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BRITISH INDIA,
ITS RACES, AND ITS HISTORY,

CONSIDERED WITH REFERENCE TO THE
MUTINIES OF 1857:

A SERIES OF LECTURES ADDRESSED TO THE STUDENTS
OF THE WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE.

BY
JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW,
BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

WHAT THE KOH-I-NOOR IS AMONG DIAMONDS, INDIA IS
AMONG NATIONS.—SIR CHARLES NAPIER (*the late*).

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TO THE STUDENTS
OF THE
WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE,

This Work is Dedicated

BY *L. J. J.*

ONE OF THE LEAST ASSIDUOUS
OF THEIR TEACHERS.

PREFACE.

A NUMEROUS body of students of the Working Men's College having suggested to the Council, very soon after the news of the late outbreak, that a course of Lectures should be delivered to them on the History of British India, I was requested to undertake this duty. Connected with India by almost innumerable ties, I had less right than any other member of the Council to decline a task, the labour of which, at the short notice at which it had to be prepared, I foresaw would be enormous, but which even far exceeded my expectations. Imperfectly as I know that I fulfilled that task, yet the interest which this great subject excited amongst my pupils was so great, that at the close of my course in the beginning of September, the wish was expressed that it should be re-delivered.

Though unable to comply with such a wish, I believed I might in part satisfy it by placing before my pupils the written materials from which I lectured, expanded,¹ and put into shape, together with some additional Lectures. Possibly at this time, when God's most dreadful judgments have at last aroused England out of her "shameful apathy and indifference" (to use Lord William Bentinck's words of some twenty years ago), with respect to her noblest dependency, those materials may have an interest for others than the students of the Working Men's College.² I wish, however, expressly to state that I have no pretensions to Oriental learning, that I have nothing to teach to those who know India, but only a little to those who do not; enough, I trust, to help them to learn more.

The work is so obviously a compilation, that I have shrunk from the conceit of quoting authorities at every page. I must, however, as respects

¹ The first part, for instance, represents only a single delivered lecture.

² I have not included in these Lectures the history of Ceylon, though geographically connected with India, as being a Crown Colony; valuable though the contrast may be between its condition and that of the territories ruled by the East India Company. Our acquisitions in Eastern India I have also deemed out of my province, except so far as their history bears upon that of India proper.

the First Part, express my great obligations to Mrs. Speir's most interesting, but somewhat indigested "Life in Ancient India," for the labour which it has spared me. As respects the Second Part, more especially, I would beg the reader to recollect that although, owing to the ignorance of my hearers, I was obliged to give my Lectures more of a narrative form than I could have wished, still, it is essentially not *a* History that he is reading, but Lectures *on* a History. I thus purposely confined myself, for facility of reference, to a few of the best-known or the most accessible authorities as to the facts of the past; except on some points of recent history, on which, to my personal knowledge, those authorities were in fault. I followed Elphinstone as far as I could, then Mill and Wilson, his continuator, or Messrs. Taylor and Mackenna's valuable compendium, aided sometimes by Major Hough's "Political and Military Events in India," for the general course of political history; for the detail of particular periods, Lord Macaulay's "Clive," and his "Warren Hastings," and even the *Times*' Essay on the Duke of Wellington. For facts of civil administration I generally followed Mr. Kaye's very able and interesting "Administration of the East India Company," checking it, how-

ever, as it *must* be checked, from other sources, such as Rickards' "India." For the events of the last few years I have had to depend upon newspaper authority in great measure.

As respects Part III. (no portion of which was delivered as a Lecture), deeply conscious though I am of its deficiencies, I would say, in justification for my attempting to treat such a subject as that of the present condition and future needs of India, that that subject has been prominently before my mind for now the last nineteen years; that it was at one time more so than any other great topic of contemporary policy and morality; and that I have never ceased to look upon it as the greatest, next to that of the condition of his own country, to which an Englishman can devote himself. The events of the day seem, indeed, to me to prove how inseparably the two are connected; how impossible it is for England to secure prosperity for herself, unless she shows also justice to India.

I will only add, that, in order to give my words as far as possible the value of independent testimony, I have purposely abstained from consulting any of the publications called forth by the present mutiny, with three exceptions, viz. "The Indian Mutiny, Thoughts and Facts"

(Seeleys); "Lord Ellenborough's Blunder respecting the Cause of the Mutiny" (Calcutta); and Mr. George Norton's "New Financial Scheme for India" (Richardsons); all of which have been placed in my hands by friends. I am indebted for a couple of valuable facts to the second of those pamphlets. I wish I could believe in the present practicability of the plan set forth in the third.¹

¹ To spare a few stumbling-blocks to the unlearned, I have endeavoured to spell Oriental words according to common English pronunciation,—using *oo* and *ee*, for instance, in lieu of the orthodox *u* and *i*. But in thus playing false to my own practice, I fear I have often unwittingly, and sometimes wittingly, run into many anomalies. For instance, I have considered "Siva" and "Menu" too well established to transmogrify them into "Seeva" and "Menoo" or "Munnoo." I would observe that the "a" should generally be pronounced as in "father," the "e" as "ay."

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INDIA AND ITS RACES.

BRITISH INDIA.

LECTURE I.

The Subject to be considered with reference to Present Emergencies—The Country, its Extent, Population, Natural Divisions, Products, Industry—The Sugar-cane and Cotton-plant, Sugar-Manufacture and Cotton-Weaving, Indigenous — Indian Misgovernment the Mainstay of Slavery and the Slave-Trade — Taste of the Indian Workman — India the Italy of Asia.

PART I.

Races.

LECT. I.

In attempting to deal with the subject which you have proposed to the Council of this Institution, I must not forget the circumstances under which your request for a course of lectures on the history of British India has been made. At a time when all England is struck with horror, and moved with admiration, by the atrocities and the heroism which the late Indian mutinies have brought forth, you want to know who are the men whom we are now fighting; why we are fighting them, instead of fighting side by side with them as heretofore; what is likely to result from the struggle; how the like may be avoided in future. To solve all these questions would be beyond my province, as it would be beyond my power. All I can do is to place some data before you towards solving them. You have rightly considered that those data must be historical ones. You have rightly considered that the history must be that of British India. You would not

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 LECT. I.

have patience at this moment to linger over the doubtful tangle of Hindoo history, now slowly unravelling, to some extent at least, out of coins and medals. You would not thank me for the elaborate story of Mahommedan conquest and dominion, as detailed by the writers of that faith. You would care little for the short bright tale of Portuguese greatness, recent as it is comparatively, seeing that all that remains of it are three ruinous settlements, peopled by less than half a million of souls, and a scattering throughout the sea-coasts and up the great rivers of native converts under the Portuguese name, generally low among the low. But you will not find any details tedious, however removed from the track of strict historic narration, which may teach you the better how to enter into our subject, to understand the country, to understand its people.

And first, then, of the country which we call India. If you can turn, any of you, to that noble book, "Mountstuart Elphinstone's History of India," (which I trust will ere long find a place in our College library), you will find that the area,—the surface measure,—of India, is considerably larger than that of the whole of Europe, excluding Russia, Norway, and Sweden.¹

¹ A recent Parliamentary paper, of which an extract is given in the *Times* of August 8, 1857, states as follows the area and population of India:—

	<i>Square Miles.</i>	<i>Population.</i>
British territory in India .	837,412 . .	131,990,901
Native do. " .	627,910 . .	48,376,247
French and Portuguese .	1,254 . .	517,149
	<hr/> 1,466,576	<hr/> 180,884,297

The above area is larger than that given by Elphinstone; but includes, I presume, our acquisitions in Eastern India.

The length of the country, you will find in Elphinstone, is about 1900 British miles, the breadth considerably upwards of 1500. Taking it in another point of view, the whole length of Great Britain, from the Lizard to John O'Groat's, would hold more than three times in it lengthwise. One such length of Great Britain is less than the distance between its two nearest Presidencies, Bombay and Madras; one and a half would be about the interval between the two next nearest, Madras and Calcutta; one and three-quarters, between Calcutta and Bombay. Sir Charles Napier tells us that "it takes a regiment five months and a half to march from Peshawur to Calcutta; and from Calcutta to Assam, four or five months more." India's great river, the Ganges, the course of which is reckoned at 1350 miles, is rather more than five and a half lengths of the Thames (240 miles). In Lyell's Geology you may read how the Ganges will carry away in a few years forty square miles in one place; how in others, within far less than a man's life, it will form islands many miles in extent; how it thickens the water of the Bay of Bengal as far as sixty miles from the coast; how the mass of mud carried down by it yearly, is equal to the weight of from forty-two to sixty of the great pyramids of Egypt, and would freight two thousand 1400-ton East Indiamen daily, supposing them to sail down mud-laden to the sea.

The great division of this space is between Hindostan and the Deckan. The Vindhya mountains, running east and west, form the limit between these two, but Bengal to the east, and Guzerat to the west, are thrown out from

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either division by the natives. Each of these divisions again subdivides itself physically into two,—a table-land and a lower country. In Hindostan, the table-land of Central India is bounded by the Aravalli range and the Vindhya mountains, to the south, west and north-west, is supported, to use Elphinstone's expression, by a lower range in Bundelkund, and slopes gradually north-eastward into the basin of the Ganges. A desert, with some fertile oases, stretches from the Aravalli range to the mountains of Beloochistan, broken only by the course of the Indus, and such cultivation as the use of its waters can produce; Scinde itself being the Egypt of India, the Indus the Indian Nile. All the rest of Hindostan proper, comprising the two basins of the Upper Indus and its confluent, and of the Ganges, joining at last with that of the Burrampooter, is a plain of unsurpassed fertility, broken here and there by ranges of low hills. In the Deckan, the valley of the Nerbudda forms the division between the table land of Central and that of Southern India, inclosed east, south, and west by the Ghauts,—two ranges of hills which follow pretty nearly the shape of the peninsula,—to the south, and on the north by the Vindhya mountains, and the lower ranges which continue them. From the left bank of the Warda river, this tract is in the main one huge forest, peopled by aboriginal tribes. Lastly, the land between the Ghauts and the sea on either side of the peninsula is again low and extremely fertile. The two table-lands, enjoying a more temperate climate, and possessing on the whole a somewhat less fertile soil, are, as usual, the seats of the most warlike populations ;

the Rajpoots in central India, the Jâts further north, the Mahrattas in the Deckan. But in Hindostan, contrary to the Deckan, the table-land is much smaller than the lowlands. In the vast plain which stretches under the shelter of the Himalayas, across very nearly the whole greatest breadth of India, eastward to the sea, are situate all those cities of which we hear so much now, Delhi and Agra, Benares and Allahabad, Lucknow and Calcutta. At the head of this plain stands the Punjab, or country of the five rivers ; at the foot Bengal, which seems, in fact, to be little more than the silt of the Ganges and Bur-rampooter.

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LECT. I.

I do not know whether I need dwell with you upon the products of India. I might perhaps include them all in one sentence, by saying that, except those of polar seas or untrodden coasts, there is probably nothing which India does not, or at least cannot, produce. All cereals,—from the wheat of the table-land of Hindostan, through a hundred grains of which we know little or nothing, to the rice of Bengal or of the lowlands of the Deckan below the Ghauts. All fruits,—from the apple of the hills to the tropical mango and banana. All domestic or tamed animals,—from the ox or the dog to the camel, the elephant, the *cheetah* or hunting leopard. Nearly all skins and furs,—from the lion or the bear to the rhinoceros, including a vast variety of valuable cattle-hides. All textile materials,—from the hair of the mountain goat to a number of different kinds of silk, some yet unknown to European markets. All materials for cordage,—from hemp and jute, an ever increasing article of import in this

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Races.

LECT. I.

country, to the aloe and the cocoa-nut fibre. All vegetable oils,—from the cocoa-nut oil which gave us our composite candles to the precious *utar* of roses, worth its weight in gold.¹ All dye-stuffs and varnishes,—from the indigo of the north, testifying its origin by its name, which has given to India its only class of independent English settlers, and a monopoly (very nearly) of supply through all the world, to the crimson lac, and a hundred others of which we are ignorant. Almost all stimulants and exhilarants,—from the opium which buys from China the bulk of our tea, and the powerful *bang*, now beginning to be so largely used in medicine, to the teas of Assam and the coffees of Wynaad ; drugs, spices, perfumes without number, many of them yet unknown to us. All timbers and woods,—from the teak so prized by the ship-builder, or the deodar of the Himalaya, to the sweet-smelling sandal-wood, or the bamboo, so manifold in its uses. All metals,—from gold and silver to the most excellent iron. All stones,—from granite and marble to the diamond and the ruby. Are you tired with generalities ? Take two articles only, the one standing at the head of our imports for value, the other for quantity ; the one the most wholesome and universal of luxuries, the other the staple of our most important manufacture. The sugar-cane and the cotton-plant are both indigenous to India ; the cultivation of either plant, and the manufacture of its products, are alike immemorial

¹ The practice of anointing has rendered the natives very curious in the use of oils, and they make the most elaborate distinctions as to their effects, reckoning some cold, some hot, some strengthening, some relaxing, &c.

in that country.¹ The basin of a single Indian river, the Godavery, would, it is calculated, supply sugar enough for the present consumption of the whole world. The cotton-plant was imported from India into the United States. It could never have been cultivated there but for the enormous freights which the short-sighted cupidity of the East India Company laid upon Indian exports in the last century. Its cultivation could never have developed itself there on its present national scale but through our manifold misgovernment of India by that body to which we have farmed her from time to time ; through the land-tax which has sapped the agriculture of the country at its vitals ; through the neglect of roads, means of water communication, irrigation, and all those other public works by which the abstraction of capital from the subject can be in part supplied. Yes, it is an ugly fact, but one which we cannot overlook without hypocrisy, that the two main-stays of slavery and the slave-trade,—the cotton cultivation of the United States, the cultivation of the sugar-cane in Cuba and Brazil,—could not have grown into existence, still less have subsisted with success, but for English misrule of India.

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Races.
LECT. I.

I have spoken of products ; one word about the industrial arts. Where the richness of the soil remains thus undeveloped, you cannot expect to meet with the development of any elaborate manufacture ; unless it be that of the

¹ The unimproved native sugar is, however, of a very coarse description. But as respects cotton, when American planters were sent out to teach the natives how to cultivate it, they reported (in 1845-6) that the latter were able to do so "better and much more economically" than themselves.

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monopolised poison which the Indian Government prepares by the hands of its officials for introduction into China, in fraud of the revenue laws of that country. But all the arts of civilized life have existed in India from the earliest historic period. The appliances of industry are almost invariably of the rudest possible description ; but if the true genius of the worker be to do his work with the least of outward help, then the Indian worker is unsurpassed in the world. With a few stones, and a hole dug in the ground, the English officer's native baker contrives to present him with fresh bread every day on the line of march ; his cook gets up across country most elaborate dinners. The village goldsmith, out of a few gold coins, produces under your eye chains of the most cunning workmanship. The weaver of Dacca, on his clumsy loom, produced in the days of the Roman empire that "woven wind," the transparent Indian muslin,—the human gossamer, of which a whole dress will pass through a finger-ring. Any other nation than our own, I suppose, would have cherished the manufacture of a fabric, the most perfect probably in the whole world, and certainly the most ancient that can be specifically identified : had it fallen naturally into disuse, would have held a little state-money well spent to preserve it. Not so we English. We have well-nigh annihilated the cotton manufacture of India. Dacca is in great measure desolate ;¹ its most delicate muslins almost things of the past. We imposed prohibitory duties on the import of

¹ The population, from 300,000, has fallen to 60 or 70,000. See Mr. Wylie's "Bengal as a Field of Missions," p. 106.

Indian manufactures into this country. We imported our own at nominal duties into India. The slave-grown cotton of America, steam-woven into Manchester cheap-and-nasties, displaced on their native soil the far more durable but more costly products of the free Indian loom, whilst these were debarred from their natural market at the hands of the more wealthy and tasteful classes of the mother-country.

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LECT. I.

Nor let us forget that in one essential point the Indian worker immeasurably surpasses our own.—Taste. Who, that saw the Great Exhibition of 1851 with eye unspoilt by false art, was not struck with the beauty of the Indian Court? To many, very many, this Court was as a revelation of India. The truest artists all resorted to it, as to the spot in the whole building the most fruitful in delight and instruction for them. A simple, instinctive, almost unerring sense of beauty seemed everywhere to have guided the worker's hand, whether in shaping the pattern of a marble lattice-work, or in disposing the gorgeous splendours of a royal tent or throne, or in blending the colours of a single piece of stuff. The most marvellous triumph of artistic skill lay in the employment of gold and silver for ladies' dresses,—elements the most intractable in themselves for such a purpose, because their brilliancy always tends to excess, to a look of tinsel and stage effect,—but which here were subdued to perfect chasteness and delicacy by the mere taste of the worker. The result was unmistakeable; the means employed to produce it puzzled the European artist. Sometimes it seemed to depend on a mere shade

PART I. in a neighbouring tint ; sometimes upon a few
Races. hairs' breadths in the application of the glittering
LECT. I. material.

