasrao on the Mogul throne. Tombs were desecrated, and the silver was stripped from the ceiling of the imperial palace to pay the troops. Mussulman princes, like the Nawab of Oudh, who might have been friendly, began to go over to the Afghan side.

The Third Battle of Panipat. The rainy season was now over, and both armies prepared to take the field. The Afghan army was in the neighbourhood of Panipat, but as the Jumna was in flood the Durrani was unable to take his troops across the stream. The Marathas struck the first blow. They marched out (19th October) and destroyed an Afghan post at Kunjpur, putting the garrison to the sword. Meanwhile, however, the Abdali had hurried downstream, and, finding a ford, crossed the river and placed his army between the Marathas and their base at Delhi. Thereupon, the Bhao Saheb, foolishly ignoring the advice of his generals, fell back upon the town of Panipat, and there he proceeded to 'dig himself in', surrounding the place with a ditch and rampart, on which he mounted Ibrahim Gardi's guns. He hoped that the Afghans would attack him, but Ahmad Shah was too good a soldier for that. He closely blockaded the Marathas, cutting off their foraging parties and refusing to allow a soul to go in or out. Soon supplies were exhausted, and the Maratha leaders came to the Bhao Saheb and said that they must fight or starve. The Bhao Saheb was forced to agree.

The Marathas Come Out. At dawn on 14th January, the Maratha host came out to give battle. In the midst of the line the Bhao Saheb and Vishvasrao were seated on a magnificent



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT

A. Panipat town and the Maratha camp. B. The Durrani camp with (C) Ahmad Shah's advanced tent. Between are the armies in line of battle.

war-elephant, with the Bhagwa Jhenda or National Standard floating over their heads. The engagement was the fiercest and most desperate in Indian history. For a time it seemed as though the Marathas were winning, when an unlucky shot struck Vishvasrao in the forehead and killed him. Then, 'as if by enchantment, the whole Maratha army turned and fled at full speed, leaving the field of battle covered with heaps of dead'. The Afghans at once pursued them to the walls of Panipat, and as no quarter was given, the slaughter was terrible. The defences of Panipat were stormed on the following morning, and such of the fugitives who were not put to the sword were sold as slaves. Among the bodies found on the battlefield were those of Vishvasrao and the Bhao Saheb. Ibrahim Gardi and Jankoji Sindhia, who were taken prisoners, were put to death. Mahadaji Sindhia, Malharrao Holkar and Nana Farnavis, all of whom were destined to become famous in their country's history, escaped. Many of the fugitives found their way to Dig, where they were kindly treated by Suraj Mal.

Results of the Battle. Thus the finest army which the Marathas ever put into the field was almost totally annihilated. As the Peshwa moved slowly northwards with an army to reinforce the Bhao Saheb, he received a letter written in the allegorical language of the day, which said, 'Two pearls have been dissolved, twenty-seven gold *mohurs* have been lost, and of silver and copper, the total cannot be cast up.' Grief and consternation seized the whole Maratha nation; there was not a family which had not lost a father, a son or a brother, and all mourned the destruction of the army as the deathblow to their national greatness. The Peshwa never recovered. He retired slowly to Poona and there, six months later, he died of a broken heart. The Marathas never fully regained their position in Hindustan, and the defeat struck a fatal blow at the prestige of the Peshwa. The Maratha chiefs, who had always disliked the rule

of the Brahmin Prime Minister, now became semi-independent rulers, and the great states of Baroda, Indore, Gwalior and Nagpur began to arise into prominence.

Later Maratha History. Balaji Bajirao was succeeded by his second son, Madhavarao, but, as he was only sixteen years old, his uncle Raghunathrao acted as regent until he came of age. Under Madhavarao, the last of the great Peshwas, the Marathas gradually recovered from their crushing defeat. Madhavarao won a brilliant victory over his rival, Nizam Ali of Hyderabad, at the battle of Rakshasbhuvan, near Ahmadnagar, in 1763. He also invaded Rajputana and demanded tribute, and carried on a successful war against Haidar Ali of Mysore. In 1772, Madhavarao died of consumption, deeply lamented by all. As he had no heirs, he was succeeded by his younger brother Narayanrao, who was murdered the next year by the adherents of Raghunathrao. A civil war now broke out between the two factions, one headed by Raghunathrao and the other by Nana Farnavis, the able and astute minister who became regent for the infant son of the dead Peshwa. When Raghunathrao, or Raghoba as he was sometimes called, found that he was being worsted, he persuaded the English Government at Bombay to help him by promising to cede to them Salsette and Bassein (1775). But the troops which the Bombay Government sent up to Poona were defeated at Wargaon, and made a disgraceful peace, which forced Warren Hastings to intervene (p. 273). An attempt was made by the Nizam to organize a coalition of the Indian states, including the Marathas and Haidar Ali, in order to drive the English out of India, but this was defeated, as we shall subsequently learn, by Warren Hastings' wonderful sagacity, and ultimately the Marathas concluded a treaty at Salbai in Gwalior State, by which Raghoba was allowed to retire on a pension, and Salsette was ceded to the English (1782).

Mahadaji Sindhia. Mahadaji Sindhia, who now becomes the foremost power among the Marathas, is said to have started

life as the Peshwa's slipper-bearer. He was one of the few Maratha chiefs who escaped from Panipat, and in the succeeding period he built up a powerful army, trained on European lines, with the help of an able French officer of the name of Count de Boigne. In 1771, he took the Emperor Shah Alam under his protection, and when the latter was brutally blinded by a ruffian named Ghulam Kadir, he recovered Delhi and put Ghulam Kadir to death. In 1792 he visited Poona and invested the young Peshwa, Madhavarao II, with the title of Vakil-ul-Mulk, or Vice-regent of the Empire, on behalf of Shah Alam. He died two years later. He was a man of great sagacity and foresight, and had a high respect for the English. He took a leading part in the negotiations which led to the signing of the treaty of Salbai.

Ahalyabai Holkar. Mention may here be made of the noble princess Ahalyabai, who governed the state of Indore after the death of her husband Malharrao Holkar in 1765, for thirty years. In spite of the wars which were raging all round her, she kept her kingdom peaceful and prosperous during the whole of her long reign. She sat in open Durbar, hearing the complaints of her subjects and redressing their grievances. She made Indore, which she found a mere village, into a prosperous and flourishing city. She was deeply religious, and built and endowed many temples ; when she died, worn out with cares of State, she was universally venerated by all who knew her.

The Decline of the Peshwa's Power. It has been shown how the Peshwa usurped the royal power in the Maratha state after the death of King Shahu. The same fate overtook the Peshwa himself on the death of Narayanrao. His infant son, Madhavarao, was under the tutelage of the regent Nana Farnavis, who retained his power even after the young man grew up. In 1795, the Maratha chiefs combined for the last time under the nominal leadership of the Peshwa, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the Nizam at Kharda in the Ahmadnagar

district. In the same year, Madhavarao, driven to desperation by his minister's surveillance which he was unable to shake off, committed suicide by jumping from a window. In 1800, Nana Farnavis himself died, having been the dominant power in Poona for thirty-eight years. He is described as a man of strict veracity, humane, frugal and charitable, and he was a great statesman, if somewhat unscrupulous in his methods. With him, it was said, departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government. The downfall of the Peshwas, under Bajirao II (1796-1818), the son of Raghoba and the last of his line, will be described in due course.

Causes of the Downfall of the Marathas. The Marathas were brave, religious, and intensely patriotic, and under the leadership of the great Shivaji they expanded from an insignificant tribe into a mighty kingdom. Nothing could be more remarkable than the tenacity with which they recovered all the ground they had lost at the time of the capture and execution of Sambhaji. But a new era of expansion and imperialistic ambition set in with the rise to power of the Peshwas. Under them, the Marathas undertook far-reaching schemes of conquest for which their resources were quite inadequate. This led them into a campaign in the distant Punjab, many hundreds of miles from their base, which resulted in the disastrous defeat of Panipat. The Marathas would have done better had they disregarded the advice of the Peshwas, and contented themselves with consolidating their power in Gujarat and the Karnatak. After Panipat, the old Maratha troopers were to a great extent replaced by foreign mercenary soldiers, trained on European lines, and the national spirit greatly deteriorated owing to the importation of the luxurious manners and corrupt morals of the Imperial court at Delhi. Lastly, the Maratha system of government, outside its own boundaries, was purely predatory. Other Hindu states took a pride in developing the territories which they conquered. They constructed temples, wells,

canals, roads and other public works. They built rest-houses and hospitals and planted shade-trees by the roadside. The Marathas did nothing to improve or develop their conquests. They have been compared to a swarm of locusts, eating up the country which they overran. Their raids for the purpose of collecting the taxes of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* were usually undertaken just as the crops were ready to be reaped, and caused widespread suffering to the peasants. Thus the Marathas defeated their own ends, for by destroying the industries and wealth of the conquered territories, they were 'killing the goose which laid the golden eggs'. The Marathas have left behind them few traces of their rule in the shape of fine buildings or beautiful carvings such as we find in Vijayanagar or Ahmadabad. Almost their only memorials are their hill forts.

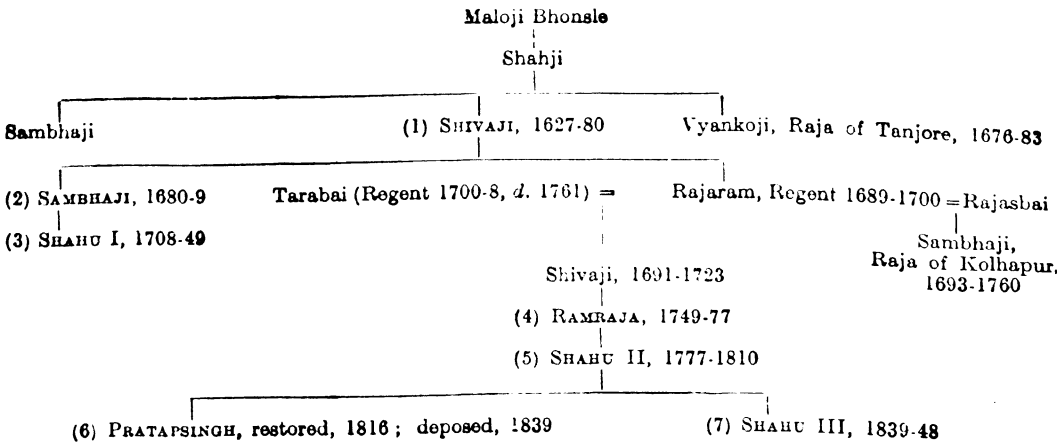
LEADING DATES

A.D. 1708	Return of King Shahu.
1714	Balaji Vishvanath, Peshwa.
1719	Balaji Vishvanath obtains for King Shahu the Imperial rescript for the *swarajya* of the Deccan.
1720	Death of Balaji Vishvanath. Accession of Bajirao I to the office of Peshwa.
1723	Asaf Jah, Nizam, leaves Delhi and founds the State of Hyderabad in the Deccan.
1724	Bajirao crosses the Narbada and overruns Malwa.
1727	Bajirao defeats the Nizam.
1729	Holkar and Sindhia establish their power in Central India.

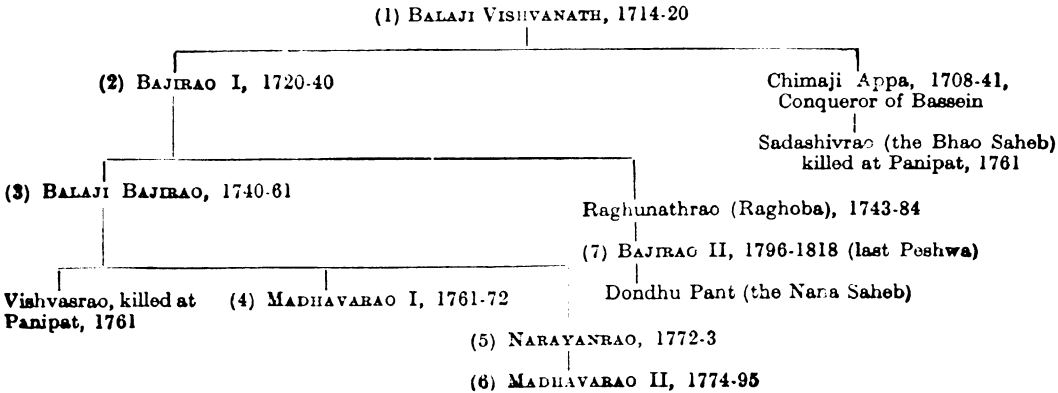
1730	Shahu defeats his cousin Sambhaji of Kolhapur.
1739	Nadir Shah invades India and sacks Delhi.
1739	The Marathas capture Bassein.
1740	Death of Bajirao Peshwa.
1740	Balaji Bajirao becomes Peshwa.
1748	Death of Asaf Jah, Nizam of Hyderabad.
1749	Death of King Shahu. Balaji seizes the power by a *coup d'état*.
1750	Poona becomes the headquarters of the Maratha confederacy.
1752	Ahmad Shah Abdali enters the Punjab and annexes it.
1758	The Marathas drive the Afghans out of Lahore.
1760	The Marathas defeat the Nizam at Udgir.
1761	Defeat of the Marathas at Panipat.
1761	Death of Balaji Bajirao: accession of Madhavarao I.
1763	Defeat of Nizam Ali at the battle of Rakshasbhavan.
1772	Death of Madhavarao Peshwa: accession of Narayanrao. Outbreak of civil war.
1775	Raghunathrao makes a treaty with the English promising to cede Salsette and Bassein.
1775-82	First Maratha war with the English.
1782	Treaty of Salbai. Raghunathrao pensioned and Salsette ceded to the English.

1792	Mahadaji Sindhia induces the Emperor to confer the title of Vakil-ul-Mulk upon the Peshwa.
1794	Death of Mahadaji Sindhia.
1795	Combined Maratha forces defeat the Nizam at Kharda.
1796	Death of the Peshwa Madhavarao II. Accession of Bajirao II.
1800	Death of Nana Farnavis.

THE BHONSLES



THE PESHWAS OF POONA



BOOK III

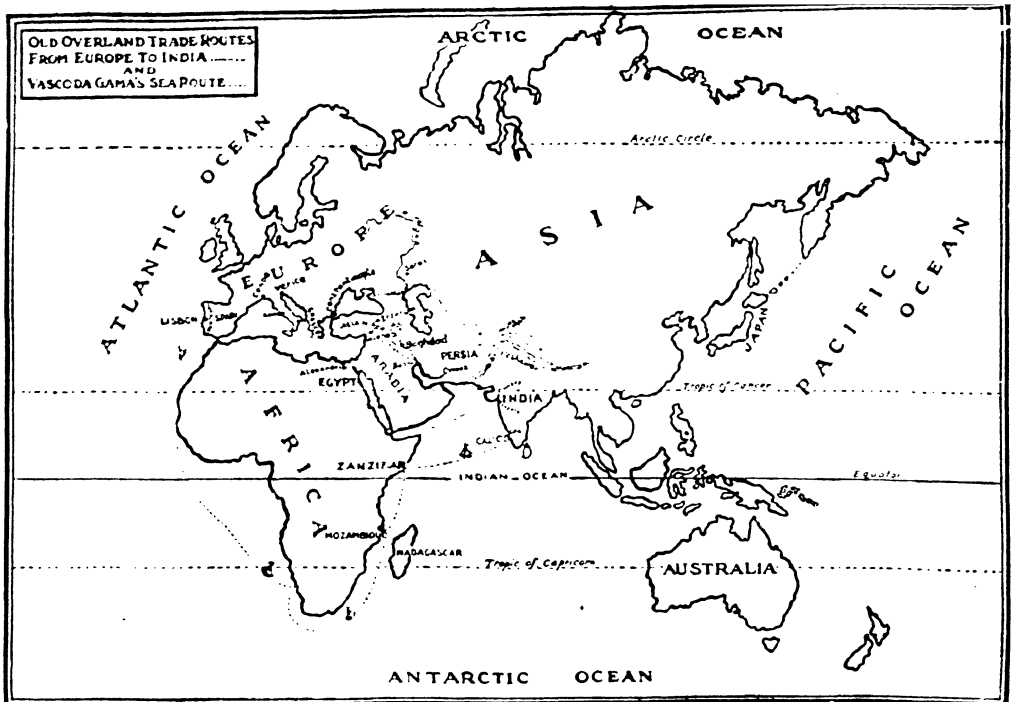
MODERN INDIA

CHAPTER I

EARLY EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS IN INDIA

Closing of the Ancient Routes. As we have already seen, intercourse between India and the West had been going on from very early times, and reached its height during the Roman Empire. Towns like Alexandria, Antioch and Constantinople were the chief marts where Indian goods were sold. But in the seventh century after Christ, the Mohammedans overran Asia Minor and overthrew Alexandria. For a time, however, trade went on through Constantinople, where the Venetians and Genoese had important factories. But in 1453, the Turks took Constantinople and closed this avenue also. All over Europe there was a great demand for Indian goods, and above all for spices, especially pepper, which was used for preserving meat for the winter, flavouring food and drink, and for medicinal purposes.

The Portuguese. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese were rising into power. They were a brave, adventurous people, and good sailors. Under the auspices of Prince Henry the Navigator, Portuguese captains set out to find a new way round Africa to India by sea, and at last, in 1487, Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. The King of Portugal now fitted out an expedition under Vasco da Gama, which, after many adventures, on 20th May 1498 cast anchor in the


OLD OVERLAND TRADE ROUTES FROM EUROPE TO INDIA
AND
VASCO DA GAMA'S SEA ROUTE
ARCTIC OCEAN
Arctic Circle
ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
ASIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
JAPAN
LISBON
PERSIA
EGYPT
ARABIA
INDIA
Tropic of Cancer
AFRICA
ZANZIBAR
INDIAN OCEAN
Equator
MOZAMBIQUE
MADAGASCAR
Tropic of Capricorn
AUSTRALIA
ANTARCTIC OCEAN

harbour of Calicut. Vasco da Gama made friends with the Zamorin or Raja, and in 1500 a Portuguese fleet came out and established a factory there. The Portuguese looked upon themselves as missionaries as well as traders, and procured permission from the Pope to conquer the East Indies, while the Spaniards took possession of America, which was discovered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The Portuguese were too small a nation to undertake colonization on a large scale, however, and contented themselves with setting up strongly fortified trading stations at various strategic points along the coasts of Africa and Asia. For this reason they took Ormuz, which commands the Persian Gulf, and Malacca on the Malay Peninsula; but they were foiled in an attempt to capture Aden. In India, their capital was at Goa, the capital of Portuguese East India, which was conquered from the Sultan of Bijapur in 1510, and was the seat of the Viceroy. They also had factories at Bombay, Diu and Daman on the Gujarat coast, at Chittagong and Hooghly in the Bay of Bengal, and in Ceylon.



VASCO DA GAMA

Fall of the Portuguese Power. Under their second Viceroy, the great Alfonso de Albuquerque, the Portuguese became very rich and powerful. 'Golden Goa', with its splendid palaces and cathedrals, was a magnificent city. The Jesuit missionaries at Agra exercised great power at the Mogul court, where they were in favour with Akbar and his successors. But the Portuguese power, though brilliant, was

short-lived. Their religious intolerance made them unpopular. Neither Hindus nor Mohammedans were allowed to practise their religion in Portuguese territories, and temples and mosques were destroyed. In 1560, the Inquisition was set up at Goa to punish heretics. In 1565, the fall of Vijayanagar, with which they did much of their trade, was a severe blow to their prosperity. Albuquerque encouraged the Portuguese to intermarry with the Hindu population and settle down in India. This was a mistake, for experience has shown that Europeans are unfitted to settle permanently in tropical countries. But the greatest blow to their power was the loss of command of the sea. After the defeat of the Armada in 1588, the English became the leading sea power, and the Portuguese in India were cut off from their base. In 1622, Ormuz was taken from them by the English. Their ships were defeated by their English and Dutch rivals whenever they encountered them, and they lost the favour of the Emperor Jahangir. Their final mistake was to cede the important harbour of Bombay to the English in 1661. But long before that their power had come to an end.

The Coming of the English. At first the English did not attempt to reach India by the Cape of Good Hope. They tried to discover a passage through the Arctic Ocean to the North of America and Asia, but this was found to be impossible owing to the ice. In the reign of Elizabeth, a small party of merchants set out for the court of the Emperor Akbar by the overland route across Asia Minor. At Ormuz they were arrested by the Portuguese and sent to Goa, but they managed to escape, and finally two of the party reached Agra in 1585. Only one, Ralph Fitch, returned alive, but his report led to the foundation of the East India Company in 1600. The East India Company lasted for two hundred and fifty-eight years, after which India was taken over by the British Crown. Captain William Hawkins came out in 1608, and obtained permission from the Emperor Jahangir to found a trading

factory at Surat, and further concessions were obtained by Sir Thomas Roe, who came to Agra as the ambassador of King James I in 1615, and stayed for four years.

The East India Company. The original East India Company of 1600 was called 'The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies'. It had a charter from Queen Elizabeth. It had only 125 shareholders, with a capital of £70,000. A fleet of ships was fitted out, members



SURAT CASTLE

of the Company subscribed what they wished, and when the fleet returned the profits were divided. There was much bitterness about the Company's monopoly, and a rival Company sprang up in 1698, with a capital of two million pounds. It was known as the English Company, but in 1708 a compromise was effected by Lord Godolphin and the two companies were amalgamated under the title of 'The United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies'.

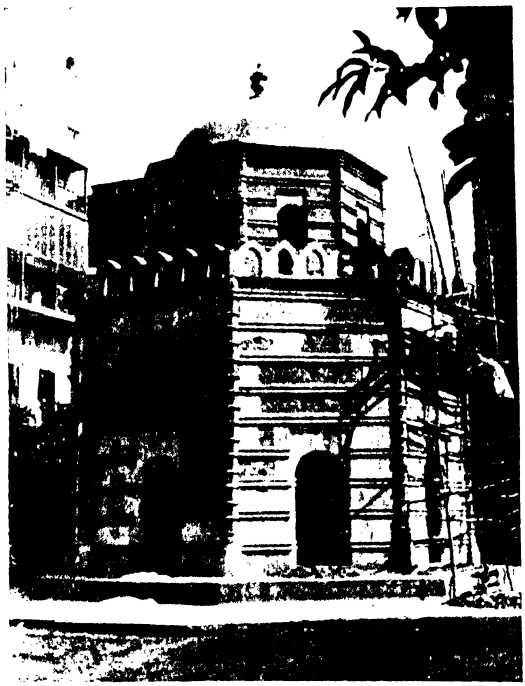
Foundation of Bombay. Surat was found to be unsuitable as a trading factory. It was situated some way up the river

Tapti, and merchantmen had to anchor in an open roadstead known as Swally Hole, while the goods were transhipped. The factors were at the mercy of the rapacious Mogul officials, who extorted money and even imprisoned them at will. In 1664 and again in 1672, Surat was sacked by Shivaji and his Marathas, and the Mogul governor did nothing to protect the town. Hence the English were glad of an opportunity to shift their quarters to Bombay, with its fine harbour, which the Portuguese unwisely ceded to them in 1661. At the time, it was a mere fishing village, and its value was so little realized that Charles II let the island on which it stood to the East India Company for the sum of £10 a year! Bombay was at first very unhealthy, but Gerald Aungier (1669-77), the first Governor, set to work to drain the swamps and reclaim the land overrun by the sea. The town was fortified, and when the Parsee and Hindu merchants found that they were allowed to trade and practise their religious rites without fear of molestation, they began to settle there. Little by little, Bombay became great and prosperous. Handsome buildings and dockyards were erected, and today she claims the proud title of *Urbs Prima in Indis*, 'the first city in India'.

The Foundation of Calcutta. Early in the sixteenth century the English merchants began to realize the importance of founding a trading station at the mouth of the Ganges, the great waterway which was then the chief means of communication for the rich and fertile province of Bengal, with its rice, indigo, saltpetre and silk. At first a factory was started at Hugli, but this was abandoned in favour of the village on the site of the present city of Calcutta. At one time, owing to quarrels with the Mogul officers, Job Charnock, the British Agent, had to retire to Madras, but he was allowed to return in 1690. Landing on the muddy and fever-stricken flats, he erected a fort which he named Fort William, after King William III. In 1700, the Bengal factories were placed

under the separate control of a President and Council at Fort William, and thus the Presidency of Bengal was started.

The Foundation of Madras. At the same time, English



TOMB OF JOB CHARNOCK AT CALCUTTA

factories were springing up in various places on the east coast. About 1625, the Company established settlements at Masulipatam and Armagaon in the Nellore district. But their trade there was much hampered by the local rulers, so one of the factors, named Francis Day, who was a Member of Council at Masulipatam, was sent to see whether he could acquire a strip

of land where the Company's merchants could work without interference. In 1640, he arranged with the Raja of Chandragiri to rent a piece of the coast north of the Portuguese settlement of San Thomé. At the time it did not look inviting. It was nothing but a dreary waste of sand, without a harbour, although there was a good anchorage in the roads. It was





FORT ST GEORGE, MADRAS

bare and inhospitable, and appeared to be of little value. On this unpromising site Day began to erect buildings for the accommodation of the merchants, and a fort to protect them from attack. He named the latter Fort Saint George, after the patron saint of England. Thus the foundation of the Presidency of Madras was laid. The grant was inscribed on a gold plate, but this, unfortunately, has been lost.

The Dutch in India. The Dutch, who had great trading marts for Eastern products at Bruges, Antwerp and Amsterdam, quickly followed in the wake of the English. During the seventeenth century, the Dutch were the first maritime power in the world. The Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602, and in 1619 Batavia, their capital in the East Indies, was built. They then proceeded to drive the Portuguese out of the Spice Islands. They blockaded Goa in 1639, seized Malacca in 1641, and took Jaffna, the last Portuguese settlement in Ceylon, in 1658. In 1664, they drove their rivals from the Malabar coast. At first, the English tried to establish themselves in the Spice Islands, but this led to the massacre of the English merchants by their Dutch rivals at Amboyna in 1623, after which they confined themselves to the Indian mainland. The union of the two crowns under William of Orange put an end to the rivalry for a time. A principal Dutch factory in India was at Chinsura on the Hooghly and in 1758 the factors took the side of the French, who had been expelled from Chandernagore by Clive. Thereupon, Clive attacked and defeated them, and this was the end of Dutch power in India. The English captured Java and Sumatra in the French war of 1793-1815, but they were restored on the conclusion of peace in exchange for the Dutch colonies on the Indian mainland (p. 298). At the present moment the Dutch flag flies nowhere in India, but they have a great empire in the Spice Islands, with its capital at Batavia in the island of Java.

The Danes. The Danes established factories at Tranquebar on the Madras coast, and at Serampore near Calcutta, during the seventeenth century, but they were never of any political importance, and were sold to England in 1845.

The French. The French came upon the scene later than the other European powers. The French East India Company was organized by Colbert in 1664, after the English had been established for some years. Unlike the English and

Dutch Companies, it was organized by the State. An expedition was sent out in 1670, which occupied San Thomé, not far from Madras. Pondicherry, about eighty-five miles farther south, was founded by François Martin, who had been driven out of San Thomé by the Dutch. The French also established a factory at Chandernagore on the Hooghly, hoping that it would prove to be a rival to Calcutta, and they seized the two islands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, to act as naval bases.

The Situation at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century. 'The Indian trade was a prize for which many of the European nations strove with each other during four hundred years: and the dreams of an Indian Empire allured some of the greatest European monarchs. The English East India Company outlived all its rivals. To the Portuguese and Spaniards, India seemed a second Peru, where diadems might be torn from the brows of princes: another New World, to plunder and convert. To the Dutch, it formed a great market which afforded, however, little room for individual enterprise, as the profit from the India trade was a strictly guarded national monopoly. To the French, India was a theatre for lucrative intrigue, in which splendid reputations might be won, but reputations fatal in the end to their owners, and sterile of results to the nation. The methods of the English Company were less showy, but more sure. Its youth was passed under the stern self-restraints imposed by having to make a hazardous private enterprise pay. It laid in a store of knowledge of the country before it embarked on any scheme of conquest. At length, when the breaking up of the Mogul Empire compelled it to choose between being driven out of India or ruling over India, it firmly made up its mind. No sufferings, no disasters ever shook for a moment its resolution; nor did the British nation ever fail its East India Company at any crisis of peril.'[1]

[1] Sir William Hunter.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1498	Vasco da Gama lands at Calicut.
1510	The Portuguese capture Goa.
1580	Union of Portugal and Spain.
1585	English merchants arrive at Agra.
1588	Defeat of the Armada.
1600	Foundation of the English East India Company.
1602	Foundation of the Dutch East India Company.
1608	Captain William Hawkins lands at Surat.
1612	English factory at Surat.
1615-18	Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to Jahangir.
1640	Foundation of Madras.
1661	Bombay ceded by the Portuguese to Charles II.
1664	Foundation of the French East India Company.
1690	Foundation of Calcutta.

CHAPTER II

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND FRANCE: CLIVE AND DUPLEIX

The French at Pondicherry. Pondicherry had grown into a prosperous settlement under M. Dumas. In 1742 he was succeeded by Dupleix, an able and ambitious man, who had already made his name as Governor of Chandernagore. He had had a great deal of experience of Indian affairs, and early conceived the plan of expelling his English rivals from the Coromandel coast and making himself supreme in southern

India. Both the French at Pondicherry and the English at Fort St George were, it must be remembered, merely in the position of tenants of Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Karnatak, to whom they paid rent for the ground which they occupied.