But I am lingering far too long upon this subject. The best idea I can give you of India's place in the world, is by saying that India is the Italy of Asia,—the jewel of that continent, as Italy is of this ; an Italy, on a large scale of course, answering to that of the Asiatic continent itself, as compared with Europe. The stupendous wall of the Himalayas shuts it out from the cold of the north, in the same way as the comparatively low boundary fence of the Alps defends our European Italy. The Indus, indeed, flowing from the Himalayas southward and forming the western boundary of India, may seem to vary the analogy. But if the Rhone, instead of falling to the west of the Alps, found its way from the Lake of Geneva southward through one of the valleys of Savoy, that analogy would be once more complete, and the mountain chains of Afghanistan would be seen to correspond exactly to the western Alps. Only by recognizing this analogy can we understand how Herat should be reckoned the key of India. Again, the Ganges, with its many feeders, pouring down from the Himalayas into an eastward sea, forms within it, as its miniature, the Po, does in Northern Italy, a basin of unrivalled extent and fertility, and marked out at its lower end as one of the special seats of a cultivation which is also in Europe characteristic of the basin of the Po—that, namely, of rice, the main food of the inhabitants of Bengal ; the Burrampooter accompanying it to the north, much as the Adige does the Po. The

sudden narrowing of the Italian Peninsula, the long chain of the Apennines which divides it, may appear to you to hinder further resemblance. It is not so in reality. The whole central portion of the Indian Peninsula may be said to be one Apennine. These two mountain ridges, which in our maps seem to rise from an even plain on both sides, are in fact only the supports of that table-land of the Deckan of which I spoke—1500 feet above the sea level—and form with it consequently, as compared with the lowlands of the coast, only one immense hill. To the south, lastly, the magnificent island of Ceylon, detached from the mainland before history began, stands in the same relation to India as Sicily to Italy.

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If we pass from physical to historical resemblance, we shall be surprised to find how close the parallel holds. As in Europe, Italy has always been the land of promise of the northern barbarian, so has India been in Asia. Although its northern barrier is well-nigh impassable to armies, it is accessible from the north-east, from the north-west, and from the west; and as the German and the Frenchman have contended with each other incessantly for the one, so have the Afghan, the Tartar, the Persian for the other.

But you will say, perhaps: Aye! but enslaved Italy contains a Rome, once mistress of the world; a Rome, still wielding the vastest spiritual empire of modern times. What is there analogous to this in India? As far as civil dominion is concerned, I grant you that her annals have nothing to show which corresponds with the rule of the Roman Republic, or of the early Cæsars. But in respect of spiritual dominion, there is a very

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strange analogy. Not, indeed, of concentrated, personal power ; for the nearest approach to that we must go to the Dalai Lama of Thibet, perched in that highest table-land of the Hinnalayas, as if the Pope of Rome, expelled from Italy, had taken refuge among the Swiss mountains. But India is the fountain-head of the great bulk of the religion of the East, as Rome of the West.¹ The sway of the Brahminic worship over the great bulk of the Indian Peninsula,—its existence in times past throughout a large portion of the Eastern islands,—its latest advance under the warlike Goorkhas of Nepaul,—must not be reckoned as the measure of the religious influence of India. For from India, or Ceylon, its geographical dependency, went forth that religion, which is reckoned to include a greater number of votaries than any other ; which made India, for instance, to use Professor Müller's words, " the Holy Land of China." Buddhism, so far as we can make out, is most probably a heresy from Brahminism, dating from the 6th century before Christ. Indian theology, therefore, spreads from the easternmost coasts of Asia to within the very borders of Europe, since there are Buddhists in European Russia—traces of Buddhism in Lapland.

¹ This characteristic of India is pointed out by Mr. Clarkson in his " India and the Gospel," p. 105.

LECTURE II.

THE ABORIGINES OF INDIA.

The Four Strata of Indian Society: 1st, The Aborigines; 2nd, The Hindoos; 3rd, The Mahommedans; 4th, The Christians—Haunts of the Aborigines—Their Languages of the Tartar Group—Probably a Cross between the Tartars and an Indigenous Black Race—More mixed with Tartar Blood to the North-east—The Goorkhas nearly Pure Tartars—Former Civilization of the Aboriginal Tribes—Their Sense of Title to the Soil—Their late Subdual in the Deccan—Their Distinctions from the Hindoos: Local Worship—Generally Devil-worshippers, not Idolaters—Addicted to Human Sacrifice—Theology and Ritual of the Khonds of Orissa.

THE 140 or 180 millions of human beings who inhabit the vast area of India are divided into many different peoples, speaking many different languages. The article on Hindostan in the "Penny Cyclopædia," which appears to be a meritorious compilation, reckons the number of spoken languages at twenty-nine, viz.: twenty-four derived from the Sanskrit, or sacred language of the Hindoos, and five which are not so derived; the number of these latter is most probably understated.

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But four great strata or layers, so to speak, compose the framework of society in India. 1st. The aboriginal tribes. 2nd. The Hindoos. 3rd. The Mahommedans. 4th. The Christians, now headed by the English.

You will find comparatively little about the

PART I. aboriginal tribes in Elphinstone. (See chap. xi.)

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The subject was one little noticed when he wrote, little understood now. I believe, nevertheless, it is one of growing importance.

In India, as elsewhere, we call those properly aborigines (though the word is often more laxly used), of whom we cannot positively assert that they came from another country after the soil was already settled. In India, as elsewhere, they are to be found in the most barren or the most inaccessible parts of the country; hills, forests, deserts, fenlands; just as we know that in Great Britain the Celtic race subsists only in the Highlands of Scotland or the Welsh hills, lingered in England last in Cornwall, is blocked up in France within the rocky promontory of Brittany; just as the old Iberian race is now confined to the Pyrenees and the valleys on their slopes; just as upon the conquest of Spain by the Arabs, the Goths withdrew to the Galician and Asturian mountains (the higher Pyrenean range being occupied by those Iberians, their enemies); just as with us, after the Norman conquest, the fen and the forest became the last resort of the Saxon outlaw. The chief range of the Indian aborigines lies in a wedge-shaped tract in the centre of the peninsula, beginning between the Vindhya and Injadri hills, then spreading out to the east into a vast forest tract, marked in some maps as Gondwara, or country of the Gonds, from the name of one of their chief tribes; others are called Bheels, Koles, Kolees, Khonds, Mairs, &c. But besides this great tract, every range of hills seems, in fact, to have its aboriginal tribe. The Rajmahal hills, near Calcutta itself, have their Santals, whose insurrection

startled all India not much more than a twelve-month ago. Far to the south, the Neilgherries, the sanatorium of the Madras Presidency, have their own aborigines.

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Who are these aborigines? My cousin, General Briggs, who has delivered an interesting lecture on the subject (from which most of the following details are taken), Mr. Hodgson, the late Resident in Nepaul, agree in holding that they belong to one common stock, and that stock of Scythian origin. That their languages, so far as they have been studied, are allied amongst themselves and to those of the Tartar family, may, I think, be admitted. That there is a something of a common physiognomy, marked by high cheek-bones, flat noses, thick lips, may be admitted also. But there is surely one marked difference between the Indian aborigines and the Scythic race. With the exception of a few tribes to the north-east, they are essentially a *black* race, blacker by several shades than the pure Hindoo of the higher castes. And black they have been for more than 3000 years. The oldest Hindoo monument, the Rig Veda, expressly speaks of them as such.¹ That their physiognomical affinities are at least as much with the negro as with the Tartar, is shewn by one or two passages in General Briggs's lecture itself. Even as respects the Garrows, a tribe to the north-east actually bordering upon the Mongolian races, a trait which struck a very early

¹ See Professor Wilson's translation, Vol. II. pp. 35, 258: "He" (Indra) "tore off the *black skin* of the aggressor,"—meaning an Asoora, one of the names by which the aboriginal tribes are referred to. And again: "Indra, the slayer of Vritra, the destroyer of cities, has scattered the *black-sprung* servile hosts."

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observer, Mr. Elliot, whose paper will be found in the supplement to Sir Wm. Jones's works, was the "flat Cáfri (negro) like nose." And General Briggs states of the British officers employed against the Bheels in 1816, that they "came back with a notion that their features partook of the African negro." The Scythic pattern of language amongst these aborigines surely proves nothing beyond the fact of conquest by and prolonged subjection to Scythic races, with such consequent intermixture as these influences must create. The Romanic family of languages in modern Europe, all springing from a Latin stock, do not prove that the nations who speak them are of that stock. This could hardly be predicated even of the Italians themselves, still less of the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the French. The filiation of these languages shews simply this,—that a conquering Latin-speaking race must have held dominion over the countries in which they were spoken long enough,—must have exercised such dominion thoroughly enough,—to Latinize the subject populations. So, whilst I fully admit, from the testimony of language, that the black aboriginal race of India must have been *Scythicized* by a conquering race pouring in, I suppose, from the north-east, before the period of the Hindoo invasion, must have received from its conquerors such civilization as it possessed at that period, I cannot, upon present data, admit its Scythic origin.¹

¹ What I have said above must be clearly understood to apply only to the *black* aboriginal tribes, chiefly of Middle and Southern India. That the infusion of Tartar blood becomes more abundant to the north-east, until at last we meet with tribes characteristically Tartar, is undoubted.

That the bulk of the aboriginal race must have been absorbed into Hindooism,—carrying with it more than one of its customs, more than one of its dark-skinned divinities,—leaves room, I think, for no doubt. Where this is the case, the condition of these races will be found the worse, in proportion to the late period of their subjection, as in the south of India, where they constitute the strictly servile castes, only freed of late years from actual slavery. In other cases, they have been admitted into the Hindoo system without absorption into it, taking their place in particular as watchmen in the Hindoo village communities. Outlying all the rest you find the wild tribes of which I have spoken, yet unsubdued by Hindooism in their fastnesses of the mountain and of the forest; savages with scarcely a rag to cover their nakedness, yet honest and truthful as all free races are; agile and brave, though armed only with bows and arrows for the most part; inveterate robbers, yet capable of most efficient military service, where their physical strength allows of it,—as in the case of the Bheel corps, which have stood as yet so stanch in the present mutinies.

I find the free aboriginal tribes reckoned by

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Such are the Hill Nepaulese, those gallant little Goorkhas who are doing such good service by the side of our countrymen before Delhi; short, thick, ruddy-faced, good-humoured fellows. The Garrows of the north-east of Bengal are described as stout, well-shaped men, hardy and able to do much work, with small eyes, generally blue or brown, face round and short, colour a light or deep brown. The Santhals are mostly very low in stature, but stout and well-proportioned. This stoutness of body is the very reverse of what is stated of the Gonds and other black tribes of Middle India.

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Mr. Clarkson, in his "India and the Gospel," at eight millions. But he reckons at fifteen to twenty millions the "outcasts," of whom the great bulk must no doubt be the semi-Hindooized aborigines, and are so classed by General Briggs.

You must not suppose that the aboriginal tribes were never anything more than the savages which they now are for the most part. There is clear proof that they are now, in point of material civilization at least, greatly degenerated from what they were. The Rig Veda¹ shows that at the time of early Hindoo invasion the existing population of India, whom it terms Asooras,² Dasyus, Rakshasas, Simyus, lived in cities and well-built dwellings. The early Hindoo god Indra is described as "destroying the well-built dwellings of the Asooras,"—"destroying the cities of the Dasyus,"—"destroying the perennial cities of the Asooras;"—he is invoked to "go to the cities inhabited by the Rakshasas;" he is celebrated as having "demolished the hostile and ungodly cities," and having "bowed down the thunderbolt of the ungodly Asoora;" as having "with the adamantine thunderbolt demolished the hundred ancient cities of Sambara,"—also described as an Asoora; "having slain the Dasyus, he has destroyed their iron cities." Asooras and Rakshasas still linger as demon-races in Hindoo mythology and local tradition; and their identity with existing races is also recognised. Thus in Hindostan the once famous tribe of the Raj-Bhurs still sub-

¹ Rig Veda, translated by Professor Wilson, Vol. I., pp. 151, 266; Vol. II., pp. 38, 167, 168, 244, 258.

² The name "Asoora" seems to survive in that of the "Sourah" tribe of Orissa.

sists, sometimes reduced to the performance of the most menial offices, at other times retaining the ownership of land, and even a few principalities in the hills. To their ancestors, who are treated as Asooras or demons, are attributed, about Benares, or again, Azimghur, immense mud and stone forts, embankments, tanks, and other excavations.¹ If we proceed towards Middle India, we are told that, deep in the forests of Gondwana, the English sportsman comes upon the traces of former power and civilization. He sees the hills circled by what are now mere watercourses, but which, when examined, are found to be roads, skilfully traced, skilfully made, far surpassing anything attempted in the country until the latest works of English engineering.

¹ I should observe that the Bhurs were undoubtedly not a pure aboriginal tribe. Mr. Raikes, in his interesting "Notes on the North-Western Provinces," expressly states that, according to local tradition, a people called Cheroo drove the short, swart aborigines to the hills and forests; and that from the Cheroos (mixed no doubt with the conquered people) sprang the Bhurs or Raj-Bhurs.

That there were different layers in what is now treated in bulk as the aboriginal stratum cannot, I think, be doubted; but we know far too little to speculate successfully as yet upon this point. I may, however, take this opportunity of saying that I can hardly suppose the Vedic names "Asoora," "Dasyu," "Rakshasa," "Simyu" to be mere synonyms. Have the "Asooras" any relation to the Assyrians, — a pre-eminently city-building people, and whose history indeed connects them with India, through the mythic conquests of Semiramis? Has the relation of the aboriginal languages of Northern India to those of the Nineveh ruins been yet examined into?

I cannot do more than allude here to another branch of this curious subject, viz., the occurrence, throughout the length and breadth of India, of cromlechs, cairns, barrows, precisely similar to those of our own country, — a style of monumental architecture, moreover, which is stated to be still persevered in by the hill-people to the north of Sylhet.

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He meets with forts of so-called Cyclopean workmanship, piled together out of uncemented blocks of stone. He hears of great deserted cities. The nimble and fearless wildmen who accompany him as guides and beaters, offering a marked contrast to Hindoo or Mussulman in their genuine love of sport, if questioned on such subjects, will tell him that the road and the fort and the city are all the work of old Gond Rajas.¹

A remarkable feeling, indeed, which seems to pervade nearly all these aboriginal tribes, is that of their being the lawful occupants of the country, the true owners of the soil. This seems to lie at the bottom of their inveterate habits of plunder, coupled as these are with great faithfulness and honesty under trust; in robbing the invader, they only take back their own. The Meenas of Rajpootana, to the west of the plateau of Central India, remind each other, we are told, of their rights by a distich, which says, "The Raja is proprietor of his share,—I am the proprietor of the land." And, strange to say, the Hindoos themselves admit in some striking instances the primordial title of these tribes. In the case just referred to, a Meena has to apply the *tila* or *tilaka*, a red spot emblematical of royalty, on the forehead of each successive Rajpoot Raja of Nerwar; and this is done with blood drawn from a Meena's toe. The same ceremony is performed by a Bheel on the accession of the Rajpoot Raja of Oodipore, the first in rank of all Hindoo sovereigns. The symbolism of the act seems to be, that the Hindoo sovereign's title is not complete until the

¹ I state this on the authority of an eye-witness.

aborigines are willing to shed their blood for him.

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As respects the Deckan, indeed, we should not forget that the date of the aboriginal stratum is by no means remote. The most warlike aboriginal tribe of the south, the Bedars, were only subdued at the close of the last century by the last dynasty of Mussulman conquerors, that of Mysore. And deep in the heart of the Mussulman Nizam's country, we are told, the Bedar Raja of Sorapore "still holds his patrimonial appanage, surrounded by his faithful tribe, claiming a descent of more than thirty centuries."

Many practical differences of a very important character separate at the present day the aboriginal tribes of India from the later-come Hindoos. But they have one common characteristic which divides them from their conquerors, as it seems to me, in a more marking way than any other : local worship. Each aboriginal tribe, so far as it has not borrowed a divinity from the Hindoos, or adopted Mahommedanism, as is often the case with those of Northern India, has divinities of its own, different from those of its kindred tribes ; nay, tribes worshipping the same divinities are found divided into hostile and mutually abhorrent sects. Therefore these tribes remain isolated, often at feud with each other, incapable of nationality whilst this state of things lasts, incapable of successful resistance towards any race which a common faith has organized into nationality ; just as you may read in Dr. Barth's recent travels in Central Africa how the pagan tribes are to this hour broken up and trampled upon by any race, such as the Fellatahs or

PART I. Fulbe, which Mahommedanism has raised into a
Races. nation. No other cause, I conceive, but this
LECT. II. deep spiritual one, can explain how these aboriginal tribes of India, possessed, wherever we find them yet unenslaved, of many elements of moral worth,—brave, truthful, honest, often devotedly loyal,¹—and which, at the time of early Hindoo invasion, seem to have been at least on a level with their invaders as respects the arts of civilized life,—should have proved everywhere inferior to them, should have sunk into serfs or savages before them. (See Appendix A.)