DUPLEIX

The War of the Austrian Succession. In 1741, a war, known as the War of the Austrian Succession, broke out in Europe, and England and France took opposite sides. The struggle soon spread to various quarters of the world, where the two nations were contending for colonial supremacy, and in 1746, a fleet commanded by a French captain of the name of La Bourdonnais, stationed at Mauritius, swooped down upon Madras in September and captured it. A bitter quarrel broke out between Dupleix and La Bourdonnais over the fate of the town. La Bourdonnais wished to hold it up to ransom, but Dupleix overruled him, and insisted upon occupying it. The Nawab, who was furious at the conduct of the French in taking Madras without his permission, sent an army to turn them out. The Nawab's vast, untrained host was defeated with ease by a tiny force of French and Indian soldiers under an officer of the name of Paradis. This event was of great importance, because it showed that a small, disciplined body of men was more than a match for the old-fashioned Indian armies. Among those who escaped when Madras was taken was a young man named Robert Clive, who had come out



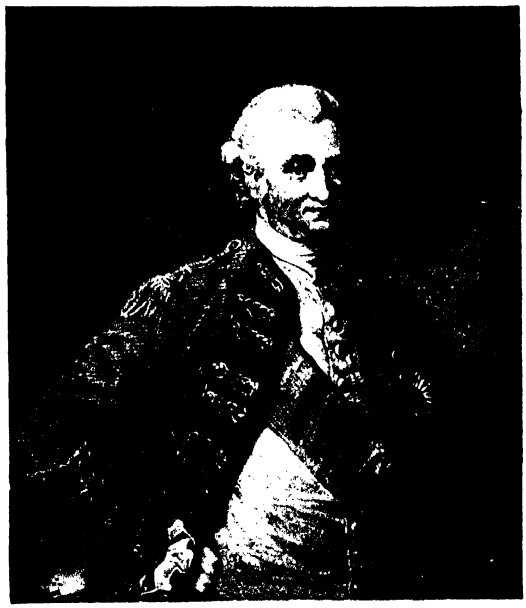
TRICHINOPOLY FORT

to India as a 'writer' at the age of nineteen in 1744. He fled to Fort St David, which he helped Major Stringer Lawrence to defend. Fighting, including an unsuccessful attempt by the English fleet to take Pondicherry, went on until the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, whereby Dupleix was forced to return Madras to the English in the following year.

Interference in Indian Affairs. Asaf Jah, the Nizam of Hyderabad, died in 1748, and a dispute had arisen about the succession between his son Nasir Jang, and his grandson Muzaffar Jang. In the following year, as luck would have it, Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Karnatak, was killed, and here again rival claimants arose, in the persons of Muhammad Ali, an illegitimate son, and Chanda Saheb, the son of a former Nawab. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle should, of course, have put an end to all fighting; but it was difficult for either country to control their subordinates, owing to their great distance from home. The feeling was very bitter. The English were sore at the humiliation they had received over Madras. Dupleix, on the other hand, saw an excellent opportunity for making himself supreme in southern India. And so it came about that the French supported Muzaffar Jang as Nizam and Chanda Saheb as Nawab, while the English upheld their rivals, Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali.

Clive Appears on the Scene. At first, all seemed to go well for the French. In 1750, Nasir Jang was killed, and Dupleix, assuming the office of king-maker, installed Muzaffar Jang on the throne of Hyderabad with great pomp at Pondicherry, in gratitude for which the new Nizam promised the French the overlordship of the country, 'from the Kistna river to Cape Comorin'. Meanwhile Muhammad Ali and his English allies were being closely blockaded in Trichinopoly by Chanda Saheb and the French. The English were in despair. Trichinopoly was at its last gasp, and it was too far from Madras for help to arrive in time. If it fell, the English cause was lost.

Help came from an unexpected quarter. Robert Clive, whose gallantry at Fort St David has been mentioned, had been given a military appointment in the small force which the Company maintained. He was only twenty-six and held the rank of captain. He pointed out that, instead of trying



CLIVE

to relieve Trichinopoly, which was too far away, the proper policy was to attack Arcot, only sixty-five miles distant. As Arcot was the capital of Chanda Saheb's dominions, this would compel him to raise the siege of Trichinopoly in order to come to its relief. The Council agreed that this might be worth trying. They scraped together every man they could lay hands on, and by this means Clive was given a force of

200 Europeans, 300 Sepoys and four guns. He surprised and captured Arcot, and immediately started to put it into a state of defence. Clive's surmise proved correct. As soon as Chanda Saheb heard of what had happened, he left Trichinopoly to turn the English out of Arcot.

The Siege of Arcot. Chanda Saheb marched against Arcot with 3,000 Sepoys and 150 French soldiers. For fifty-three days, from 23rd September to 14th November, they battered the walls of the town. Food began to run short, but the Sepoys, who were devoted to Clive, even gave him their rice, while they subsisted on the water in which it was boiled. At length Chanda Saheb tried to take the town by assault. But the attack was beaten off by the starving Sepoys, and Chanda Saheb retreated in despair. He was afterwards compelled to surrender by Clive, and was treacherously put to death by the Raja of Tanjore. During the siege, Clive lost forty-five Europeans and thirty Sepoys killed and many more wounded out of his small force. The repulse of Chanda Saheb made a deep impression upon India. It was felt that a new power had arisen in the land. But the French government at home heard with grave displeasure that Dupleix had been carrying on an unofficial war against the English, contrary to their instructions. Nowadays, of course, with the telegraph and steamships, such a thing would be impossible. But in those days it took six months for news to travel from India to Europe, and this gave local governors a large degree of independence. Dupleix was recalled in 1753, and had the mortification to see the collapse of all his splendid schemes.

Acquisition of the Northern Circars. Meanwhile, France was keeping her hold upon Hyderabad. The Nizam in 1751 had engaged the services of a very able French officer, the Marquis de Bussy, as his adviser. Bussy remained with the Nizam for seven years, and raised on his behalf a very efficient force. He also provided him with artillery, trained on the French model. To pay for this, the Nizam assigned

to him the districts known as 'the Northern Circars', at the mouth of the Godavari.

The Seven Years' War. In 1756, war again broke out between England and France. This was known as the Seven Years' War. The French Government sent out the Count de Lally as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. At first Lally was successful. He took Fort St David. But he was rash and quarrelsome. He recalled Bussy from Hyderabad and so destroyed the French influence at the Nizam's court. The authorities at Pondicherry did not give him proper support. His troops were not supplied with sufficient food, and became mutinous. His attack on Madras failed; he was compelled to give battle to a superior force under Sir Eyre Coote at Wandiwash in 1760, and was defeated. He was driven into Pondicherry and closely besieged. He held out gallantly from May 1760 to January 1761. It was said that the garrison was reduced to such straits for food that a dog sold for twenty-four rupees! Pondicherry capitulated; the fortifications were destroyed, and the town was sacked so completely that not a roof was left standing. Lally was sent to England as a prisoner of war. In 1763 he returned to France. He was thrown into the Bastille and was most unjustly executed on the charge of betraying his country. Meanwhile, Clive and Watson had captured Chandernagore in 1757. In the following year, Colonel Forde was sent to subdue the Northern Circars, which, thanks to Lally's ill-judged action in removing Bussy, were left undefended. The French forces were defeated at Condore, and Masulipatam was taken. Mahé, on the Malabar coast, capitulated, and when, in 1763, the war was brought to a close by the Treaty of Paris, the French were left without either military forces or settlements in the whole of India.

Causes of the French Failure. The causes of the failure of the French in India were many. The French East India Company was far inferior to the English one in wealth and

power. It was not an independent body of merchants, but a department of government. Like many government departments in France at the time, it was badly administered. Officers who displeased the authorities, like La Bourdonnais and Lally, were cruelly punished. Hence none of its servants displayed the bold initiative of men like Clive. Dupleix's ambitious schemes, his intrigues with the Indian princes and his attempts to build up a great empire in southern India, were disowned by the French authorities at home. It was no part of the policy of France to found a land empire in the East. Lally was sent out to reform the numerous abuses which prevailed in Pondicherry, and this aroused the jealousy of the local officials. They deliberately thwarted him in every way, and connived at his defeat. Lally was, moreover, starved of troops, as those who had originally been intended for India were diverted to Canada. When the English finally established themselves in the rich province of Bengal, it was clear that France was doomed.

But the root cause of the failure of France, as of Portugal, was her loss of the command of the sea. This was fatal. Some years later it caused the English to forfeit their American colonies. The French in India were cut off by the English frigates, which blockaded Pondicherry and prevented reinforcements from reaching them. Pondicherry might have held out indefinitely, had she been able to receive supplies of men and material by sea.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1674	Foundation of Pondicherry.
1742-54	Dupleix Governor of Pondicherry.
1741	War of Austrian Succession.
1746	Capture of Madras by La Bourdonnais.
1748	Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
	Restoration of Madras.

1748	Death of Asaf Jah, Nizam of Hyderabad.
1749	Death of Anwar-ud-din, Nawab of the Karnatak.
1751	Siege of Trichinopoly by the French.
	Clive's defence of Arcot.
1754	Recall of Dupleix.
1756	Outbreak of the Seven Years' War.
1757	Chandernagore taken by Clive and Watson.
1760	Battle of Wandiwash.
1761	Destruction of Pondicherry.
1763	Peace of Paris.

CHAPTER III

THE BRITISH ACQUISITION OF BENGAL

The Nawabs of Bengal. Bengal, which had become practically independent on the death of Aurangzeb, was ruled over by a very good governor named Suja-ud-din from 1725 to 1739. He was succeeded by his son, Sarfaraz Khan, who was shortly afterwards defeated and slain by Alivardi Khan, the deputy governor of Bihar. Alivardi Khan entered Murshidabad, which was then the capital, as Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1740. During the whole of his reign (1740-56) he was engaged in struggles against the Marathas, who obliged him to cede Orissa to them in 1751. In 1756 he was succeeded by his grandson, Siraj-ud-daula, a worthless young man twenty-eight years of age.

Siraj-ud-daula takes Calcutta: the 'Black Hole'. Siraj-ud-daula was alarmed at the growing prosperity of the English settlement at Calcutta, which he accused of harbouring fugitives and in other ways disregarding his authority. He determined to drive the English out of Bengal. Having

taken the little factory at Kasimbazar, he advanced on Calcutta with 50,000 men. The merchants were ill-prepared for war; a panic arose, and Mr Drake, the Governor, fled down the river and left the city to its fate. Mr Holwell and 190 English people, who were left behind, were powerless to defend themselves, and surrendered on 20th June. After this ensued the unhappy incident known as the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta. The prisoners were confined in the military prison known as the 'Black Hole' for the night, and the next morning it was found that a number had died. This event does not deserve the title of 'massacre', by which it has long been known, for there is nothing to show that it was not accidental. Afterwards the Nawab, moved by feelings of pity, at the request of his women-folk released the survivors. Meanwhile, the other fugitives, who had taken refuge at a place called Falta on the Hooghly, had sent word about what had happened to Madras.

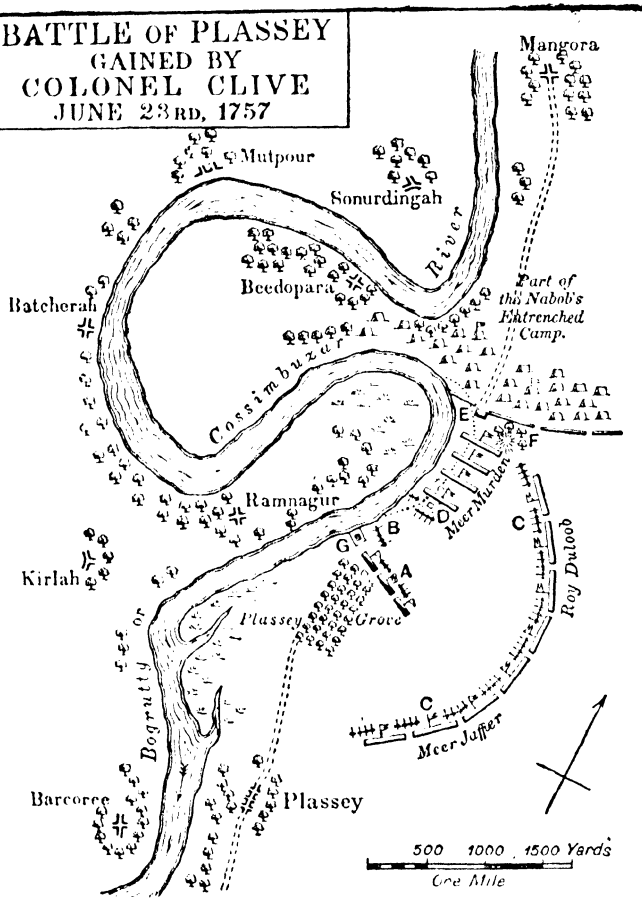
Clive Recaptures Calcutta, and takes Chandernagore. Fortunately, Clive was at Madras when the news arrived, and with him was an English fleet under Admiral Watson, which had been employed in rooting out the troublesome pirates' nest of Gheria on the Bombay coast. Clive and Watson at once sailed for the Hooghly, and Calcutta was reoccupied with very little trouble. Clive then attacked the French settlement at Chandernagore, on the ground that the French had promised to help the Nawab. The French garrison made a most gallant resistance, but the town was taken in March 1757, and razed to the ground. The inhabitants took refuge at the Dutch settlement of Chinsura.

The Forged Treaty. Clive now determined to get rid of Siraj-ud-daula altogether, and place his own nominee, Mir Jafar, who had married Alivardi Khan's sister, on the throne. He therefore agreed to support Mir Jafar in return for the sum of 175 lakhs of rupees. It was necessary, however, to buy the silence of a rich Sikh banker named Aminchand

(Omichand), who was aware of the plot and threatened to betray it unless he were given a bribe of thirty lakhs of rupees. Clive deceived him by preparing a forged copy of the treaty with Mir Jafar, in which a clause not in the original was inserted, promising him a large sum of money. 'This is the only act in the bold and arduous career of Clive which does not admit of vindication.' It was a mean and indefensible deed, though it is untrue that Omichand lost his reason when he discovered the deceit.

The Battle of Plassey. In June, Clive felt himself strong enough to march out and attack Siraj-ud-daula's army. He had only 3,000 men, of whom 950 were Europeans, and a few light guns, while the Nawab had 50,000 infantry, 18,000 cavalry and 53 guns. But Clive had learnt in south India the lesson that a small, trained force was more than a match for the huge, unwieldy Indian armies. Even then, a less bold spirit would have quailed at odds of over twenty to one. But it was necessary to act at once, before the monsoon made fighting impossible. The two armies confronted one another near the village of Plassey, on opposite banks of the Bhagirathi river, not far from Kasimbazar and about seventy miles from Calcutta. Clive's council of war advised him to remain on the far side of the river and wait till the rains were over. But Clive decided that the boldest course was the safest, and gave the order to cross. He placed his little force in a mango grove, surrounded by high mud-banks. The Nawab's army came out of its entrenched camp, and tried to surround the English, but Clive kept his men well under cover, and the enemy were driven off. The traitor Mir Jafar hovered on the edge of the battle, waiting to see which side would be victorious. About noon, the Nawab's troops drew off to their camp, in order to cook their dinner. While they were so engaged, Clive suddenly attacked them. They were completely surprised, and the Nawab's artillery was rendered useless by a sudden shower of rain. Siraj-ud-daula's best

BATTLE OF PLASSEY
GAINED BY
COLONEL CLIVE
JUNE 23RD, 1757



A. *Position of the* British Army *at* 9 *in the Morning.*

B. *Four guns advanced to check the fire of the* French Party *at the tank* D.

C. *The* Nabob's Army.

D. *A Tank from whence the French Party cannonaded till* 3 *in the Afternoon, when part of the* British Army *took Post there, and the Enemy retired within their Entrenched Camp.*

E & F. *A Redoubt and mound taken by Assault at* ¼ *past* 4, *and which completed the Victory.*

G. *The Nabob's Hunting House. The dotted line* BE *shows the encroachment of the River since the Battle.*

general was killed, and the army was seized with a sudden panic and fled, leaving its camp, guns and elephants in the hands of the victors. Among the fugitives was Siraj-ud-daula himself; he was subsequently captured and put to death by the son of Mir Jafar. Clive's losses, 20 killed and 50 wounded, were ridiculously light; seldom has a kingdom been won at so small a cost (23rd June 1757).

Results of the Battle. As soon as the battle was over, Clive marched on Murshidabad where, following the example of Dupleix, he installed Mir Jafar as Nawab of Bengal, having obtained a *firman* for the purpose from the Emperor. Mir Jafar had to pay heavily for the help given him by the English. Clive received £234,000, and the other civil and military officers sums in proportion. The Company claimed compensation for the losses suffered by them over the attack on Calcutta, amounting to ten million rupees. The treasury was emptied, and Mir Jafar had to pay the balance in plate and jewels.

The Twenty-four Parganas. In addition, Mir Jafar was forced to cede to the Company the *zemindari* or landlord's rights over a district of 882 square miles round Calcutta, known as the Twenty-four Parganas. In 1759, the Emperor granted the land tax on this district, amounting to £30,000 a year, to Clive: this was known as Clive's jaghir. The Twenty-four Parganas were subsequently (1765) confirmed in perpetuity to the Company by the Emperor. This was their first territorial acquisition. Clive drew the income from his jaghir from 1765 to 1774, when it reverted to the Company.

Clive First Governor of Bengal. In 1758, Clive was appointed by the Court of Directors as First Governor of Bengal. He defeated an attack on Mir Jafar by the Shahzada or Crown Prince. He sent a force under Colonel Forde to annex Masulipatam and the Northern Circars. The Dutch at Chinsura were jealous of the growth of the English; they had harboured French refugees, and were intriguing with the native powers. When reinforcements arrived from Batavia,

Clive boldly decided to attack them by land and water, though the two nations were at peace. Colonel Forde, who commanded the land forces, asked for a written order. Clive, who was playing cards at the time, scribbled an answer on the back of a playing-card: 'Dear Forde, Fight them immediately. I will send you the Order of Council tomorrow.' The Dutch were utterly defeated, losing over 400 men, while the English lost a dozen (Battle of Biderra, November 1759). Thus the last rivals of the English in India were reduced to submission. In February 1760, Clive, now at the zenith of his fame, returned to England, having made the English the paramount power in India at the age of thirty-five. He remained in England from 1760 to 1765. He was well received by King George III and William Pitt, the Prime Minister, and created Lord Clive of Plassey.

State of India in Clive's Absence. As soon as Clive's back was turned, disorders once more broke out. Mr Vansittart, his successor, was weak and incompetent, and the Company's officials were greedy and unscrupulous. They had come out to India as merchants, and had had no training in administration. Being inadequately paid, they succumbed to the temptation of taking bribes, which were freely offered to them by the native rulers. They oppressed the people by means of a salt monopoly and other devices for extracting money. They deposed Mir Jafar, and replaced him by his son-in-law Mir Kasim, who rewarded them handsomely. Then they quarrelled with Mir Kasim by insisting on using the *dastaks*, or free-passes issued for the Company's goods, for the purpose of private trade. The result of this high-handed behaviour was an outbreak at Patna, in the course of which Mr Ellis and 200 Europeans were massacred. Mir Kasim fled to Oudh, and was replaced by the old Mir Jafar, who, however, died in 1765 and was succeeded by his son. Members of the Company received handsome presents from each of these princes on their accession.

The Battle of Buxar. In 1764 Mir Kasim persuaded the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Emperor Shah Alam to help him against the English, and by this means he got together a force of about 50,000 men. The English army, which had only 7,000 men and 20 guns, was commanded by Sir Hector Munro, a very good general. The two forces met at Buxar on the Ganges, midway between Patna and Benares. On this occasion the Indian army, commanded by Mir Kasim, was much better led and fought more bravely than at Plassey. The battle raged from nine o'clock in the morning until midday, when the enemy fled, losing 2,000 dead and many more drowned. The pursuit was stopped by breaking down the bridge of boats over the Ganges. The English losses were 847. The next day, the Emperor Shah Alam came into the British camp in order to place himself under the protection of the victors, and the fortresses of Chunar and Allahabad were taken. The latter, standing at the junction of the Ganges and Jumna, was of great military importance. From this time onwards, Bengal and Bihar were in British hands, though nominally still under the control of the Emperor.

Clive's Second Period of Administration, 1765-7. In 1764 the Directors, horrified at what was going on, persuaded Clive to return to India. He arrived in Bengal in May 1765. He at once realized that, in his own words, 'tomorrow the whole Mogul power is in our grasp'. But he knew that the time was not yet ripe. The Company had neither the men nor the money for such an undertaking. Instead, he restored Oudh to the Nawab Wazir for a payment of thirty lakhs, and thus secured his goodwill. He allowed the Emperor to retain the districts of Kora and Allahabad, with an annuity of twenty-six lakhs, to be paid from the revenues of Bengal. In return, the Emperor, who was now living at Allahabad, practically as the pensioner of the English, gave the Company the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, i.e. the right to collect and administer the revenues in these provinces. The criminal

administration was still nominally in the hands of the Nawab, a young man named Najam-ud-daula. But Najam-ud-daula was stripped of all power, and given a handsome pension. This system of double government was, of course, only a makeshift, but it was the best that Clive could arrange at the time.

Clive's Reforms. Clive now proceeded to effect a number of reforms. He insisted on the observance of the rule that presents were not to be accepted, but he was unable to stop private trade, as the salaries paid by the Directors were only nominal. Unfortunately, he sanctioned the formation of a Society of Trade, which created a monopoly in betel-leaf, salt and opium, out of which he and the other members made



AUTOGRAPH OF CLIVE

enormous profits. Some of his reforms were very unpopular, and when he stopped the double *batta* or allowance to officers in the field, a mutiny arose, which had to be put down with great severity. In 1767, Clive, worn out with hard work, returned to England for good. He was bitterly attacked in the House of Commons where, as he complained, he was cross-examined like a sheep-stealer rather than like one who had conquered an Empire. He died by his own hand in 1774, aged only fifty.

Clive's Character and Achievements. Clive was an extraordinary man, and one of the most striking figures in Indian history. He was self-made. He came out as a writer, without any military training, but proved himself to be one of the first soldiers of his time. A born leader of dauntless

courage, he was prepared to take risks which to a lesser spirit would have seemed suicidal. Yet he never lost a battle, however great the odds against him. He had the unique gift of winning the confidence of those who served under him. Like many great adventurers, he was often unscrupulous, and regarded the ends as justifying his means. He was undoubtedly fond of power and money, and the two great blots on his character were the forged treaty and the acceptance of vast sums from Indian princes. On the latter point it is only fair to hear him in his own defence. 'Am I not worthy of praise', he asked the Commons, 'for the moderation which marked my proceedings? Consider the situation in which the victory of Plassey had placed me! A great prince was dependent upon my pleasure; an opulent city lay at my mercy; its richest bankers bid against each other for my smiles; I walked through vaults which were thrown open to me alone, piled on either hand with gold and diamonds and jewels! Mr Chairman, at this moment I stand astonished at my own moderation!'

Parliament, while not condoning all his actions, decided unanimously that 'Robert Lord Clive did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to his country.'

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1740	Alivardi Khan Nawab of Bengal.
1756	Siraj-ud-daula Nawab of Bengal.
	Capture of Calcutta.
	The 'Black Hole'.
1757	Fall of Chandernagore.
	Battle of Plassey.
	Mir Jafar Nawab of Bengal.
1758	Clive first Governor of Bengal.
1760	Departure of Clive.
	Mir Kasim Nawab of Bengal.

1763	Massacre of Patna.
	Restoration of Mir Jafar.
1764	Battle of Buxar.
1765	Death of Mir Jafar.
	Return of Lord Clive as Governor.
1766	Rebellion of European officers over 'double *batta*'.
1767	Departure of Clive.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDATIONS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA: WARREN HASTINGS AND LORD CORNWALLIS, 1772-93

Anarchy in Bengal. After Clive's second departure, affairs in Bengal relapsed into a state of confusion, and the abuses which he had checked broke out with redoubled vigour. Many of the best and most competent officials had perished in the Patna massacre; those that remained were mostly corrupt and useless. In 1770, a terrible famine broke out, in which many thousands of the unhappy peasants perished. 'The scene that intervened', one of the officials reported, 'shocks humanity too much to bear description. Certain it is that in several parts the living have fed upon the dead.' Revenue was collected in a ruthless fashion, and the law courts were a byword for injustice. The currency was debased, and gangs of dacoits roamed about the country unchecked. The system of double government had entirely broken down, and the rich and fertile province of Bengal was drifting into a state of anarchy.

Warren Hastings. This was the state of affairs which Hastings was sent out to remedy in 1772, with the title of Governor of Bengal. He was now forty-years old. He had

come out to India as one of the Company's writers in 1750, at the age of eighteen, and was taken prisoner by Siraj-ud-daula, at Kasimbazar. In 1761 he was made a Member of Council at Calcutta, and from 1769 to 1772, he was in Madras, where he earned a good reputation for steadiness and hard work. Hastings was a very different man from his predecessor. He was a student and administrator rather than a soldier, and a good Persian scholar. He also knew Urdu and Bengali, and had some acquaintance with Arabic. He had to start at the very root of the trouble, and this was the system of double government. He was determined that the East India Company should 'stand forth as Diwan'. The two Indian deputies of the Nawab were removed, and the capital was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta. A Revenue Board was set up, and collectors and commissioners were appointed to districts on fixed salaries. Dacoity was suppressed, and law and order established. Major Rennell was employed to survey the country and bring out proper maps. In order to draw up a civil and penal code based on Indian customs, Hastings had translations made of the ancient Hindu law books, and this led to study of Sanskrit



WARREN HASTINGS (in old age)

by European scholars. At the same time, he founded the Calcutta Madrasa in order to encourage Mohammedan learning.

Financial Economies. In order to fill the empty Treasury, Hastings effected a number of economies. He reduced the excessively large allowance paid to the Nawab of Bengal. Mahadaji Sindhia had persuaded the Emperor Shah Alam to go back to Delhi and place himself under the protection of the Marathas. Hastings therefore discontinued the Emperor's tribute of twenty-six lakhs, and handed over the districts of Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab of Oudh.

The Rohilla War, 1773-4. This led to an action on the part of Hastings which was severely criticized at the time of his trial. He agreed to lend the Nawab of Oudh a brigade of troops under Colonel Champion as an auxiliary force and protect Oudh, which acted as a buffer state for Bengal, from the Marathas and other enemies. The Nawab, with Hastings' consent, used this brigade in order to annex the fertile province of Rohilkhand, on the upper waters of the Ganges, and drive out the Rohillas, an Afghan tribe which had overrun the province about thirty-five years previously. It does not appear that the English troops behaved barbarously, and the Rohillas, who were merely a plundering tribe, were only given the treatment they had meted out to others. The Hindu population benefited by the change. But it was wrong in principle to hire out English troops to Indian princes for the purpose of carrying out schemes of conquest.

The Regulating Act, 1773. In 1772 the British Government woke up to the fact that they had acquired, through the East India Company, a great domain in India, and they could no longer shirk the responsibility for seeing that it was properly governed. A committee of enquiry was appointed and, though Clive put up a spirited defence, it came to the inevitable conclusion that grave scandals and irregularities had taken place. In 1773, therefore, **Lord North's** Government brought

in the Regulating Act, which is of the utmost importance, as it is the foundation of British rule in India.

Its chief clauses are as follows :—

(1) The whole civil and military government, and the management of all territorial acquisitions and revenues in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, were vested in a Governor-General at Fort William, assisted by four councillors.

(2) The Governor-General and council at Fort William were given the power of superintending and controlling the



FORT WILLIAM, CALCUTTA

Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. These Presidencies had no power, except in emergency, of declaring war or making treaties with Indian Princes. The Governors of the minor Presidencies were to obey the orders of the Governor-General-in-Council, and transmit to him regular reports of all transactions. In case of disobedience, the Governor-General could suspend or supersede them.

(3) A Supreme Court, consisting of a Chief Justice and three Judges, was set up at Fort William, to deal with all cases of crime and misdemeanour and oppression, and all suits and actions, among His Majesty's subjects in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

(4) The Directors were to submit to Parliament copies of all correspondence concerning their affairs, and half-yearly accounts.

Hastings and His Council. *In* 1774, Warren Hastings was appointed first Governor-General under the Regulating Act, He was given four colleagues, Mr Barwell, General Clavering. Colonel Monson and Sir Philip Francis. Sir Elijah Impey was made Chief Justice. Unfortunately, all of Hastings' Council except Barwell were bitterly opposed to him, and thwarted him at every turn. One of the glaring defects of the Regulating Act was that it allowed the Governor-General to be overruled by a majority of his Council, and it was only after the death of Clavering and Monson that Hastings was master in his own house and able to carry out much-needed reforms.

The Supreme Court. Endless difficulties were also caused by the failure of the Regulating Act to define clearly the relative powers of the High Court and the Executive Government. This led to continual clashes between the two authorities. The High Court would decide a case in one way, and the local authorities in another. In the end, Hastings strove to solve the difficulty by appointing Impey as President of the Company's Chief Civil Court as well as Chief Justice (1780).

The Case of Raja Nandkumar. Raja Nandkumar was an influential Indian who had been intriguing against Hastings, who, in 1775, prosecuted him for conspiracy. While he was waiting trial, a private individual accused him of forgery. According to the barbarous English law of those days, forgery was a criminal offence, and Nandkumar, after a long and fairly conducted trial, was condemned and hanged. This created a tremendous sensation in Calcutta, as forgery was not regarded seriously under Indian law, and to hang a Brahmin was considered to be a terrible sacrilege. It was morally wrong to punish Nandkumar under a foreign law,

but there is not the slightest ground for the accusation, made by Hastings' enemies, that he and Sir Elijah Impey acted in collusion in order to get rid of Nandkumar for political reasons.

The First Maratha War. Hastings was constantly involved in difficulties by reason of the doings of the corrupt and inefficient Governments of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies, which constantly permitted themselves to become entangled in wars with the neighbouring Indian States. Matters were made much harder by the absence at that time of good roads, which made communications extremely difficult. Mention has already been made of the arrangements which the Bombay government made to restore the pretender Raghoba at Poona in return for the cession of Bassein and Salsette. The force which set out for the purpose allowed itself to be surrounded by the Marathas while ascending the Ghauts, and the leaders signed a most humiliating treaty at Wargaon (1779). When Hastings heard about this, it almost made him 'sink with shame'. He at once dispatched an army under Colonel Goddard, which marched right across India from Bengal to Surat—a wonderful performance in those days—occupied Ahmadabad and took Bassein. Another force, under Major Popham, accomplished the remarkable feat of surprising and capturing Sindhia's great fortress of Gwalior, which was thought to be impregnable. This greatly impressed Mahadaji Sindhia, who learned to respect the English, and ever afterwards took care to remain upon good terms with them. A treaty was signed at Salbai (page 232), by which the Bombay government received Salsette, which was important for the protection of Bombay city and harbour from attack. Owing to Hastings' wise conduct of affairs, the inevitable conflict with the Marathas was postponed for twenty years.

Affairs in Europe and America. The year 1781 was one of the most critical in the history of the British Empire.



GWALIOR FORT

England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle for supremacy with France all over the world. Owing to the unwise policy of the British Ministers, the North American colonies had broken away. When Hastings heard this, he said, 'It is the more incumbent upon those who are charged with the interest of Great Britain in the East to exert themselves for the retrieval of the national loss.'



HAIDAR ALI

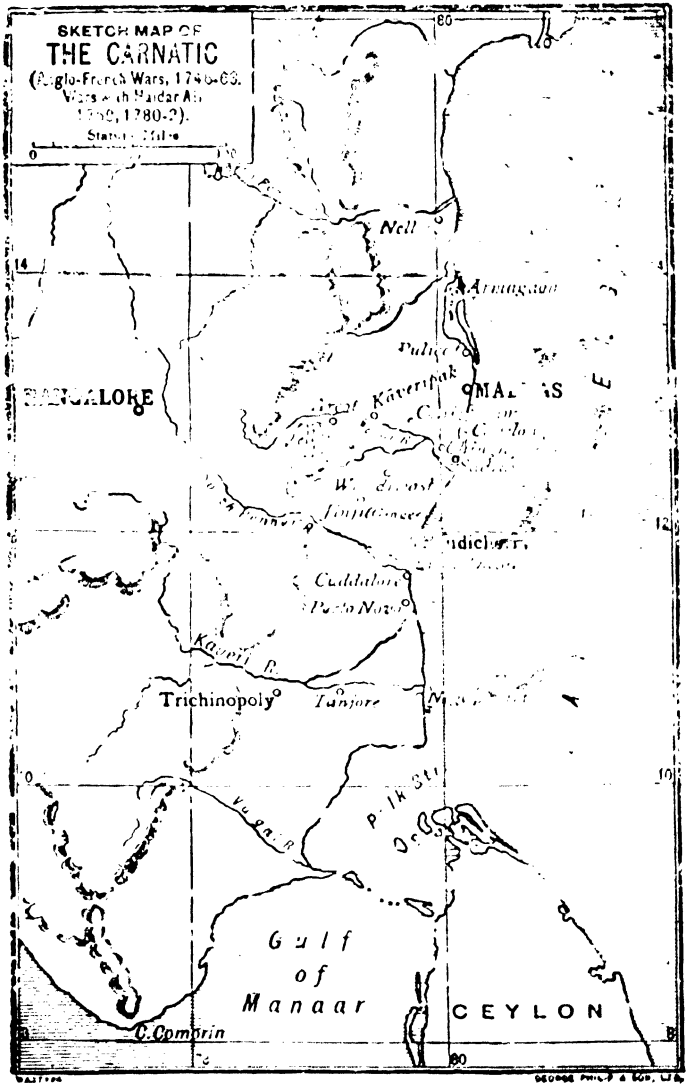
Wars with Mysore. Before Hastings had weathered the Maratha storm, another broke out with even greater violence in Mysore. In 1749 a soldier of fortune named Haidar Ali had enlisted, under the command of his brother, as an officer under the Raja of Mysore. Having displayed great ability as a commander of horse, he rose to the rank of Faujdar, and in 1761 he usurped all power in the state, and seized the fortress of Bednore with immense treasures. In 1765 the Marathas, having recovered from their reverse at Panipat, defeated him, but Haidar proceeded to annex Malabar, and

made an alliance with the Nizam. In 1769 Haidar Ali found himself strong enough to threaten Madras, and forced the Madras government to make a treaty on advantageous terms to himself.

In 1778 Haidar Ali picked another quarrel with Madras, and swept down upon the province with a vast, well-trained army of 90,000 men and 100 guns. They devoured the country like a swarm of locusts, slaying everyone, and burning towns and villages right under the walls of the capital. A force under Colonel Baillie was cut to pieces in 1780, and this had a very bad effect upon British prestige, following as it did the defeat of the Bombay army by the Marathas at Wargaon in the previous year.

Hastings Acts. Everyone was panic-stricken, but Hastings rose to the occasion with true greatness. He superseded the Governor of Madras, and sent Sir Eyre Coote with every man and rupee he could scrape together. He persuaded the Nizam and the Marathas to remain neutral. Sir Eyre Coote defeated Haidar at Porto Novo in 1781 with the loss of 10,000 men, but the danger was by no means over. A French squadron under Admiral Suffren appeared off the coast, and fought several indecisive actions with the English fleet, and Haidar's son, Tipu Saheb, routed an English army under Colonel Braithwaite.

Death of Haidar Ali : Accession of Tipu Sultan. In 1782 Haidar Ali died. He was in many ways a remarkable man, both as a soldier and as an administrator. Though without education, he had built up a great kingdom for himself in southern India, and had more than once defeated British armies in the field. But he at last realized that sea-power was the key to the Indian situation ; unless the French could win the command of the sea, no amount of victories on land could be of any use to him. Speaking of his quarrel with the English, he acknowledged his error. 'The defeat of many Braithwaites and Baillies will not destroy them.


SKETCH MAP OF
THE CARNATIC
(Anglo-French Wars, 1746-63.
Wars with Haidar Ali
1767, 1780-2).
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MA
S
BANGALORE
Cuddalore
Porto Novo
Kaveri R.
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Vaigai R.
PALK ST.
Gulf
of
Manaar
CEYLON
C. Comorin
14
12
10
8
80

I can ruin their resources by land, but I cannot dry up the sea; and I must be the first to weary of a war in which I can gain nothing by fighting.' Fortunately, in 1783, the English won a great naval battle in the West Indies, and the French were compelled to sign the Treaty of Versailles. Next year, Tipu Saheb, who had succeeded his father, concluded the Treaty of Mangalore with the Madras government, both sides agreeing to restore their conquests and release prisoners.

Pitt's India Act, 1784. The Home Government was still dissatisfied with the way in which Indian affairs were conducted, and determined to exercise closer supervision. William Pitt, the Prime Minister, therefore brought in a Bill, the effect of which was to place Indian affairs under a small committee of the three senior Directors, supervised by a Board of Control appointed by the Crown. In practice, the President of the Board of Control, the forerunner of the Secretary of State for India, exercised all the power, the Directors merely retaining the right of making appointments. Thus the control over Indian affairs practically passed into the hands of the Ministry. Mr Dundas was the first President.

Retirement of Hastings: His Impeachment and Acquittal. Hastings, who did not approve of the India Act, asked permission to retire in 1785. On his return, his political enemies, headed by Burke, Fox and Pitt, impeached him. An impeachment is a form of trial in which the House of Commons prosecutes and the House of Lords judges. The trial opened at Westminster Hall in 1788, and Macaulay has drawn a vivid picture of the famous scene. Hastings was charged with the violation of the treaties with Oudh, the unrighteous sale of Kora and Allahabad, the oppression of Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh, the arbitrary settlement of the land revenues of Bengal, and fraud and corruption in general administration. Hastings was deeply wounded at the treatment which he received in return for his services. 'I gave you all,' he said, 'and you have rewarded me with confiscation,

disgrace, and a life of impeachment.' The trial dragged on until 1795, and in the end Hastings was acquitted on all counts. He was, however, nearly ruined by the expenses involved, and he retired to his country estate at Daylesford, where he lived to the ripe old age of eighty-six.

The Cases of Chait Singh and the Begums of Oudh. Very few men in high positions can claim to have made no mistakes, and in two cases Hastings may be said to have acted harshly and unjustly. In 1780 he was confronted with perils on every side and an empty treasury. He was in desperate straits for funds with which to carry on the work of government. The overlordship of Raja Chait Singh of Benares, who was a rich zemindar, had been transferred by the Nawab of Oudh to the Company. Raja Chait Singh year after year had evaded the dues which he owed, and failed to supply the requisite number of troops. Hastings suspected that he was planning a revolt, and determined to make an example of him. He proposed to impose upon him a fine of fifty lakhs of rupees, and marched to Benares with a small force to collect the money. Chait Singh attacked Hastings and his men when they tried to arrest him, and Hastings had to flee. In the end, however, Chait Singh was deposed and forced to take refuge with the Marathas, and his nephew, who was given his estates, paid the demands made upon him. Hastings was acquitted on this charge. In the case of the Begums, the mother and grandmother of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, his conduct was far less defensible. These ladies had in their possession certain treasure, which Hastings claimed as due to the Company in return for auxiliary troops which had been lent to the State of Oudh. The ladies declared that the treasure was their private property. Hastings, who suspected them of supporting Chait Singh, disregarded this plea, and sent troops to Fyzabad, where the ladies resided, to seize the money by force. Two officers of the palace were thrown into prison and beaten, and seventy-six lakhs of rupees were

extracted. It is doubtful, however, whether Hastings could be held personally responsible for the barbarities practised, as he was not actually present and did not order them.

Hastings' Character and Achievements. Hastings must be measured by the standard of his own time rather than ours. In a venal and corrupt age, he indignantly set his face against bribe-taking or presents, and unlike most of his contemporaries retired a comparatively poor man. He was placed in difficulties and exposed to temptations, such as few statesmen have been called upon to overcome, and emerged triumphantly from the ordeal. No one has been more malignantly attacked or more unfairly abused. His chief characteristics were a lofty sense of duty, unwearied zeal in the service of his country, and a cool and serene courage which seemed to rise the higher, the darker the crisis he was called upon to confront. His greatest service to India was his clear realization of the fundamental principles upon which the new government, which he sought to build up, must be founded. Firstly, there must be no power without responsibility. It was impossible for the English in Bengal merely to collect the revenues and leave the administration to others. Secondly, by appealing to the good sense of the Company's servants he converted them from rapacious adventurers to responsible officials. Lastly, he saw that it was in the interests of England no less than India to give the peasant orderly rule, justice, and freedom from attack from without. 'The land required years of quiet', he says, 'to restore its population and culture, and all my acts were acts of peace.' 'He was the first', says the historian J. S. Mill, one of Hastings' severest critics, 'of the servants of the Company, who attempted to acquire any language of the Indians, and who set on foot the liberal inquiries into the language and literature of the Hindus, which have led to the satisfactory knowledge of the present day. He had the great art of the ruler, which consists in attaching to the Governor those who are governed: his administration

assuredly was popular, both with his countrymen and the natives of Bengal.' It is said that when, in his old age, he went to give evidence before the Commons, the whole House, with a spontaneous movement, rose to its feet. He has been justly described as 'the ablest of the able men who gave to England her Indian Empire'.

Lord Cornwallis. After the retirement of Warren Hastings, the Directors decided that the proper policy was to appoint as Governor-General a distinguished statesman, unconnected with the Company. This policy has been followed ever since, with a few exceptions. On this occasion their choice fell upon Lord Cornwallis. Lord Cornwallis was a good general and greatly respected for his ability and honesty. But he had the disadvantage of knowing nothing about India at the time of his arrival in the country, and he distrusted Indians.



LORD CORNWALLIS

His Reforms. He arrived in 1786, and continued Hastings' efforts to build up a Civil Service, regularly paid and not engaged in trade. He started the real work of transforming the East India Company from a commercial to a governing body. His most important undertaking was the reform of the judicial system, which, as we have seen, worked very

badly under Warren Hastings. A Civil Court under a European judge was set up in every district. Appeal Courts were established. Collectors were deprived of their judicial functions, and almost all disputes were referred to the Civil Courts. European judges were sent on circuit to perform the functions now carried out by Sessions Judges. The Mohammedan penal code, robbed of its more drastic practices such as branding and mutilation, was adopted. In civil cases, a Mohammedan Kazi and a Hindu Pandit sat as assessors, in order to see that the law was administered according to the traditions and customs of the people. Cornwallis may be said to have laid the foundations of the present revenue and judicial systems in India.

The Permanent Settlement. The most important of the reforms of Lord Cornwallis was the introduction, in 1793, of his great measure for the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. In India in olden times the bulk of the revenue was derived from the land, and even today, with customs, excise and other sources of income, it amounts to 15 per cent of the total. In southern India, the practice followed was what is known as the ryotwar system. The land was periodically assessed by special officers known as settlement officers, who fixed the amount due from the peasants, and the money was paid directly to the government. In northern India, however, the land revenue was collected through the instrumentality of contractors or middlemen, known as zemindars, who received a commission, usually 2½ per cent, on all the money collected on behalf of the government. The office of zemindar had become hereditary. Lord Cornwallis was horrified to find that, owing to the huge sums extorted from the peasantry, large tracts were going out of cultivation altogether. 'One-third of the Company's territory in Hindustan is now a jungle, inhabited only by wild beasts.' He thought that the remedy lay in settling once and for all the sum to be paid by the zemindars to the Government. By this he hoped to create

a race of great landowners in Bengal like the English noblemen, who would have a stake in the country and be anxious to improve their estates and help their tenants. Cornwallis did not realize that conditions in the two countries were quite different. The Permanent Settlement failed to protect the peasants, besides being unfair to the zemindars themselves: they were liable to have their property sold, if they failed to pay the amount due from them, and many respectable landowning families were ruined in this way. The Permanent Settlement has, of course, benefited greatly the propertied classes in the provinces where it has been adopted, but Government has suffered. By accepting a small settled revenue instead of an expanding one, it is said that the Government of Bengal has sustained a loss of three hundred lakhs of rupees a year. This is unjust to the other Presidencies as Bengal does not contribute her fair share to the Central Government.



TIPU SULTAN

The Third Mysore War. In 1790, Tipu Sultan's conduct in attacking the state of Travancore compelled the Governor-General, much against his will, to declare war upon him. An alliance between the English, the Nizam and the Marathas was formed, on condition that they should share the land taken from their common enemy. The first two campaigns

were unsuccessful. In the third campaign (1792), Cornwallis attacked Seringapatam, Tipu's capital, and compelled him to cede half his territory, pay 330 lakhs of rupees, and deliver up two of his sons as hostages. The land thus surrendered comprised Malabar, Coorg and parts of Salem and Madura.

Sir John Shore. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis retired. He handed over the government to Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth). Sir John Shore, a civil servant of the Company at Calcutta, was a man of a peaceful disposition and, under strict orders from the Court of Directors in England, was determined to uphold the policy of 'non-intervention'. The five years during which he held office were disastrous for British prestige. Tipu Sultan, no longer in awe of the Company's forces, spent the period in plotting to get back his lost power. The French were becoming more and more influential at the courts of Sindia and the Nizam, where French officers were drilling Indian regiments. The Bhonsle Raja at Nagpur was preparing to join against the British. Misgovernment was rampant in the Karnatak, and the revenues were falling off. Sir John Shore was recalled in 1798.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1772	Warren Hastings appointed Governor of Bengal.
1773	The Regulating Act.
1774	The Rohilla War.
	Hastings Governor-General.
1775	First Maratha War.
	Execution of Nandkumar.
1778	Haidar Ali's invasion of Madras: defeat of Colonel Baillie.
1781	Affair of Chait Singh of Benares. Battle of Porto Novo.
1782	Treaty of Salbai.

1782	Death of Haidar Ali and accession of Tipu Sultan.
	Affair of the Begums of Oudh.
1783	Treaty of Versailles.
1784	Pitt's India Act.
1785	Resignation of Hastings.
1786	Lord Cornwallis Governor-General.
1790-2	War with Tipu Sultan of Mysore.
1793	The Permanent Settlement of Bengal.
	Retirement of Lord Cornwallis.
	Sir John Shore, acting Governor-General.
	Policy of 'non-intervention'.
1798	Sir John Shore recalled.

CHAPTER V

THE EXPANSION OF BRITISH INDIA: WELLESLEY TO AMHERST, 1798-1828

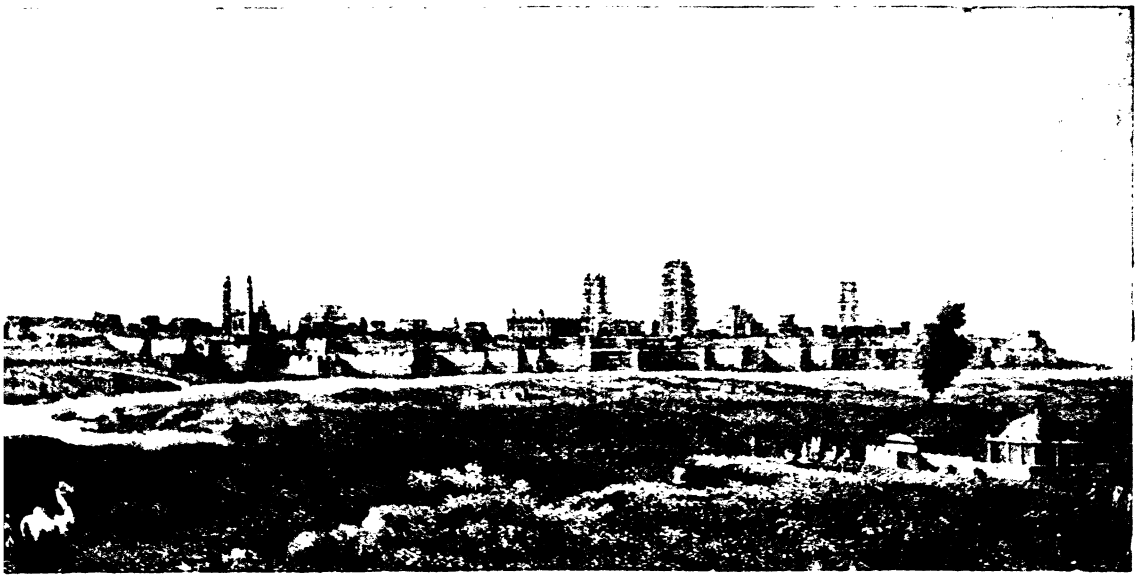
Lord Wellesley. In 1798 the Directors appointed Lord Wellesley as Governor-General. He was a young man, only thirty-seven years old, but he had already served on the Board of Control, and had gained a considerable insight into Indian affairs. His brother, Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, was already in the Madras Army.

The Last Mysore War. It was evident that southern India would have no peace as long as Tipu Sultan remained master of Mysore. England was at the time again at war with France. After the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, and the execution of King Louis XVI, a Republic had been proclaimed, and the power fell into the hands of a military dictator, Napoleon Bonaparte, who became Emperor of the French in 1804. Napoleon was a bitter enemy of the English, and one of his ambitions was the restoration of French power in India. The French held the island of Mauritius, which

they used as a base against India. French officers were employed in training the armies of the Nizam and of Daulatrao Sindhia. Tipu Sultan was negotiating with France, Persia and Turkey. He was requested to disarm and abandon his French alliance, but he returned an evasive reply. Wellesley saw that his only chance of success lay in striking before the French could intervene. He therefore made an alliance with the Marathas and the Nizam, and in the cold weather of 1798 sent an army under General Harris, which early in the following year defeated the Mysore army and drove it to take refuge inside the walls of Seringapatam. Seringapatam was strongly fortified, but the heavy batteries made a breach in the walls, through which the English troops poured in, and the town was taken by storm (4th May 1799). Tipu died sword in hand, fighting to the last. Thus perished the 'Tiger of Mysore', the cleverest and most determined of all the opponents of the British. He was an eccentric but gifted man: he was an excellent Persian scholar and a hard worker, and he invented a new calendar, a coinage and a system of weights and measures. But his many talents were marred by his love of cruelty. He lies buried under a handsome tomb. In return for his support, the Nizam received certain territories, while the British annexed the coasts of Kanara and Malabar.



LORD WELLESLEY



SERINGAPATAM IN 1792

CHASSEURS REPRESENTING TROOPS OF EAST INDIA COMPANY'S ARMY AND TIPU SULTAN'S TROOPS

The old Hindu kingdom of Mysore was restored under the regency of the able minister Purnaiya. In 1799 the little Maratha principality of Tanjore was annexed. In 1801, on the death of the old Nawab of Arcot, Wellesley took over the Karnatak, and the Madras Presidency came into being in its present form.

Subsidiary Alliances. Lord Wellesley's policy with regard to the Indian states was to induce them to enter into Subsidiary Alliances or Protectorates. By these the Indian ruler agreed to disband his military forces and, while continuing to manage his internal affairs, to rely upon the English Government for external defence and internal security. He was usually required to dismiss foreign officers from his employ, refrain from alliances with other princes, and accept a British Resident and contingent of troops, for the upkeep of which the revenues of a certain portion of territory was assigned. The weakness of this system lay in the fact that the ruler, being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions but deprived of all the essential attributes of sovereignty, lost that stimulus to good government which is supplied by fear of rebellion and deposition, and in nearly all the states the subjects suffered by the change. Mysore had already been placed under an agreement of this kind. In 1800 it was found necessary to apply it to Hyderabad, where the Nizam had a powerful army of 14,000 men with artillery, trained by a French officer named Raymond. By a bold stroke, the whole force was disbanded and the Nizam accepted British protection, and agreed to submit to the arbitration of the Governor-General any dispute with another Indian state. In order to pay for the British contingent stationed at Hyderabad, the Nizam agreed to assign to the British the revenues of Berar, which he had taken from Tipu Sultan.

In the following year Oudh was forced to submit to a similar arrangement. The condition of Oudh was indescribable. The tribute was many years in arrears, the army was nothing

but an armed rabble, and misgovernment and extortion of every kind were rampant. Wellesley considered that there was a clear case for intervention, and induced the Nawab to accept a subsidiary alliance on terms similar to those imposed on Hyderabad. Certain territories in Rohilkhand and between the Ganges and the Jumna were ceded as the price of British protection, but misgovernment remained unabated until Oudh was annexed by Lord Dalhousie in 1856.

Deccan Affairs. Wellesley had now reduced all the great Indian states to submission, except the Marathas. In the Deccan, a series of disorders had broken out. The great Mahadaji Sindhia had died in 1794 and had been succeeded by his nephew Daulatrao, who was rash and incompetent. Bajirao II, who had become Peshwa in 1796, was cowardly and indolent, and Poona was in a state of anarchy. War had broken out between Jaswantrao Holkar on the one hand, and Daulatrao Sindhia and the Peshwa on the other. Not a stick was left standing within 150 miles of Poona; the people had fled with their cattle, having eaten the forage and grain and pulled down the houses for firewood. Whole districts were depopulated in this way, and towns were in ruins. Every man had become a plunderer and a thief, and no one would till the soil who could seize or steal.

The Peshwa forms a Subsidiary Alliance: the Treaty of Bassein, 1802. Matters came to a head in 1802, when the Peshwa, having been defeated near Poona, fled to Bassein and signed a treaty with the English, by which he agreed to receive a British Resident at his capital and a subsidiary force of six battalions, for which he was to pay 26 lakhs a year. He also consented to exclude foreigners of all nations hostile to the British; to recognize all engagements between the British and the Gaikwar; to abstain from negotiations with other states except in consultation with the British Government; and to accept their arbitration in all disputes with the Gaikwar and the Nizam.

Thus the Peshwa 'sacrificed his independence at the price of protection'.

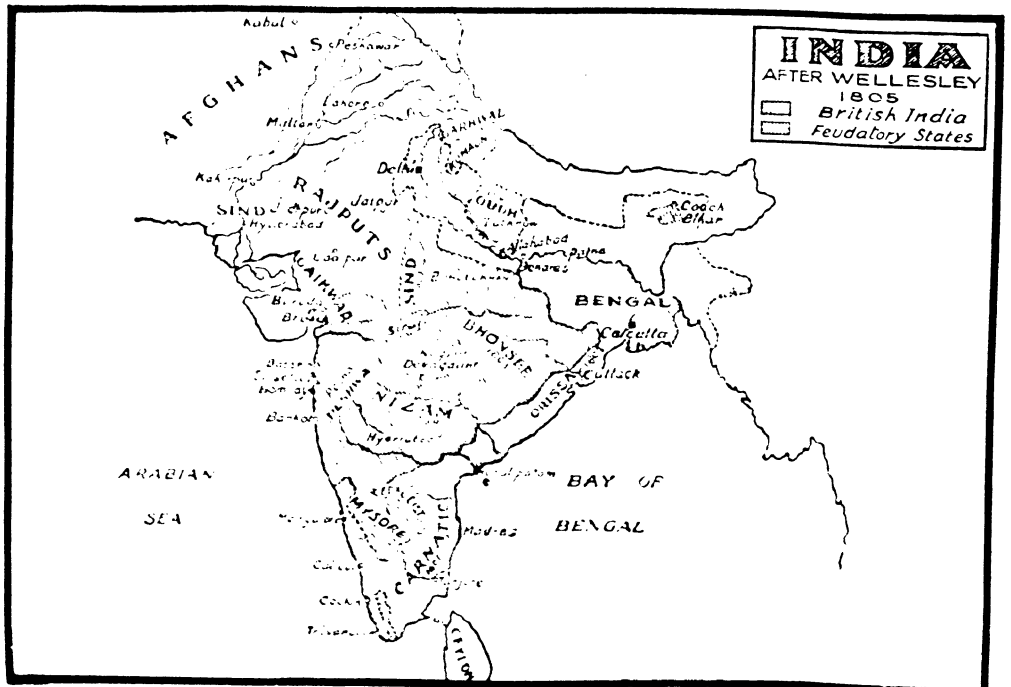
The Second Maratha War. The Maratha chiefs, except the Gaikwar, who was throughout the friend of the English, were deeply affronted at this invasion of their liberties, and prepared for war. Sir Arthur Wellesley, brother of the Governor-General, was sent to prevent a junction between the armies of Sindhia and the Raja of Nagpur. He found Sindhia's troops drawn up in what seemed to be an impregnable position between two rivers at Assaye, not far from Aurangabad. Wellesley had 5,000 men and Sindhia nearly 50,000, but Wellesley, having found a ford, crossed over and attacked without hesitation. After a severe struggle, in which he lost 1,500 men, or nearly one-third of his force, he was completely successful. The Raja of Nagpur was defeated at Argaon in Berar, and the important fortress of Gawilgarh was captured. Meanwhile, Lord Lake had overthrown Sindhia's northern army, which had been trained by a French officer named Perron, in a series of battles. Aligarh and Agra were captured, and in 1803 the British entered Delhi and the poor old blind Emperor, sitting under a tattered canopy with a few attendants, once more changed hands. By this time, the Marathas were ready to come to terms. The Raja of Nagpur signed a treaty at Deogaon, by which he accepted a subsidiary alliance and agreed to surrender the province of Cuttack in Orissa. Daulatrao Sindhia, by the Treaty of Surji Arjungaon, also submitted to a subsidiary alliance, gave up all the Doab between the Ganges and the Jumna, and recognized the titles of a number of Rajput chiefs whom he had subjected. In 1804, Holkar, who had hitherto taken no part in the war, attacked the English and defeated Colonel Monson in Rajputana. But he failed to take Delhi, and was beaten at Dig. Indore was captured by the English, but they were unable to take by storm the great Jat stronghold of Bharatpur, the Raja of which had joined Holkar.

The Marathas probably owed their defeat, as they did at Panipat, to their abandonment of the old traditional guerilla tactics, which had been so successful against Aurangzeb, for regular armies of mercenary soldiers, drilled in European fashion. The Maratha chiefs, however, were not really subdued. They were filled with resentment at what they considered to be a bitter humiliation, and were prepared to resume the struggle at the first opportunity.

Wellesley's Achievements. In six years, Wellesley had changed the face of India. Unlike his predecessors, he was avowedly and openly in favour of conquest. In 1798 the English possessions were limited to a strip of territory round Calcutta, the island of Bombay and the city of Madras. Wellesley saw that there was no alternative between annexation and leaving India altogether. By 1804, Bengal and southern India were in British hands; British forces occupied Poona and Hyderabad, and British Residents were stationed at all the Indian courts. Practically no part of the country save Rajputana, Sind and the Punjab retained its independence.

Defeat of French Designs against India. Wellesley was particularly anxious to prevent the French from regaining their lost power. In 1801 he sent an army to Egypt, which Napoleon wished to make his base for an invasion of India: but fortunately, the defeat of the French fleet at Aboukir Bay by Nelson in 1798 rendered this impossible. He was very anxious to capture the island of Mauritius, which the French were using as a naval base. It is said that in fifteen years the French privateers had taken property worth three crores of rupees by robbing the East India Company's merchantmen. But in 1802 England and France made peace at the treaty of Amiens, and it was not till 1810 that Mauritius was taken by Lord Minto.