You must not suppose, however, that the local worship of these aboriginal tribes rises no higher than the coarse fetish worship of the negro, the adoration of the snake or the leopard. Such worship has no doubt existed. Snake-worship in particular seems to have spread over a large portion of India ; in Cashmere particularly the dynasty of the Nagas or snake-worshippers seems only to have become converted to Buddhism about a couple of centuries before our era. In other instances the lowest of the aboriginal tribes may be found paying religious reverence to the tiger, to some stone or tree-stump. As a general rule, however, the Indian aborigines, although polytheists, are not idolaters like the Hindoos. They are, indeed, for the most part devil-worshippers ; acknowledging it may be a good God, but adoring the evil one *because* he is evil, and therefore to be feared and propitiated. And their worship seems to have been very generally

¹ The recently published autobiography of Lutfullah, however, relates a most treacherous massacre, by order of a Bheel chief, of some Afghan plunderers in his pay.

marked by a rite, at once the most hateful and the most precious of any that heathenism can practise—the rite of human sacrifice. Hateful, because there can be no more awful blasphemy against the very nature of God, Who is love, than to treat Him as taking delight in the blood of His noblest creature. Precious, as bearing unconscious witness to the heart-truth, so to speak, of Christ's gospel,—that there is no redemption for mankind but in the sacrifice of the Man. Thus the Bheels and other hill tribes of the Vindhya mountains are constantly accused of human sacrifices by the Sanskrit writers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Such sacrifices were performed in some parts of Gondwana within a recent period. Amongst the Khonds and Sourahs of Orissa they can be hardly yet extinct, or have been at least first attacked only in our days.

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As to the objects of the rite amongst one of the last-named tribes, the Khonds, we possess full details through the labours of Captain Macpherson. These are so curious, raise so many of the deepest problems of theology, afford lastly such priceless hints as to the capacity for spiritual development of the race to which they relate, that I am sure you will thank me for dwelling upon them at some length.

The Khonds, then, of Orissa, a tribe lying on the outskirts of what may almost be called the great Gond people, have a complete religious system, or rather two complete religious systems developed from the same principles. They are divided into two great sects, each of which looks with horror on the practices of the other. Both

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acknowledge a self-existing being, the source of good, the creator of all things and persons, whom they term the God of Light or the Sun God,—Boora Pennu or Bella Pennu. His first creation and consort was the Earth-goddess, Tari Pennu, the source of evil, who having become jealous of Boora Pennu's intention to create man for happiness and for the creator's service, endeavoured to frustrate this creation, and failing to do so, has spoilt it by the introduction of both physical and moral evil, "sowing the seeds of sin in mankind as in a ploughed field." Here the two sects divide altogether. The one holds that the Earth-goddess, though struggling ever, is vanquished, and is only permitted to strike as the instrument of punishment upon the wicked. These then worship a God of Light, victorious, almighty; associating with him his vanquished consort, and a number of inferior divinities. Offering a fowl with rice and arrack, the priest says :—

"O Boora Pennu, and O Tari Pennu, and all other gods (naming them). You, O Boora Pennu, created us, giving us the attribute of hunger: thence corn-food was necessary to us, and thence were necessary producing fields. You gave us every seed, and ordered us to use bullocks and to make ploughs, and to plough. Had we not received this art, we could not have performed your worship. Grant the prayers which we now offer. In the morning, we rise before the light to our labour, carrying the seed. Save us from the tiger, and the snake, and from stumbling-blocks. Let the seed appear earth to the eating birds, and stones to the eating animals of the earth. Let the grain spring up suddenly, like a dry stream swelled in a night. Let the earth yield to our ploughshares as wax melts before hot iron. Let the baked clods melt like hailstones. Let our ploughs spring through the furrows like the recoil of a bent tree. Let there be such a return from our seed, that so much shall fall and be neglected in the fields, and so much on the roads in carrying it home, that when we shall go out next year to sow, the paths and the fields shall look like a young

cornfield. From the first times we have lived by your favour. Let us continue to receive it. Remember that the increase of our produce is the increase of your worship, and that its diminution must be the diminution of your rites."

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The other sect, again, hold that Tari was victorious over Boora as respects this life ; that she, and not he, was the introducer of cultivation and of the arts ; but that she did this, not as the Light-God, out of the fulness of her good will, but on one dread condition,—the offering up of human sacrifices, which are her daily food. Hence the practice of what are called the Meriah sacrifices, within the last few years only stopped, or attempted to be stopped, by the efforts of the English. They took place, not only periodically or on special occasions, on behalf of whole tribes or villages, but even on behalf of individuals, seeking to avert Tari's wrath. The victim must either have been bought, or born a victim, or consecrated in childhood by his father or natural guardian. He is looked upon during life as sacred, is loaded with honour and kindness. He sometimes is suffered to marry, to die in peace ; but his children remain subject to the same lot. When his sacrifice is called for, it is performed according to a certain dramatic ritual, in which the victim himself is impersonated,—the most awfully beautiful which I have ever met with, and far surpassing, to my mind, the pathos of the Greek tragic poets in kindred situations.

The version which Captain Macpherson gives is unfortunately too long for extraction here ; it will be found at length in the second part of the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal for 1852, vol. xiii. In the introductory part, the priest relates the

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origin of human sacrifice, in the shedding of the blood of the Earth-goddess, which began to make the earth firm from soft mud that it was. Since its institution

“—the world has been happy and rich, both in the portion which belongs to the Khonds, and the portion which belongs to Rajas [Hindoos]. And society, with its relations of father and mother, and wife and child, and the bonds between ruler and subject arose, and there came into use cows, bullocks and buffaloes, sheep, and poultry. Then came also into use the trees and the hills, the pastures and the grass, and irrigated and dry fields, and the seeds suitable to the hills and to the valleys, and iron, and plough-shares, and arrows, and axes, and the juice of the palm-tree, and love between the sons and daughters of the people, making new households. In this manner did the necessity for the rite of sacrifice arise.”

Observe the *universal* character which this marvellous ritual assigns to the sacrifice. We find in it such passages as these:—that the ancestors of the Khonds “at first knew only the form of worship necessary for themselves, not that necessary for *the whole world* ;” that “thenceforth the *whole burden of the worship of the world has lain upon us, and we discharge it.*”

Addressing the victim, the priest tells him that the Earth-goddess demands a sacrifice ; that it is necessary to the world ; the tiger begins to rage, the snake to poison, fevers and every pain afflict the people ; shall he alone be exempt from evil ? when he shall have given repose to the world he will become a god.—The victim asks, if they have no enemies, no useless or dangerous members of the community, to sacrifice instead of him ?—He is told, that such sacrifices would be of no avail ; the souls of such would never become gods. His parents gave him “as freely as one gives light from a fire, let him blame them.”

Did he share the price, he asks, did he agree to the sale? No one remembers his mother's womb, or the taste of his mother's milk; and he considered them his parents.

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"When did you conceive this fraud, this wickedness to destroy me? You, O my father, and you, and you, and you, —O my fathers, do not destroy me."

The village chief, or his representative, now answers:—

"This usage is delivered down to us from the first people of the first time. They practised it. The people of the middle time omitted it. The earth became soft. An order re-established the rite. Oh, child, we must destroy you. Forgive us. You will become a god."

The victim declares that he knew nothing of their intention. He appeals to the trees he planted, the houses on which he laboured, the cattle which he has tended. He has toiled for them with all his might.—He is answered that he should have known of his doom; this and that circumstance are recalled, by which he might have done so. Let him curse his parents; they will curse them with him.—Lastly, he turns to the priest and curses him.

The priest, or Janni, declares that—

"The Deity created the world, and everything that lives; and I am his minister and representative. God made you, the mullicko (village-chief) bought you, and I sacrifice you. The virtue of your death is not yours, but mine, but it will be attributed to you through me.

"*The victim.* My curse be upon the man who, while he did not share in my price, is first at my death. Let the world ever be upon one side while he is upon the other. Let him, destitute, and without stored food, hope to live only through the distresses of others. Let him be the poorest wretch alive. Let his wife and children think him foul. I am dying. I call upon all—upon those who bought me, on those whose food I have eaten, on those who are strangers

PART I. here, on all who will now share my flesh, let all curse the
Races. Janni to the gods.

LECT. II. "The Janni. Dying creature, do you contend with me?
 I shall not allow you a place among the gods.

"The victim. In dying I shall become a god, and then will
 you know whom you serve. Now do your will on me."

The form of the sacrifice is no less awful than the ritual. Fixed against a short post, in the midst of four larger ones, the victim's chest or his throat is fitted into the rift of a branch, cut green and cleft several feet down. Cords are twisted round the open extremity, which the priest and one or two elders then strive with all their might to close: the priest then wounds the victim slightly with his axe, and the whole crowd throws itself upon the sacrifice, and strips the flesh from the bones; the possession of a strip of such flesh ensuring a participation in the merits of the sacrifice. Tari Pennu is then invoked—

"You have afflicted us greatly; have brought death to our children and our bullocks, and failure to our corn—but we do not complain of this. It is your desire only to compel us to perform your due rites, and then to raise up and enrich us. Do you now enrich us! Let our herds be so numerous that they cannot be housed; let children so abound that the care of them shall overcome their parents, as shall be seen by their burned hands; let our heads ever strike against brass pots innumerable hanging from our roofs; let the rats form their nests of shreds of scarlet cloth and silk; let all the kites in the country be seen in the trees of our village, from beasts being killed there every day. We are ignorant of what it is good to ask for. You know what is good for us. Give it to us."

I dare hardly trust myself to say all I think of this ritual. Nothing can show more strikingly the "feeling after God" of the heathen, while yet He is "not far" from them. It is full, if I may so speak, of instinctive Christianity. We have the sense, not only of the need of sacrifice, but of

a sacrifice which shall be "for the whole world." Out of this sacrifice arises human society itself ; it is its corner-stone. This sacrifice must be the sacrifice of a man,—the victim must be pure, he must be freely given, yet bought with a price. By sacrifice the victim becomes a god ; the merits of his sacrifice are imparted by communion in his flesh and blood.

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All these mighty truths lie embedded in the bloody, dreadful worship of Tari Pennu. But how dreadful it is ! how revolting ! How true and fine the struggle of nature against it, as exhibited in the same ritual, the instinctive rebellion of the human heart against its atrocity ! The very priest is cursed for performing the rite. The last act of the victim is to crush him, as it were, with the might of his all-but-realized god-head. How noble the proclamation of the Boora Pennu worshippers, that the God of light abhors the shedding of His creatures' blood, that He is ever victorious over evil, and only uses it as His minister !

Surely there is good news to be told to these poor Khonds,—good news which is capable of reconciling all their sectarian feuds, of harmonizing all their spiritual struggles, of cementing into one the precious half-truths which each division of the tribe possesses, and rightly clings to,—the good news of Christ's "one oblation of Himself once offered ;" of the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world ;" of the "tender mercy"—not the quenchless wrath—of the Heavenly Father that gave Him to suffer death ; of that communion in His most blessed body and

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blood which is "to continue a perpetual memory of His precious death until His coming again."¹

¹ It is remarkable that the Dabistan, a curious Mahomedan work of the seventeenth century on the religions of the world, does not even distinguish the native forms of worship from Hindooism. It treats two of the aboriginal tribes of Middle India, the Soorahs, whom it calls Surwar, and the Gonds, whom it calls Gondwar, as mere Hindoo sects. See Vol. II., pp. 241—2, of the English translation.

LECTURE III.

THE HINDOOS.

The Hindoos confessedly not Aboriginal—Caucasians from the North-west—Originally Fair-complexioned—Their Characteristics: Organised Polytheism; Caste; Municipal System—Polytheism of the Hindoos: the sole Representative of that of Antiquity; a Book-Religion—The Vedas and their Commentators—The Code of Menu—Present Hindoo Theology; its good Tendencies; Faith in Saviour Gods who become Incarnate; Yearning for Union with God—The Sanskrit Language, Literature, and Civilisation—Lies of Hindooism—The Pooranas—Caste: The four Primitive Castes—Brahmin Preeminence; its Moral and Intellectual Elements—The Caste System the Hindoo Pattern of a Divine Order—Its Appeals to Human Selfishness—Fetters of the High Caste Man—The Low Caste not precluded from Social Advancement—Results of shaking off Caste—The Municipal System; the Village Communities—Panchayets—Hindoo Heresies: Buddhism; Jainism; The Sikh Faith.

THE next layer from the bottom of Indian society is the Hindoo. The primary aboriginal stratum only crops out here and there. The secondary Hindoo stratum stretches throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. The aborigines are a mere series of detached tribes. The Hindoos are a collection of peoples.

The Hindoos do not pretend to be aboriginal in India. Their legends and traditions point to holy mountains in the north-west,—the direction of the Hindoo Koosh mountains, the true Caucasus,—as their primitive home. At the dawn

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of their literature,—fourteen or fifteen centuries, it is reckoned, before our era, or some 3,300 years ago,—we find the Rig Veda evincing by internal evidence that they had not spread beyond the north-west of India; the most acceptable offering to their gods being the fermented juice of the Tona or Moon-plant—a round, smooth, twining plant, peculiar, we are told, “to the mountains in the west of India, the desert to the north of Delhi, and the mountains of the Bolan pass,”—not to be found in rich soils, and which, therefore, does not extend into the interior of India. They were not, however, then fresh come from the Hindoo Koosh, but were evidently well acquainted with the sea. It is said, in the Rig Veda, that the adorers of Indra throng round him “as the covetous of gain crowd the ocean on a voyage;” that Varuna, abiding in the ocean, knows the course of ships; and vessels “floating over the ocean,” and “a hundred-oared ship,” &c., are elsewhere spoken of (vol. i. pp. 152, 307). The constant mention of horses and chariots, moreover, indicates evidently a descent into the plains; whilst the description of the horse itself proves, as Mrs. Speir remarks, that the animal spoken of must be the high-bred one of Beloochistan, rather than the far inferior one of India. Nor was their progress rapid after this period. General Briggs observes, that “from the time of the Vedas, they had not crossed the Vindhya range in six centuries and a half. Ten centuries more occurred ere they turned that barrier on the east and west, leaving the savage belt unsubdued, and Gondwana intact; and five cen-

‘turies more passed ere they had reached the utmost limits of the Mysore country.”

Who are these Hindoos? Undoubtedly, a people allied to ourselves, not only in language, but in physical characteristics; a member of that great family of nations which has been called the Indo-Germanic. Their holy language, the Sanskrit, was, undoubtedly, the earliest cultivated of the whole group of kindred tongues, and has proved the master-key by which our philologists have to unlock the secrets of all, whether of Greek or Latin, of Keltic or of Gothic. It is almost startling to trace the close resemblance on many points even of the modern Indian languages with the learned languages of the west, with its ancient or its most modern tongues; to recognise in “Punj-ab,” the “five rivers,” the Πέντε of the Greek, the “aber” of our modern Welsh; in the kindred “Doo-ab” (two rivers, *i. e.*, the mid space between, what the Greeks called by a much longer name, Mesopotamia), the Greek δύο, or the Latin duo, and the same Welsh noun; in “Raja,” “Raj,” the Latin “rex,” “regnum,” in “gurrum,” our “warm,” with such an alteration as that of “ward” into “guard,” in the expression “bud-nam,” our “bad name,” almost without the change of a letter. And physiognomy, as I have said, confirms the witness of language. The straight nose, the beautifully chiselled features and form, all mark the noble Caucasian type.

You will tell me that colour bars the identity, as that of the aboriginal races with the Tartar. Not so. The true Hindoo of the present day is undoubtedly brown, not black; the tint

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lightening by degrees as we approach his original dwelling-place of the north-west, until it becomes scarcely a shade or two darker than that of the southern European. Nay, the lighter tint almost invariably marks the higher caste; the low caste man being often as dark as an aboriginal native. Hence, if we had no further data at hand, we might conclude that the darkness of the Hindoo arises from and is proportional to his intermixture with the aboriginal races; that the dark mass, at the bottom of the Hindoo social system, represents the body of aborigines who must have been incorporated into it. But there is undoubted evidence that the Hindoos were at first, in conformity with their origin, a white race. Not only are all the gods of their early Vedas light or golden-coloured gods, but the writers are found, like a true northern people, reckoning their time by "winters," and speaking of themselves expressly as the "white-complexioned" friends of Indra.¹ And it is strikingly related by Greek historians that, of the variety of Indians who came to the Court of Darius Hystaspes, King of Persia, with the fair-complexioned he could converse, but that with the dark-coloured he required an interpreter; evidently indicating that, a thousand years later than the Rig Veda, there was still a marked difference in India between the fair races and the dark, and that the fair races spoke a

¹ "May we cherish such a son and such a grandson for a hundred winters;"—"the thunderer then divided the fields with his white-complexioned friends." Rig Veda, Vol. I., pp. 176, 259. Towards the end of the second book, however, where the hymns appear to me to have a more modern cast of thought, a "tawny-hued" son is prayed for. Vol. II., p. 219.

language cognate to the old Persian, as we know the Sanskrit to be, whilst the dark spoke a language of another family. Indeed, it may be observed, that the name they gave themselves, the "Aryas," or respectable men, occurs in the "Aria" of ancient geography.

I do not think we should suppose that all the Caucasian tribes now included in the Hindoo system entered India together. Mr. Raikes expressly says that the Brahmins appear to have settled in the north-western provinces before the Rajpoots. The Jâts, whom many identify with the Goths,—one of the noblest races of India, peaceful and industrious, as well as brave, and thereby distinct from the Rajpoots, equally brave, but turbulent and unthrifty—seem to constitute a distinct immigration of comparatively late date.¹ The Catties of Cattywar, a race kindred to the Rajpoots, bold and athletic, and whose women are said to be proverbially graceful and beautiful, are stated to have settled in Guzerat only in the ninth century of our era, though they were probably in India before this period, and are still marked by many national peculiarities.

But however formed at first, that assemblage of people which we call the Hindoos is now marked by these leading social characteristics:—

An organised polytheism; a social system founded upon caste; definite municipal institutions.

I. The first characteristic is in itself very remarkable. For by it the Hindoos stand alone

¹ The early pages of the late Major Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs" supply a striking picture of the singular variety of races still distinctly existing in the north-west.

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in the modern world, as the representatives of the great nations of antiquity. No doubt there are Pagan tribes in abundance, spread over a large portion of Africa, part of America, part of Asia. But these are all in the condition of the aborigines of India, worshippers of local divinities, one or two, perhaps, at a time. A systematic worship of many gods, having power to mould and inspire literature and art, to shape civil society, to serve as the nucleus for the feeling of nationality—such a worship as the old world presents to us in Egypt and Phœnicia, in Greece and Rome—such a worship is to be found at the present day nowhere else but in India. Not only is it to be found there, but, as far as we can see, it appears to have given birth at least to some of the leading personages in Egyptian and Greek worship. Without pretending to say how far the numerous identifications, by the earlier philologists who took up the study of Sanskrit, of individual divinities and their particular adventures in Hindoo mythology with those of the mythologies of Egypt and Greece, may be in every case correct, I am bound to say, for instance, that the Osiris and Isis, the leading figures of Egyptian mythology, appear to me the Iswara and Isa of the Hindoo; that the worship of the bull Apis must be the Hindoo worship of the cow¹; that the Mitra of the Vedas must be the Mithra of the Persians.

The Hindoo religion is thus, with Christianity

¹ Late as Philostratus may be as an authority, and stuffed with fables as may be his "Life of Apollonius of Tyana," we should not, moreover, forget that sixteen centuries ago he already declared that the Egyptian sages derived all their wisdom from the Indians.

and Judaism on the one hand, and Parsee fire-worship and Chinese philosophy on the other, one of the four ancient things yet alive in the world. But it links itself to the more modern by this, that it is a *book-religion*. Like Judaism, like Christianity, like Mahommedanism, it has, if we may so term it, a Bible. It has not done its best, like the Greek or Roman, the Assyrian or Phœnician worship, when it has built a temple, carved a statue. It addresses itself to the spiritual principle in man. It speaks, and gathers up the spoken word. Therefore is it higher than those old worships of the east or of the west; therefore it lives, while they have died.

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On the Vedas, the earliest holy books of the Hindoos, I shall not dwell. The first of them at least, the Rig Veda, belongs to a state of society, to a spiritual and moral condition, so utterly at variance with that of Hindooism at the present day, that it complicates instead of solving its many puzzling riddles, one only excepted. For it does explain the jealousy with which the Brahmin caste has watched over the Vedas, and over the language in which they were written, and the late period at which European scholars have obtained access to them. If it were worth while to shake the foundations of any belief whatsoever, before one is able to uncover for the believer a deeper foundation on which to build a stronger faith, there could be no surer mode of exploding Brahminism, properly so called, than the circulation, in every vernacular language of India spoken by Hindoos, of translations of the Rig Veda, without note or comment. (See Appendix B.) The Brahmins are, no

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doubt, well aware of this;¹ for it is an article of faith with them, as Professor Wilson observes, that the Veda consists of two component parts—one (the Mantra) being the hymns and formulæ of worship, the other (the Brahmana) a collection of liturgical rules and selections, with illustrative remarks and narratives. Of this latter work Professor Wilson says, that there must have been “a very long interval” between it and the Vedic hymns themselves; that it has “not the slightest claim” to be regarded as contemporary with them, or as forming an integral part of them. But he himself carries back the Brahmana to the seventh or eighth century before Christ at the least,—I should feel inclined to say the ninth or tenth; and in it we find the caste-system and the idea of Brahmin preeminence in full force.

A century or two later comes the celebrated Code of Menu, which, although obsolete in many respects, appears to me to be still the real centre of Hindooism.² I think it will help you to under-

¹ It is right to state that, however much of conscious dishonesty may have been mixed with the later concealment of the Vedas by the Brahmins, nothing can be bolder than the treatment of them in early times by Hindoo philosophers. One of the great schools of philosophy, the *Sankhya*, declares at the outset that the Vedas have failed to communicate means of “eternal liberation” for the soul, and can only procure happiness of limited duration. And the allegorizing of them by other schools, such as the *Vedanta*, was no doubt perfectly genuine, as was Philo’s allegorizing of the Pentateuch.

² It is remarkable that even at this period the Hindoo race had not spread beyond the Vindhya mountains. Between these and the Himalayas, says the Code, “lies the tract which the wise have named *Arya varta*”—the abode of the Aryas. Beyond the Vindhyas were “barbarians, living in forests, and speaking an unknown tongue.”

stand the depth and the subtlety of the Hindoo mind if I quote to you a passage from the opening portion of the Code, which seems indeed to me to bear the impress of an earlier age than much of the text. Next to the Mosaic cosmogony, though certainly far behind it, I know none nobler.

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“This (*i. e.*, the universe) existed only in darkness, imperceptible, indefinable, undiscoverable, undiscovered, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep.

“Then the self-existing power, himself undiscerned, but making this world discernible, with five elements and other principles, appeared with undiminished glory, dispelling the gloom.

“He whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity, even he, the soul of all beings, whom no being can comprehend, shone forth in person.

“He having willed to produce various beings from his own divine substance, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed.

“That became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams; and in that egg he was born himself, Brahmá, the great forefather of all spirits.

“The waters are called (*nará*) because they were the production of Nara (the spirit of god), and since they were his first (*ayana*) place of motion, he thence is called *Naráyana* (moving upon the waters).

“From that which is, the first cause, not the object of sense, existing, not existing, without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of Brahmá.

“In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year, at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide itself.

“And from its two divisions he framed the heaven and the earth; in the midst the subtle ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters.

“From the supreme soul he drew forth mind, existing substantially, though unperceived by sense, immaterial; and consciousness, the internal monitor, the ruler, &c. &c.”¹

¹ See the “Laws of Menu” in Sir W. Jones’s works, Vol. III., p. 66. They are there printed, however, with the much later gloss of Culluca, incorporated in Italics with the text. This I have omitted, wishing to give a view of the passage in its original shape.

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By comparing this passage with the first chapter of Genesis, you will see at once one difference between them. The Bible has the good sense, if I may use the word without irreverence, to begin with the creation of the heavens and the earth, or, in other words, with time. It implies that God is before the world and time; "in the beginning God created." It may unfold in St. John the hidden order of eternity itself. "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God." But the two conceptions of eternity and time remain entirely distinct; the former, as it should be, undivided, undescribed, undefined. Menu, on the contrary, starts from before the creation, and without willing it mixes up time and eternity, dividing the latter. Hence all the fables of Hindoo chronology, its years of Brahmá comprising millions of years, its eras which baffle all identification.

Into the details of existing Hindoo theology it will not be necessary here to enter. You will learn almost wherever you please that it rests upon the idea of a Triad or Trinity, Brahmá, Vishnoo and Siva,—the Creator, Preserver and Destroyer; although even beneath these, unknown to the many, receiving no sacrifices, there seems to lie the notion of an Unspeakable Unity, Brahm or Brihm. Later historic criticism has dispelled the notion that the three divinities were coeval in Hindoo worship. The adoration of Siva was at its height about the commencement of our era. The prominence of Vishnoo-worship is far later still in date.

Of the three members of the revealed triad, Brahmá, the creator, is now but little regarded,

and has but one subsisting temple ; the adoration of the Hindoo race being chiefly concentrated on Vishnoo, the Preserver, and Siva, the Destroyer, or upon the female divinities who are associated with them. So far, we have something not much differing from Greek or Roman polytheism ; but here arises a marked distinction. The gods of western antiquity took the form of men or other creatures ; but we generally find it was merely to gratify some passion, at best to favour some friendship of their own. On the contrary, the Hindoo gods—the greatest of them at least—became incarnate in created shapes generally for beneficent purposes, and are chiefly worshipped in these their revealed forms. Thus the subject of the ten avatars, or incarnations of Vishnoo to save the world, forms a leading portion of Hindoo theology ; and it is in the shape of the beautiful Krishna, or in that of the hero Rama, that he is most frequently adored. A beautiful Sanskrit poem of Kalidasa, written at the commencement of our era, “The Birth of the War-God,”¹ shows that the

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¹ See an abstract of this poem in Mrs. Speir's work, including many striking extracts. The allegorical purport of it is obvious. Siva, a deity of unknown origin, is wedded to the daughter of Himalaya, but is despised by his father-in-law, whose daughter dies of grief, whilst Siva betakes himself to the severest penances upon the mountains. She is, however, born again, and again as daughter of Himalaya ; and dimly remembering her old existence, has for sole object to win the love of Siva. She fails to do this by her beauty, but succeeds at last through austerities emulous of his own, and their marriage is celebrated with the utmost splendour. The meaning seems evidently that Siva was an old aboriginal god, whose worship was supposed to have extended over Hindostan, then to have become confined to the hills, but was now becoming a second time national. The state of Hindoo society at this period seems, from other works of the time, to have been extremely corrupt, and I have no doubt that the

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now frightful and revolting Siva was then a deity of quite another character—the god of prayer and religious asceticism, perfect, infinite ; the refuge of worlds, the succourer of misfortune, the spring of wealth, monarch of the three worlds, lord of Brahmá himself, yet giving in his own person the example of penance and pain.

I cannot tarry over this subject, deeply interesting though it be. I cannot help saying, however, that, when I compare Greek mythology with Hindoo, I am always reminded of the saying of the old Egyptian priest, that the Greeks were mere children ; so immeasurably deeper does the Hindoo mind appear to me to go in sounding the mysteries of the universe, of our own selves. The pervading yearning which it manifests for an abiding union with God, the firm hold which it has of what I take to be the truth of truths for mankind—that God must take flesh for the salvation of the world—appear to me privileges which make the noblest of Greek myths seem but as babbling nursery rhymes beside the Hindoo.¹

austere worship of the old hill-god effected for a time an important moral reform.

I should conjecture Siva to have been a god of Northern India, thereby giving special occasion to the introduction of Himalaya into the legend. To this day the Goorkhas of Nepaul are in an especial manner worshippers of Siva, under the name of Gorakhnath.

¹ That the necessity of a revelation in visible form is characteristic of Hindooism, has been long seen by the Mussulmans. The Mahomedan Dabistan says of the orthodox Hindoos : “They maintain that the contingently existing inhabitants and beings of earth are unable to penetrate into the presence of the necessarily existing sovereign, and that the essence of the Creator is too exalted for any created being to attain to an acquaintance with it, notwithstanding the high knowledge and piety with which they may be adorned : it therefore seemed necessary to the Almighty God to

But we need not forget that the most beautiful portions of Hindoo theology are of a date subsequent to the Christian era, and that both Wilson with us and Lassen in Germany think that Christian influences are traceable in them.

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This Hindoo religion, in itself, as I have intimated, full of glimpses into the profoundest truths, has gathered round it a whole civilisation. It is embodied in a language, the earliest cultivated, as I have said, of the whole Indo-Germanic group, spreading from India westwards to the Atlantic, and across it now and the whole American continent to the Pacific ; a language, if we may trust its students, copious, flexible, philosophic, musical beyond measure ; it has given birth to two noble epic poems, the *Rāmáyana* and the *Mahábhárat*, which must date in the main three or four centuries before Christ, the second being the more recent, and containing one episode of a much later date, the *Bhagavat Gita*, which is probably the finest philosophical poem in the world ; to a vast number of dramas, the most perfect of which belong to the beginning of our era (the best known of them being *Sakountala*, splendidly illustrated of late by a student of this college). The astronomic observations of the

descend from the majesty of abstractedness and absolute existence, and exhibit himself in the various species of angels, animals, man and such like, so as to enable them to attain to some knowledge of himself. They therefore assert, that for the purpose of satisfying the wishes of his faithful servants, and tranquillizing their minds, He has vouchsafed to manifest himself in this abode, which manifestation they call an *Avátar*, and hold this to be no degradation to his essence." Dabistan, tr. by Shea and Troyer, Vol. II., p. 25. The doctrine is too foreign to Mahommedanism to owe anything to the preconceptions of the writer.

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 the first mention of astronomy in Greece. Their
 trigonometry of the fifth and sixth centuries
 involved theorems unknown in Europe till the
 sixteenth. They had found out for themselves
 the proportion of the radius to the circumference.
 In algebra they far surpassed the Greeks.

Something of the greatness of Hindooism may
 by this time have dawned upon you. But let us
 now measure its littleness. First of all, it is
 founded, as we have seen, upon a lie,—the lie of
 its being identical with the worship of Vedic
 times. In the next place, it is pervaded by the
 most contradictory tendencies. Side by side
 with the blessed truth that God must and does
 stoop down to man for his salvation, we find the
 fatal falsehood that man can conquer heaven by
 his austerities, that the priest by caste is superior
 to the gods themselves; the gods are afraid of
 the penances of devotees, afraid of the curse of
 a Brahmin. The deep truth that all things are
 in God, that “in Him we live and move and
 have our being,” runs perpetually into the shal-
 lows of Pantheism, full of quagmires, muddy with
 obscenities. I suppose there is nothing in the
 world more absurd, immoral, or degrading on the
 whole than the vast collection of the Pooránás—
 the “Golden Legend” of modern Hindooism, com-
 piled between the eighth and sixteenth centuries
 of our era, though no doubt containing much older
 fragments. These are the legends of all the gods,
 the text-books of all the sects, the food of all
 popular Hindoo theology. And although I do not
 believe that there was one whit less of grossness

and wickedness in Greek or Roman polytheism, but on the contrary, that the puerile filthiness of the later Roman, for instance, (as the writings of the early Christian apologists will show,) probably far surpassed anything discoverable in the Hindoo, still we must not forget that the devil-worship of the Greek or Roman is a dead worship, that of the Hindoo a live one. The hereditary Indian strangler or Thug (though, strange to say, generally a nominal Mussulman) still prays to a goddess of murder; the hereditary robber to one of rapine.¹

II. That, however, whereby Hindooism has thrown its deepest roots in human society, has been its connexion with and elaboration of the system of caste. We find something like that system in other ancient nations. The Roman distinction between patrician and plebeian was essentially a caste distinction. Among the ancient Egyptians we find a close analogy to caste in the hereditary distribution of employments, every man following his father's trade. It was "abomination," as the book of Genesis tells us, for an Egyptian to eat bread with the shepherd Hebrews. This was essentially a caste observance.

We find caste already laid down as the groundwork of Hindoo society in the earliest extant work which evinces its existence in a truly national shape, the Code of Menu. Four castes are there described as composing the nation (although the existence of mixed castes

¹ The degradation of modern Hindooism in our oldest acquired territories, is indeed inconceivable. I quote only an instance of its absurdity, when I say that in 1807, near Gour, in Northern Bengal, Hindoos were found worshipping two crocodiles, which were supposed to be a *Mussulman* saint and his wife! ("Bengal, a Field of Missions," by M. Wylie, p. 225.)

PART I. is also indicated); the Brahmin or priest, the
Races. Kshatriya or soldier, the Vaisya or husbandman,
 LECT. III. —these three form the twice-born castes,—and
 the once-born Soodra or servant, the last no
 doubt comprising the great bulk of the converted
 aborigines. Of these castes, one, the Vaisya,
 has almost wholly disappeared; another, the
 Kshatriya, is held mainly to subsist among the
 warlike Rajpoots of the north-western frontier;
 the Soodra scarcely elsewhere than among the
 warlike, perhaps, but far less noble Jâts and Mah-
 rattas; although, indeed, the Brahmins often
 reckon as Soodras the whole remainder of the
 Hindoo population, themselves excepted. The
 Brahmin alone, the pinnacle of the social edifice,
 holds his ground; and beneath him a chain of
 castes, varying in number almost infinitely,
 according to locality, seldom probably less than
 seventy, reaching in some places to 150, to 170,
 perhaps averaging 100. It is true that the dif-
 ferent denominations of inhabitants are often, as
 the natives themselves admit, improperly termed
 by the word caste; as in Malabar, where a census
 referred to by Ram Raz, the writer on archi-
 tecture, contained not less than 300 different
 denominations, almost all unintelligible to a
 European.¹ Nor must it be forgotten that the
 word "caste" is not Hindoo, but Portuguese.