Wellesley's Recall. At the same time, Lord Wellesley did not neglect internal reforms. He established a college at


INDIA
AFTER WELLESLEY
1805
British India
Feudatory States
AFGHANS
RAJPUTS
SIND
BENGAL
Calcutta
NIZAM
ARABIAN
SEA
BAY OF
BENGAL
CEYLON

Fort William to train young civil servants for their duties. But his ambitious schemes thoroughly alarmed the Directors, who still looked upon the Company as a commercial concern and hated Wellesley's plans for the wholesale annexation of territory. He was recalled in 1805, and was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis, who consented to return once more to India, but only lived a few months. After his death, Sir George Barlow acted as Governor-General. Both were strictly ordered to return to the policy of 'non-intervention', or peace at any price, practised by Sir John Shore.



LORD MINTO

Failure of Non-Intervention. Sir George Barlow curtailed the area of British influence, and abandoned the Rajput chiefs to the cruel mercies of Holkar and Sindhia: in consequence, Rajputana was ransacked by the Maratha hordes in a most brutal fashion. But even Barlow resisted the suggestion that the Peshwa should be restored, and he kept his hold over the Nizam. During his tenure of office, much uneasiness was caused by the disorderly conduct of both English officers and Sepoys in the Madras army. A mutiny occurred among the Sepoys in Vellore, in which about one hundred Europeans were murdered, and matters were complicated by the presence in that town of the sons of Tipu Sultan.

Lord Minto I. Lord Minto came out as Governor-General in 1807, to find the whole country in a state of disorder. A rebellion broke out in Travancore, in the course of which the British Resident and others lost their lives. Troubles occurred in Bundelkhand, where the local rulers were quite



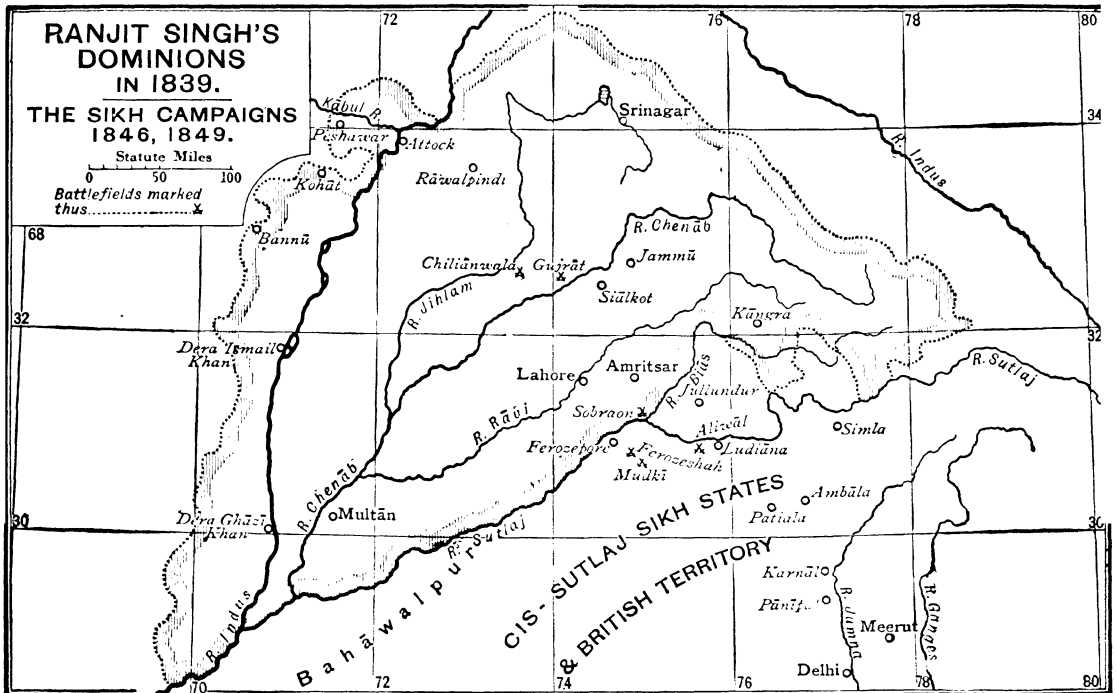
MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH

unable to maintain order. It was quite evident that the policy of non-intervention was a dangerous failure, and would have to be abandoned without delay.

The Rise of Ranjit Singh and the Sikh Kingdom. The last great independent power in India was that of the Sikhs. The rise of the Khalsa or Brotherhood in the reign of Aurangzeb

has already been described. After the evacuation of the Punjab by Ahmad Shah Durrani, they built up a number of *misls* or confederacies, each under its elected Sardar, on the banks of the Sutlej. Ranjit Singh, who was destined to knit them together into a powerful kingdom, was born in 1780, and became a soldier at the age of twelve. Brave, unscrupulous, and farsighted, it was said that he possessed 'just that combination of virtues and vices which is best adapted for building up an Oriental empire'. When he was nineteen, the Afghan ruler, Zaman Shah of Kabul, made him Governor of Lahore. Ranjit Singh determined to use the religious enthusiasm of his countrymen to build up a great army, and for this purpose he engaged a number of European officers of different nationalities, including two who had served under Napoleon himself. Eventually he had 80,000 trained men, and nearly 500 guns. With this army he took Multan and Peshawar, beat the Afghans, and overran Kashmir.

Lord Minto and Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh was thus master of the Punjab up to the Sutlej river. East of this, he was hemmed in by the British. Here, in the territory known as Sirhind, between the Sutlej and the Jumna, lay certain Sikh states, which were under the protection of the Company. Upon these, Ranjit Singh cast covetous eyes, and taking advantage of some quarrels, he crossed the Sutlej in 1806. Thereupon, the chiefs appealed to the British for protection. At first it seemed as though war was inevitable; but Lord Minto sent a clever young civilian named Metcalfe, who in 1809 persuaded Ranjit Singh to accept the Sutlej as the boundary between the two countries, and to agree to a treaty of 'perpetual amity'. A British outpost was established at Ludhiana, and the Punjab served as a useful buffer state between British territory and any possible invaders from the north-west. To the end of his life, Ranjit Singh observed this treaty, which is known as the treaty of Amritsar, honourably: he was shrewd enough to realize



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that war with the Company could only have one ultimate result.

Foreign Missions. During all this time, England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Napoleon. Napoleon, whose first attempt to establish a great Eastern Empire had been foiled by his defeat at the battle of the Nile, was now intriguing with Persia, and designed to send an expedition thither in co-operation with Russia. A French ambassador was stationed at Teheran. Lord Minto therefore sent Sir John Malcolm to the Shah of Persia, and persuaded him to dismiss the French ambassador and agree to resist the passage of European troops through Persia for the invasion of India. Mountstuart Elphinstone was sent on a similar errand to Shah Shuja, the Amir of Afghanistan, at Peshawar, and a similar treaty was made with the Amirs of Sind. Fortunately the fears of a French invasion by land were dissipated when Napoleon's army perished in the retreat from Moscow in 1812.

Overseas Expeditions. Lord Minto undertook important expeditions against the eastern possessions of the French and their allies the Dutch. The islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, in the Indian Ocean, which were used by the French privateers to prey on British shipping, were taken in 1810. Next year a very strong expedition was sent to Batavia, which surrendered after a fierce battle, and Java was taken. It was brilliantly administered by Sir Stamford Raffles for a short time, but was unfortunately returned in 1815 in exchange for the Dutch colonies on the Indian mainland. The Cape of Good Hope, however, was permanently retained, as prior to the opening of the Suez Canal it was an important stopping place for ships going to India. Lord Minto retired in 1813, but died soon afterwards. His career had been a brilliant one. He had done his best to maintain the policy of non-intervention and his negotiations with Ranjit Singh were a diplomatic triumph. He had averted all hopes of the re-establishment of the

French power in India, and had expelled them from their Eastern possessions. There were, however, signs of trouble brewing in Central India, where the Pindaris were daily growing stronger, and with the Burmese and the Gurkhas.

First Renewal of the Charter. In 1813 the Company's Charter, which had been granted for twenty years only, came up for renewal. It was renewed on condition that the Company threw open Indian trade to all comers, and allowed merchants and missionaries to enter their dominions without restriction. A sum of £10,000 a year was to be devoted to education, and this was of great importance, as it was the first recognition on the part of the Company of the duty of the Government to ameliorate the condition of the people.



LORD HASTINGS

Lord Hastings. Lord Hastings arrived in 1813 and, as he himself said, found himself confronted with 'seven different quarrels likely to demand the decision of arms'. Though an opponent of the forward policy of Lord Wellesley, he realized that there was no alternative between fighting and abdication.

The Gurkhas. Lord Hastings' first task was to punish the Gurkhas of Nepal, a hardy race of mountaineers who, encouraged by the policy of non-intervention, had become ever bolder in their plundering raids on the Gangetic plains.

Sir George Barlow and Lord Minto had protested in vain. The campaign was a difficult one. The foothills of the Himalayas are covered with trackless jungles, infested with wild beasts and full of malaria. The English soldiers were unused to hill fighting, and the Gurkhas were brave and



A NEPALESE STOCKADE

skilful. After many reverses, in 1814 General Ochterlony fought his way up the passes, and next year reached Khatmandu, the Gurkha capital. The Gurkhas signed the treaty of Sagauli in 1816, by which they surrendered the Terai, or lowlands, withdrew from Sikkim and agreed to receive a British Resident. Lord Hastings scrupulously refrained

ffom annexing Nepal. One valuable result was the acquisition of the hill stations of Simla, Mussoorie and Naini Tal. The Gurkhas are allowed to enlist in the Indian Army, and performed valuable services in both world wars.

The Pindaris. Even more serious was the menace caused by the Pindaris in Central India. They were the refuse of the armies of the various Indian states which had been disbanded under the policy of subsidiary alliances. A host of Pindaris or irregulars had followed the Marathas to Panipat in 1761. They were of no common race or religion, and included Afghans, Marathas, Arabs, Jats, members of the criminal tribes, and outlaws of every description, who had formed themselves into plundering bands. Mounted on swift ponies, they would ride fifty miles a day, pillage a district, and vanish with their booty long before regular troops arrived on the scene. The villagers were put to cruel tortures to make them reveal where they had hidden their belongings, and booty to the value of a million pounds had been carried off. The population fled in terror at their approach, and women threw themselves into wells to avoid capture. After some hesitation, the English Government agreed to the extirpation of these pests, and a great army of 120,000 men and 300 guns was made to converge upon their lair in Malwa.

The Third Maratha War. Unfortunately, the Maratha chiefs, who were filled with resentment at their defeat in the last war, were burning for revenge, and were in sympathy if not in actual league with the Pindaris. Sindhia was overawed but the Peshwa, the Raja of Nagpur and Holkar declared war as soon as operations commenced. The Peshwa, who was too cowardly to take the field himself, sent his general Gokhale to attack the British Residency at Poona. Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Resident, withdrew to the neighbouring plain of Kirkee, where the gallant Gokhale was defeated (November 1817). The Peshwa's whole army was repulsed by a tiny

British force at a place called Koregaon, near Poona, and after this he was hunted from place to place by the British cavalry, until at last he surrendered to Sir John Malcolm. He was sent to Bithur, near Cawnpur, with an allowance of £80,000 a year. The Deccan was annexed and became part of the Bombay Presidency, with the exception of the little kingdom of Satara, where the descendant of Shivaji was restored to his throne under British protection. At Nagpur, the Raja attacked the British Residency, but the garrison retired to the neighbouring hill of Sitabaldi, which they defended with great bravery. After the attack was beaten off, the town of Nagpur was taken by the British troops. Meanwhile, Holkar's army was utterly routed at Mahidpur, near Ujjain. The main portion of the territory of the Raja of Nagpur was confiscated. He was deposed and a new Raja was set up in his territories south of the Narbada under British control. Holkar was more leniently treated and allowed to retain Indore. Thus the mighty Maratha empire, which had at one time dominated India, was at last brought to an end. Meanwhile, the net had closed round the Pindaris, and their hordes were gradually exterminated or dispersed. Some of the leaders of their bands were given lands and induced to settle down to a peaceful and orderly existence; others were killed or committed suicide, and Chitu, the most notorious, was driven into the jungle, where he was devoured by a tiger. Lord Hastings completed, in a most masterly fashion, the work begun by Lord Wellesley.

Internal Reforms. Lord Hastings was not merely a conqueror. He at once set himself to reorganize the territories which he had rescued from Pindari and Maratha tyranny. Mountstuart Elphinstone and a band of able administrators took charge of the Deccan, while Sir John Malcolm was at work in Central India and Sir Thomas Munro carried out the ryotwar settlement of Madras. In educational matters, Lord Hastings anticipated Lord Bentinck. He declared that

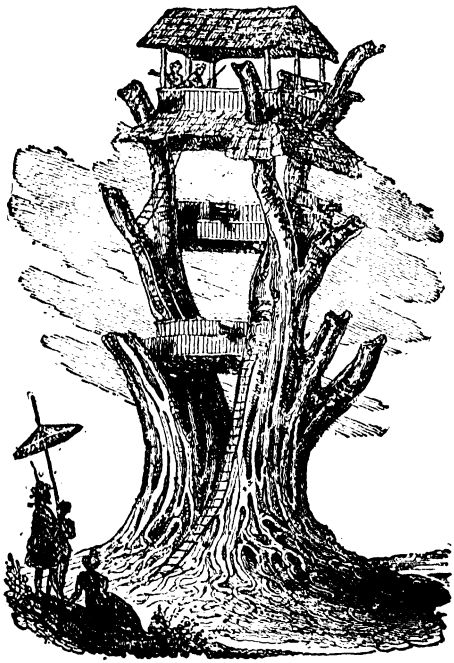
'it would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this Government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the multitude', and the earliest vernacular schools were started near Calcutta. The first vernacular newspaper was published by the missionaries at Serampore. A number of legal reforms were introduced, and measures were taken to protect the ryots from the encroachments of the zemindars. Canals and other public works were started, and Hastings took steps towards the abolition of suttee. Altogether, he will be remembered as one of the greatest of the Governors-General of the Company.



IRRIGATION CHANNEL
Lower Swat Canal, Peshawar District

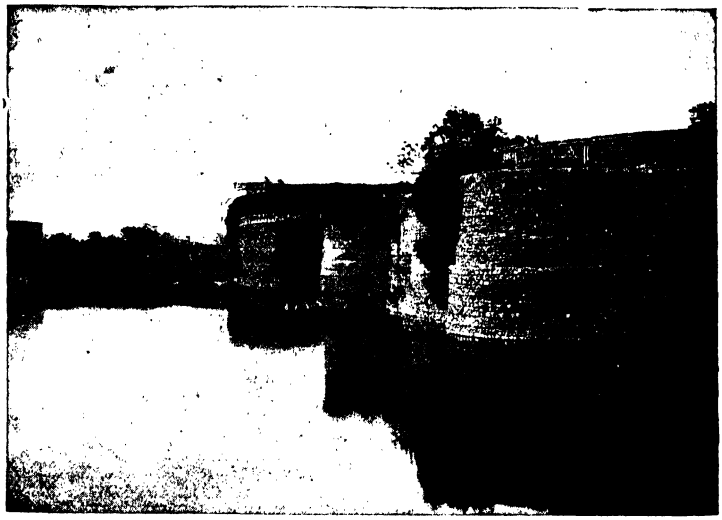
Lord Amherst. The First Burmese War. In 1823 Lord Hastings was succeeded after a short interval by Lord Amherst. His administration is chiefly remembered for two events, the first Burmese war and the capture of Bharatpur. The Burmese had long been encroaching on Bengal, and had returned insolent answers to all protests. So ignorant was the king of Burma of the power of the English that he gave his commander a pair of golden fetters for the Governor-General! Lord Amherst was forced to declare war in 1824. Expeditions were sent up the Brahmaputra river to Assam and into Arakan from Chittagong. Another was sent by sea from Madras to the mouth of the Irrawady. The campaign was a difficult one, owing to the nature of the country, which was covered with dense jungle and intersected with mountain

ranges and unfordable rivers. In the rainy season it was transformed into a vast morass, infested with malaria. The Burmese had an able general, named Maha Bandula. On the approach of the English, the Burmese abandoned Rangoon and drove off their herds and cattle into the jungle. The troops were thus left without provisions, and were decimated with fever. It was difficult to advance either by land or by river, as the Burmese were very clever at erecting stockades of bamboo, concealed in the jungle, behind which they put up a stout resistance. It was not until the cold weather of 1825 that the English, who were commanded by General Campbell, were able to advance. Bandula was killed, and peace was made in February 1826 at Yandabu on the Irrawady, sixty miles from Ava, the Burmese capital. The campaign had cost 20,000 lives, mostly from disease, and £14,000,000, or ten times as much as the Maratha war. The Burmese agreed to give up Arakan and Tenasserim, withdraw from Assam,



BANDULA'S ARMED OBSERVATION POST

recognize the independence of Manipur, admit a British Resident at Ava, and pay an indemnity of £1,000,000. But they retained control over Rangoon and the valley of the Irrawady, which was the key to the country, as the principal towns are all situated on the river, which was the only means of communication in those days. A disquieting feature of the



BHARATPUR FORT

situation was a mutiny which occurred in the 47th Bengal Native Infantry at Barrackpore. The Sepoys objected, on caste grounds, to crossing the 'black water' to Burma. The mutiny was suppressed with terrible severity and the regiment disbanded.

Capture of Bharatpur. In 1826 a dispute about the succession led to the reduction, by Lord Combermere, of the great Jat fortress of Bharatpur, which had defied all the efforts of Lord Lake, and was popularly supposed to be impregnable.

Commencement of a New Era. The overthrow of the Pindaris and the dissolution of the Maratha confederacy mark the beginning of a new era. 'Henceforth,' says a contemporary historian, 'this epoch will be referred to as that whence each of the existing states will date the commencement of its peaceable settlement, and the consolidation of its relations with the controlling power. The dark age of trouble and violence, which so long spread its malign influence over the fertile regions of Central India, has thus ceased from this time; and a new era has commenced, we trust, with brighter prospects—an era of peace, prosperity, and wealth at least, if not of political liberty and high moral improvement.'

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1798	Lord Wellesley Governor-General.
1799	Last Mysore War. Death of Tipu Sultan.
1800	Death of Nana Farnavis.
1801	Annexation of Karnatak and ceded districts of Oudh.
1802	Treaty of Bassein.
1803	Second Maratha War.
	Treaty of Surji Arjungaon.
1805	Recall of Lord Wellesley.
	Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow (acting) Governors-General.
1807	Lord Minto Governor-General.
1808	Travancore Rebellion.
1809	Capture of Bourbon and Mauritius.
1811	Conquest of Java.
1813	Renewal of Charter.
	Retirement of Lord Minto.
	Lord Hastings Governor-General.
1814-16	Nepalese War. Treaty of Sagauli.

1817	Pindari and Third Maratha Wars. Battles of Kirkee, Sitabaldi and Mahidpur.
1818	Bajirao II surrenders and is deposed. The Deccan taken over by the English Government.
1823	Retirement of Lord Hastings. Lord Amherst Governor-General.
1824-6	First Burmese War. Barrackpore Mutiny.
1826	Treaty of Yandabu. Capture of Bharatpur.
1828	Resignation of Lord Amherst.

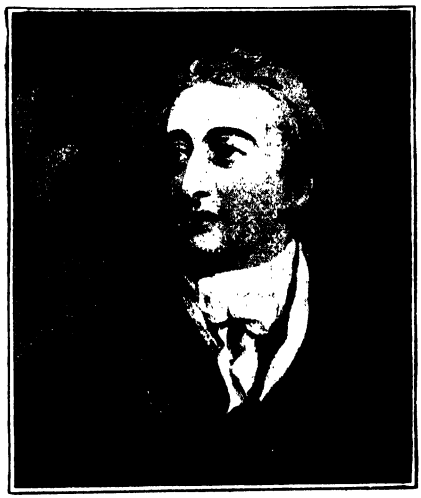
CHAPTER VI

NEW PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT: LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK, 1828-35

Lord William Bentinck: the New Policy. In 1828 Lord William Bentinck, who had been Governor of Madras twenty years earlier at the time of the mutiny of Vellore, came out as Governor-General. Former Governors-General had been great conquerors and administrators, though one of them at least, Lord Hastings, made important improvements in the condition of the people. But Lord Bentinck was the first to recognize, and to make the keynote of his policy the grand principle that 'English greatness is founded on Indian happiness.'

Financial Reforms. When he arrived, however, he found himself handicapped by empty coffers. Immense sums had been expended on the Maratha and Burmese wars, and the first thing to be done was to restore the finances. He made economies in the civil and military estimates, amounting to one and a half million pounds. He increased the land

revenue by revising the assessments, and he imposed duties upon the opium trade of Malwa. By constant tours, he kept in personal touch with the problems of the country. He encouraged projects for steam navigation, and for opening up the Red Sea route in place of the long voyage round the Cape. He took the office of Commander-in-Chief, as well as Governor-General, and was greatly disquieted at the state of discipline in the Indian Army.



LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

Bentinck's Reforms: (1) The Prohibition of Suttee. One of the earliest and most salutary of Bentinck's reforms was to carry a regulation in Council in 1829, which declared that 'the practice of suttee, or burning or burying alive the widows of Hindus, is illegal and punishable by the Criminal Courts'. Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst had considered the subject, but had been deterred by fear that interference with the Hindu religion would cause trouble. The practice of allowing the widow to burn herself to death upon her husband's corpse had grown up in the Middle Ages, chiefly among the Rajputs, and had been supported by the wilful mistranslation of Vedic texts. The Emperor Akbar had tried to put a stop to it, but since the decay of the Mogul Empire the popularity of this baneful custom had increased. In Bengal alone, 700 or more widows were burnt to death every

year. Holocausts at the death of Indian princes were common. In 1780, sixty-four women were immolated on the



SUTTEE MEMORIALS OF JODHPUR PRINCESSES IN THE PALACE GATEWAY

pyre of Raja Ajit Singh of Marwar. In the Punjab, things were even worse. Lord Bentinck's courageous action was followed by none of the evil consequences which were foretold.

At the same time, steps were taken to put down the practice of female infanticide, and offering children to the Ganges at Saugar.

(2) **Suppression of Thuggee.** The Thugs were hereditary assassins, who were bound together into a kind of religious association by an oath of secrecy which they swore by the goddess Kali. Disguised as merchants or pilgrims, they haunted the roads and rest-houses, where they ingratiated themselves with travellers. They then strangled, robbed and buried them. The Thugs formed a powerful confederacy spread over the whole of the north of India, and were supported by many landowners, who shared the booty. The honour of suppressing these pests belongs to Sir William Sleeman, who apprehended over 1,500 Thugs in the course of six years. One of them confessed to over 900 murders, and another to 500. Incidentally, this led to a reform of the police system.

(3) *Meriah.* The practice of offering human sacrifices to the spirit of fertility was common among the Khonds, a primitive tribe living in Orissa. The victim was known as the *meriah.* This barbarous practice was finally abolished by General John Campbell about 1854.

(4) **Judicial Reforms: Employment of Indians.** Bentinck insisted on modifying the rules laid down by Lord Cornwallis about the employment of Indians in the higher branches of the Civil Service. Measures were taken to throw open to Indians posts in the higher branches of the services, and particularly the judicial service, in which their knowledge of the languages and customs of their fellow-countrymen rendered them particularly useful. The cumbrous circuit and appeal courts set up by Cornwallis, which were a source of endless delays, were abolished. A great boon conferred by Bentinck upon suitors was the substitution of the vernaculars for Persian as the language of the courts. In 1834, a distinguished legalist and historian, Thomas Babington Macaulay, was brought out to India as additional member of the Governor-General's

Council, to codify the laws. His Penal Code, drafted in 1837, was finally adopted in 1860.

(5) English Education. But the most momentous change introduced by Lord Bentinck, and one that was destined to affect profoundly the whole future history of the country, was that by which English was made the medium of higher education in India. The question had arisen of the best method of expending the grants which had been allocated for education, and Bentinck referred the matter to the Committee of Public Instruction. The battle was actually only fought over a few colleges in Bengal, but it finally settled the direction which Indian education was to take in the future. On the one side were Horace Hayman Wilson and the orthodox Hindus and Muslims, who wished to confine education, as before, to the study of Sanskrit and Arabic; on the other were the Baptist missionaries at Serampore, David Hare and Ram Mohan Roy, who were in favour of Western education through the medium of English. The vernaculars were at that time too undeveloped to serve any useful purpose. The dispute was decided by a famous minute of Macaulay which laid down that it would be impossible for the Government, with its limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. The idea must be to form a class of educated Indians who would act as interpreters to the millions, enrich the vernaculars with Western scientific terms, and render them fit for conveying knowledge to the masses. Lord Bentinck settled the matter by his resolution dated 20th March 1835, which declared that the funds should be devoted to Indian education alone, and that 'the object of British Government should be the promotion of English literature and science'. At the same time, a Medical College to train Indians to be doctors was started in Calcutta and, contrary to expectations, proved very popular.

Renewal of the Charter, 1833. The question of the renewal

of the Charter came up again in 1833, and was made the occasion of further important reforms. The last vestiges of the Company's monopoly disappeared, and it practically ceased to exist as a commercial body. Any Englishman could now come and settle in the country, and own property. The North-West Provinces were constituted. The head of the Government was separated from Bengal and given the title of Governor-General of India, and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were definitely placed under his control. The Government of India was given the power of passing Acts instead of Regulations, and a Law Member was added to the Governor-General's Council. Finally, it laid down the famous principle that 'no native of India, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty, should be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment, by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour'.

Intervention in Indian States. Lord Bentinck was a loyal supporter of the Government's policy of non-intervention, but when circumstances obliged him to interfere, he did so with courage and firmness. The Raja of Mysore, who had been restored to the throne of his fathers by Lord Wellesley, proved utterly unworthy of the generous treatment he had received. His scandalous misgovernment having provoked a rebellion, he was deposed in 1831, and given a pension. Mysore was administered by British officials for fifty years, and then returned to the ruling house. In the neighbouring state of Coorg, the Raja, a monster of cruelty, was deposed 'in consideration of the unanimous wish of the people', and Coorg was annexed.

Eventful Years. The seven years 1828-35 were some of the most eventful in the history of British India. They witnessed a new orientation of policy. Indians were employed in the higher services, evil customs were put down, and English education was introduced. Expenses were curtailed, and the public peace was unbroken. English officials began

to take an increasing interest in the literature and history of the country, and among the eminent historians who held high official positions were Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm and Grant Duff in the Deccan, and James Tod in



COLONEL TOD AND HIS JAIN PUNDIT

Rajputana. Horace Hayman Wilson nobly carried on the study of Sanskrit and Indian archaeology begun by Colebrooke and Prinsep in Calcutta. The Serampore Mission, founded by Carey in 1799, introduced printing, started the first Bengali newspaper, and laid the foundations of Bengali prose. Other

missionaries, like Dr Duff in Calcutta and Dr Wilson in Bombay, were largely responsible for the growth of University life in the two capitals, and the same may be said for the Christian College in Madras. The first fruits of English education were seen in Ram Mohan Roy, the founder of the Bramho Samaj, and the famous Tagore family. Sir Thomas Munro and Macaulay definitely looked forward to a day when Western education would render Indians capable of governing their own country. 'We should look upon India', says Sir Thomas Munro, 'not as a temporary possession, but as one which is to be maintained permanently, until the natives shall become sufficiently enlightened to frame a regular government for themselves, and conduct and preserve it. Whenever such a time shall arrive, it will probably be best for both countries that the British control over India should be gradually withdrawn.' The Report of the Committee of Parliament of 1833 recognized 'as an indisputable principle, that the interests of the Native Subjects are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans, whenever the two come in competition'.

Lord Bentinck's Retirement: his Achievements. Lord William Bentinck retired in March 1835. Four years later he died. The fittest eulogy on the work of this great, good and far-sighted man is that inscribed at the foot of his statue, by his colleague and admirer, Thomas Babington Macaulay: 'For seven years, he ruled India with eminent prudence, integrity and benevolence; placed at the head of a great empire, he never laid aside the simplicity and moderation of a private citizen; he infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom; he never forgot that the end of government is the welfare of the governed; he abolished cruel rites, and effaced humiliating distinctions; he allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion; his constant study it was to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the Government committed to his charge.'

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1828	Lord William Bentinck becomes Governor-General.
1829	Abolition of suttee.
1829-37	Abolition of thuggee.
1831	Deposition of the Raja of Mysore.
1833	Renewal of the Charter.
1834	Annexation of Coorg.
1835	Resolution on Education.
	Medical College opened at Calcutta.
	Lord Bentinck retires.

CHAPTER VII

THE LAST CONQUESTS OF THE COMPANY: THE AFGHAN, SIKH AND BURMESE WARS, 1836-56

Sir Charles Metcalfe. After Lord Bentinck's retirement, Sir Charles Metcalfe was appointed acting Governor-General. He was a very able member of the Civil Service, but unfortunately incurred the displeasure of the Directors by repealing the rules which had been made by Lord Wellesley, obliging printers of newspapers to obtain a licence and submit to restrictions upon what they published. At first it was proposed to appoint Mountstuart Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, as Governor-General, but in an evil hour the choice fell upon Lord Auckland.

Lord Auckland and the Afghan Question. Lord Auckland arrived in March 1836. The year following, Queen Victoria succeeded to the throne. At that time the British Government was deeply concerned at the rapid expansion of the

Russian Empire in Central Asia. The Russians were constantly intriguing with Persia, and it was feared that, if they managed to extend their influence to Afghanistan, their next move would be to use that country as their base for an attack on India. When Lord Auckland sailed for India, he was instructed by Lord Palmerston, the Prime Minister, to 'judge what steps it may be proper and desirable to take, to watch more closely than has hitherto been attempted the progress of events in Afghanistan, and to counteract the progress of Russian influence in a quarter which, from its proximity to our Indian possessions, could not fail, if it were once established, to act injuriously on the system of our alliances, and possibly to interfere with the tranquillity of our own territory.'