The permanency of Brahmin influence amongst
 the Hindoos, for now 2,500 years at least, is, I
 take it, the most wonderful social fact in the
 whole world. Think how wise these men must
 have been, so to have used their power that they

¹ See a letter prefixed to Ram Raz's treatise on archi-
 tecture, and also to be found in the first volume of Mr.
 Rickards's "India," p. 400.

should not have forfeited it after thirty centuries of enjoyment! Had it been a material power, it never could have stood. Had the Brahmin claimed pre-eminence on the ground of his superior strength; had he sought to keep up that strength by eating abundance of beef and pudding; had he placed the object of his ambition in mere brute dominion, he would have been swept away a thousand times ere this from the face of the earth. Nay, had he sought to establish it by mere priestcraft, it would have failed equally. The marvel of his position is, that he rules, without affecting sovereignty; that he enjoys many of the prerogatives of priesthood, without separating himself from human society. His original superiority was at first above all moral and intellectual. His privileges are even now hemmed round with numberless disadvantages; were originally bound up with the severest austerities. You will find in Elphinstone's work and others, that the life of a Brahmin, as set forth in the holy books, is divided into four portions. During the first, he must perform the most menial offices for a superior, to whom he attaches himself as a disciple. During the second only he mixes fully in social life, marries and begets children. During the third he devotes himself to religious practices and acts of austerity. The fourth is a period of entire self-abstraction, till he leaves the body, as a bird leaves the branch of a tree. The passage of Menu, in which the above words occur, is one of singular beauty.

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"A mansion with bones for its rafters and beams; with nerves and tendons for cords; with muscles and blood for mortar; with skin for its outward covering; filled with no sweet perfume, but loaded with excrements;

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"A mansion inhabited by age and by sorrow, the seat of malady, harassed with pains, haunted with the quality of darkness, and incapable of standing long; such a mansion of the vital soul let the occupier always cheerfully quit;

"As a tree leaves the bank of a river, or as a bird leaves the branch of a tree, thus he, who leaves his body, is delivered from the ravening shark of the world;

"Letting his good acts descend (by the law of the Veda) to those who love him, and his evil deeds to those who hate him, he may attain, through devout meditation, the eternal spirit."

Here is another striking passage on the same subject :—

"Giving no pain to any creature, let him collect virtue by degrees, for the sake of acquiring a companion to the next world, as the white ant by degrees builds his nest;

"For in his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company; his virtue alone will adhere to him.

"Single is each man born, single he dies; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds;

"When he leaves his corpse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kinsmen retire with averted faces; but his virtue accompanies his soul.

"Continually, therefore, by degrees, let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion; since, with virtue for his guide, he will traverse a gloom, how hard to be traversed!

"A man habitually virtuous, whose offences have been expiated by devotion, is instantly conveyed after death to the higher world, with a radiant form, and a body of ethereal substance."—*Sir Wm. Jones's Works*, Vol. III., pp. 236, 194.

The following are extracts from a later work, entitled "The Ignorant Instructed," and express well the nature of Brahmin asceticism :—

"Restrain, O ignorant man, thy desire of wealth, and become a hater of it in body, understanding, and mind: let the riches thou possessest be acquired by thine own good actions; with those gratify thy soul.

"The boy so long delights in his play, the youth so long pursues his beloved, the old so long brood over melancholy thoughts, that no man meditates on the supreme being.

"Who is thy wife, and who thy son! How great and wonderful is this world; whose thou art, and whence thou camest,—meditate on this, my brother, and again on this.

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* * * * *

"As a drop of water moves on the leaf of the lotus; thus or more slippery is human life: the company of the virtuous endures here but for a moment,—that is the vehicle to bear thee over land and ocean.

"To dwell in the mansion of gods at the foot of a tree, to have the ground for a bed, and a hide for vesture; to renounce all ties of family or connexions; who would not receive delight from this devout abhorrence of the world.

* * * * *

"Day and night, evening and morn, winter and spring, depart and return. Time sports, age passes on, desire and the wind continue unrestrained.

"When the body is tottering, the head grey, and the mouth toothless; when the smooth stick trembles in the hand which it supports, yet the vessel of covetousness remains unemptied.

"So soon born, so soon dead—so long lying in thy mother's womb—so great crimes are committed in the world! how then, O man! canst thou live here below with complacency? . . . "—*Sir Wm. Jones's Works*, Vol. VI., pp. 428—9.

This is, indeed, no longer the pattern of Brahmin life, although to this day the devotee, Brahmin or other, will dwell with clenched hands till the nails grow through the flesh on the back, or live standing till his joints become perfectly rigid and unbendable. But the preservation of the Brahmin's purity, through the numberless pollutions which he has to avoid, must undoubtedly be to him, above all others, a very grievous burthen. Meat he generally does not touch; a species of abstinence which we Englishmen should be apt to deem a very severe one, especially if we had to practise it, not as the bargained price of certain advantages which we might specially covet, but simply because our fathers practised

PART I. it before us, and under dread of the severest
Races. penalties. For the Hindoo, Brahmin or other,
 LECT. III. who wilfully forfeits his caste by eating impure
 food, does not simply sink a step in the social
 scale, but falls at once irretrievably to the very
 foot of the ladder.¹

And in what consists this wonderful supremacy of the Brahmin? Mainly, I take it, in this: he is the chief source of knowledge; he has the keys of caste. The possession of the sacred language, the Sanskrit, is almost peculiar to him, or was so till Europeans invaded it. In that language are stored up all the treasures of Hindoo learning; its religion and its philosophy; its astronomy, its mathematics, and its algebra; its medicine and its surgery; its architecture and its music; its grammar, and the noblest of its literary monuments: the rules or canons of all the arts. The mason and the carpenter of Southern India carry on their work according to certain formulas, which are contained in Sanskrit couplets,—the language as such being utterly unintelligible to them, beyond this little portion which is bound up with their daily work—kneaded in, so to speak, with their daily bread.² Medical secrets, to quote another in-

¹ Although I believe the bulk of the so-called "Outcasts" to be only aborigines reduced to a state of Helotism, still there are undoubtedly tribes of real outcasts,—degraded Hindoos of pure race. In the Ghauts of the extreme south, I am told that there is a race called, if I recollect aright, Nyades, who live in trees, and are perfect savages, yet are reckoned to be degraded Brahmins. Of course, parity of social degradation with the aboriginal servile castes would gradually induce physical assimilation and amalgamation.

² Ram Raz's "Essay on the Architecture of the Hindoos" tells us that the standard treatises on manual science, called

stance, are generally hereditary in certain Brahmin families, and cause them to be resorted to by men of all classes. Indeed, I may here point out that the hereditary principle which lies at the root of caste seems also here in a strange way to exhibit itself in that sphere which is elsewhere the most unfriendly to it, the sphere of the exercises and possessions of the intellect. Music will be traditional in one Brahmin family, geometry in another.

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But again—the Brahmin has, as I said, the keys of caste. To him resort must be had for all matters of purification, which indeed are constantly arising. He was, indeed, at one time far from monopolizing the ordinary functions of priesthood; on the contrary, in the old Hindoo system, the officiating priest appears as an inferior personage altogether. And this is quite consistent with the character of the creed itself. The highest devotee, the yogi, is one who foregoes all outward observances, who is absorbed in meditation upon the godhead, until he at last becomes united to it, ridding himself from the

Silpa sāstra, (which, however, he maintains to have been chiefly confined to the subject of architecture), were according to some thirty-two, and according to others sixty-four in number—the fact being, as he afterwards shows, that there were thirty-two principal, and thirty-two subordinate treatises, the titles or authors' names of which are still preserved in memorial verses. Only fragments of them, however, appear now to remain. The cause of this disappearance he attributes to this—that Hindoo architecture, sculpture, painting, &c., having been for ages confined to the lowest castes, this class, “perhaps jealous of the Brahmins, whose sacerdotal authority they have always opposed with a spirit of independence,” or fearful of competition in their trade, concealed the sacred volumes, until the technical terms contained in them have become unintelligible to the Brahmins themselves.

PART I. dreary progress of transmigration from shape to
Races. shape during millions of years. And to this day
LECT. III. the so-called "outcasts" have their special priest-
hoods.

Let us now cast a glance from the Brahmin downward throughout the scale of caste.

I have heard the nature of the caste system thus tersely expressed : Every higher-caste man is entitled to "lick" a lower. I dare say this is a very fair practical definition of its effects ; though in some cases the very act of inflicting punishment would pollute the high-caste man by close contact with the low. Hence, in cases of extreme disparity, the lowest castes are in some districts absolutely excluded from the highways. But we must beware of confounding the effect of the system with its principle. What has maintained the caste system for 2,500 years is evidently something much deeper. It is for the Hindoo the witness of a Divine Order in Society. Through it, every individual man has his appointed place in the social scale, and that place one appointed by the gods themselves. He may be cramped in it ; but in the feeling that it is divinely his, there must lie a ground of rest and trust of which the mere savage is incapable. The picture of a divine order which the caste system shows forth, may be a very false, and vile, and mischievous one ; I believe it is. But let us beware of tearing it down until we can effectively show a truer and nobler one in its place. There is nothing more abhorrent to me than the idea of caste and privilege. Yet I tremble to hear men speak of "trampling down," of "trampling out" Hindoo caste. I feel it is better for the Hindoo

to look upon the lying Brahmin as the head of the social body, than to sink into the belief that there is no head at all, no body, nothing but a mass of putrefying matter, and writhing worms. And until we are able to point him to a living Christ, until we can carry with us a truly social Christianity, I can see no other result which could flow from simply trampling out caste,—if, indeed, it were possible to do so.

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Apart, however, from this higher principle, it is undeniable that the strict hierarchy of caste makes this main appeal to human selfishness and pride: "Every man but the very lowest has in me some one legally below him; some one whom he is entitled by law to look down upon and despise." And it makes this appeal to human instincts of fellowship: "Every man through me is a member of a little society of his own within the greater one." Although caste does not strictly coincide with trade, and, in the higher castes especially, several employments are carried on by men of the same caste, or the same employment by men of different castes,¹ still it does so coincide practically in the main: you have castes of weavers, castes of tailors, castes of fishermen. Now the fellowship of trade is a strong one, even among ourselves, and produces an exclusiveness very analogous to the effect of caste among the working classes. Attempt to bring them practically to work together, and you will often find it difficult to persuade the shoe-

¹ Mr. Rickards says, "I have myself seen carpenters of five or six different castes, and as many different bricklayers, employed on the same building. The same diversity of castes may be observed among the craftsmen in dockyards, and all other great works."—*Rickards's India*, Vol. I., p. 32.

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maker that he has anything to say to the condition of the baker, or the sawyer to that of the tailor. But, suppose that shoemakers and bakers, sawyers and tailors, were in the first place hereditarily such ; that, in the next place, each one had a certain definite, legally recognised station of superiority or inferiority as respects the other ; that by reason of his station as shoemaker, baker, &c., he was governed by certain definite legal usages ; that he was entitled to certain definite legal privileges, varying from those of any other class, and you will be able dimly to perceive the strength of fellowship which is given in India to each link in the social chain of caste.

But this is far from all. I said that any higher-caste man could thrash a lower one. Vast practical privileges are nevertheless connected with this inferiority itself. Pollution, you will observe, is never reciprocal. The high-caste man is defiled by the low ; never the low-caste man by any higher one. Now the consequence of this is, as I have pointed out before, with respect to the Brahmin, that the higher you ascend in the scale of caste, and the heavier weighs the burthen of possible pollution, the greater the straits to which the high-caste man is put to preserve his purity. Highest of all, the Brahmin must cook his own food, draw his own water,—so must every high-caste man,—when surrounded only by men of lower caste, whose very shadow thrown across his food, their glance cast into his pot, let alone their touch, would be pollution. The low-caste man, then, enjoys a practical freedom, which goes far to compensate for his inferiority. He may freely enjoy the whole fruit of

the services, of the labours of any higher caste ; whilst they, in many respects, are debarred from enjoying the fruit of his. The consequence is singular. The high-caste man finds it his advantage to perform menial offices for the low. And, inasmuch as food, in almost any system of material religious observance, constitutes the main source of pollution, Brahmins become the objects of pre-eminent demand as cooks, in regiments, for instance, or in the household of wealthy natives. They can cook for every man, whilst no one can cook for them ; the food proceeding from their hand is always pure.

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Hence it is that, so far as I can make out, the caste system, which appears to us so oppressive, so monstrous, so inhuman, weighs hardly at all upon the bulk of the Hindoo people. It has interwoven itself so completely with all their habits, with their whole life, that they do not feel its pressure. Its observances have become a sort of birthright of the respective castes. An uncle of mine in Southern India asked some men of the lowest castes why they always deposited their offerings on a particular stone outside of the temple. "It is our caste," was the answer. "But why do you not enter the temple?" "It would not be our caste,—our fathers never did so." No other answer could he get. This stone outside the temple, and the right of offering upon it, were a sort of property in the low-caste men ; something which was their own, which no one else would dare to interfere with.

That great oppression is nevertheless exercised upon the very lowest castes, I have no doubt whatever. Is it otherwise in any country ? Is

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there any where the poorest, filthiest, most ignorant, most despised, are not also subject to innumerable outrages and injustices from which those above them are exempt? But some of the lowest castes have, at all events in Southern India (and I dare say the same would be found to be the case in the north), a strange sort of protection. They are feared, as well as hated and reviled. For they are believed, and believe themselves, to be possessed of powers of witchcraft. They threaten the high-caste oppressor with spells and curses, and he believes them capable of inflicting such. Of course, the belief carries with it the chances of occasional outbreaks of terrified superstition, wild and maddened into revenge. A few unaccountable deaths of high-caste men are laid to the door of a low-caste man, as the result of sorcery. The higher castes perhaps take arms; the offender is seized, burned perhaps by a slow fire, a whole family massacred, a caste perhaps expelled from the locality. I am speaking here of outrages which take place in the underground depths of Indian society, far below the very realm of European justice. No native officer of justice, being of a higher caste than the sufferers, would deign to take notice of them; the European magistrate remains wholly ignorant of them; the European landowner who has spent his life in the very neighbourhood, only hears of them by the merest chance.

Observe, moreover, that this strange social hierarchy does not correspond with a hierarchy of civil power. Especially under Mahommedan princes, but not exclusively so, there are number-

less instances of low-caste men rising to the highest offices in the state. I have said already that the Mahrattas are essentially low-caste. Yet the last great Hindoo sovereignty was that of the Mahrattas; Mahratta princes have been foremost on the Indian scene till within our own days, all of them probably with Rajpoots and Brahmins in their employ. In our own Sepoy regiments, the Brahmin may be a private, a low-caste man his native officer. In military matters, the principles of military obedience will be regularly enforced by the one, obeyed by the other. Once off duty, caste resumes its empire, and the high-caste man exacts his due tribute of respect from the low-caste. At the same time, it must not be denied that the presence of low-caste men in regiments tends to keep out the higher ones.¹ We see in the present struggle, that the Bengal army is generally composed of high-caste men; the Bombay, and especially the Madras, of low. The outbreak, so far as it is Hindoo, is pre-eminently and avowedly one of the high-castes.

What is most singular, however, perhaps is yet to be told. Hindooism, which seems based upon caste, is yet so strong that it can afford to

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¹ Sir Charles Napier gives a striking instance, in which, in 1845, six high-caste Sepoys deserted with arms and ammunition, leaving for their brigadier a letter containing a statement of oppressions by the native adjutant, native captain, and native sergeant-major, as the cause of their desertion. We love and honour our European officers, they said, "but they do not know what goes on. We are not allowed to complain. We are high-caste men, our oppressors are low-caste, and we will not bear the gross abuse they heap upon us and on our wives, who are good and respectable women." — *Life and Opinions of Sir Charles Napier*, Vol. III., p. 337.

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throw it aside altogether. It has monasteries—an institution borrowed, indeed, probably from the great Buddhist heresy—in which caste is disregarded; the heads of which, at all events, frequently not Brahmins, claim absolute obedience from their followers. Its individual devotees, Gosayens or Fakeers, often spurn caste in the most pointed way. And would you see what comes of the renouncing of caste, when there is no higher principle to put in its place? Take the following picture from a little work by an English civilian, illustrative of contemporary manners in and about Benares, and published in this country in 1849 :—

“The most loathsome sight at the Ghats (river landing-places), are the ‘Aghorpunt fuqueers’ (Anglice, Ogres), practical philosophers, who affect to disbelieve that there is any difference between things, and who avow that any difference depends upon the imagination. A cuff or a kick is as immaterial to them as a blessing. They go about *in puris naturalibus*, with a fresh human skull in their hands, (off which they had previously eaten the putrid flesh, and from which afterwards with their fingers scooped out the brain and eyes,) into which is poured whatsoever is given them to drink. They pretend to be indifferent whether it be ardent spirits or milk, or foul water. Their food is the first thing that offers, whether it be a putrid corpse, cooked food, or ordure. With matted hair, blood-red eyes, and body covered with filth and vermin, the Aghorpunt is an object of terror and disgust to everybody. . . . I once saw a wretch of this fraternity eating the head of a putrid corpse, and as I passed by he howled and pointed to me; and then scooped out the eyes and ate them before me. . . . A magistrate took up a monster of this sort, drinking liquor out of a bloody human skull. He was in a fearful state of intoxication, and had a kind of Malay crease, a spiral dagger about a cubit long, a blow from which would have been death. . . . On referring to the records of the office, it was ascertained that the wretch had been thrice imprisoned in jail—for rape, for assault amounting almost to homicide, and for being a vagrant.”¹

¹ “The Revelations of an Orderly,” by Panchkouree Khan.