LORD AUCKLAND
(From a chalk drawing in the possession of the family)

Afghanistan. Afghanistan is a bleak, barren, mountainous land, and its inhabitants are a race of hardy mountaineers, devoted to their religion, and prizing above all things their independence. The presence of a foreign power in their country is intolerable to them, and is, perhaps, the one thing which will unite the clans. There are three chief cities, Kabul in the north-east, Kandahar in the south-east, and Herat in the north-west, each at that time under a separate

ruler. Afghanistan was in a precarious position, being disunited and threatened by Persia and her Russian allies on the one side, and the Sikhs on the other. The country is important to British India today, because through its territories run the roads leading to the North-West Frontier, and by these roads the invading hordes have poured into the Punjab through the ages, carrying fire and sword and desolation to the inhabitants. But in 1836, the British frontier was the Sutlej. Between the Sutlej and the mountains lay the kingdom of Ranjit Singh, with his powerful and well-trained army. The proper policy for the Indian Government would have been to use the Sikhs as a buffer state, supplying them freely with arms and munitions and everything required for their defence. The Sikhs were more than a match for the Afghans, and it was not at all probable that the Russians, in the days before railways, would attempt to send their armies across the hundreds of miles of rugged mountains, populated by hostile tribes, which lay between their frontier and Peshawar. On the other hand, the Russians were all-powerful in Persia, and in 1837 helped the Persians to lay siege to Herat, which was defended with the aid of a British officer, Eldred Pottinger. But in 1838 the siege was raised, and the danger in this quarter vanished.

Shah Shuja and the Tripartite Treaty. The ruler at Kabul was a very able man named Dost Muhammad of the Barakzai clan ; Shah Shuja, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani, the victor of Panipat, an unpopular and incapable prince, had been driven out in 1809, and was living under British protection at Ludhiana. Dost Muhammad was suspected of being on too friendly terms with Russia. Lord Auckland conceived the fatal idea of restoring Shah Shuja to the throne of Kabul as a puppet in the hands of the Indian Government, and deposing Dost Muhammad. Ranjit Singh had no objection to a plan which would weaken his old enemies the Afghans, provided that he did not have to take an active part in the

operations. A 'tripartite treaty' between Lord Auckland, Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja was therefore drawn up and signed in July 1838, by which the latter was to be installed at Kabul as Amir, with British help.

Invasion of Afghanistan: Violation of Sind Neutrality In November 1838, Lord Auckland assembled the army of the Indus, consisting of Bengal regiments, at Firozpur. Ranjit Singh objected to its marching through his dominions, so it had to go round by the Bolan Pass instead of through the Khyber. Its first objective was Kandahar, and here it was to be joined by the Bombay army, which was to go up the Indus. This was a direct violation of the treaty made by the Indian Government with the Mirs of Sind in 1832, by which it had been agreed that no military stores or armed vessels should be taken up the river. Thus one wrong led to another. The two forces slowly made their way to Kandahar, and from Kandahar to Kabul, which was entered in August 1840. Shah Shuja was duly installed, but it was more like a 'funeral procession' than a triumphal entry, and Dost Muhammad, who had never harmed the English, was sent as a state prisoner to Calcutta. British forces guarding the line of communications were posted at Kandahar and Jalalabad. In



DOST MUHAMMAD

Kabul itself, the command was given to General Elphinstone, who was old and long past his work.

Murder of Burnes and Macnaghten. All seemed peaceful on the surface, but the Afghans were seething with fury at the occupation of their capital by a foreign army. In November 1841, risings broke out in Kabul city. Burnes, one of the political officers, was besieged and murdered in his house by a furious mob. A month later, another political officer named Macnaghten was enticed to a conference and assassinated. The British force was now cut off, and in great danger. Elphinstone's officers besought him to seize the Bala Hissar, the great citadel of Kabul, and hold out there until help arrived. But Elphinstone madly signed a treaty with Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad, agreeing to evacuate Afghanistan, and to surrender the wives of certain officers as hostages.

Annihilation of the Army. On 6th January 1842, the British army, 4,000 strong, with 12,000 followers, marched out of Kabul on its way to Jalalabad. The roads were blocked with snow, and no sooner had the troops entered the mountain passes than they were fiercely attacked from all sides by the tribesmen. They struggled on, cold, starving and exhausted, and were allowed no rest by the enemy. On 8th January there were only 800 survivors, and the women, children and wounded officers, including General Elphinstone, were transferred to Akbar Khan's protection. After this, the retreat became a rout. On 13th January the anxious watchers on the walls of Jalalabad saw a single horseman ride up to the gates. It was Dr Brydon, the solitary survivor of the army which had started from Kabul a week previously. This was the greatest disaster that ever befell a British force in India.

Lord Ellenborough. In February, Lord Auckland, having failed so miserably, retired. Lord Ellenborough, who succeeded him, ordered General Nott and General Pollock who were



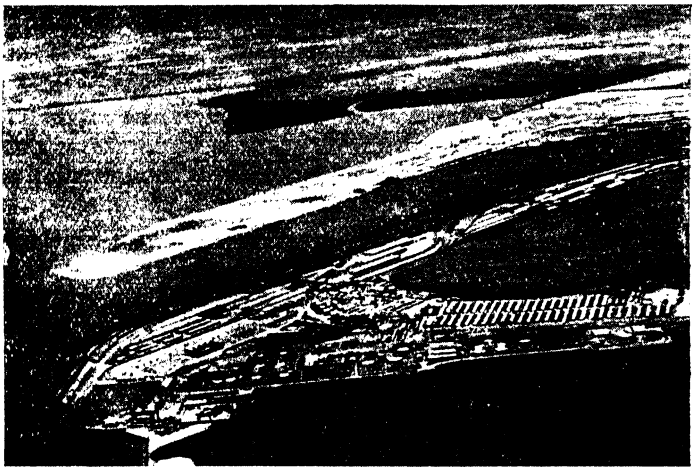
BALA HISSAR, KABUL

holding Kandahar and Jalalabad, to join forces and withdraw to India through the Khyber Pass, but first of all to take Ghazni and Kabul. This order was successfully carried out. The fortifications of Ghazni were destroyed, and the great covered bazaar at Kabul was blown up with gunpowder. All the prisoners and hostages in Afghan hands were surrendered. They had been humanely treated, and General Elphinstone had died in captivity. The army then withdrew to Peshawar. In the meanwhile, Shah Shuja was assassinated, and Dost Muhammad was restored. So ended a fruitless undertaking, which cost the country 20,000 lives and fifteen crores of rupees.

Annexation of Sind. The Mirs of Sind were naturally angry at the way in which their country had been used, in violation of treaties, as a base for operations against Afghanistan. But they kept the peace, and nothing would have happened had matters been left in the hands of Sir James Outram, an able man beloved by everyone. But Lord Ellenborough wanted a great victory to wipe out the disgrace of Afghanistan, and moreover, the Indus was essential for communications. He therefore sent Sir Charles Napier to Sind with an army from Bombay. The Baluchis rose and attacked the British Residency at Hyderabad, whereupon Napier, with a tiny force, defeated them in two great battles at Miani and Dabo, and annexed the country (1842-3). The Mirs were sent into exile. In defence, it must be pointed out that they were despotic rulers, who had governed oppressively, and the people of Sind benefited greatly by the change of government. Sind has, since its annexation, become a prosperous country, with a fine port at Karachi. The recent Sukkur barrage will no doubt add greatly to its wealth. Originally a part of Bombay, it was later constituted as a separate Province, and in 1947 became part of Pakistan.

Lord Ellenborough's Retirement: Lord Hardinge Governor-General (1844). The only other event of importance during

the Governor-Generalship of Lord Ellenborough was a revolution in Gwalior State. The Gwalior army, 40,000 strong, was defeated at Maharajpur, and the young raja placed under the guardianship of a wise minister named Dinkar Rao. But the Directors disliked Lord Ellenborough's boastful and arrogant behaviour, and in 1844 they replaced him by Lord



AERIAL VIEW OF KARACHI PORT

Hardinge, a distinguished military officer who had fought under Wellington in the Peninsular War.

Death of Ranjit Singh : Anarchy in the Punjab. Meanwhile, in 1839, Ranjit Singh, the 'Lion of the Punjab' and the greatest Indian ruler for the last two centuries, had died. He was a steadfast friend of the English, and wisely avoided any temptation to provoke a quarrel with them. His death was the signal for an outburst of anarchy all over the Punjab. Revolution, assassination and bloodshed were the order of the day. The nominal ruler was Duleep Singh, a boy of five, and his mother, the Queen Regent. But the real power was in

the hands of the Khalsa or Army Council, which had 55,000 troops drilled by European officers, and 500 guns.

The First Sikh War. It will be remembered (p. 296) that Ranjit Singh had agreed to recognize the Sutlej as the boundary between British India and the Punjab, and not to interfere with the states on the farther side of the river. But the Regent, who was afraid that the Khalsa would turn upon her and depose her, encouraged the army leaders to attempt to annex these states; by these means she hoped to divert their attention from herself. She was only too successful, and on 13th December 1845, the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej. The British forces were commanded by Sir Hugh Gough, a brave but unskilful general. A series of pitched battles were fought at Mudki, Ferozeshah and Aliwal, in which the British suffered heavy losses and might even have been defeated but for dissensions and treachery among the Sikh leaders. But at Sobraon the army of the Khalsa was destroyed, and the Sikhs submitted. They had to pay 50 lakhs by way of compensation. Instead of annexing the country, Lord Hardinge placed the young Maharaja on the throne, with a British army of occupation. A very noble Englishman, Sir Henry Lawrence, was made President of the Council of Regency. Kashmir was ceded to the British, and placed under Golab Singh, the Raja of Jammu.

The Second Sikh War: Lord Dalhousie. Henry Lawrence, helped by his brothers, George and John, and by a number of able young officers, of whom the most famous were Abbott, Edwardes, Hodson, Nicholson and Lumsden, set to work to civilize the Punjab and abolish barbarous customs such as suttee, infanticide and mutilation. But the remnants of the old Khalsa were seething with discontent, fomented by the Queen Mother. An outbreak under Mulraj, governor of Multan, took place in April 1848, in the course of which two British officers were murdered. This was a signal for a general rising. Meanwhile, Lord Hardinge had gone home, and had

been succeeded by a young and able Governor-General Lord Dalhousie, who was only thirty-six. In the cold weather of 1848, Lord Gough once more took the field. A terrible battle was fought at Chilianwala, on the river Jhelum (13th January 1849), in which the English lost nearly 2,500 men. But at Gujarat (21st February) the Sikh army was practically destroyed, and on 12th March 1849, the remnant laid down their arms.



LORD DALHOUSIE

Annexation of the Punjab. Dalhousie saw that there was no alternative but to annex the Punjab altogether. The Khalsa was disarmed and disbanded, and the young Raja sent to England with a pension. The British frontier now extended up to the mountains. The work of the settlement of the Punjab, interrupted by the second Sikh war, was continued apace under the energetic leadership of Lord Dalhousie. Roads were constructed and canals were dug. Irrigation was introduced and taxation was lightened. Slavery and dacoity were stamped out. A simple code of laws, based on popular custom, was drawn up. The moving spirit in all this was John Lawrence, now Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. The result was that, when the Indian Mutiny broke out, only eight years after the battle of Chilianwala, the Sikhs, instead of joining in the rising, came to the help

of the British Government and took a prominent part in the capture of Delhi.

The Second Burmese War. The Burmese, who had learnt nothing from their previous defeat (p. 303), continued to impose vexatious restrictions upon British and Indian merchants, and in 1851 fired upon a British man-of-war which had been sent to remonstrate. Dalhousie organized an expedition which captured the important port of Rangoon. In December 1852, Pegu, or Lower Burma, was annexed, and by this means the Burmese government was shut off from the sea, and the whole coastline down to the Malay Peninsula passed under British control.

Dalhousie's Social Reforms: Railways. As soon as the Sikh question was settled, Dalhousie addressed himself to the task of developing the resources of the country and introducing a number of badly-needed reforms and improvements. In 1853 the first railway, twenty miles long, from Bombay to Thana, was opened. Another was constructed from Calcutta to the Raniganj coalfields. Now there are over 43,000 miles of railways, and over 600 millions of people travel by them every year. The railways have greatly increased the prosperity of the country. They bring cotton, rice, wheat and other agricultural products from the villages to the large towns and seaports. They join up the various parts of India and are one of the chief means of fighting famine. If the monsoon fails in one district, grain can be brought to it by rail, and many lives are saved. The railways are making India a nation. One hundred years ago it took six weeks to travel from Bombay to Calcutta, and the journey was difficult and even dangerous. Now it can be performed in two days. Representatives of various parts of India can assemble at Delhi in order to attend the meetings of the Central Legislature. Formerly, owing to the great distances, this was impossible.

The Public Works Department. In order to keep roads and bridges in repair, and construct new ones, Lord Dalhousie

organized the Public Works Department and opened a college at Roorkee where engineers might be trained for their duties. *Over 2,000 miles of pukka roads with bridges were constructed* by the Public Works Department in the time of Lord Dalhousie, and they made the Grand Trunk Road which runs all the way from Calcutta to the Punjab. Lord Dalhousie also caused the Public Works Department to construct the Grand Ganges Canal, the largest canal in the world, and other canals running for over 18,000 miles in all. Large tracts of land where formerly nothing could grow are now rich and fertile, and even when there is a bad monsoon there is no lack of water for the crops. This was a great blessing to millions of peasants. When Dalhousie left India, 1½ million acres of land were irrigated. Now 28 million acres are irrigated, and 2½ crores a year are spent on irrigation.

Posts and Telegraphs. Formerly, when a letter was sent from Madras to Delhi, or Bombay to Calcutta, it had to be carried by a runner. It cost a rupee to send a letter from Bombay to Calcutta; more was charged for sending a letter for a long than a short distance. Dalhousie swept all this away and introduced a regularly organized postal service, with a uniform charge. Now, for one anna, a letter weighing a *tola* may be sent by post for any distance. Over 1,200 million letters, postcards and money-orders a year are sent by post in India. Lord Dalhousie also introduced the electric telegraph, by which messages may be sent in a few hours from one end of India to the other for a few annas.

Education. Lord Dalhousie fully realized that without education India could never be great or prosperous. He got Sir Charles Wood in England to draw up a scheme for him which provided that there should be vernacular schools in all districts. He was very anxious to encourage the vernacular languages, because he realized that only in this way can education reach the masses. English can never be more than the language of the few. In this, Dalhousie went

farther than Lord Bentinck. He established a Department of Public Instruction, under Directors, whose duty it was to organize the work. When he left India there were 25,000 schools. Now there are over 250,000 schools with nearly 13 million pupils in British India alone.

Renewal of the Charter. In 1853 the Company's Charter was again renewed, and further reforms were introduced into the administration. The Government of Bengal was separated from the Government of India and placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. Entrance to the Indian Civil Service was to be in future by open competition, and not, as formerly, by nomination. The first Indian entered the Covenanted Civil Service in 1863. At the same time, Lord Dalhousie was introducing what is known as the Departmental system, by which the various government departments are assigned to separate officers each with his own staff of subordinates.

Lord Dalhousie and the Indian States. One of the most serious faults in the policy of 'subsidiary alliances' introduced by Lord Wellesley was that it gave rulers of Indian states power without responsibility. The ruling prince could misgovern as he willed, and his subjects were powerless to rebel, as he was maintained upon his throne by British troops. On the other hand, the British Government was unable to interfere, as by doing so they would be forced to break their agreements. Lord Dalhousie was deeply moved by the sufferings which were caused to the inhabitants of the Indian states by this state of things, and felt himself at liberty to use any legitimate means in his power to put an end to them.

The Doctrine of Lapse. Dalhousie distinguished clearly between protected allies like Hyderabad or Baroda, which were in existence before the advent of the British and were bound to the Government by treaties, and dependent states which had been created by the British power. In the latter case only, he held that, whenever a ruling prince was without heirs, he could not exercise the right to adopt a son without

obtaining the previous sanction of the British Government. Acting on this principle, Dalhousie claimed that a number of principalities had 'lapsed', among them being the little kingdom of Satara and the two other Maratha states of Jhansi and Nagpur, all of which had been set up after the deposition of the Peshwa in 1819. Of these, by far the most important was Nagpur, with a territory of 80,000 miles, comprising much fertile cotton soil, through which ran the route from Calcutta to Bombay, and with a population of four million people.

Other Cases: Oudh. In other cases there were princes like the Nawab of the Karnatak and the Raja of Tanjore, who were purely titular rulers; Dalhousie held that their titles were personal and not hereditary, and refused to continue them. He took a similar line with regard to the disproportionately large pension of eight lakhs per annum granted to Bajirao Peshwa by the misplaced generosity of Sir John Malcolm, and declined to pay it to his adopted son, the Nana Saheb. He would probably have abolished the title of the Emperor of Delhi in much the same way, had he been permitted to do so by the Court of Directors. Lastly came the famous instance of the 'King of Oudh' as the Nawab had been called since 1819. The misgovernment, vice and corruption of the Court of Oudh were a public scandal, and as far back as 1837 Lord Auckland had warned the king that he must either reform or abdicate. But threats and warnings were useless. In addition, the *talukdars* or barons, who owned most of the land, lived in strongholds which enabled them to defy the Government and oppress the peasantry. Lord Dalhousie was personally in favour of allowing the Nawab to retain his title, and Sir James Outram, who was Resident at Lucknow, tried to persuade him to abdicate voluntarily. But the Directors ruled otherwise. Accordingly Oudh was annexed in February 1856, and the deposed ruler received a handsome pension.

Dalhousie's Retirement, Character and Death. The deposition of the King of Oudh was Dalhousie's last undertaking. His health was shattered by four years of unstinted work, and he died in 1860, at the age of forty. He was perhaps the greatest of all of India's Governors-General. He was a ruthless taskmaster, who spared neither himself nor his subordinates. In four years he achieved reforms which would have taken a lesser man a lifetime to accomplish. He had a passion for efficiency, and was an unsparing foe of corruption and misgovernment wherever he found it. His imperious temper was accentuated by constant ill-health and physical pain, and perhaps his chief fault was his impatience at the conservatism which made India cling tenaciously to age-long customs and religious beliefs. But his name will remain, along with those of Warren Hastings and Lord Curzon, as one of the greatest statesmen that England has given to India.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1835	Sir Charles Metcalfe Acting Governor-General.
1836	Lord Auckland Governor-General.
1837	Accession of Queen Victoria.
1838	Tripartite treaty between Lord Auckland, Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja.
1839	First Afghan War. British troops occupy Kabul. Death of Ranjit Singh.
1841	Risings in Kabul. Murder of Burnes and Macnaghten.
1842	Evacuation of Kabul: General Elphinstone's force annihilated.
	Shah Shuja murdered and Dost Muhammad restored.
	Lord Ellenborough Governor-General.
1843	Conquest of Sind by Sir Charles Napier: battles of Miani and Dabo.

1844 Sir Henry Hardinge Governor-General.
1845 First Sikh War: battles of Mudki and Ferozeshah.
1846 Battles of Aliwal and Sobraon.
1848 Lord Dalhousie Governor-General.
1849 Battles of Chilianwala and Gujarat: annexation of Punjab.
1852 Second Burmese War.
1853 First railway opened. Annexation of Jhansi.
Renewal of Charter: Civil Service thrown open to competition.
1854 Educational reforms: Sir Charles Wood's dispatch.
Post Office and telegraph. Public Works Department.
Ganges Canal and Grand Trunk Road.
Annexation of Nagpur and Oudh.

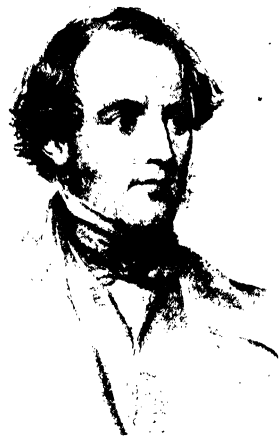
CHAPTER VIII

THE INDIAN MUTINY AND THE END OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1856-9

Lord Canning. In February 1856, when the Marquis of Dalhousie, worn out with his exertions, had returned home to die, Lord Canning succeeded him as Governor-General. He was a capable and industrious man, but lacked the genius and far-seeing statesmanship of his great predecessor. Soon he was called upon to face the most terrible crisis in the history of British India.

Causes of Discontent. (1) Political and Economic. Lord Dalhousie's reforms, necessary and just though they were, had been too quickly and too drastically applied. In a slow-moving, conservative country like India, it is dangerous

to go too fast and too far. The Hindus had been deeply disturbed by the abolition of the kingdom of Satara and of the last of the descendants of the great Shivaji, and of the pension due to the Peshwa, the titular head of the Maratha confederacy; Mohammedan sentiment had been equally shocked at the deposition of the King of Oudh. Indian rulers fiercely resented the application of the doctrine of lapse, which was looked upon as a denial of the right of adoption, a cherished privilege recognized by Hindu law. An inquiry into the titles of the *talukdars* of Oudh, and the *inam* commission in Bombay, resulted in many landowners being deprived of their property. Everywhere there was a sense of uneasiness and insecurity. This was increased by the numbers of retainers, soldiers and others who were thrown out of work by the annexation of the Indian states and the closing down of the courts of the princes dispossessed of their titles. There was now little except employment in a subordinate capacity for ambitious Indians who could formerly count upon lucrative and honourable posts in some state or other. Lastly, orthodox religious opinion, both Hindu and Mohammedan, had been alarmed by the introduction of secular education, the activities of Christian missionaries,



LORD CANNING

and the abolition of suttee. Railways and telegraphs only added to the feeling of unrest and perplexity created by the sudden impact of Western ideas.

(2) **Military.** The Bengal Army had long been in a most unsatisfactory condition. Unlike the Madras and Bombay Armies, which recruited men regardless of caste or race, it was composed exclusively of Hindustani Sepoys of the higher castes. These high-caste Sepoys were willing enough to fight in wars in India itself, but service in foreign countries was intensely unpopular. They had not forgotten the sufferings and humiliations of the disastrous Afghan campaign in 1842; and this dislike was redoubled when, in addition, it involved crossing the sea, as this was forbidden by caste regulations, and no food could be cooked on board ship. Mutinies had occurred in 1824 and 1852 among regiments detailed for active service overseas in Burma. In 1844, four regiments mutinied when ordered to go to Sind. The majority of the Bengal Sepoys were recruited in Oudh, and they disliked the deposition of their ruler and the loss of various privileges which they had formerly enjoyed. Another reason for bad discipline was the fact that the British officers had deteriorated. The best and most ambitious were allowed to take political and staff posts, and many went into civil employment. There was no retiring age, and officers, both European and Indian, stayed on long after they were too old for their work. Lastly, a number of European troops had been withdrawn for the Crimean and China wars, and in 1856 others were dispatched to the Persian Gulf for a campaign against Persia. Of the few that were left in the country the bulk were stationed in the Punjab, and there was only one British regiment between Allahabad and Calcutta. By an unpardonable oversight, the great military arsenals at Delhi and Allahabad, filled with ammunition and stores, were left in the hands of Indian troops.

The Outbreak of the Mutiny. The year 1857 was the

hundredth anniversary of the battle of Plassey, and it was prophesied that it would be the end of British rule. There were growing signs of unrest, but the outbreak was finally precipitated by the introduction of the new Enfield rifle. The cartridges were greased with animal fat, and the Sepoys refused to use them. At Barrackpore, on 29th March a Sepoy killed a British officer on parade. At the garrison town of Meerut a number of mutineers were publicly degraded and thrown into prison. Thereupon the Indian regiments rose, killed their officers, released the prisoners and, before anyone could stop them, rushed off to Delhi, crying out that the British Raj was ended. Here they were joined by the garrison. The Europeans in Delhi were killed, and the Emperor Bahadur Shah was proclaimed Padshah (11th May 1857).

The Mutiny not a National Movement. The movement was not a national one, and was never, except in Oudh, supported by the civil population. On 7th June the Rani of Jhansi, burning with rage at the loss of her State, put to death the English people, seventy-five in number, in that town. At Cawnpore Nana Saheb attacked General Wheeler and his little force, which surrendered on 27th June, on the promise of a safe passage down the river to Allahabad. The British officers and men were killed; the women and children were murdered on 15th July when news was received of the approach of General Havelock's relieving force. In Lucknow, the Europeans were saved from a similar fate by the forethought of Henry Lawrence, who had put the Residency into a state of defence. Mutinies occurred wherever Bengal troops were stationed, except where the authorities forestalled this by disarming them in time. But in the Punjab, in spite of the fact that they had been conquered only eight years before, the Sikhs, thanks to the good government of John Lawrence, remained staunch, and both they and the Gurkhas sent contingents to help the British. Over the frontier, Dost Muhammad loyally stood by his treaties and did not cross the

border. In Bombay signs of unrest in the Southern Maratha country were easily put down, and the Madras and Bombay armies fought bravely against the mutineers. The Indian states refused to join the rebels: Hyderabad in particular, wisely guided by its Diwan, Sir Salar Jang, remained true to its treaties. The mutineers were divided in their aims. The Hindus wanted to restore the Peshwa, while the Mohammedans supported the Mogul emperor. They had no unity of purpose and no single leader at their head.



SIR HENRY LAWRENCE

The Three Campaigns: (1) Siege of Delhi. The mutiny operations really consisted of three separate campaigns. The main one was that for the recapture of the ancient Mogul capital of Delhi, the focus of the whole movement as far as the majority of the mutineers were concerned. On 8th June a small British force was assembled on the Ridge, but was unable to attack the city until reinforcements, including some fine Sikh troops, with heavy guns, arrived from the Punjab in September. On 14th September Delhi was taken by assault, in the course of which John Nicholson, a famous British officer, was killed at the head of his men. The back of the Mutiny was broken, but it was by no means over. The emperor was captured and, in January 1858 brought to trial and banished to Burma.

(2) **Cawnpore and Lucknow.** Meanwhile, another column was preparing to go to the relief of Cawnpore and Lucknow, and to reopen communications with the Punjab. It was commanded by Neill and Havelock. Allahabad was entered on 11th June. Havelock arrived too late to save Cawnpore, but he forced his way into Lucknow on 25th September, eleven days after the fall of Delhi ; he entered the Residency, which had been besieged since 1st July, Sir Henry Lawrence having been killed almost at once. Here he and Outram were themselves besieged until the arrival of Sir Colin Campbell on 15th November enabled the women and children to be evacuated. But fierce fighting went on round Lucknow until March 1858. Havelock died of dysentery during these operations.

(3) **Central India.** A column consisting of Bombay troops and reinforcements from Europe was dispatched to Central India under Sir Hugh Rose. Here the Rani of Jhansi was holding out, with the help of Tantia Topi, an officer of the Nana Saheb. Jhansi was taken by storm in April 1858, but the Rani slipped away and managed to occupy the stronghold of Gwalior. However, she was killed while fighting gallantly at the head of her troops, and Gwalior was recovered. Tantia Topi carried on a guerilla campaign in the traditional Maratha fashion with great skill until April 1859, when he was betrayed and hanged.

Gradual Pacification of Northern India. It is unnecessary to follow the complicated operations which were necessary to stamp out the embers of the mighty conflagration. During this time, Canning braved much unpopularity by taking steps to check reprisals excited by the massacres at Delhi, Jhansi and Cawnpore. Unfortunately, in this he was not entirely successful ; the rising was suppressed with ruthless severity, and in many instances the innocent suffered with the guilty.

The End of the Company. It has been said that the Indian Mutiny, in spite of its horrors, was a ' fortunate occurrence '.

It seems hard that an outbreak which led to so much suffering, loss of life, and bitterness of feeling should be called fortunate, but it certainly cleared the air of many clouds. An undisciplined, hampered and inefficient army was disbanded, and an antiquated and cumbrous system of government was abolished. Lastly, it was a battle of ideas, the old against the new, the East against the West. Had the mutineers been successful, the hands of the clock would have been put back, and India would have returned to the unprogressive feudal autocracies of the past.

Queen Victoria's Proclamation. In consequence of the state of things brought to light by the Mutiny, Parliament decided to abolish the powers of the Company and transfer the government of India directly to the Crown. At Allahabad, on 1st November 1858, Lord Canning published the Queen's Proclamation, appointing him first Viceroy and Governor-General, and announcing the principles on which the Indian Empire would be governed. This document has been called 'the Magna Charta of India'. In it, Her Majesty, after promising pardon to all except those who had been directly concerned in the murder of British subjects, went on to make a number of declarations which are of the greatest importance. First of all, the Indian Princes who had remained loyal throughout the Mutiny were promised that no encroachments should be made upon their rights or their territory. 'We announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.' Secondly, there was to be complete freedom of religion. 'We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law.' The rights and customs of Indians were to be

respected and protected. 'We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.'

Lastly, the right of Indians to hold any office was once more clearly stated. 'And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.' The Proclamation concludes in these noble words: 'When, 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 all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.'

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1856 Lord Canning Governor-General.
1857 Outbreak of the Mutiny at Meerut (10th May).
Capitulation and massacre of General Wheeler's force at Cawnpore (27th June).
Delhi stormed (14th September).
First Relief of Lucknow (25th September).
Final Relief of Lucknow (15th November).
1858 Capture of Jhansi (3rd April).

1858 Death of the Rani of Jhansi (6th June).
Recapture of Gwalior Fort (20th June).
Queen Victoria's Proclamation (1st November).

APPENDIX

QUEEN'S PROCLAMATION

Proclamation by the Queen in Council, to the Princes, Chiefs, and People of India.

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the Colonies and Dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that, by the advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do hereby constitute and appoint him, the said Viscount Canning, to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them

from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages, and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown by the suppression of that rebellion in the field; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our Government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows:

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, 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 all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

CHAPTER IX

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN: FROM CANNING TO RIPON, 1858-84

Pacification of India. Immediately after the Queen's Proclamation, Lord Canning set to work to pacify and reorganize the whole country. It was a difficult task. In some places, bodies of mutineers were still in arms and had to be dispersed. Large tracts of country had been devastated, whole villages destroyed, and land had gone out of cultivation. In consequence of this, a severe famine broke out in 1861 in the desolated portions of the Agra Province, which taxed all the energies of Government.

Reforms. (1) The Army. The whole of the Bengal Army of 120,000 men had been destroyed, and had to be replaced. In doing this, Lord Canning and his advisers had to be careful to avoid the mistakes which had made the Mutiny possible. The Sikhs and Gurkhas, who had proved to be such splendid soldiers, were enlisted, and many new regiments were formed. The proportion of European soldiers was increased, and the artillery was placed in the hands of British troops. The mistake of leaving great arsenals unguarded was remedied. Formerly there had been certain European regiments which served under the Company, while others were 'Queen's

regiments'. With the abolition of the Company, it was decided to disband the Company's regiments, and those who wished to do so were allowed to re-enlist in the Queen's regiments. Since the days of Lord Canning, many changes in the Indian army have taken place, but its splendid fighting spirit remains unimpaired. In the Great War of 1914-18 it worthily maintained its reputation.

(2) **Finance.** The cost of putting down the Mutiny and of repairing the ravages of war was very great. Lord Canning called in two financial experts from England to assist him, and the whole financial system was overhauled and new taxes introduced. Economies in military expenditure were made. Gradually the country recovered, and money began to be available for other purposes. Fortunately, it was discovered that tea and coffee could be profitably grown in Assam and the Nilgiri hills. Lord Canning encouraged English planters to take up lands on favourable terms; this greatly stimulated trade and brought money into the country.

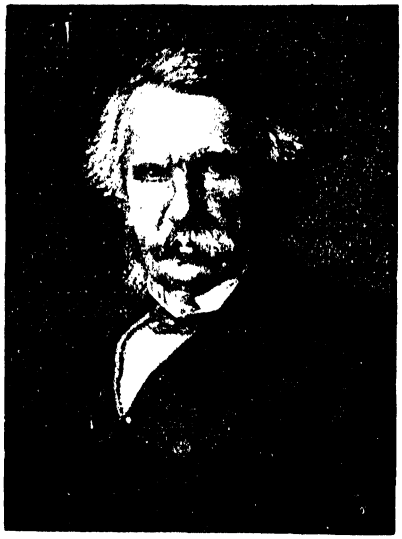
(3) **Education.** Lord Canning saw that one of the first requisites for the development of the country's resources was education. The schemes recommended in Sir Charles Wood's dispatch of 1854 were interrupted by the Mutiny, but even in the terrible year 1857 the three great Universities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were founded. By 1858 there were thirteen colleges with 40,000 pupils. Today there are seventeen Universities with over 100,000 pupils.

(4) **The Indian Councils Act.** Lord Canning realized the necessity of allowing Indians to have a share in the government of the country. Accordingly, by the Legislative Councils Act of 1861, the Central Legislative Council was enlarged by the addition of a number of non-official members, among whom were Sir Dinkar Rao, the famous minister of Gwalior, the Maharaja of Patiala, and the Raja of Benares. Legislative Councils were also set up in the provinces.



PRUNING TEA

(5) Legal Reforms. The work of drawing up a Criminal Code of Law, begun by Macaulay, was completed by Lord Canning in 1861. Chartered High Courts replaced the Supreme Court, and the old Company's Courts or 'Adawluts', started in the days of Warren Hastings. A Rent Act was passed which did much to secure the rights of the tenants against the landlords.



SIR JOHN LAWRENCE

'Masterly Inactivity'. Lord Canning retired in 1862. A few months later he died, worn out by his terrible responsibility in the Mutiny and his exertions to restore the prosperity and happiness of the people afterwards. Like Dalhousie and many other Englishmen, it may be truly said that he gave his life for India. He was succeeded by Lord Elgin, who only lived a short time, and then by Sir John Lawrence. In appointing Sir John Lawrence, a departure was made from the usual rule, as it was the custom to send out an English statesman. But the Government wanted to mark their appreciation of his great work in the Punjab. The chief feature of his period of office was 'masterly inactivity'. He thought that what India chiefly required for recovery was a complete rest. So when Dost Muhammad, the old Amir of Afghanistan, died, he said that he would recognize

whichever candidate won the throne. Sir John Lawrence passed valuable measures protecting the rights of the peasants to their lands. There was a terrible famine in Orissa in 1866, but other parts of India, particularly Bombay and Central India, became very rich owing to the growth of the cotton trade. He retired in 1869, and was raised to the peerage. Lord Lawrence is the only member of the Civil Service to be Viceroy of India.

Lord Mayo (1869-72). Lord Mayo came out to succeed Sir John Lawrence in 1869. Three years later his career was prematurely brought to an end. He was a brilliant man, of wide sympathies and great charm of manner, and his death was a great loss to India. He effected many important reforms.

Relations with the States. Education. When India was taken over by the Crown, the Indian states became part of the Empire. The princes were now feudatories of the Crown. The promises made to them were strictly kept. No more annexations of territory were made. But the British Government had also the duty of seeing that the states were properly governed and that the subjects were not unjustly treated. It could change the ruler of a state if he governed badly. Lord Mayo fully realized this. In order that the princes might be properly trained for their important duties, he founded a Chiefs' College at Ajmere. Others were started at Lahore, Rajkot and other places. Lord Mayo encouraged the efforts of the great Muslim educationist, Sir Sayyed Ahmad, who started a famous Mohammedan college at Aligarh in 1875 which has since developed into a Muslim University.

Decentralization. Lord Mayo did much to help the construction of railways and canals, and he took a census of Bengal. He took a great interest in prison work, and this led to his death. His greatest reform, however, was the introduction of decentralization. Formerly, all expenditure was in the hands of the Central Government. The Provinces

had to ask permission to spend even the most trifling sums, and at the end of the financial year all unexpended money had to be returned. This led to much unnecessary waste and to endless correspondence and delays. Lord Mayo gave the provinces full discretion to spend within certain limits, and by this means effected a saving of six crores of rupees.

Lord Northbrook. In 1872 Lord Mayo's brilliant career was cut short by the hand of a convict; he was stabbed to death when on a visit to the Andaman Islands. Lord Northbrook then came out to India as Viceroy. He was a member of a great banking family, and stayed in India till 1876. He left owing to a disagreement on the subject of duties on goods imported into India. The Home Government wished to introduce Free Trade, but Lord Northbrook strongly opposed this, as he thought that it would be unfair to Indian manufacturers. He insisted on retaining a small duty upon English and other goods imported into India. The only other event of Lord Northbrook's period of office was the deposition of the Gaikwar of Baroda in 1875. The Gaikwar was tried by a tribunal consisting of two Indian princes, Sir Dinkar Rao, the famous minister of Gwalior, and three English members, under the Chief Justice of Bengal, on charges of misgovernment and trying to poison the Resident. He was acquitted on the charge of attempted murder, but deposed for misgovernment. But Baroda was not confiscated. A boy belonging to a distant branch of the family was placed on the *gadi*. He became His Highness Sir Sayajirao, under whose wise and enlightened rule the Baroda State became one of the most prosperous and progressive in the whole of India. During Lord Northbrook's time there was a famine in Bihar in 1873-4, but the Indian Government, profiting by its experience in Orissa, was able to prevent serious loss of life. In 1875-6 the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, visited the country.

Lord Lytton and the Afghan Question. In 1876 Lord Lytton came out as Viceroy, with special instructions to deal with the Afghan question, which was again causing serious uneasiness, owing to the continual advance of the Russian power in Central Asia. In 1863 the old Amir, Dost Muhammad, died. He had remained loyal to his treaties after his restoration in 1844, and had refrained from attacking India during the Mutiny. Lord Lawrence, as we have seen, refused to interfere in the disputes over the succession which followed, but in 1868, when Dost Muhammad's son Sher Ali established himself on the throne, sent him a present of money and arms. Sher Ali had an interview with Lord Mayo at Anbala in 1868, which established cordial relations between the two countries. But Lord Northbrook declined to give the Amir definite assurances of protection, and Sher Ali, who felt himself to be between two opposing forces and likely to be crushed, with Russia on one side and England on the other, began to incline towards the Russians.

Foundation of Quetta. In 1876 Sir Robert Sandeman, a famous political officer who had unequalled influence with the Baluchis, entered into a treaty with the Khan of Khelat, who gave him permission to found the frontier station of Quetta at the mouth of the Bolan Pass. Quetta became a great military cantonment, and the formidable pass, which had proved such an obstacle to our troops in 1840, was pierced by a regular road. Later it was linked up to India by a railway. This move further alarmed Sher Ali, as it gave England a 'back door' by which to enter Afghanistan by way of Kandahar. Uneasiness was also caused to the Afghans by the establishment of a British agent at Gilgit on the Kashmir frontier.

Outbreak of War. Instructed by Disraeli's government, Lord Lytton demanded that a British envoy should be stationed at Herat. Sher Ali refused. As the Afghan minister said, 'The British nation is great and powerful,

and the Afghan people cannot resist its power, but the people are self-willed and independent, and prize their honour above life.' Sher Ali was unable to guarantee the life of any Englishman in his country, as the Afghans hated the presence of all foreigners, and he feared that, if anything happened,



SIR ROBERT SANDEMAN

he would be embroiled in a war. His fears proved to be only too true. But Lord Lytton would not listen to reason. In 1878 he insisted on sending a mission to Afghanistan, which was turned back at the entrance to the Khyber Pass. Thereupon war was declared (21st November) and three columns, under Sir Samuel Browne, General Roberts and General Stewart, invaded Afghanistan. Sher Ali fled to the Russians,

who refused to help him, and died miserably in exile shortly afterwards.

Treaty of Gandamak, May 1879. Sher Ali's son and successor signed the treaty of Gandamak, whereby he agreed to accept a British Resident at Kabul, with agents at Herat and other places, and to make no treaties with foreign powers, in return for a subsidy of six lakhs of rupees. In July Sir Louis Cavagnari took up his residence in the city.

Rising in Kabul. Second Invasion. All appeared to be going well, when on 3rd September the Afghan army suddenly rose without warning and murdered Cavagnari and all his staff. Once more the British columns under General Roberts and General Stewart entered the country. This time they encountered strong opposition. Kandahar was invested by Ayub Khan, a son of Sher Ali, who defeated a British force with heavy losses at Maiwand, and Roberts with 10,000 men made his famous march, 313 miles in twenty days, to go to its relief. But in April 1880, Mr Gladstone became Prime Minister of England, and was anxious for peace. Abdurrahman, a nephew of Sher Ali, was placed on the throne, on condition that he should have no political relations with any foreign power except the English. Kandahar was evacuated. Abdurrahman lived until 1901, and throughout proved to be a strong and capable ruler and a firm friend of England. He was succeeded by Habibullah, who, as we shall see later, renewed his father's treaty with Lord Curzon. In spite of the provocation of German and Turkish agents, he remained true to his engagements until his murder in 1919.

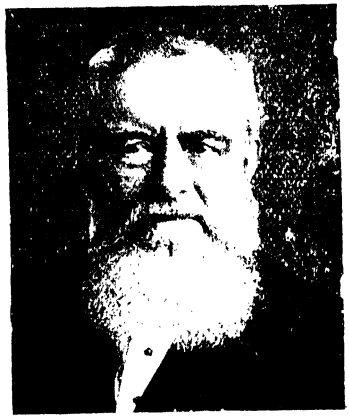
Other Events. The Famine of 1876-8. In 1876 India was visited by another of her periodical famines. This time a large area of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and of Mysore State was affected, and the mortality was very heavy. Five million people are said to have perished, and a loss of over two crores of land revenue resulted, although eleven crores of rupees were expended in relief. In consequence,

a famine commission was appointed, and it was arranged for a reserve fund to be built up from the revenues to meet future famines. The commission recommended the drawing up of a famine code, which laid down measures for the construction of useful relief works, such as roads and tanks ; free passage of grain into the affected areas ; and the distribution of relief to those who were unable to work. The districts most subject to famine were to be opened up by means of roads and railways, and irrigation schemes were to be put in hand. By these means it was hoped that the local governments would not again be caught unprepared, and the loss of life and waste of money in the past might be avoided. This proved to be the case in the famines of 1896-7 and 1899-1900.

Finance. Lord Lytton's right-hand man in all these reforms was his able finance member, Sir John Strachey, who had to save money to meet the expenses of the famine and the Afghan War. He extended the decentralization introduced by Lord Mayo, reduced waste in the Military Department, and removed duties which had been from time to time imposed on imports. He introduced a tax on incomes and lowered the duty on salt. The barbarous 'customs hedge' stretching from the Indus to the Deccan, and watched by an army of excise officers, was abolished. By these means so much money was saved that it was found possible to meet the war charges, amounting to fifteen crores of rupees, out of current revenue.

The Queen Empress of India. In 1876 Disraeli proposed that the Queen should be declared Empress of India (*Kaisar-i-Hind*), and this was passed by Parliament after some discussion. At a magnificent Darbar held at Delhi on 1st January 1877, the Queen was proclaimed Empress. Lytton was criticized for holding a Darbar at a time when the land was stricken with famine, but the idea appealed on the whole to Indian sentiment, especially to the Indian princes, who could now look up to the British Sovereign as their paramount ruler.

The Vernacular Press Act. One Act of Lord Lytton which was very unpopular was the Vernacular Press Act. A great many of the Indian vernacular newspapers had criticized the actions of Government in very intemperate language during the Afghan War, and it was considered to be necessary to restrain them. It was accordingly enacted that all vernacular newspapers should furnish a bond for good behaviour to the district magistrate. The Act was rarely enforced, and was repealed in 1882 by Lord Ripon.



LORD RIPON

Resignation of Lord Lytton. Lord Lytton resigned in 1880, when Mr Gladstone came into office. He has perhaps been unjustly censured for the Afghan War, the blame for which must be shared by the Home Government. He was, however, responsible for sending Sir Louis Cavagnari to his death, which was undoubtedly a terrible blunder; experience in the last war should have warned him of the risks which would be run by doing this.

Lord Ripon Viceroy. Lord Lytton was succeeded by Lord Ripon, a liberal statesman with a distinguished career. One of his first acts was the rendition of Mysore, the Raja of which had been deposed in 1831 for misgovernment (p. 312). Lord Ripon installed the Raja's son on 25th March 1881, with great pomp. This action, as in the case of Baroda, vindicated the good faith of the British Government, and was amply justified by results. The great state of Mysore is now among the most enlightened and best governed of the Indian States.

Local Self-Government. India is a land of villages, and in the olden days each village was a self-contained unit, with its own council or panchayat for settling local affairs, and its officers, headed by the *lambardar* or *patel*. Local self-government had been a feature of ancient Indian life, but under British rule these indigenous institutions had decayed, and attempts had been made from time to time to revive them. The larger cities were given municipalities by Lord Dalhousie. In rural areas, district boards came into being in 1865, and Lord Mayo transferred the control of roads to them; they also had the power of raising money for primary education, sanitation and other local needs. In 1883 Lord Ripon greatly extended the scope and power of the District and Local Boards, on the lines of the County Councils and Rural District Boards in England. His policy was 'to substitute outside control for inside interference'. The elective system was extended, and unofficial chairmen permitted. Ripon's aim was twofold. He wanted to bring Englishmen and Indians together in working for the common good. And secondly, he hoped that local self-government would develop a sense of responsibility and public spirit, and so prepare Indians to take an increasing share in the political affairs of their country. As he clearly stated, 'it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as a measure of political and popular education. In the course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely on local administration, improved efficiency will in fact follow.' His hopes have been largely justified. Local self-government is making slow but sure progress, and the number of official chairmen is decreasing. Municipalities take charge of such subjects as primary schools, water supply, sanitation and drainage. The municipalities of Bombay, Calcutta and other great Indian cities have very important responsibilities, which they discharge well on the whole.

The Ilbert Bill. In 1883 Sir Courtenay Ilbert, the Law Member, introduced a Bill to remove the rule prohibiting Indian judges from trying cases in which Europeans were concerned. This was necessary, as the Presidency Magistrates, some of whom were Indians, already exercised these powers, and Indian members of the Civil Service were eligible for appointment as District Judges. But it raised a storm of protest from the European community, especially the planters, and an amendment had to be introduced, reserving to Europeans the right to be tried by a jury, half of which were to be Europeans.

Lord Ripon's Career and Achievements. Lord Ripon resigned in 1884. He was accorded an enthusiastic farewell by Indians of all classes, who still remember him with affection, as the champion of their rights. 'His journey from Simla to Bombay was a triumphal procession such as India has never witnessed—a long procession in which seventy millions of Indians sang hosannas to their friend.' His short period of office had been marked by many liberal and useful measures. The Vernacular Press Act was repealed and local self-government extended; the first Census was held; the Salt Tax was reduced and the Hunter Commission, which was appointed in 1882, made useful suggestions for the extension of elementary education. Ten more lakhs of rupees, making 132 lakhs in all, were allotted for this purpose.

LEADING DATES

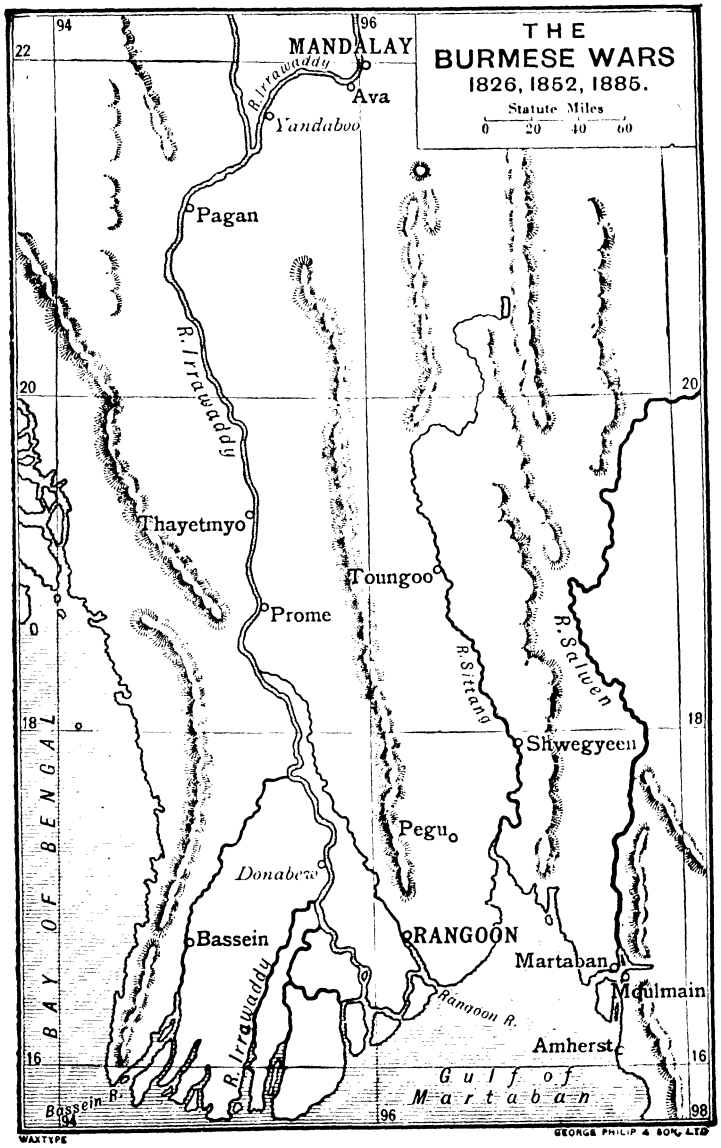
A.D. 1862	Lord Elgin Governor-General.
1863	Death of Dost Muhammad, Amir of Afghanistan.
1864	Sir John Lawrence Governor-General.
1866	Famine in Orissa.
1868	Sher Ali, Amir of Afghanistan.
1869	Lord Mayo Governor-General.

1872	Murder of Lord Mayo. Lord Northbrook Governor-General.
1875	Visit of the Prince of Wales.
	Deposition of the Gaikwar of Baroda.
1876	Lord Lytton Viceroy.
	Occupation of Quetta.
1877	Famine in southern India.
	Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress of India.
1878	Vernacular Press Act.
1878-80	Second Afghan War. Murder of Sir Louis Cavagnari.
	March of Sir Frederick Roberts to Kandahar.
1880	Lord Ripon Viceroy.
1881	Rendition of Mysore.
1882	Repeal of Vernacular Press Act.
1883-5	Local Self-Government Acts.
1883-4	Ilbert Bill Controversy.
1884	Resignation of Lord Ripon.

CHAPTER X

FROM DUFFERIN TO CURZON, 1884-1905

Lord Dufferin. The Panjdeh Incident. Lord Dufferin, an experienced diplomat, came out in 1884, and soon after his arrival was called upon to exercise all his skill and tact over a frontier incident which might well have ended in war between England and Russia. The Russians had been steadily advancing in Turkestan, and in March 1885 a collision between a Russian and an Afghan force took place at Panjdeh, between Herat and Merv. There was an outcry in England, but a crisis was averted by the coolness of Lord Dufferin, and the sensible behaviour of Abdurrahman. The Viceroy


THE
BURMESE WARS
1826, 1852, 1885.
Statute Miles
0 20 40 60
MANDALAY
Ava
Yandaboo
Pagan
R. Irrawaddy
Thayetmyo
Prome
Toungoo
R. Sittang
R. Salween
Shwegyeen
Pegu
Donabew
Bassein
RANGOON
Martaban
Moulmain
Rangoon R.
Amherst
Gulf of Martaban
BAY OF BENGAL
Bassein R.
94
96
98
22
20
18
16

met the Amir at Rawalpindi, and pointed out to him that, while England was bound to protect the liberties of Afghanistan, it was not worth while to go to war on account of a border skirmish over a place of no importance. Meanwhile a commission was at work, marking out the frontier line between Afghanistan and Russia, in order that similar incidents might be avoided in future.

Social Reform. During Lord Dufferin's period of office, many useful measures were introduced. Laws were passed giving the peasants still further security against the encroachments of landlords, and a Factory Act limited the daily hours of work to eleven and forbade the employment of children under nine years of age. An attempt to raise the age of marriage was fiercely opposed by orthodox Hindus.

The Third Burmese War. In 1885 it was found that King Theebaw, who disliked the presence of the English in Lower Burma, was intriguing with the French. The French, who were established in Indo-China, on the borders of northern Burma, enjoyed various trading rights, while the British Burma Trading Company was hampered in every possible way. Its officials were arrested, and it was fined the huge sum of 23 lakhs of rupees. Lord Dufferin, finding remonstrances useless, invaded Burma. King Theebaw, who was a cruel tyrant and unpopular with his subjects, surrendered and was deported to India, and Mandalay was occupied. After this, however, a long guerilla warfare in the Burmese jungles was started, which went on for five years and required 30,000 troops to deal with it. In 1897 Upper and Lower Burma were placed under a Lieutenant-Governor, with his capital at Rangoon. In 1922 his status was raised to a Governorship. In 1935 it was decided to separate Burma from India.

The Indian National Congress. Many educated Indians thought that the Indian Councils Act of 1861 did not give them a sufficient voice in the management of their country's

affairs. To remedy this, the Indian National Congress was inaugurated in 1885, to encourage 'those sentiments of national unity which had their origin in our beloved Lord Ripon's reign'. At first it received the support of a number of English officials and others, including Sir Allan Hume, Sir Henry Cotton and Sir David Yule. It did good work in bringing forward the Indian point of view, and in pressing for the introduction of representative institutions and a larger share for Indians in the legislative and executive councils. Many eminent Indian politicians, including G. K. Gokhale and Surendranath Banerjea, received their training in the Congress. Unfortunately, in 1906, at Surat, a split between the Liberal party, led by G. K. Gokhale, and the Extremists, headed by B. G. Tilak, took place, and since then Congress has been definitely extremist in its outlook. During the Great War its moving spirit was Mrs Annie Besant, the President of the Theosophical Society, but afterwards it passed under the leadership of Mr M. K. Gandhi (p. 379).



G. K. GOKHALE

Public Services Commission. In 1886 Lord Dufferin appointed a Public Services Commission, to produce a scheme which should 'do justice to the claims of Indians to higher and more extensive employment in the public services'. They recommended that there should be both an Imperial

Civil Service, appointed by examination in London, and Provincial and Subordinate Services, recruited locally. The age limit for the Imperial Service was raised from nineteen to twenty-one, which was much fairer to competitors from India.

Lord Lansdowne. Lord Lansdowne, who came out in 1888, had on the whole an uneventful term of office. A rebellion in the state of Manipur in Assam resulted in the brutal murder of two British officers, and had to be severely dealt with. It was also found necessary to send an expedition to the little states of Hunza and Nagar on the Gilgit border.

The Durand Mission. In 1892 a mission under Sir Mortimer Durand was sent to Kabul, and its friendly reception showed how greatly the relations between the two countries had improved. A boundary line, known as the Durand line, was demarcated, and several outstanding questions were settled in a most friendly spirit. The Amir agreed not to interfere in Swat or Chitral, and allowed the railway to be extended from Quetta to Chaman, in return for which, his annual subsidy was raised from twelve to eighteen lakhs.

The Indian Councils Act, 1892. Before laying down office, Lord Dufferin had advocated a liberal extension of the councils, to meet the demands of the Indian National Congress and to give the Government, to a larger extent than at present, the benefit of ' the experience and counsels of Indian coadjutors '. This led to the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

The Viceroy's Council was to have ten additional members, four selected by the provincial legislatures and one by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and five nominated by the Governor-General. The provincial legislatures were enlarged by the addition of twenty members each, representing municipalities, University Senates, and commercial interests. Thus the representative principle was introduced. At the same time, the budget was laid on the table for discussion, and the right of interpellation, i.e. questioning the executive about

their actions, was allowed. Thus, though the official majority was maintained, the non-official members, who formed about one-third of the Council, could often decide the issue if there were a difference of opinion. They sat at the same council board with the Viceroy and his ministers, and it was incumbent upon the latter to listen to their views and take steps to meet their criticisms. The Act of 1892 was the first great step towards self-government.

Lord Elgin II. Plague and Frontier Troubles. In 1894 Lord Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin, son of a former Governor-General of the same name. His period of office was a troubled one. In 1896 a famine was followed by an outbreak of a new scourge, in the shape of bubonic plague, which was brought by ship from China to Bombay. At first the medical authorities were nonplussed by this novel epidemic, which took fearful toll of the inhabitants of the densely crowded slums of the great cities. Unwise sanitary measures led to rioting, in course of which two officers were murdered at Poona. Later it was discovered that the rat was the carrier of the disease, and inoculation was introduced. By this means the epidemic was slowly overcome.

A rising in Chitral in 1895 spread to the rest of the North-West Frontier, and the army soon found itself engaged in the fiercest of all our frontier wars, involving the whole tribal area. The Afridi clans closed the Khyber Pass, and order was not restored until 40,000 troops were put into the field. In October 1897 the heights of Dargai were brilliantly stormed, and after the destruction of many of their fortified villages the Afridis submitted in the following year.

Lord Curzon. Lord Curzon came out to India early in 1899. He was only forty years old and was the youngest Governor-General since Dalhousie. He had taken a brilliant degree at Oxford, and had worked both in the Foreign Office and the India Office. He had travelled widely in Asia and had met the Shah of Persia and the Amir of Afghanistan. His great

book on Persia was a classic, and seldom has a Viceroy been better qualified for his post.

Famine. Soon after his arrival a famine occurred in western India. Lord Curzon tackled the problem with vigour, and was helped by a number of devoted men and women, some of whom lost their lives in the work.



LORD CURZON

Death of Queen Victoria. The Delhi Darbar. In 1901 Queen Victoria passed away, after a reign of sixty-four years. She was deeply mourned by all classes of the Indian people, who had not forgotten her gracious proclamation of 1858. In 1903 Lord Curzon, who loved pomp and magnificence, held a splendid Darbar at Delhi, at which Edward VII was proclaimed King-Emperor of India.