The Dabistan is full of similar instances, the principle of which is indeed latent in almost all Hindoo philosophy, and in the Siva-worship in particular.

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III. We now come to the third great characteristic of Hindooism,—its municipal institutions, as embodied in what has been called the village system.

The caste system deals with the person. The village system deals with the soil ; and yet deals with it, so to speak, in an essentially personal way. The leading principle of it is this,—that the occupants of a given space of land are no mere aggregation of human units, but an organized body, to which certain functionaries are necessary, which enjoys, as a body, certain rights over the soil. The particular organization of that body, the particular number, particular offices of those functionaries, the particular rights of both over the soil, may infinitely vary. But from the gates of Calcutta to the farthest extremity of the peninsula, except where tracts inhabited by aboriginal tribes may intervene, traces at least of this system may be found subsisting, after the lapse of ages, after numberless inroads and conquests. Everywhere the land is primarily not the land of Jack and Tom, as with us, but the land of a given village ; even though within that community Jack or Tom should be entitled to rights of what we should call absolute ownership. Everywhere Jack and Tom (the names are, of course, absurd as applied to Hindoo custom), instead of being mere individuals, connected perhaps with each other only as ratepayers, at best as members of a given church, are members of an

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actual community with a definite head. Everywhere that community has certain definite officers,—not merely churchwardens and overseers,—but representing all those functions which appear to be most essential to village life. First, is the Headman, representing the whole community as towards the Government; next, is the accountant and notary, keeping a description of all the village lands with the names of holders and terms of holding, and the accounts of individuals and of the village, drawing up deeds, writing letters. Then the police-officer, not a mere paid watchman, but a member of the village, hereditary, as I have said, in his functions; enjoying as the price of them a certain definite amount of land.¹ The priest, often a Brahmin, is another of these officers; hereditary in like manner; in like manner holding the priest's land. The schoolmaster, often also the astrologer (though in other cases they are distinct functionaries), is another. And do not suppose that this is an office which has fallen into desuetude; quite the contrary; I understand none has been more permanent. In every Hindoo village which has retained anything of its form, I am assured that the rudiments of knowledge are sought to be imparted;² that there

¹ Sometimes these functions are divided between several officers. One seeks and gives information of crimes and offences, and escorts and protects persons travelling from one village to another,—a second acts only within the village, and guards and helps to measure the crops;—a third, more properly the boundary-man, preserves the limits of the village, and gives evidence concerning them in case of dispute.

² But where the village system has been swept away by us, as in Bengal, there the village school has equally disappeared.

is not a child, except those of the outcasts (who form no part of the community), who is not able to read, to write, to cipher; in the last branch of learning they are confessedly most proficient. The need of astrology in a village community you will perhaps hardly perceive. The astrologer, however, has to keep account of lucky or unlucky days for all manner of operations; and you will judge that his astronomical skill can be of no mean character, when I tell you that part of his duty is to prepare an almanack every year. The money-changer and silversmith assists the headman, assaying all money paid. The smith is another village functionary, together with the carpenter, the barber, the potter, the leather-worker, and such other tradesmen as the necessities of the village may require; including, it may be, the tailor, washerman, cowkeeper, physician, musician, minstrel (who is also generally the village genealogist), and in the South of India the dancing-girl;¹ in other parts even a "superintendent of tanks and watercourses" becomes a component part of the village system.

It is only the hereditary character of these functions, and their connexion with the tenure of land, which can explain the wonderful permanency of the village system. It varies, of course, infinitely in its details. The functionary who is here paid by the ownership or from the

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¹ The list of village functionaries given by Elphinstone varies from that quoted by Rickards from a Government Report, Vol. I., p. 517. The one I have given is compounded of both. Many details as to the village system will be found in General Briggs's work on "The Land-tax of India," and in his evidence before the House of Commons Committee on the "Growth of Cotton in India" in 1848.

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produce of a given field, receives elsewhere a certain share of the general produce,—every twentieth handful of grain, or the like,—or even a money fee. The village corporation again, as Elphinstone shows, is often distinct from the landholder, or the landholding body,—the village landholders, who have under them permanent and temporary tenants and labourers, besides shopkeepers. Still, it is probable that the joint ownership of the village lands by the village community, must have been originally the rule throughout the whole of India. Of course not only the joint ownership, but the idea of the village community itself, has been wholly swept away in many instances, partly in more. But even in these, it lingers yet in the speech and minds of men ; it clings, as it were, to the soil. Even where the functionary has disappeared, his land retains the memory of his functions. The “schoolmaster’s field,” the “watchman’s field,” never disappear from the village books ; and the restoration of them to their original purpose is always hailed as an act of justice.

Now consider the orderly, organic, living character which is impressed on Hindoo society by the permanence of such a system. So long as it remains untouched, India, by whatever despots ruled, is but a mass of little independent states, tiny constitutional monarchies ; within their own spheres, however limited, self-acting, self-governing. In no other way, I think, can we explain the abiding passiveness of the masses as towards political revolution, the general absence of insurrection properly so called amongst the Hindoos proper. This people of slaves, if only left to themselves,

are in possession of the most perfect municipal freedom. They want nothing from any higher state, so long as it wants nothing of them.

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The value of the village system is surely best shown by this,—that after trying almost every conceivable system of administration in India, we are reverting almost everywhere to the principle of recognising these communities and dealing with them as such. “The best feature of the Indian village system,” says Mr. Raikes, “is to be found not so much in the unity of the brethren, which can hardly be expected to last for ever, as in the policy which admits a severalty of interest, without destroying the unity and continuity of the parent holding. Long heads and honest hearts had those old village worthies who devised a system of rural polity which, in the northern parts of India at least, has stood alone, unchangeable amidst change, orderly amidst disorder. . . . One great object is to maintain every man in possession of the share in the village to which his birth has entitled him; another is to provide for a separation of interests when needful, without a disturbance of the common responsibility of the tribe.” (Raikes’s “Notes on the North-Western Provinces,” pp. 44-5.) Hence, as Lord Metcalfe says in an oft-quoted passage, “If a country remain for a series of years the scene of continued pillage and massacre, so that the villages cannot be inhabited; the scattered villagers, nevertheless, return whenever the power of peaceable possession revives;—a generation may pass away, but the succeeding generation will return. The sons will take the places of their fathers, the same site for

PART I. the village, the same positions for the houses,—
Races. the same lands will be occupied by the descen-
 LECT. III. dants of those who were driven out when the
 village was depopulated.”¹

Lastly, I would observe that the working of the Hindoo village system and its completeness are greatly assisted by an institution, if not Hindoo in origin, yet spread over well-nigh the whole of India, which appears, perhaps, only second to our jury as a means for obtaining justice. I allude to the *Punchayet*, which is in fact little else than a jury regularly of five, but often much more numerous, and deciding the fact and the law. And whatever may be the fraud and chicanery of the Hindoo before our tribunals, I have been assured by men from opposite ends of India that the working of a *punchayet* fairly selected and sworn by binding oaths (for this seems a very important point) is generally most satisfactory.

A few words should now be said of the three great forms of religious worship which appear to have sprung from Hindooism, and still co-exist with it in India,—Buddhism, Jainism, and the Sikh faith.

Buddhism, as I have said before, is reputed to be the creed which numbers the largest crowd of votaries. From all that we can make out, it is an offshoot from Brahminism, dating from about 600 years before our era. Buddha is recognised by the Hindoos themselves as one of the avatars of Vishnoo. The headspring of the

¹ A pleasing picture of a Hindoo village community, answering to the above descriptions, but from a quarter of India totally distinct—Guzerat—will be found in Mr. Clarkson's "India and the Gospel," p. 19 and following.

religion undoubtedly was in India; its headquarters lie still on the outskirts of the country; in Ceylon to the south, but, above all, in Nepal and Tibet to the north. It was formerly very prevalent in India, Southern India especially, as is witnessed by a number of ancient Buddhist monuments, scattered over nearly the whole face of the country. A great struggle seems to have taken place, in which Brahminism remained triumphant, and Buddhism was well-nigh expelled the country; lingering now chiefly, I suppose, on the slopes or at the foot of the Himalaya. But it is of importance to British Indian history, as being still the creed of the people of Burmah, with whom we have been twice at war.

As to what Buddhism really is, I must refer you to Professor Max Muller, and to his articles in the *Times*, since reprinted as a pamphlet, under the title of "Buddhism and Buddhist Pilgrims." I cannot say that I understand it. Those who know it best tell us that its last word is—nothingness, Atheism. But it cannot be so in practice. Atheism never was and never will be a religion; never can bind a nation together. Buddhist nothingness or *nirvana* is indeed well exemplified, for instance, in certain Chinese priests of the monastery of Tsan Tsing, of whom Mr. Fortune gives an amusing account in his last work,¹ and who really seem to have sunk to the very bottom of the scale of humanity. Nevertheless, we find Buddhism the religion of the keen-minded, industrious Chinese; of the manly, generous Tibetans; of the warlike, cruel, ambitious

¹ See Fortune's "Residence among the Chinese," pp. 268 and following, and 406 and following.

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Races. can have interwoven itself with three national
 LECT. III. societies so dissimilar, and each of them so re-
 markable.

As a social reform, indeed, it is easy to see why it was so dangerous to Brahminism; why the latter must have made such efforts to exterminate it. Sakya-Mooni, the founder of Buddhism, was no Brahmin, but a Raja's son. Buddhism abolishes caste, not for the devotee only, but for the whole flock; and the sense of its social superiority over Brahminism in this respect is very perceptible in Buddhist nations. It is related, that when the Burmese went to war with us, they used to say of the English, that they contrived "to conquer and govern the black foreigners, *the people of castes*, who had puny frames and no courage," but that they had never fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese.

We find, again, that whilst Buddhism has been met by Brahminism as a foe to be extirpated, a nearly cognate system, Jainism, has been allowed to subsist. Jainism (of which, indeed, we know as little as perhaps we understand of Buddhism) seems at bottom to be Buddhism, only admitting the caste system. It appears to rest equally upon the doctrine of periodical appearances of certain god-men, called here Tir-tankaras—a name seemingly equivalent with the Buddhist "Tathagata," applied to their Sakya-Mooni. We are told that the Jains are extremely numerous in the north-west, towards the seaboard.

The third great Hindoo heresy is that of the

Sikhs. Its origin is, however, comparatively recent, as it dates only from the sixteenth century, its founder being a pious man of the name of Nanuk. The development of the system has, however, been very singular. Nanuk's doctrine seems to have been a sort of Hindoo Quakerism, inculcating forgiveness of injuries, non-resistance to wrong, tolerance of all worships. It was persecuted, and its votaries grew by degrees to be a people of marked warlike character, and the founders of the last great native monarchy, that of the Punjab, which we have seen destroyed in our own days. They, too, have abolished caste, although retaining one marking Hindoo peculiarity,—respect for the cow. They have holy books (the “Adee Grunth”), not written, like the Vedas, in an obsolete language, the monopoly of a priesthood, but accessible to all classes. They are fanatically devoted to their religion, ardent proselytizers. Their chief seat of worship, since the subjection of the Punjab, is a temple in the Deckan, standing in a Sikh *jagheer* or estate, obtained from a Mussulman sovereign, the Nizam. Those who have read Major Cunningham's valuable work on this people, will hardly believe that they have not yet a part to play in Indian history. At any rate, their deadly antagonism to the Mahommedan makes them valuable allies to us in the present struggle. When I remember what foes we once found them, however, I cannot help fearing lest we should place too exclusive a reliance upon them now.¹

¹ See Appendix C.

LECTURE IV.

THE MAHOMMEDANS.

Differences between Hindooism and Mahommedanism—The latter essentially a Creed of Conquest—The two Currents of Mussulman Immigration—The Mahommedans everywhere a leading Class—Hindoo Temptations to embrace Islam—Mussulman Temptations to make Converts by force—Reaction of Hindooism upon Mahommedanism—Mussulman Religious Reform—Sketch of the Political History of Indian Mahommedanism: Kasim—Mahmoud of Ghuznee—The House of Ghor—Timour—Baber and his House—The Nizam the last Witness of Mussulman Power in India.

PART I. LET us pass to the next stratum of Indian
Races. society—the Mahommedan.
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 and Mahommedanism it is difficult to conceive. The one is immemorial; loses itself in myths. The other is the latest born of the great religions of the world; affiliates itself on Judaism and Christianity, as it were, only to look down upon them, and upon all the faiths of the past. The one is self-wrapped, inexpansive, occupying in the main the same limits now as it occupied hundreds of years ago; the other is essentially expansive, enthusiastically propagandist. Though it no longer threatens to conquer the world, as it did during the seventh and eighth centuries—one might almost say as late as the sixteenth—it is yet perpetually spreading, subjecting new races to its

sway. In Africa, the remarkable nation of the Pullos or Fellatahs are daily ravaging, conquering, settling new heathen territories in the Prophet's name ; in the extreme east, an equally remarkable race, the Malay, would be carrying on very nearly the same process, were it not thwarted by European antagonism. In India even it is daily advancing ; so that whole castes, such as the fishermen of Malabar, have been going over to it within the memory of living man. The one is essentially intolerant, uses the sword freely to convert ; the other is essentially tolerant, never strikes but in self-defence—is goaded at times into desperate efforts, but soon relapses into quiescence. The one is essentially levelling, knows no permanent distinctions of rank among the followers of the Prophet ; the other is based upon social inequality, upon the strictest subordination of class to class.

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Though the Aryas were originally invaders, still the whole spirit of Hindoo law is one of settlement—a purpose which its village system admirably fulfils. The Mussulman rule, on the contrary, is fundamentally one of conquest. The lives of infidels and their property are forfeited by resistance to the true believers ; if their lives be spared, it is the clemency of the victor which can alone regulate what of their fortunes may be left to them. Hence, while according to Hindoo law, the share of the sovereign in the produce of the land is fixed at from one-fourth to one-sixth, the Mahommedan conqueror has been accustomed to exact one-half, besides requiring, by way of ransom for the lives he spared, a poll-tax from every individual heathen. We

PART I. shall have to see hereafter what frightful consequences this law may bring forth, when enforced
Races. with the systematic regularity of Europeans,
LECT. IV. and by strangers whose homes are beyond
the sea.

We must distinguish again two main currents of Mussulman immigration. The first, by land from the north-west, would consist chiefly of Afghans and Beloochees, now and then of Tartars from the north, or of Persians from the still farther west. But the western coast of the Deckan has for centuries received a different immigration, by sea, of Arabs from Arabia proper or from the shores of the Persian Gulf. Nay, the next lectures will show us Mussulman pirates from Abyssinia, possessing themselves of strongholds on the coast, requiring to be expelled by English arms. To this day the army of the Nizam numbers 15,000 pure Arabs, besides others of the same blood and name, but born in India. These are less highly esteemed as soldiers, and receive lower pay. The so-called Mapillas of Malabar (a name curiously transferred from the Christians, who originally came from the same quarter) appear to be equally in the main of Arab blood. Besides pure Arabs, indeed, Mussulmen of the Abyssinian coast have become settled in India. The Abyssinians of Zinjirah, or more properly Zanjira, figure conspicuously in the early history of the East India Company; and three small territories on the western coast, granted by a Mahratta chief to an Abyssinian "Siddee" in 1791, are still held by his representatives under the British rule. I may indeed say that these "Siddees," employed as porters, form the most dangerous

class of Mussulmen at Bombay, as being alike ignorant, brutal, bigoted, and of great physical strength.

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You might say that the Mussulman population are rather, to speak geologically, a scattered bed of alluvial sand or gravel than an actual stratum in Indian society. But they nevertheless constitute an element in it, of which it is difficult to over-estimate the importance. Reckoned variously at one-eighth or one-sixteenth of the total population of India, or, in other words, at from eleven to twenty-three millions, they are everywhere, except, I believe, in the Punjab, either the leading, or on a level with the leading, caste. They were reckoned, some years back,¹ to compose fifteen per cent., or rather less than one-sixth, of the Bengal Native Infantry, more than half of the cavalry, the leading arm; more than one-third of the Madras Native Infantry, nearly the whole of the cavalry; forming, however, only a fraction (about one-sixteenth) of the native infantry of Bombay. In that important body of troops, called the Nizam's Contingent, they compose nearly the whole bulk of the cavalry,—the best paid service in all India. The only Hindoo castes that can struggle with them for equality, are the Rajpoots in the North, the Nyrs in Malabar, the Brahmins everywhere. Hence there is a constant tendency for the lower-caste Hindoo to embrace Mahommedanism, and so lift himself in the social scale. It is not that the Brahmin will treat him with one whit less contempt; but he becomes a member of a fellowship which is ever aspiring to the highest place, though its

¹ See Major Hough's "India as it ought to be," pp. 37-8.