The North-West Frontier. The North-West Frontier is one of India's most difficult problems. The whole of the border is inhabited by fierce, independent Pathan tribes, who are

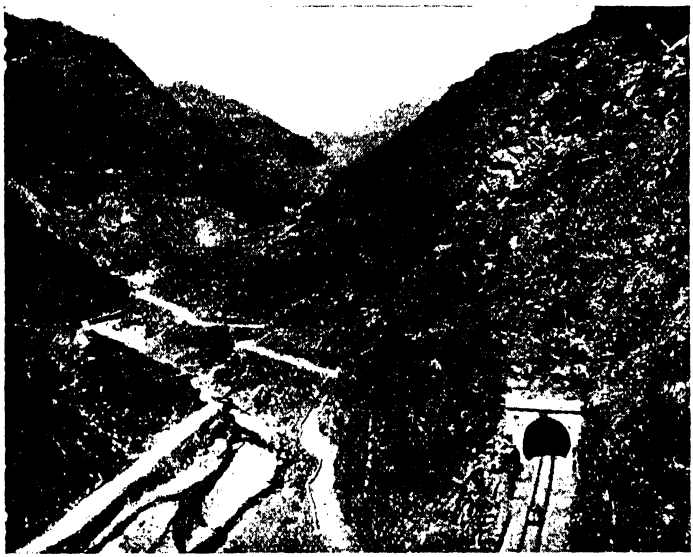
very fanatical and own no man as master. The country is wild and rugged, and troops can only move about in it with great difficulty and danger. As the land is barren, the tribesmen live mostly by plundering their neighbours. Through the mountains run a number of passes, the Bolan and the Khyber being the principal ones. These passes are the 'keys of India'. The Government has to maintain a strong frontier force, both to guard the passes and to keep



PATHANS, NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE

the tribesmen in order. As we have seen, in 1895-7 there had been a long and expensive frontier campaign, which cost many valuable lives and much money. Lord Curzon made important changes in the frontier policy. He tried to adopt the excellent methods by which Sir Robert Sandeman had pacified Baluchistan, but this was not entirely possible. Large numbers of troops were withdrawn from tribal territory. Their places were taken by local levies (Khassadars), commanded by British officers. They were made responsible for keeping the peace and preventing attacks upon the caravans going through the passes. Behind our border, roads and railways were built, and the navy prevented rifles from being

sold to the tribesmen on the shores of the Persian Gulf. Many troops were stationed at Peshawar, and the North-West Frontier Province was separated from the Punjab and placed under the Government of India. The Mahsuds refused to submit to Lord Curzon, and troops were sent to blockade their



THE KHYBER PASS

territory, so that no one could go in or out. Then they submitted. New roads are now being constructed through tribal territory, and it is hoped by this means that the tribesmen will gradually become more settled and peaceful. Aeroplanes are now used to patrol the frontier and prevent border raids.

Education. Lord Curzon was deeply interested in Indian education, and closely studied the subject. Out of 247 millions, 230 were still illiterate and this called for urgent

remedy. But he was most deeply impressed with the defects of the University system, particularly of Calcutta, with which he was closely in contact. It has been pointed out that the Indian Universities at that time were examining and not teaching bodies. They exercised no effective control over the affiliated colleges, which were overcrowded and understaffed. Little or no supervision was exercised over the students, who often lived in insanitary quarters, without any attempt on the part of the authorities to foster corporate life or the spirit of *esprit de corps*. In 1904 Lord Curzon appointed a commission which, unfortunately, contained no Indian member. It recommended sweeping reforms, including the strengthening of the official element in the University Senate. Vice-Chancellors were to be appointed by Government, and Government would sanction the affiliation of colleges. Lord Curzon's educational reforms were extremely unpopular with the Bengalis. Undoubtedly they pressed hard on poorer students, but they had a far-reaching effect in raising the standard of University education all over India.

The Partition of Bengal. Bengal was a huge province, larger than the United Kingdom, with an area of 190,000 square miles and a population of 78 millions. It was far too great a responsibility for a single Lieutenant-Governor, and the districts east of the Ganges were in a neglected state. The peasants suffered from absentee landlords, dacoities and other evils. Lord Curzon determined to make Eastern Bengal and Assam into a separate province, under a Lieutenant-Governor, with its capital at Dacca. This was carried out without in any way consulting popular opinion on the subject, and was followed by a wild outcry on the part of the Bengalis, who thought that the prosperity and prestige of Calcutta would suffer, and also that the Mohammedans, who were in a majority in Eastern Bengal, would have too much power. In 1911 the Partition was annulled by the King-Emperor, and fresh arrangements were made. Assam and Bihar and Orissa

became separate provinces, while Bengal proper remained under Calcutta. It was henceforth to be ruled, like Madras and Bombay, by a Governor with an Executive Council, which would share his responsibilities and relieve him of part of his duties.

The Swadeshi Movement. The protest against the Partition of Bengal took the form of an economic boycott, which was started in 1905. An attempt was made to persuade Indians to give up wearing foreign goods, especially cotton goods, and to use nothing but articles manufactured in the country. Foreign cloth was burnt in many places, and people took to wearing homespun. For a time the movement flourished. Then it died out, until it was revived by Mr M. K. Gandhi in 1920. There is no doubt that the victory of Japan over Russia in 1904 had a great effect in stirring up agitation against Western domination all over the East, and the *Swadeshi* movement was only part of a larger wave of unrest.

The Preservation of Ancient Monuments. It is pleasant to turn to one of Lord Curzon's reforms, which should win him the undying gratitude of future generations of Indians. He had a keen appreciation of the ancient glories of India, the history of which he had profoundly studied. He was distressed to see how the splendid monuments of the past were neglected and allowed to fall into disrepair. He passed the **Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.** Historic buildings were placed under the protection of Government, and anyone defacing them was liable to be punished. He appointed a Director-General of Archaeology, and greatly strengthened the Archaeological Department. This department has a twofold duty. It is responsible for keeping up historical monuments, and also for investigating buried sites. Innumerable buildings from the Taj Mahal downwards were cleared of rubbish and put under Government protection. Under the supervision of Sir John Marshall, the first Director-General, and a band of English and Indian scholars, many ancient

sites have been laid bare and in some cases reconstructed. Hundreds of sculptures, coins and inscriptions have been recovered. By this means the history and culture of ancient India, which had been hidden from the world and forgotten for so many centuries, have been revealed.

Helping the Peasants. Lord Curzon did all he could to help the peasants. He realized fully that the ryot is the backbone of India. A severe famine broke out in 1900, but owing to the skill with which Lord Curzon dealt with it, only a few deaths occurred. Lord Curzon held that famines were caused by failure of the rains and not by high taxes. Nevertheless, he introduced many improvements in revenue collection. If the land had fallen in value, the tax was lowered ; if it had risen, owing to irrigation or other causes, the tax was to be gradually raised. The tax on land is now only one-twelfth of value of the crop ; in Akbar's days it was one-third. At the same time, Lord Curzon halved the Salt Tax, which pressed heavily on the poorer people. One of the reasons why the Indian peasant is so poor is that he borrows money at a very high rate of interest and spends it upon weddings and other ceremonies. Another is that he has not sufficient knowledge to cultivate his land properly and get the most out of it. In the Punjab, Lord Curzon passed the Punjab Land Alienation Act, which set the peasants free from the clutches of the moneylenders who were trying to acquire their lands. He started **Co-operative Credit Societies** and Agricultural Banks in order to lend money to the ryots at a low rate of interest. There are now over 100,000 registered societies with a capital of 90 crores of rupees, and millions of ryots have been taught how to work in co-operation with their neighbours and make a better use of money. Lord Curzon also started the **Agricultural Department**, to conduct experiments and start new and better methods of farming and cattle breeding. Agricultural Colleges have now been opened in order to train young Indians in these matters. The Department of Commerce and Industry was



IMPROVED PLOUGH AT WORK WITH A TRACTOR AT PUSA

also founded, in order to encourage trade, manufactures and industry, and placed in charge of a sixth member of the Viceroy's Council. Over six thousand miles of fresh railway lines were built.

Police Reform. Amongst other things, Lord Curzon reformed the Indian Police. Their pay was increased; they were given better quarters and training, and the Criminal Intelligence Department was started.

Lord Curzon's Work for India. His Resignation. The above only represents a few of Lord Curzon's many-sided activities. Though in constant ill-health, and rarely free from intense pain, he never for a moment relaxed his efforts for what he considered to be the good of the country. He was not content to receive reports, but continually toured in order to see things for himself. When plague or famine broke out, he went personally to the spot. He visited the North-West Frontier, and when he believed that our interests were threatened in the Persian Gulf he went for a cruise there. He sent an expedition to Tibet, where he believed that Russian influence was spreading unduly, and he effected important agreements over the question of the spheres of influence of the two countries in Persia, and with Afghanistan. In 1904 Lord Curzon returned to England for a brief visit. Meanwhile, Lord Kitchener had come out to carry out many important and much-needed reforms in the Indian Army. This brought him into conflict with the Viceroy. Lord Kitchener wished the Commander-in-Chief to be independent of the Indian Government, while Lord Curzon thought that the question of army supplies should be dealt with by a Military Member of the Viceroy's Council. The Home Government upheld Lord Kitchener, whereupon, late in 1905, Lord Curzon resigned. Subsequent events proved that Curzon was right. In 1914, when the Great War broke out, the Commander-in-Chief found himself overwhelmed with work. This led to a breakdown of supplies and medical

stores, which caused the troops in Mesopotamia much terrible and unnecessary suffering.

His Character. Lord Curzon was the greatest Governor-General that India has had since Lord Dalhousie, whom he resembled in so many ways. Both had a high sense of duty and a passion for efficiency. Both were handicapped by ill-health, which, however, they refused to allow to interfere with their work. Lord Curzon's chief defect was his inability to realize the growing force of public opinion and the necessity to consult it. He had no faith in self-government. It is said that he had a passion for doing the right things in the wrong way. But as the dust of contemporary controversy subsides, the true greatness of this imperious but fearless and high-minded Viceroy will become more and more recognized.

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1884	Lord Dufferin Viceroy.
1885	Foundation of the Indian National Congress.
1885-8	Third Burmese War.
1888	Lord Lansdowne Viceroy.
1892	The Durand Mission to Kabul.
	The Indian Councils Act.
1894	Lord Elgin Viceroy.
1895-7	Rising in Chitral. Frontier wars.
1896	First outbreak of bubonic plague in Bombay.
1899	Lord Curzon Viceroy.
1900	Famine.
1901	Death of Queen Victoria.
	Death of the Amir Abdurrahman.
1903	Darbar in Delhi in honour of the Accession of Edward VII.
	Lord Kitchener's Army Reforms.
	Tibet Expedition.
1904	Lord Curzon goes to England.

1904 Indian Universities Act.
1905 Partition of Bengal.
Resignation of Lord Curzon.

CHAPTER XI

INDIA FROM LORD MINTO TO THE PRESENT DAY
1905-47

Lord Minto II. Political Unrest. Lord Minto, great grandson of a former Governor-General, came out to India as Viceroy in 1905. A Liberal Government was in office in England, and the Secretary of State for India was Lord Morley. Unfortunately, the political unrest dating from the Partition of Bengal resulted in an outbreak of atrocious political murders, in which several civil officials, both English and Indian, lost their lives. Government was compelled to take severe measures to counteract this outburst of crime.

Fiftieth Anniversary of Crown Government. Lord Minto, however, did not allow the outrages of a handful of terrorists to hinder the work of constitutional progress. The year 1908 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the assumption of government by the Crown, and the issue of Queen Victoria's Proclamation. In November, King Edward VII issued a gracious message to India, in the course of which he said, 'The proclamation of the supremacy of the Crown sealed the unity of Indian government and opened a new era. The journey was arduous and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow; but the incorporation of many strangely diversified communities, and of some three hundred millions of the human race under British guidance and control, had proceeded steadfastly and without pause.' His Majesty then went on to say, 'From the first, the principle of representative

institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgement of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, the principle may be prudently extended.'

The Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909. The King-Emperor's gracious words were a prelude to the Indian Councils Act of 1909, popularly called, after their authors, the Morley-Minto



DRYING JUTE

Reforms. They constituted an important development of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The Provincial Legislative Councils were more than doubled, and provision was made for the representation of minorities such as Mohammedans, Sikhs, landowners, the tea and jute industries, and Indian commerce. Legislative Councils were to be set up in provinces governed by Lieutenant-Governors, and the principle of election was to be introduced side by side with nomination. The Imperial Legislative Council was increased from twenty-one to sixty. But what was more important, Indian members

were appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council, the Executive Councils of Bombay and Madras, and the Secretary of State's Council at the India Office. This was a very notable advance ; Indians now for the first time took part in the government of the country, and were admitted to the inner councils of the state.

Lord Hardinge II. The Status of Indians in the Dominions. Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, grandson of the Governor-General who conducted the first Sikh War, came out to succeed Lord Minto in 1910. One of the most difficult problems which he had to face was raised by the treatment of Indians in the Dominions, and especially in South Africa, where immigration had been stopped, and obstacles put in the way of trading and holding land. As a protest, Mr M. K. Gandhi had organized passive resistance, for which he and other leaders were sent to prison. Lord Hardinge made a courageous remonstrance, which resulted in the removal of most of the restrictions.

Visit of Their Majesties. King Edward VII died in May 1910, and in the following year Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary, on the advice of their ministers, took the unprecedented step of visiting India to announce their accession and receive the homage of the princes and officers of state. A magnificent Darbar was held at Delhi in December 1911, and an onlooker declared that 'the incomparable moment when the Monarchs seated themselves upon their high thrones, beneath a shining golden dome, in the midst of a hundred thousand of their acclaiming subjects, will assuredly remain in the minds of those present as the most vivid memory of their lives.' A spontaneous wave of enthusiasm broke out when Their Majesties presented themselves to the assembled multitude, estimated at 80,000, at the *jharokha* or window where it had been the custom of the Mogul Emperors to show themselves to the people. Nor was His Majesty's visit a merely ceremonial one. At the

same time he announced a number of boons. The seat of government was to be transferred from Calcutta to the ancient capital of Delhi. Secondly, the partition of Bengal, which had deeply offended the feelings of so many of His Majesty's subjects, was annulled, and Bengal, once more reunited, was made into a Presidency under a Governor-in-Council. A new province, consisting of Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur, was set up under a Lieutenant-Governor, and Assam was made into a Chief-Commissionership. The Victoria Cross, the highest award in the army for valour, which had formerly been awarded only to British officers and men, was now thrown open to Indians also. Fifty lakhs of rupees were to be spent on education. Their Majesties left India on 10th January 1912. The great sympathy shown by King George, and his desire to remedy the grievances of his Indian subjects, made a deep and lasting impression upon the country.

Education. His Majesty expressed his personal desire that 'there might spread over this land a network of schools and colleges, from which would go forth loyal and manly and useful citizens, able to hold their own in industry and agriculture and all the vocations of life'. The Government of India took immediate steps to carry out the King-Emperor's wishes. A grant of sixty-five lakhs of rupees was made to the Universities. New Universities were started at Benares, Patna, Mysore, Dacca and Rangoon. It was decided to double the number of primary schools, and Sir Sankaram Nair, a distinguished Indian politician, was appointed Minister for Education.

The First World War. In 1914 India seemed to be on the verge of a new era of prosperity and contentment. The ill-feeling caused by the partition of Bengal had been appeased by His Majesty's visit. Suddenly the world was startled by the news that Germany had declared war on France and Russia. The war arose over the assassination of an Austrian Archduke in Serbia. The Austrians wanted to punish Serbia. The

Russians, who were friendly to the Serbs, interfered. Germany supported Austria, and France supported Russia. England would not have intervened had not Germany decided to march through Belgium in order to attack France on her undefended flank. By doing this, Germany violated a treaty signed by all the Great Powers, guaranteeing the neutrality of Belgium. The Kaiser spoke of this as a 'scrap of paper'. Belgium appealed to England for protection, and Great Britain declared war on Germany on 4th August 1914, the most fateful day, perhaps, in the history of the Empire.

India's Part in the First World War. (1) France. As soon as war was declared a great wave of enthusiasm swept over the Empire. Political differences were forgotten, and the Dominions and Colonies vied with one another in their offers of help. Men of all ranks, from college students of seventeen to veterans of fifty, flocked to the colours. Women volunteered for war work and hospitals. In India, meetings were held all over the country, and the princes placed themselves, their resources and their state troops at the service of the King-Emperor. But England was quite unprepared for a land war. Her volunteers had to be armed and trained, and in the meantime the thin khaki line which held back the invading hordes from the Channel ports and the French capital was being strained to the breaking-point. Fortunately the Indian Army, thanks to the changes introduced by Lord Kitchener, was in an excellent condition, and it was decided to send two of the finest Divisions, the Lahore and Meerut Divisions, to France, to hold the line until the new armies were ready to take the field. The two Divisions, 24,000 strong, under Sir James Willcocks, sailed for Marseilles in September. With them went eight ruling princes, including the young Maharaja of Jodhpur in command of the Jodhpur Lancers, and his uncle, the veteran Sir Pratap Singh, Regent of Jodhpur. Sir Pratap was seventy years old, and had seen service in the Chitral, Tirah and China wars. To send Indian

troops without experience of trench warfare to face the rigours of a European winter was a bold experiment, but it was amply justified. The Indian troops took part in the bitter fighting in Flanders in the autumn and winter of 1914 and the spring of 1915, including the great battles of Neuve Chapelle and Loos. They covered themselves with glory, five Indian Sepoys being awarded the Victoria Cross. This, the highest award for valour in the army, had been thrown open to Indian troops by the King-Emperor in 1911 (p. 372). The first Indian V.C. was Sepoy Khudadad Khan, of the 129th Baluchis. Having rescued his British officer, who was mortally wounded, this brave man, with the rest of his company, fought on till they were annihilated. After dark he crept back to the lines, the sole survivor and desperately wounded. Sepoy Naik Darwan Singh Negi, a Garhwali belonging to a Gurkha regiment, entered the German trenches single-handed and, having fought his way out, returned, having rescued a wounded British private soldier. His officer having fallen, he took command of his company and, although badly wounded, led them in several charges, and brought the survivors back to their lines. He was also awarded the V.C. Most of the Indian troops were withdrawn from France in November 1915 for service in the East.

(2) **Turkey.** Unfortunately, Germany persuaded Turkey to come into the war. Germany was anxious to build and control a railway running from Berlin through Constantinople to Bagdad and Basra. Had this been carried out, she would have had a naval base on the Persian Gulf, threatening Karachi and Bombay. War was declared against Turkey on 12th August, and the Poona Division was at once dispatched to Basra. In spite of the fact that the Sultan of Turkey was the *Khalifa* or spiritual head of their religion, the Mussulman troops behaved with splendid loyalty and devotion. The Turks were defeated at Shaiba and in other great battles, and a force under General Townshend was sent to pursue

them up the Tigris and capture Bagdad, the capital of Iraq. Unfortunately it was too small for the purpose, and at the very gates of Bagdad it was forced to fall back on the town of Kut-al-Amara. Here it was forced to surrender to the Turks after a siege of 148 days (3rd December 1915 to 29th April 1916). In 1917, however, ample revenge was taken, when an army consisting for the greater part of Indian troops captured Bagdad on 11th March and pursued the Turks into Asia Minor.

(3) **Other Fronts.** Another army, consisting largely of Indian troops under General Allenby, invaded Palestine, took Jerusalem, and drove the Turks back into Syria. They were greatly helped by Lawrence of Arabia, who was assisting the Arabs to shake off the yoke of their oppressors and gain their independence. Indian troops also fought in Gallipoli and East Africa, and helped to defend the Suez Canal and Aden. Altogether, 500,000 Indians fought on various fronts, of whom over 26,000 were killed and 70,000 wounded. Many more served in labour corps and other capacities. The bulk of the fighting men came from the Punjab, Central India and the Deccan. India contributed 150 crores of rupees towards the expenses of the war. An armistice was signed on November 11th, 1918, and the Treaty of Versailles was signed on behalf of India by the Maharaja of Bikaner and Sir Satyendra Sinha, a prominent Indian politician who was afterwards Lord Sinha, and Under-Secretary of State for India. He was the first Indian to be raised to the English peerage and to sit in the House of Lords. A Memorial Arch at New Dehli has been erected to the memory of the Indian soldiers who gave their lives for King and Country in the Great War.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. In 1916 Lord Chelmsford succeeded Lord Hardinge as Viceroy, and in the following year Mr Edwin Montagu became Secretary of State for India. It was recognized that the reforms introduced by Lord Morley and Lord Minto did not go far enough to meet the wishes of

educated Indians, and in 1917 the British Cabinet issued the following important pronouncement :—

'The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the



MEMORIAL ARCH, NEW DELHI (erected to the memory of the Indian soldiers who fell in the Great War)

increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration, and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps

in this direction should be taken as soon as possible.' Mr Montagu visited India himself in 1917, and made enquiries on the spot. A report was drawn up, and in 1919 an Act of Parliament was passed which brought into effect the changes in the government which they had recommended.

Dyarchy. The Montagu-Chelmsford reforms mark the beginning of Parliamentary Government in India. The Legislative Councils were greatly enlarged; but the most important change was the appointment of Indian Ministers in the Provinces in charge of certain subjects, such as Education, Local Self-Government, Forests and Excise. These were called transferred subjects. Other subjects, such as Police and Revenue, were reserved: that is to say, they remained under the control of official members. This arrangement was known as Dyarchy, or double rule. By this, the Government hoped to give Indian ministers some preliminary training in the work of government before handing over still greater powers to them. It was recognized that Dyarchy was only a temporary measure. At the end of ten years a Parliamentary Commission was to visit India, and recommend further reforms.

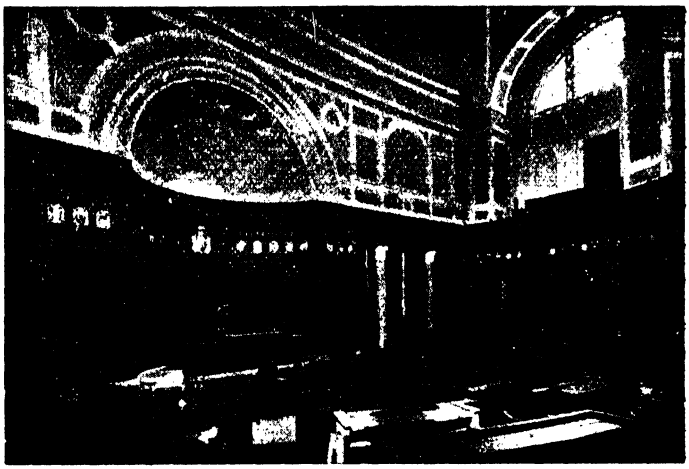


LORD CHELMSFORD

The Chamber of Princes. Government also set up a Chamber of Princes, over which the Viceroy was to preside. This has nothing to do with the government of British India, as

the Princes rule over their States in their own way and are only responsible to the Viceroy, who represents the King. But it gives the Princes an opportunity of meeting together and expressing their views upon subjects in which they are all concerned.

Disturbances. Unfortunately, the introduction of these reforms, which were intended to give so much greater power to



CHAMBER OF PRINCES, NEW DELHI

the Indian people, was spoilt by the outbreak of serious unrest. This was partly due to the Great War. After the war, the price of many articles went up. Many people were unable to buy sufficient food or clothing, and in 1918-19 there was a serious famine. Some Indians were dissatisfied with the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms; they did not think that they gave India sufficient control over her own affairs. Others were displeased about the Rowlatt Act. This was an Act which Government passed in order to check the outrages of the terrorists in Bengal. It gave the authorities the power to

try the terrorists without a jury. But it was feared that it might be misused. The Mohammedans were discontented because they thought that Turkey had not been fairly treated after the war. Amanullah, the new Amir of Afghanistan, invaded India, but was easily defeated. Serious riots broke out in the Punjab and at Amritsar, General Dyer opened fire upon a crowd which was holding a political meeting in



THE GOLDEN TEMPLE, AMRITSAR

defiance of orders in an open space known as the Jallianwalla Bagh (13th April 1919), and three hundred and seventy-nine people were killed. An inquiry was held and General Dyer was retired. In the Malabar district of the Madras Presidency the Moplahs, who are Mohammedans, rose and behaved with great cruelty to the Hindus. In 1920 Mr M. K. Gandhi, popularly known as Mahatma Gandhi, started his Non-Co-operation movement and tried to persuade people to boycott Government schools, colleges and law courts, not to vote in the elections for the Councils and not to use British goods.

Visit of H.R.H. The Duke of Connaught. In February 1921 the Duke of Connaught, uncle of King George V, visited India on a special mission to inaugurate the Chamber of Princes and to open the new Legislature at Delhi. He delivered the following gracious message from the King-Emperor: 'For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of *Swaraj* for their motherland. Today you have the beginnings of *Swaraj* within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy.' Unfortunately, His Royal Highness's moving plea for peace fell on deaf ears, and disorders continued in various parts of the country.



MAHATMA GANDHI

Lord Reading (1921-6). In 1921 Lord Reading, a distinguished lawyer who had been Lord Chief Justice of England, succeeded Lord Chelmsford. Later in the year the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VIII, visited India. His arrival was marked by a hostile demonstration, but on his departure the Viceroy was able to say, 'You came to India on an embassy of goodwill. You leave India having won India's heart.' Lord Reading was forced to take stern measures against the leaders of the Non-Co-operation movement in order to check the disorders which were making the task of government almost impossible, and Mr Gandhi and other nationalist leaders were sent to prison.

Lord Irwin (1926-31). Lord Irwin, afterwards Viscount Halifax, succeeded Lord Reading in 1926. In the following year, the British Government, in fulfilment of its promise to inquire into the working of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms, appointed a Commission consisting of seven Members of Parliament, under the chairmanship of Lord Simon, to visit India. Unfortunately the Commission contained no Indian representatives and was boycotted on its arrival. Nevertheless, it produced an invaluable Report which was the basis of further discussions. In 1929, at its Lahore session, Congress declared that its goal was complete independence (*purna swaraj*), and civil disobedience was renewed. Mr Gandhi and many of his followers were again imprisoned.

Nevertheless, the British Government was determined to reach a settlement if possible. It was decided to hold Round Table Conferences in London, where British and Indian politicians, including representatives of the Indian States, might meet for personal discussion. There were three Conferences in all, held in 1930, 1931 and 1932. Lord Irwin had several meetings with Mr Gandhi, and it was arranged that he should attend the second conference. Meanwhile, Congress was to suspend civil disobedience. This conference failed to come to an agreement on the subject of the representation of the Depressed Classes, who found a vigorous champion in their representative, Dr Ambedkar, a young lawyer who had been educated in America. Mr Gandhi, on the other hand, declared that he would resist 'unto death', any attempt to split Hinduism. At the close of the session, Mr Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, declared that this was really a matter for Indians to decide, but if they failed to do so, he would be obliged to make an award on the subject himself.

Lord Willingdon (1931-6). Lord Willingdon, who had gained an almost unique knowledge of Indian politics as Governor of Bombay (1913-19) and Madras (1919-24), succeeded Lord Irwin in 1931. During Mr Gandhi's absence at the

Round Table Conference, the truce between Congress and the Government had broken down, and shortly after his return, he was arrested with many of his followers, and interned in Yeravda Jail. While there, he undertook a ' fast unto death ' in order to obtain a modification of the Communal Award, and was released.

Meanwhile, after taking the evidence of large numbers of witnesses before a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, the British Government brought in the Government of India Act of 1935. Its provisions were as follows: (i) The Provinces, now numbering eleven, were to be given full responsible government, subject to certain reserve powers in the hands of the Governors, only to be used in the event of the complete breakdown of Law and Order. (ii) At the Centre, a Federation of India was to be set up. The Central Legislature was to consist of two Houses, comprising, for the first time, representatives not only of the Provinces but of the Indian States. The Executive Council was to consist of Ministers responsible to the Central Legislature, with the exception of the portfolios of Foreign Affairs and Defence, which were to remain in the hands of the Viceroy, who also held certain safeguards, like the Provincial Governors, to be used in the case of emergency. As to Dominion Status, it was officially stated that the clauses of the Act which preclude full self-government were merely transitional, and India, by usage and convention, would quickly acquire all the freedom, external and internal, enjoyed by the Dominions.

It was laid down that the part of the Act which established the Federation was not to operate until a specified number of States acceded to it; the rest of the Act came completely into force on 1st April 1937. Unfortunately this condition never materialized, owing to the reluctance of the Princes to acquiesce in the necessary infringements of their sovereignty. At the same time, the Federation was denounced by both the Moslem League and the Indian National Congress; the former

declared that it would put them permanently under the domination of the Hindu majority ; the latter complained that the casting vote would be in the hands of the nominees of the Princes. Thus, while India had full provincial autonomy, the Centre remained as in 1919, with the whole Executive responsible to the Secretary of State and the British Parliament. This was at the root of much of the subsequent unrest.

Lord Linlithgow (1936-43). Lord Linlithgow succeeded Lord Willingdon in 1936. He had already had an opportunity of studying Indian economic conditions as Chairman of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture (1926-8). In 1937, the first provincial elections under the new Act were held, and Congress obtained majorities in Bombay, Madras, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and the North-West Frontier Province ; coalition governments were formed in the Punjab, Bengal and Sind. At first the Congress party was reluctant to form ministries, but did so after the Governors had agreed not to use their emergency powers. The remaining Provinces formed coalition ministries under Moslem premiers. In spite of lack of experience in administration on the part of the Ministers, the experiment of provincial autonomy was highly successful on the whole, though the Congress ministries were under the strict control of the Congress Working Committee. Much useful legislation as regards education and social reform was passed. This was conspicuous in the case of Bombay and Madras, the latter being under the able guidance of Mr C. Rajgopalachari. In the United Provinces, where there was a strong Moslem minority, there was much communal dissension. Among the non-Congress governments, the most stable was the coalition ministry of Moslems, Sikhs and Hindus in the Punjab, with Sir Sikander Hyat Khan as their premier, which remained in office till 1947, and commanded the confidence of all parties.

The Second World War (1939-45). On 3rd September 1939,

England and France were forced by Hitler's wanton invasion of Poland to declare war on Nazi Germany. Since the Central Government was solely responsible to the Secretary of State and the British Parliament, the proclamation of war by the Viceroy was not subject to the prior assent of the Central Legislature. Congress, by way of protest, ordered the resignation of their provincial governments, which were taken over by the Governors with the help of the Indian Civil Service. The other political parties, as well as the Indian Princes, accepted the proclamation and took their full share in the war effort.

In the summer of 1940, the war took a disastrous turn for the allies. The Germans, having destroyed Poland, turned against western Europe, and overran Norway, Denmark, Holland and Belgium. The British Expeditionary Force was driven back to Dunkirk and forced to evacuate France with the loss of all its guns and equipment, and France to capitulate. England was only saved from invasion by the heroic conduct of the Royal Air Force. Fortunately, the British people in the greatest crisis of their history found a worthy leader in Mr Winston Churchill, who had succeeded Mr Chamberlain in May and had formed an all-party government.

In June, Mussolini brought Italy into the war on the side of Germany and this constituted a serious menace to the Suez Canal, the 'life-line of the British Empire'. England could do little to help in the way of reinforcements. Fortunately, India had a small but highly trained regular army consisting of 189,000 Indian and 57,000 British troops, many of them veterans of the last war. The famous Fourth and Fifth Indian Divisions were dispatched to Africa, where a quarter of a million Italians were threatening the Sudan. Their outstanding achievement was the storming of the mountain fortress of Keren in Italian Somaliland, which was thought to be impregnable. But Indian and Empire troops, 19 divisions against 33, took it at the point of the bayonet,

and among the prisoners was H.R.H. the Duke of Aosta, Commander-in-Chief of the Italian Army, and cousin of the King of Italy. A brigade of the 4th Division invaded Syria, where the Vichy French were preparing to admit the Germans, and Damascus, the Syrian capital, surrendered in June 1941. Meanwhile, in December 1940, the 4th and 5th Divisions, as part of the army under General Wavell, attacked greatly superior Italian forces threatening Cairo and utterly defeated them at Sidi Barani.

The August Offer. In order that India might pull her full weight in the war, political unity was essential. On 8th August 1940, Lord Linlithgow made what is known as the 'August offer'. He repeated the pledge of Dominion Status, but pointed out that self-government depended on communal agreement; the British Government could not transfer power to any party whose authority was denied by powerful minorities. He also stated that after the war, the framing of a new constitution for India was to be primarily in the hands of Indians themselves and not of the British Parliament. The Congress High Command summarily rejected these proposals as falling short of complete independence, and again started civil disobedience. But the movement met with a poor response, and was soon discontinued. Meanwhile, Lord Linlithgow proceeded with the Indianization of his Executive Council, which was now to consist of four British and eight Indian members, the portfolios of Defence and Foreign Affairs remaining in the Viceroy's hands. A National Defence Council of Indian Leaders was also set up to collaborate in the war effort.

Japan Enters the War. Meanwhile, all classes were preparing to take their full share in the war. A new Indian army, navy and air force were springing up, and they were recruited, not from the so-called 'martial races', but from every section of the Indian people. These forces were largely officered by Indians, who were trained at the Military Academy

at Dehra Dun. At the end of the war, the Indian Army had expanded from 189,000 men with 1,115 Indian officers in 1939, to 2½ million men and women with 15,740 Indian officers in 1945, the largest volunteer force in history.

This was fortunate, for further disasters were looming ahead. On 7th December 1941, Japan, without warning, launched a treacherous air-attack on the American naval base at Pearl Harbour, and put the United States Pacific Fleet out of action. Three days later, two great British battleships, the *Prince of Wales* and the *Renown*, were torpedoed and sunk off the coast of Malaya. This left Japan mistress of the Pacific ; only the great fortress of Singapore, guarding the Malacca Straits, stood between her and India. Landing in Indo-China, her troops advanced through Siam into Malaya. The British and Indian troops, untrained for fighting in dense jungle, and without proper support from the air, were driven back step by step. On 15th February 1942, Singapore fell, and nearly 100,000 British and Indian troops surrendered to their cruel and barbarous enemies. The victorious Japanese now invaded Burma, and Rangoon was evacuated on 7th March. Mandalay was taken on 29th April, and the British were compelled to retreat to India.

The Cripps Mission. In view of these imminent dangers, it was more than ever necessary to rally all the forces of Indian life against the aggressor, and in March 1942, the British Cabinet sent Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal, with a fresh offer. It proposed (i) the creation of an Indian Union constituting a Dominion equal in every respect to the other Dominions of the Commonwealth ; (ii) the framing of a new constitution immediately after the war by a body of Indians elected by Indians ; (iii) the participation of the Indian States ; (iv) full liberty for any Province not to join the Union against its wishes. The offer broke down because Congress demanded the immediate replacement of the Viceroy's Council by a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature.

This Sir Stafford Cripps declared to be impossible without constitutional changes of a most complicated character, and so negotiations broke down.

In July, under the influence of Mr Gandhi, the Working Committee passed a resolution demanding that the British should 'quit India'. Though Mr Gandhi intended the revolution to be strictly non-violent, it was clearly his intention to paralyse the administration, regardless of its effects on the war and the threat of Japanese invasion. On 9th August, the members of the Congress Working Committee were interned. Violent disturbances then broke out, in the course of which railway lines were torn up, railway stations and post offices sacked, and telephone and telegraph wires were cut. Many policemen and other government officials were murdered, and the troops guarding the Indian frontier were for a time completely isolated. The Government was obliged to take severe measures to put down the rising, which was endangering the safety of the whole country.

The Bengal Famine. The last months of Lord Linlithgow's long and anxious period of office were marred by a terrible famine, which broke out in Bengal. In 1942, a cyclone had swept over the chief rice-growing districts, destroying the crops and killing the cattle. Usually in times of scarcity, it had been the custom to import rice from Burma and Siam, but this was now impossible; moreover, about 650,000 tons of rice had been exported to feed the troops. Matters were made worse by the failure of the administration to adopt a comprehensive plan for distributing grain, and by the dishonest practices of profiteers. Prices soared, and starving villagers were swarming into Calcutta in search of food.

Lord Wavell (1943-7). Lord Wavell, the Commander-in-Chief, was selected to succeed Lord Linlithgow. The appointment came as a surprise; no serving soldier had been made Viceroy since India was taken over by the Crown. Lord Wavell had endeared himself to the Indian troops by his

brilliant campaign in Libya, and was a scholar as well as a soldier. His first act was to visit the scene of the famine, and the assistance of the military was sought in order to distribute supplies in the remoter districts. Under his vigorous direction, prices fell and by February 1944 the situation was normal, but not before over a million poor people had died of starvation and disease.

The Turn of the Tide. The tide was now turning in favour of the allies, and in this achievement India played an ever-increasing part. While the Fifth Indian Division was keeping the Germans out of Iraq and Persia, the Fourth, later joined by the Eighth and Tenth Divisions, was playing a leading part in the epic struggle against General Rommel's armies in North Africa. Here Indians met the flower of the German army, and proved themselves their superiors. The great battle swayed to and fro in the desert sands until May 1943, when the Germans and Italians were driven out of North Africa. Then followed two years of desperate fighting in Italy. The Germans were pressed back step by step, until on 29th April 1945, they surrendered to General Alexander's Eighth Army at Caserta. On 7th May, Germany capitulated, and the war was over in the West.

Meanwhile, the British Fourteenth Army, largely composed of the new Indian regiments, about 700,000 in all, was being organized by Lord Louis Mountbatten for the recapture of Burma. It took the offensive in July 1944, and then began a long and desperate struggle, not only against the Japanese, but against natural obstacles such as mountains, rivers and jungles, tropical diseases, and lack of supplies. On 8th March 1945, the Nineteenth Indian Division captured Mandalay, and on 7th May they entered Rangoon. Meanwhile, the United States army and navy had recaptured the Philippine Islands, and the Japanese mainland was being remorselessly bombed. Russia declared war on Japan, and preparations were being made for an invasion of Malaya on a large scale

by Indian troops when Japan surrendered unconditionally on 15th August 1945. Singapore was entered soon after. India's total casualties during nearly six years of fighting were 179,935, or twice the number of the First World War. Of these 24,338 were killed, 64,354 wounded, and 91,243 missing and prisoners of war. The Indian Army was given 4,028 awards for gallantry, including 31 Victoria Crosses. The Indian Armies fought on the following fronts: Malaya Burma, East Africa, North Africa, Tunisia, Middle East Sicily, Italy and Greece.

The Royal Indian Air Force. Beginning the war with only one squadron, the Royal Indian Air Force ended with ten, mostly 'Fighter Reconnaissance' planes. They fought over Burma from 1942, and gave close support to the troops from the Indian border to Rangoon. In this period, they dropped over a thousand tons of bombs on the enemy, besides large quantities of supplies by parachute for our men. The Coastal Defence wing flew many thousands of miles, hunting for enemy submarines and surface raiders and escorting our ships. The personnel of the Royal Indian Air Force rose during the war from 200 to over 27,000.

The Royal Indian Navy. During the war, the Royal Indian Navy expanded from 1,200 officers and men to over 30,000. It was constantly engaged in escort and convoy duties, covering landings and sweeping up mines. It sank at least one enemy submarine in Indian waters. Its most notable exploit was that of the minesweeper *Bengal*, a vessel of 1,000 tons with a single 12-pounder gun. On 11th November 1942, she sighted two large Japanese armed merchantmen each with six 5.5-inch guns, and immediately attacked them. The gunner, Leading Seaman Ismail Muhammad, hit one of the raiders in the magazine with the sixth shot from his tiny weapon and blew her up. The other fled. For this he received the Indian Distinguished Service Medal. The *Bengal* at the time was escorting a tanker with an invaluable cargo of motor fuel.

The Indian States. The Princes contributed generously to the war in men and money. Over 375,000 men from the States joined the fighting forces, and Baroda, Mysore and Hyderabad made gifts for the purchase of complete fighter squadrons. Half the total contributions to the Viceroy's War Funds came from the States, and their total financial contributions amounted to over Rs. 65,000,000. Large quantities of rubber, shellac and textiles came from Travancore and Mysore, steel from Mysore, cement and oilseeds from Hyderabad, plywood from Kashmir, together with wool for blankets and uniforms, silk for parachutes and many other commodities.

India's Economic Contribution. India made an important contribution to the war on the economic side. Without the development of her vast economic resources, it is doubtful whether the allies could have won through. Early in 1941, Delhi became the centre of the Eastern Supply Group. The great Tata iron and steel works at Jamshedpur and Khumbarbhudi worked night and day, and at Cawnpore and other places huge quantities of equipment of every kind were turned out. Batches of young men, known as 'Bevin boys', were sent to England for training in munition factories. India produced uniforms, blankets, boots, sandbags, parachutes and balloons, and medical supplies, and her ordnance factories produced munitions of all kinds, heavy guns, Bren carriers, tanks, mines and depth charges. Over 1½ million tons of supplies were sent to North Africa alone, and the troops in Burma were supplied entirely from India. Without this, the campaigns in the East could not have been carried on, owing to the immense distances by sea and the shortage of shipping. India started the war with a sterling debt of £350,000,000, but by the end of it had a balance of many millions.

The End of the War. In 1945 the Second World War was drawing to a close, and the British Government took steps to

carry out the undertaking made at the time of the Cripps Mission in 1942 that the future constitution of India should be drawn up by a body of Indians elected by Indians themselves. Lord Wavell went to England for consultation, and on his return the Congress leaders were released and Parliamentary Government was resumed in the Provinces. Lord Wavell called a Round Table Conference at Simla in order to form an interim Government to carry on the work until the new constitution was drawn up, but the Hindu and Moslem leaders could not reach an agreement. Meanwhile, lawlessness was growing, and rioting occurred in many districts.

The Cabinet Mission. In order to put an end to this state of affairs, the Labour Government, which had now come into power, determined to send out a Mission, consisting of the Secretary of State (Lord Pethick-Lawrence), Sir Stafford Cripps, and Mr A. V. Alexander, all of whom were members of the Cabinet. Its duties were to bring the two parties together, and help them to arrive at a settlement. All its efforts to do so failed, and in the end, the Mission was forced to put forward its own scheme. In order to give the Provinces as much freedom as possible without splitting up the country, it was proposed that an Indian Union should be set up, in which the powers of the Central Government should be limited to Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. Further, the Provinces would be at liberty to form themselves into groups, each with its own Government. If this plan were adopted three groups would emerge: the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Province in the north-west; Eastern Bengal and Assam in the north-east; and Hindu India. In this way it was hoped to preserve the unity of India and at the same time give the Moslems the substance of Pakistan. This plan broke down, mainly because the Moslems wished for the groups to vote as single units, while the Hindus claimed that each Province had the right to decide for itself whether it should join the group or not.

Independence. As all attempts to reach agreement by consent had broken down, Mr C. R. Attlee, the British Prime Minister, announced in the House of Commons on 20th February 1947, that on a date not later than June 1948, power would be handed over to an Indian Government which, resting on the support of the people, would be capable of maintaining peace and administering India with justice and efficiency. At the same time it was announced that Lord Wavell would be succeeded as Viceroy by Viscount Mountbatten of Burma, a cousin of the King and a distinguished naval officer. It was hoped that Lord Mountbatten would be Governor-General of an undivided India, but this expectation was not destined to be realized. The prospect of this withdrawal of British rule filled the Moslems with apprehensions about their future under a Hindu majority, and there was more serious unrest in many parts of the country. The position became so grave that Lord Mountbatten flew to England to lay his views before the Government, and on 5th July 1947 a Bill was laid before Parliament providing for the establishment of the two Dominions of India and Pakistan, with full powers, vested in their Constituent Assemblies, to draw up their own constitutions. As regards the Indian States, when British rule came to an end, the sovereignty of the Crown would lapse and would not be transferred to successor Governments; the Princes would



LORD MOUNTBATTEN

thus be in a position to sign Instruments of Accession to one or other Dominion. A Boundary Commission would be appointed to demarcate the boundaries between the two Dominions. The defence forces were to be divided so as to give each Dominion an army, navy, and air force of a strength proportionate to its population. Lord Mountbatten was to be Governor-General of the Dominion of India, with its capital at Delhi, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was to be his Prime Minister. Mr M. A. Jinnah was to be Governor-General of the Dominion of Pakistan, which was to consist of two parts, Eastern and Western. Karachi was to be the capital. Independence Day (15th August 1947) was celebrated with great national rejoicings in all parts of India and Pakistan.



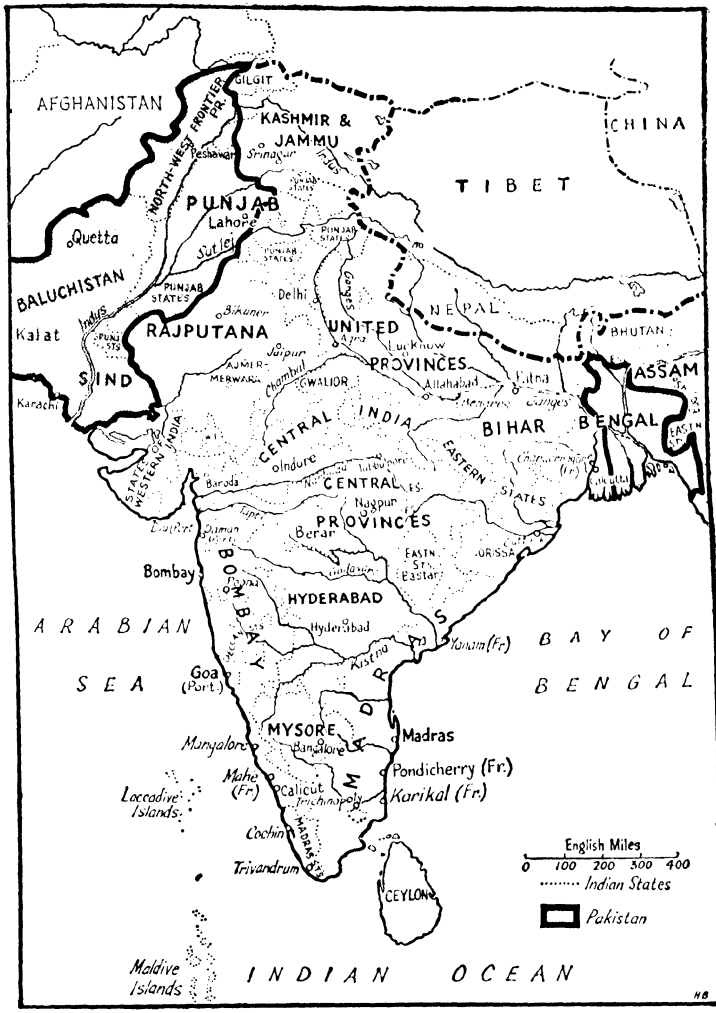
PANDIT NEHRU

Conclusion. British rule is now at an end, but it is hoped that both nations will continue as free and independent members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, to which they are linked by two centuries of progress towards a common goal, and by countless ties of culture and of personal friendship and goodwill. Just under one hundred years ago, when India came under the British Crown, Queen Victoria said that it was her 'earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer the Government for the benefi



MR JINNAH

of all'. These things, not always successfully, the British have endeavoured to carry out, and the time is now ripe for the great nations of India and Pakistan, with their age-long culture and traditions, to work out their own destiny for themselves.



THE INDIAN UNION AND PAKISTAN, 1947

LEADING DATES

A.D. 1905	Lord Minto Viceroy.
1909	Indian Councils Act (Morley-Minto Reforms).
1910	Lord Hardinge Viceroy.
1911	Visit of Their Majesties.
	Partition of Bengal annulled.
	Capital transferred to Delhi.

1914	The First World War (4th August).
	Indian Troops dispatched to France, Iraq, German East Africa, and to guard the Suez Canal.
	Indian troops arrive at Marseilles (25th September).
1915	Indian troops leave France (November).
	Siege of Kut-al-Amara commences (3rd December).
1916	Lord Chelmsford Viceroy.
	Kut-al-Amara capitulates (29th April).
1917	Fall of Bagdad (11th March).
	Capture of Jerusalem (9th December).
	Battle of Megiddo : Allenby destroys Turkish army north of Jerusalem (18th-22nd September).
1918	Armistice declared (11th November).

1919	Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms.
1921	Lord Reading Viceroy.
1926	Lord Irwin Viceroy.
1930	Simon Commission.
1931	Lord Willingdon Viceroy.
1935	The Government of India Act.

1936	Death of King George V.
1936	Lord Linlithgow Viceroy.
1939	The Second World War (3rd September).
1940	Dunkirk evacuation (28th May-3rd June).
	4th and 5th Indian Divisions capture Sidi Barani (11th December).
1941	Indian troops capture Keren (27th February).
	Japan enters the war (7th December).
1942	Fall of Singapore (15th February).
	Rangoon evacuated (7th March).
	Cripps Mission.
	Evacuation of Burma (29th April).
1943	Indian troops land in Sicily (9th July).
	Lord Wavell Viceroy.
	Lord Louis Mountbatten Supreme Commander of South-East Asia.
1944	Allies land in northern France (6th June).
1945	Indian troops recapture Rangoon (7th May).
	Unconditional surrender of Germany (7th May).
	Unconditional surrender of Japan (15th August).
	Singapore re-entered.
1946	Cabinet Mission.
1947	Lord Mountbatten Viceroy.
	Establishment of the Dominions of India and Pakistan.

EXAMINATION QUESTIONS

BOOK I

CHAPTER I

1. How does India illustrate the influence of Geography on History ?
2. Discuss the statement that India is not a country but a continent.
3. Who were the earliest inhabitants of India ? What vestiges of them remain to the present day ?
4. State what you know of the Indus Valley Civilization.
5. Why does northern India play so prominent a part in Indian history ?

CHAPTER II

1. Who were the Indo-Aryans ? Whence did they come ? What evidence is there of their relationship to other races ? In what part of India did they settle ?
2. What do you know about the Vedas ?
3. Give an account of (*a*) social life, (*b*) political organization, as described in the Vedas.
4. How do Vedic religion and customs differ from those of today ?

CHAPTER III

1. In what parts of India were the Hindus settled during the Epic period ? Illustrate your answer with a rough sketch-map, showing the leading states.
2. Write out briefly the story of (*a*) the *Mahabharata*, (*b*) the *Ramayana*.
3. Write an essay on ' India in the Heroic Age '. What place did women take ?
4. Give a short account of the rise of Buddhism and Jainism. How do they differ ?
5. Write a life of Gautama Buddha.

Chapter IV

1. What do you know about the state of India in the seventh century B.C. ?
2. Give an account of the rise of the kingdom of Magadha.
3. What does Megasthenes tell us about India as he saw it ?
4. Describe briefly the organization of Chandragupta Maurya's empire.
5. What led to the conversion of Asoka ? How did he alter his methods of government after his conversion ?
6. What were the effects of Asoka's missions upon Asiatic civilization ?
7. 'Asoka is one of the greatest monarchs in history.' Discuss this statement, and compare him with other great rulers, Indian and European.

Chapter V

1. Describe, with a sketch-map, Alexander's invasion of India.
2. What do you know about the Kushans ?
3. Give an account of the reign of Kanishka.
4. Describe carefully the effect upon Indian civilization of their contact with (*a*) the Persians, (*b*) the Greeks, (*c*) the Romans.
5. What are the chief architectural and sculptural monuments of the Mauryan and Kushan period ?
6. Write an essay on 'The Influence of Buddhism on the history of India'.

Chapter VI

1. Give a short history of the Gupta dynasty.
2. The Gupta period has been called 'the Golden Age of Hindu India'. Why ?
3. Who was Hiuen Tsang ? What does he tell us about India ? How does his account differ from that of Fa Hian ?

4. Write a brief account of the reign of Harsha.
5. What changes had taken place in Buddhism since the death of Gautama Buddha? What led to the decay of the Buddhist religion in India?
6. Describe a visit to the University of Nalanda in the days of Hiuen Tsang.

Chapter VII

1. Who were the Rajputs? What were the chief Rajput kingdoms and ruling families?
2. Give an account of Mahmud of Ghazni's chief invasions of India. Describe the sack of Somnath.
3. Write a short account of Prithvi Raj.
4. How do you account for the success of the Mohammedans over their Hindu opponents?
5. What do you know about life and literature at the Rajput courts?
6. Give an account of Bengal under the Pala and Sena dynasties.
7. Give an account of Hindu colonial settlements overseas.

Chapter VIII

1. What do you know of the history of the Deccan up to the fall of the Andhra dynasty?
2. Give a short account of the reign of Pulakesin II.
3. Write an account of (*a*) the Chalukyas, (*b*) the Rashtrakutas.
4. Describe the cave temples of India.
5. Give a short history of Gujarat during this period.

Chapter IX

1. Who are the Tamils? How do the Tamil and Aryan civilizations differ?
2. What do you know of the history of southern India prior to the rise of the Pallavas?

3. Give an account of (*a*) the Pallavas, (*b*) the Cholas, (*c*) the Pandyas.
4. What do you know of the various religious movements in southern India during the period ?
5. What part does sea-power play in the history of southern India ?

BOOK II

Chapter I

1. Give a short account of the origin and rise of the Mohammedan religion. How do you account for its rapid spread ?
2. Trace the gradual steps by which the Mohammedans made themselves masters of northern India.
3. Give a short account of the Slave Kings of Delhi.
4. Write an account of (*a*) Muhammad bin Tughlak, (*b*) Firoz Shah Tughlak.
5. What do you know of religious and literary movements in India during this period ?
6. What was the condition of the Hindus under the Delhi Sultans ?

Chapter II

1. Write a short history of the Mohammedan kingdom of Gujarat.
2. What do you know of the Bahmani kingdom ? What led to its decline, and what kingdoms sprang from its ruins ?
3. Write a history of the kingdom of Bijapur.
4. What part does the kingdom of Ahmadnagar play in the history of southern India ?
5. What do you know of Mohammedan architecture in this period ? Mention some of the chief buildings erected in different parts of India.

6. How would you account for the failure of the Delhi Sultanate to establish itself permanently as a great Indian power ?

CHAPTER III

1. What do you know of the origin and early history of the state of Vijayanagar ?
2. Give an account of Vijayanagar at the height of its glory. To what did it owe its wealth ?
3. Describe an imaginary visit to the town of Vijayanagar about the year A.D. 1520.
4. Narrate the circumstances which brought about the fall of Vijayanagar.

CHAPTER IV

1. How did Babur come to invade India ?
2. Describe the first battle of Panipat. What were the reasons for Babur's success ?
3. Give an account of the organization of Upper India by Sher Shah.

CHAPTER V

1. Describe the steps by which Akbar threw off control, and assumed the reins of government.
2. Describe Akbar's policy for the consolidation of the races within his empire.
3. Name the Subas comprising Akbar's empire, and state very briefly how each was acquired. Illustrate your answer by a sketch-map.
4. What part was played by the Rajputs in the reigns of Babur and Akbar respectively ?
5. Describe the reforms of Todar Mal.
6. Describe the organization of the Provincial Administration and the Imperial Service under Akbar.
7. What do you know of Akbar's religious opinions, and his attempts to found a new religion ?

8. What do you know of architecture, art and literature in the reign of Akbar ?
9. Write a character sketch of Akbar. What are his claims to greatness ? Can you compare him to other monarchs, Indian or European ?

Chapter VI

1. What do you know of the Empress Nurjahan ? What part did she play in politics in the reign of Jahangir ?
2. Describe the steps by which the English displaced the Portuguese in the Mogul empire during the reigns of Jahangir and Shahjahan.
3. Describe the attempts made to subdue the Deccan. To what extent were they successful ?
4. The reign of Shahjahan has been described as the ' Golden Age of Mogul rule '. To what extent is this a correct description ? Give your reasons.

Chapter VII

1. Give an account of the War of Succession between Aurangzeb and his brothers.
2. What signs of decay may be observed in the Mogul empire at the time of Aurangzeb's succession ? How far did the emperor's policy hasten the break-up ?
3. What part do the Rajputs play in the history of Mogul India ?
4. Give a short account of the rise of the Sikhs down to 1708.
5. Write a short biography of Shivaji the Maratha, and discuss his character and achievements.
6. Discuss the causes of the downfall of the Mogul empire.

Chapter VIII

1. Sketch the rise of the Maratha empire under the first three Peshwas.
2. Describe the events leading up to the last battle of Panipat. What were the causes of the Maratha defeat ?

3. Write a short account of the career and achievements of Mahadaji Sindhia.
4. Trace briefly Maratha history from the last battle of Panipat to the deposition of Bajirao II.
5. What were the causes of the downfall of the Marathas ?

BOOK III

Chapter I

1. What were the reasons which brought the European nations to India ?
2. Give a short account of the rise and fall of the Portuguese power in the East.
3. What led to the foundation of the British East India Company ?
4. What circumstances led to the foundation of the towns of Madras, Calcutta and Bombay ?

Chapter II

1. Give an account of the circumstances leading to the foundation of the French East India Company.
2. Describe the struggle between England and France in southern India.
3. What were the causes of the failure of the French in India ?

Chapter III

1. Describe the battle of Plassey. Why were its results so important ?
2. Trace the gradual steps by which the English became masters of Bengal.
3. Write a brief account of the career and achievements of Robert Clive. What is your view of his character ?

Chapter IV

1. What abuses did Warren Hastings find in 1772 ? What steps did he take to reform them ?
2. Summarize the clauses of the Regulating Act of 1773. Why was it important ?
3. What led to the first Maratha War ? On what terms was peace concluded ?
4. Give a short account of the career of Haidar Ali of Mysore.
5. On what charges was Hastings impeached, and how far were they justified ? Give a brief summary of his career and his achievements for India.
6. Summarize the arguments for and against the Permanent Settlement of Bengal.

Chapter V

1. Write a short account of Mysore under Tipu Sultan.
2. Explain and criticize Wellesley's policy towards the Indian states.
3. What additions were made to British India by Wellesley, and under what circumstances ?
4. Describe the rise of the Sikh kingdom under Ranjit Singh.

Chapter VI

1. Why is it said that the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentinck is the beginning of a new era ?
2. What measures were taken for the repression of suttee and thuggee ?
3. Describe the circumstances leading to the introduction of the English language for purposes of higher education.
4. What changes were introduced when the Charter was renewed in 1833 ?

Chapter VII

1. Describe the events leading to the war with Afghanistan in 1840.
2. Give an account of the relations between the British Government and Sind, up to the time of its annexation.
3. What led to the annexation of the Punjab ? What steps were taken to settle the country after its conquest ?
4. Give an account of Anglo-Burmese relations during the nineteenth century.
5. What do you know of Lord Dalhousie's dealings with the Indian states ?
6. Describe the reforms introduced by Lord Dalhousie. Give a short account of Lord Dalhousie's character and achievements.

Chapter VIII

1. Analyse carefully the causes of the Indian Mutiny. To what extent was it due to Lord Dalhousie's reforms ?
2. The Indian Mutiny consisted of three separate campaigns. Give an outline of each of these.
3. 'The Indian Mutiny swept the sky clear of many clouds.' Discuss this statement.
4. Give an analysis of Queen Victoria's Proclamation.

Chapter IX

1. What steps were taken by Lord Canning to reorganize the country after the Mutiny ?
2. What events led to the Afghan War 1878-80 ? Give an account of the campaign.
3. What are the chief causes of famine ? Mention some of the chief famines in the British period, and describe the methods taken to combat them.
4. Trace the growth of Local Self-Government in India under British rule. What did Lord Ripon do to extend it ?

Chapter X

1. Give an account of relations between India and Afghanistan from 1884 to 1919.
2. What measures of social reform have been introduced from 1857 to the present day ?
3. What do you know about the formation and history of the Indian National Congress ?
4. Give the chief provisions of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. In what directions does it mark a definite step in advance ?
5. What are the chief difficulties and problems of the North-West Frontier ? How did Lord Curzon try to solve them, and with what success ?
6. Give an account of the measures taken by Lord Curzon to help the Indian peasant.
7. Give a short account of Lord Curzon's work for India. Compare him with Dalhousie.

Chapter XI

1. To what extent do the Morley-Minto reforms constitute a further step forward in self-governing institutions ?
2. What part did India play in the Great War of 1914-18 ?
3. Give an outline of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme. How has it been modified by the Government of India Act ?
4. What were the chief causes of the unrest which followed the First World War ?
5. What are the principal changes introduced by the Government of India Act of 1935 ?
6. Give an account of the part played by India in the Second World War.

INDEX

ABBREVIATIONS

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

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