PART I. actual position in the scale varies with locality.

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And there is something, no doubt, in Mahomedanism which, reckoning at the lowest, tends to bring out a rough animal freedom. The Mussulmen of India, though many of them undoubtedly of pure Hindoo blood, are generally men stronger built, of ruder health, of bolder manners, of more reckless courage; whilst the Koran, with its sublime pictures of God's power, its noble proclamations of God's unity, appeals also to the higher nature in the Hindoo. It was the Koran which brought the worthiest specimen of the modern Hindoo, the Brahmin Rammohun Roy, out of polytheism; and, notwithstanding his subsequent acquaintance with Christianity, he is said never to have got much beyond the Koran in his faith to the last. To this day Mahomedanism has its converts among the higher classes of Hindoos as well as among the lower. The present able minister of the Nizam, Salar Jung, whose firm friendship for us has hitherto kept under insurrection in his sovereign's country,—the sleeping Mussulman volcano, so to speak, of the Deckan,—is, I believe, the son of a high-class convert from Hindooism.

The Mussulmen are scattered as landholders and traders over the whole face of the country; though forming nowhere the bulk of the agricultural population, except in parts of Oude, and in the Punjab, where the cultivators of the soil are, if I mistake not, Jâts converted to Mahomedanism. Other Mahomedan settlements are those of the Afghan race in Rohilcund; the population of the north-west extremity of the Punjab must also be of this blood; these were,

no doubt, the men of whom late Indian advices told us, that in the valley of Swât, some Hindoo mutineers were seized by the villagers, and by main force circumcised and compelled to profess Mahommedanism. The valley of the Indus, again, with its population of weakly Scindians of the fat river basin, of warlike Beloochees of the desert and of the hills, is also Mahommedan.

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Observe that, in dealing with Hindooism, the Mussulman faith has a strange advantage. The one is essentially, at the present day, a system of outward observances; the other is connected with an indelible outward sign. Hence, while the water of Christian baptism, though willingly received, may be washed away, if the Brahmin chooses, by ritual observances, there is absolutely no return into the Hindoo community for the man who has once, though by sheer outward force, received the outward mark of Islam. You will see thus what a strong temptation there has always existed in India for the Mussulman to make converts, literally at the point of the sword; what a strong temptation there has been for the sword-made convert himself to cleave to the faith of the conqueror. By no fault of his own,—it may be in spite of his utmost efforts,—he finds himself suddenly and for ever an outcast from the society to which he belonged; neither money nor penances can ever restore him to his former *status*. And he finds himself, also, suddenly placed in a new society, rejoicing in its strength and in the assurance of God's favour, offering him a full share in the privileges which it has won and in those which it aspires to win. Is there really any option which he can exercise between

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the two? Accordingly, India offers many samples of tribes avowedly Hindoo in race, but forcibly converted to Mahommedanism. In some instances, it is right to say,¹ the ties of blood have proved stronger than the decrees of caste, and the unwilling converts have been allowed still to intermarry with their Hindoo kinsmen.

The practice of forcible conversion has, however, told against Mahommedanism itself, as it was right it should do. Hindooism has greatly reacted upon Mahommedanism in India. The Hindoo system, unable to repel it, has, as it were, opened to receive it. Though there may be rivalry on the Mahommedan's part with the highest castes of all, still those castes themselves acknowledge him as a member of the system, as having unquestionable caste superiority over the castes below themselves. The Mahommedan has himself adopted many caste prejudices, especially in matters of food, and as towards the Feringhee, or European, by whom he holds himself generally polluted. In direct opposition to the practices of his brethren farther west, and to the true Moslem law, he will accept food from the high-caste idolater, and not from a Christian. He has even, as Major Cunningham shows, come to recognise four classes of true believers, answering to the four castes of the Hindoos, and in which Hindoo converts take their place, according to their original position in their own system. Devotees of either worship attract to themselves equal popular veneration. The Rajpoot will often invoke the prayers of a living Mussulman saint. At the lowest extremity of the religious

¹ Among the Rajpoots.

scale, it is often difficult to distinguish the Mussulman from the Hindoo cynic. The picture I have already given of a devotee of Siva at Benares, might do for many a Mussulman dervish.

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This approximation between the high-caste Hindoo and the Indian Mussulman, alone explains the great anomaly of the present military rebellion, that although it is essentially a Mussulman revolt,—plotted with reference to events in Mussulman history,—gathering to Mussulman Delhi as its natural centre,—taking the representative of the old Mussulman emperors as its nominal head,—it is yet unquestionably mixed up with high-caste Hindoo, but especially with Brahmin, feelings and pretensions. Nevertheless, that such a combination should have been possible testifies to some enormous blunder, to say the least, on our part. For the last half century has witnessed the growth of an exactly opposite tendency. Beyond all doubt, there has been a revival of Mussulman enthusiasm, of Mussulman fanaticism. A movement closely analogous to that of the Wahabees of Arabia has sprung up, aspiring to reform the corruptions of modern Mahomedanism. I shall have to tell you something, in later lectures, of Syed Ahmed, the ex-trooper and ex-robber, who set up for a Mussulman reformer some forty or fifty years ago, and, from 1826 to 1831, waged religious war against the Sikhs; of the tumults which broke out after his death in Lower Bengal, through the oppression of the Hindoos by his followers; of the fanatical Mussulman pamphlets which were in circulation in Oude some years ago; of the disturbances in that country arising

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out of them but a short time previous to the annexation of the country, and how they were only quelled by separating the Hindoo from the Mussulman soldiers, and leading the former alone against the Mussulman insurgents. When we read these accounts of yesterday, and are told that to-day a mixed soldiery of Mussulmen and Hindoos, drawn almost entirely from that country—Oude—where such fierce religious feuds between the two creeds were so lately raging, are united in arms against the Christian, we shall feel, I think, perfectly astounded, and shall feel inclined to look for the causes of the insurrection somewhat deeper than the level of newspaper rant. (See Appendix D.)

You will have observed that I have said nothing of Hindoo political history. The reason is, that whatever it may have been, it has left but few traces in our own days; none scarcely worth gathering up. Some offshoots of past Hindoo politics still exist in the west of the table-land of Hindostan, amongst the princes of Rajpootana, otherwise called Rajasthan. Here the Raja of Oodipore, first of Hindoo sovereigns,—who, in Hindoo toys, is always represented as much bigger than any other king,—claims descent from one of the mythic astral dynasties; whether as a child of the Sun, or of the Moon, I really do not recollect. But, beyond the explanation which these traditions afford of the hereditary pride of the Rajpoot,¹ they seem to have little present value for us. There is, indeed,

¹ It should be observed that the princes of Rajpootana have all remained stanch to us in the present struggle. For a long time the Kotah contingent was the only one

a history of ancient India in course of being discovered, of which, hereafter, we may see more clearly the bearing upon the present times. The accounts of the Greeks, and especially the conquests of Alexander the Great, shed one broad gleam of light across Hindoo legends; and the history of the kingdom of Bactria which he founded, gradually unearthed (I speak literally) in its coins, and the clue which the imported Greek art of the coiner affords from henceforth, constitute one of the most curious tales of modern science and archæology, until it links itself with a still more curious one, that of the deciphering of Buddhist monuments, which in turn, aided by Buddhist legendary history, carry on the clue from that period; for Buddhism, indeed, it was which seems to have given the Hindoo both historic monuments and religious sculpture.¹

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It is quite different with Mahommedanism. This stands, like Christianity, sharply out in time at a given epoch; has a central era to which all is referred, from which all is reckoned. It has always had its historians; its present condition lies everywhere, more or less, in its past history. You cannot understand its relation to the history of British India, unless you know something of its relation to the history of India, before an English foot was planted in the country.

It is nearly twelve centuries since India first

which mutinied,—the Kotah people being comparatively low-caste. The Jodhpore legion has, however, lately followed its example.

¹ See Mrs. Speir's book for part of the facts above alluded to. Mr. Masson's "*Ariana Antiqua*" is, however, the great repertory of Græco-Indian archæology.

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heard the Mussulman war-cry. Fifty years had not elapsed since the death of Mahommed, when the Arab horsemen were seen in Mooltan. Sind was next invaded,—Mooltan subdued under Kasim, in 711. A Turkish dynasty founded by Alptegin supplied, however, the first great Mussulman conqueror in Northern India, Mahmoud of Ghuznee, 997-1030 ; but even his conquests comprise little more than Guzerat and the Punjab. The tenth and most famous expedition to India, was marked by the storming of the celebrated fortified temple of Somnath, in Guzerat, dedicated to Siva, whose idol was daily washed in Ganges water, brought for the purpose, while the revenues of 10,000 villages were devoted to the support of the temple. When the temple was taken, the Brahmins offered large sums for the ransom of the idol ; Mahmoud broke it with his mace, and a flood of jewels poured forth, far exceeding in value the ransom offered. It is the gates of this temple, reputed to be of sandalwood, which were brought back from Ghuznee by our troops on the second Afghanistan campaign, and formed the subject of a proclamation by Lord Ellenborough, much talked of at the time. The object of the measure was to give witness that the tide of victory had, after more than eight centuries, flowed back for the first time from India westward. As an act of defiance to Islam, it may not have been without its bearing on the present struggle.

It was nearly two centuries later, however, before a new dynasty, that of the house of Ghor, took Delhi, afterwards the seat of the Mussulman power in India, and spread their conquests

as far as Bengal (1176-1206). The Deckan was invaded towards the close of the thirteenth century (1294), and by 1310 the Mussulman arms had been pushed as far as Cape Comorin.

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One of the great disasters of Indian history falls at the close of the fourteenth century. In 1398, Timour the Lame,—Timourlenk or Tamerlane,—invaded Northern India, defeated the then reigning Mussulman sovereign, and sacked and burned Delhi, massacring all the inhabitants. The sack lasted five days, Timour remaining a tranquil spectator, and celebrating a feast in honour of his victory.

From Timour was descended Baber (1504-1530), the founder of the greatest Mussulman dynasty of India,—that of the so-called “Great Moguls” of Delhi,—under the shadow of whose name the present warfare is waged against us by the insurgents. The names of his five first successors, Humayoon, Akbar, Jehangeer, Shah Jehan, Aurungzebe, (1530-1707,) are household words in India, and are connected with innumerable palaces, mosques, monuments, public works still existing, with innumerable tales and legends present to every mind, with many practices and customs still prevalent. Akbar, through his ministers, was the author of the financial system, which still forms the substratum of our own. The reign of Shah Jehan is always referred to as the standard era of Mogul prosperity. The height of Mogul splendour was reached under Aurungzebe,—although his long reign (1661-1707) was also the period of the decline of the empire.

The great feature of Aurungzebe's reign indeed,

PART I. the rise of the last Hindoo power—that of the
Races. Mahrattas—is so inseparably connected with the
LECT. IV. later history of British India, that it will be
necessary to dwell upon it hereafter in some
detail. Suffice it here to say that, under Au-
rungzebe's successors, the decline of the Mogul
empire was rapid. The vice-royalties, and other
inferior governments even, into which it was
parcelled out, became first independent, then
encroached upon each other and upon the parent
empire, until eventually they were all, with one ex-
ception, absorbed into British India. Mussulman
invaders from without helped internal dismem-
berment, and imperial Delhi, in the course of the
eighteenth century, was sacked by every enemy
in turn—by Persian, by Mahratta, by Afghan.

The last effort of Mussulman life was the
foundation of the new Mussulman kingdom of
Mysore in Southern India, which extended Mus-
sulman sway over provinces, such as Malabar,
that had never been subjected to it. Its
splendour, however, was as brief as it was vivid ;
two reigns compose its whole history. With
Hyder Ali it rose ; with Tippoo Sultan it pe-
rished, in the last year of the eighteenth century.

The only fragment of Mussulman rule which
subsists is the country of the Nizam, once the
Mogul viceroy of the Deckan for the emperors ;
an English ally, almost an English vassal, yet sur-
rounded by a turbulent and dangerous Mussul-
man population. There may be a few more petty
Mussulman chiefs still ruling under British protec-
tion, such as the Nawab of Bhopâl in Hindostan.

But every Indian Mussulman yet looks for-
ward to the day when his creed shall rule India.

LECTURE V.

THE CHRISTIANS AND THEIR ALLIES.

The Syrian Christians—The Armenians—The Portuguese—Sketch of their History—The Dutch—The English—The Dares and their Glory—The French and their Influence—Difference between the English and other Nations: the English not Settlers—English Phariseism towards the Half-Bloods—Insignificance of the permanent English Element—The Indigo-Planters—The Presidential Cities—Simla and the Hills—Coffee-Planters of Wynaad, &c.—The floating English Population; Civil and Military Services—Railway Men and their Value—The Weakness of the English Element our own doing—Tendency of the Insurrection to evolve a Christendom in India—The Native Converts—Obstacles to Conversion—Christian Allies: The Jews—The Parsees—The Parsee Knight and Baronet.

I HAVE called the last stratum of Indian society the Christian. But the application of the term here is indeed wholly inappropriate. The Christian elements in India form a most various group of deposits; a local vein running deep in the soil; a line of boulders and shingle fringing the sea-coast and the banks of one great river; a top-dressing scattered, more or less, over the whole face of the country.

The earliest of these, however curious, has never had any political importance. In the earliest ages of the Church, Christianity is said to have been carried by St. Thomas to India. Whether this be true or not certain it is that

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within the first few centuries of our era, Christians affiliated to the Syrian Church became settled on the western coast of the Deckan. Their descendants—probably now much dwindled in number, and now reckoned at 100,000, called the Nazarene or Syrian Christians—are to be found at the extreme south of the peninsula, chiefly within the protected state of Travancore, keeping up their own ritual and connexion. Their creed is very debased, their social position generally very degraded. Yet the very fact of their existence is such a protest against the pretended catholicity of the Romish Church, that the latter has been unremitting in her endeavours to absorb or extirpate them, never sparing persecution when feasible. Two or three years back, the London papers contained a quaint touching appeal by a prelate of this community, who had never been allowed to reach his flock.

There is another race of Christians, the Armenians, which I may place at once with the Syrians as equally ancient in point of ritual, although of later date in their arrival,—the first Armenians in India having been, I believe, like the Parsees, of whom I am about to speak, refugees from Mahomedan persecution farther west. Whilst the Syrian Christians do not differ in colour from other natives, are fixed to the soil, follow all usual handicrafts and employments, and belong to the lowest classes of society, the Armenians of India are, as elsewhere, rich merchants and money-dealers. frequenting large cities. I do not know whether their presence in India is to be regarded as an advantage. Since Russia obtained, unnoticed by Western Europe, the cession

of the Armenian holy city of Etchmiazin, and made a Russian functionary of the Armenian patriarch, we are justified in regarding almost every Armenian as a Russian agent or spy.¹

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We now come to a Christian element, at one time of considerable political importance in India, though now of very little—the Portuguese. The actual Portuguese territory in India at the present day, is confined to three settlements on the western coast, Goa, Damaun, and Diu, comprising an area of 1066 square miles, with a population of 313,262 souls. But in addition to these last fragments of a once mighty empire, you will find all along the coasts, but especially the western one, in Bengal, and indeed more or less now, in the wake of the English, all over India, a population often scarcely to be distinguished in hue from the Hindoo, but professing the Roman Catholic faith, affecting the European costume, and the speaking of European languages, and bearing the name of Portuguese. The lowest

¹ Russophobia and hydrophobia I look upon as diseases equally. The Afghanistan campaigns have had at least the advantage of teaching us, by very costly experience, what difficulties the Russians would have to surmount in reaching India. Still, it will be as well for us to keep steadily in mind that the invasion of India, at an earlier or later period, is the problem of Russian military science, the fixed idea of all Russian officers; and that, slowly and steadily, Russian dominion is forcing its way to the south-west. When General Perowski started for the Khiva campaign, he took with him a supply of preserved meats for two years; and the Russian outposts are now 300 miles beyond Khiva. After General Perowski's return, his house was the regular resort for the agents of the Russian Government in India; a numerous body of men of all classes, many of them natives of the latter country. I state these things on the authority of an ear and eye-witness, who had ample opportunities of observation.

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of these are boatmen and servants, the latter valuable as free from caste prejudice ; the highest, merchants and subordinate Government officials, —uncovenanted servants, as they are termed. The designation of “ Portuguese ” is, in fact, nearly equivalent to native Roman Catholic ; for many of them have certainly not a drop of Portuguese blood in their veins, many of them do not speak a word scarcely of any European language. This is owing to two causes ; first, that when Portuguese dominion was at its height in India, its career was one of forcible proselytism ; second, that at all times it has been the practice of the Portuguese, as a matter of course, to make their slaves and servants members of their church.¹

The Portuguese made their appearance in India with Vasco de Gama, in 1497, and, like the Syrian Christians, on the west coast first. Calicut, then the capital of a powerful Hindoo prince, called the Samooree, or Zamorin, was the first place at which they landed. This first expedition has the good fortune of having been celebrated in one of the famous poems of the world,² the *Lusiad*, or rather *Lusiads*, of Camoens. The Portuguese had the good fortune to meet at their first arrival with a Moor of Barbary, who became their interpreter, and seems to have favoured his Christian neighbours against the Hindoos, and even against his own co-religionists. Camoens

¹ A so-called “ Portuguese ” ayah, or nurse, of my mother’s, a perfectly invaluable servant at all points, was a native child who had been bought by a Portuguese lady of Madras from starving parents during a famine, and made a Christian of, besides being trained up with the utmost kindness.

² One greatly over valued, in my judgment.

describes the population of Malabar as divided into two classes, both of which exist there to this day—the Nyrs and Puliars, treating the Brahmins only as priests of the Nyrs. He mentions the curious Nyr custom of the wife being common to the brothers of the same family; the regular intercourse with the coast of Arabia; describes in glowing terms the splendour of the temples and palaces of Calicut. Both Hindoos and Mussulmen appear to have distrusted the new comers, and plotted against them; but they were suffered finally to leave with a rich freight.

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This was enough to stir up European cupidity. In 1501, Cabral was sent out with a fleet of thirteen sail and 1,500 men,—discovered Brazil by the way,—wrung from the Zamorin a treaty and permission to establish a factory, quarrelled with him after awhile, bombarded Calicut, and eventually left for Europe, after having concluded treaties with the rulers of Cochin and Cannauore, leaving factors at the principal posts of the coast.

Having once obtained their footing, the Portuguese soon put forward the papal bull, which bestowed upon them all countries east of a given longitude, claiming the submission of the native princes by virtue of it, as the Spaniards in America. They were fortunate enough to be able to enforce such pretensions by means of two great men, Alphonso de Albuquerque (1510-1515), and Joao de Castro. The Portuguese power was chiefly naval, and was not confined to India. Albuquerque not only occupied Goa, making it the capital of the Portuguese empire in the East, but Ormuz in the Persian Gulf on the one side, and Malacca

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on the other ; studding moreover with military posts and factories the whole intermediate line of coast. He succeeded in making himself popular among the conquered peoples ; the native princes went into mourning at his death ; and long after it, we are told that Mahommedan and Hindoo, when injured by his countrymen, would resort to his tomb and complain to him of their wrongs. Joao de Castro, celebrated by his relief of Diu, and his conquests in Guzerat and the Deckan, was an equally eminent ruler, under whose peaceful and just sway the Portuguese empire in the East attained its highest pitch of greatness. Though it never seems to have extended very far inland, it had spread by this time over the whole west coast of India, including Ceylon, and over the shores of the Persian Gulf ; and besides forts and factories on the east coast of India, it comprised many of the Eastern Islands, with Malacca. In the course of their Indian conquests, the Portuguese had found themselves opposed not only by the Hindoo, especially the Mussulman inhabitants, but by fleets from Arabia and Egypt. The Venetians entered into a treaty with the Sultan of Egypt against them, and supplied timber from the Dalmatian forests for ship-building in the Red Sea, whence twelve men-of-war sailed against them with Mameluke forces on board. After the conquest of Egypt by the Turks, the rivalry remained the same ; and one of the leading events in the history of Portuguese India, is the defence of Diu against the Turkish armament sent by Sultan Selim (1538).

Their own rapacity and cruelty at last ruined them. A general massacre of the native seamen,

under Mesquita, on the Malabar coast, and other outrages, raised formidable insurrections on the mainland, in Ceylon, in the Eastern Islands. They were expelled in several instances, and from the period of the annexation of Portugal to Spain, in 1578, there is a rapid decline of the Portuguese power. The lowest depth of misgovernment was realized in the early part of the seventeenth century, when the Governor-General Azevedo received orders from Madrid, to put up every office in the Government, civil or military, to public auction. The latter part of their history is solely filled with religious struggles and squabbles. Jesuitism had made its appearance in India, early in the sixteenth century, with Francis Xavier, the noblest representative it ever had. The Portuguese rule became gradually identified with the progress, not only of Romanism, but of Jesuitized Romanism. The Jesuits were intent on making converts,—were altogether unscrupulous as to the means of doing so, passing themselves off, for instance, as Hindoo devotees. The number of their converts was indeed considerable,—greater by far than that of the converts of any other religious body in the East. But the so-called Portuguese of India are generally (except in the higher ranks) a degraded class, unwarlike, untruthful, unfaithful. Goa is a wreck of greatness, and all the Portuguese territories are thinly and wretchedly peopled.¹

Next after the Portuguese, the Dutch made

¹ There are, however, evidences of great prosperity under the Portuguese rule in territories conquered by the Mah-rattas, and now held by us. See Mr. Savile Marriott's evidence before the Cotton Committee of 1848, queries 4686-4698.

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their appearance in India. Houtman, a Dutch merchant, in jail for debt at Lisbon, was able to send over information respecting the East to his countrymen, then in the midst of their war of independence. They paid his debts in return ; formed a Dutch East India Company on his arrival in Holland (1594), and sent out a fleet, which appeared in the Indian seas in the year 1600. The oppression exercised by the Portuguese caused them to be received as deliverers in the first instance, and by various naval successes they contributed much to impair the prestige of Portuguese power. But the Dutch are proverbially hard masters, and their own oppressions soon deprived them of native sympathy. The Dutch East India Company is, however, remarkable as having first set the example of seeking territorial acquisitions rather than trade, and as having been shown up as a model by the English East India Company to its servants, on this account. The chief Dutch settlements were at Cochin and Negapatam, in the extreme south, both west and east, and at Chinsurah, on the Hooghly, in Bengal, besides a large territory in Ceylon, and an empire in Eastern India and its islands. Their remaining settlements in India were sold to the East India Company some years back.

The English trod close on the heels of the Dutch. Of the rise of the English East India Company I shall speak in my next lecture.

The Danes followed next. The chief seat of their operations was in Tanjore, on the south-eastern coast ; their chief settlements were eventually Tranquebar, on this coast, and Serampore, in Bengal. These settlements, like the Dutch,

were sold to the East India Company some years back. But the history of the Danish element in modern Indian history cannot be so easily disposed of. Notwithstanding some early excesses, the Danes have a glory of their own in that country, which is not that of conquest. It was they who introduced Protestant missionary enterprise into India; and if Protestant Christianity seems at last to have taken local root amongst the natives in Tinnevely, at the extreme south of the peninsula, theirs must be the credit. The blessed name of Swartz,—to whom the Mahratta Rajah of Tanjore bequeathed the guardianship of his infant successor,—is surely a brighter ornament to Danish history than the fame of any Clives or Warren Hastings's to our own. Even at a much later period, the Danish settlement of Serampore was the head-quarters of English missionary enterprise; our missionary press had to take refuge under a foreign flag from godless Calcutta, with its press fetters.

The last comers of European nations in India were the French,—the only people, besides the Portuguese, who have retained any settlements there. The French East India Company was founded in 1664, more than a century and a half after our connexion with the country: it only remained in existence for about a century. Yet the brilliancy and importance of French relations with India has been out of all proportion to their success. Until the latest times, nothing can be more imbecile than the conduct of the French authorities in India; nothing more remarkable than the efforts of individual Frenchmen. During a brief period of splendour,

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three eminent men—Labourdonnais, Dupleix, Bussy—rendered French influence paramount in the Deckan. When it was broken up, various handfuls of Frenchmen attached themselves to native princes, and organized for them magnificent armies; so that it came to be a staple article in our treaties with conquered sovereigns, that they should employ no foreigners, especially in their military service, without our consent. It might almost be said that, up to the latest period, our worst enemy in India has been French discipline, as applied to native troops; for, although of the leading officers in Runjeet Singh's service—Allard, Ventura, Avitabile, Court,—two only were Frenchmen, yet all were educated in that great French school of war, the campaigns of the First Empire; and the splendid Sikh armies which they had trained, as we well know, though ill commanded, or not commanded at all, were almost a match for our own.

The French possessions in India are insignificant, and for the last hundred years nearly have invariably been resumed without trouble whenever needed, on the breaking out of a war. They consist of Pondicherry, the capital, with Karikal, on the eastern coast of the Deckan, Mahé, on the western coast, Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, and Yanaon, I really do not know where. But, unlike the Portuguese, they are populous and flourishing. With an area of less than two-fifths of the Portuguese, their population amounts to nearly two-thirds.¹ Pondicherry is a brilliant

¹ French territories—area 188 square miles, population 203,887; Portuguese—area 1066 square miles, population 313,262.

little French capital, the gaieties of which are the envy of neighbouring English stations. The native population is lightly taxed, thriving, and Frenchified to an amusing degree, we are told, the French language being almost universally diffused.¹ The only blot upon the credit of the French rule here is, that Pondicherry is the chief seat of the French cooly emigration to the West Indies,—a process commencing almost invariably with kidnapping or inveiglement upon our own territories, and terminating, not indeed in the larger French islands, but in French Guiana (as I have from an eye-witness), in actual slavery of the most oppressive character.

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To complete the summary of European elements in India, we must take into account a sprinkling of men of all nations, some traders, some mere adventurers, some connected with the Romish Church, Italians, Swiss, Germans, Swedes, &c. &c. Italian Jesuits pervade the Romish priesthood; Swiss watchmakers are to be found at the Presidencies; our own General Van Cortlandt, now doing such efficient service, is the son of a Dutchman, by a Sikh mother, as was the late Dyce Sombre, the disgraceful story of whose marriage and lunacy gave such food for scandal some years back, of a Frenchman or German by another native.

If we turn back now to the consideration of the English element in its present condition, we shall find one marked contrast between it and the other European elements of modern origin. Portuguese and Frenchman, Dutchman and

¹ See Appendix E.

PART I. Dane, all for the most part settled in India as a
Races. home. They brought up their children in the
LECT. V. land of their adoption ; they assimilated, were it
only for mere selfish comfort's sake, each a surrounding little group of natives to themselves. Not so the Englishman. His home has always been behind him ; he has come to India to make money, and to return then to his own country ; sending to it as pledges, I had almost said as hostages, his lawful children, sometimes his natural ones. Hence the Englishman has unquestionably amalgamated less than any other European with the native races, has less understood their habits and feelings, less imbued them with, moulded them to, his own. Hence, again, where there has been mixture of blood, there has been a stigma attached to it. The Anglo-Indian contempt for "half-castes" is pre-eminently English. The Portuguese are almost universally a mixed race. The French, so exclusive in the West Indies, in the Mauritius, at Bourbon, as towards the mixed offspring of the white and the negro,—have never shown the same feeling towards the half-bloods of native Indian origin. That insolent English Phariseeism, which tends, I fear, to increase rather than to diminish,¹ is weakening, instead of strengthening, English influence in India, by driving many of the half-bloods of English parentage to the lower level of the Portuguese, instead of raising them to that of their own fathers. There is a somewhat considerable extent of intermarriage be-

¹ Captain Hervey, of the Madras army, rejoices to think that marriages of English officers with half-bloods now seldom occur, and speaks of the latter in terms which are a disgrace to his otherwise right-minded work.

tween the poorer English "Eurasians," or "East Indians," or "Indo-Britons," as they are called, and the Portuguese, tending to Romanize the offspring of the former.¹ Others, however, have retained their English *status*, and are members of great commercial firms, or have been even admitted into either service. But as wrong always generates wrong, the unjust prejudice of the Anglo-Indian towards the East Indian drives the latter to assert still more strongly his distinction from the native. I know no Englishmen who are so apt to speak ill and contemptuously of the natives, who can apparently so little enter into their feelings or appreciate their grievances, as those who have native blood in their veins. Missionary operations among them have, however, of late years, in part corrected this evil, and Mr. Clarkson states that "in Bengal alone, during the last fifty years, fifty missionaries have been appointed" from among the Indo-Britons.²

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When one attempts to measure the amount of any permanent, rooted English element in India, one is lost in amazement at first at its insignificance, as compared with the vastness of our dominion there. At the extreme north-east, in a quarter quite removed from the sphere of general Indian policy, a comparatively recent acquisition, Assam, is the seat of a growing tea-cultivation,

¹ Shameful to say, half-castes are sometimes suffered to grow up Mahomedans. The Portuguese of the extreme north-east are also lapsing into Mahomedanism. See "Bengal as a Field of Missions," p. 68.

² So painful, however, is their condition, that some years back they petitioned Government to be admitted—to the rights of Englishmen, is it supposed?—no, to those of natives!—(Taylor & Mackenna's "India," p. 579).

PART I. under independent English superintendence. To

Races. the west of this tract lie the indigo districts—

LECT. V. Tirhoot especially,—stretching between the Himalayas and the Ganges. These maintain the only distinct class of resident Englishmen in India, beyond the inhabitants of the three Presidencies ; —a class very variously appreciated ; treated generally by civilians as utterly lawless, accused by missionaries of manifold oppressions ; deserving, I dare say, much of the blame from both quarters ; and yet, I believe, perfectly invaluable as a body of independent English settlers, little inclined to cringe before any official, and having their interests more or less bound up with that of the land in which they reside. Their staple indeed is not one of a nature to promote steadiness of character, the uncertainties of the indigo market being proverbial in India, so that indigo-planting is a species of agricultural gambling, like hop-planting with us ; and in former times, I believe, the planters were indeed very nearly a set of mere rough outlaws ; but their character has improved of late years ; and the worthier amongst them exercise a most beneficial influence upon the surrounding natives, and often practise a singular kind of quasi-patriarchal justice amongst them. Speaking the language, familiar with the usages of the country, they are resorted to voluntarily by the natives as arbiters in their disputes. I have heard of one of them, not many miles from Calcutta, who has grown to devote a day or two in every week to this benevolent purpose.¹

¹ The above fact was stated to me from personal experience, by a member of the Calcutta bar. I can easily believe

The next centres of English population are the Presidencies so-called,—above all, the metropolis of India, the City of Palaces, Calcutta, enjoying, like its sister Presidencies, the invaluable boon of English law, and, therefore, in despite of all disadvantages of situation, one of the three fit homes of independent Englishmen. It is in these three Presidential cities,—Calcutta, Madras, Bombay,—that we find the most enlightened, manly specimens of native character. Here native and European learn to feel that they have common interests, and to act in concert. The political approximation between the two races is, however, far greater at Bombay, the Presidency most open to European influence; here it is that the sharp edge of caste prejudice has been worn lowest down. The reverse is the case at Madras.

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Rising, however, already to Presidential importance as an abode for Englishmen, and certain to exceed it ere long, is the hill district at the foot of the Himalayas, where Simla is situate. Here scenery of the most magnificent character, and the most delicious European climate, tempt Englishmen to residence; here schools are growing up, in which Indian children will receive their education, instead of being sent home to England. Unfortunately, Simla is as yet only a resort of officials, invalids, and idlers; the worst of all possible materials for a population which, physically and morally, shall be wholesome and

it, as precisely the same thing has happened to a relative of my own, a cinnamon-planter, in Southern India. Be it observed that in these cases the landowner is resorted to, instead of the regular magistrate, simply because the landowner's justice is the better of the two.

PART I. strong. It seems as yet to be only a sort of
Races. Indian Cheltenham, or Leamington, on a some-
 LECT. V. what scattered scale.

What Simla is to Northern India, that other hill-ranges are to other portions of it—Darjeeling for Calcutta, the Mahableswar hills for Bombay, the delightful Neilgherries for Madras. In all such localities a resident English population is springing up; but everywhere, unfortunately, one of much the same luxurious, indolent, boneless stamp as that of Simla.

When we have spoken of the tea-districts of Assam, the indigo-districts, the three Presidencies and the Sanatoria in the hills, we have nearly exhausted the localities of resident Englishmen. A few, however, are scattered here and there through the country, as cotton-planters, as owners of sugar estates. To the south, in the hill-district of Wynaad, a small group of coffee-planters has of late years been growing up; whilst near Tellicherry an estate of five districts has been held by relations of my own,—the first English land-owners in Southern India,—for the last half century, as a spice plantation. Besides these may be mentioned a few hundred English, missionaries chiefly, however, perhaps, in the large towns, with the exception of the Tinnevely district. The Bâle Missions have also various stations, including a farm on the south coast; but the reputation of these Germans, which once stood very high, is now, I am told, at least in the south, greatly impaired.¹

¹ In one instance of recent date, with which I am intimately acquainted, the mischief-making of one of these missionaries, a converted German Jew, has nearly altogether

We now come to the floating English population of India, that connected with the civil and military services. The European soldiery of India,—the most important class at this time,—are divided between the Queen's troops and the few European regiments in the immediate service of the Company; all whose native forces are, moreover, commanded by European officers. This military element is of the most nomadic character, three years being the regular period for a change of cantonments; the only exception being that of the *employés* at the centres of military administration, and, to some extent, of the officers who obtain what is called "political" employ; though even those expect to rise by change of locality. The civil service, though rather less erratic, is yet much more so than would be imagined; and I know of one important district in Southern India where three assistant collectors, each for the time the *only* European official in the country, have succeeded each other in less than three years, not one of them speaking a word of the local language.

A last class of Englishmen in temporary employment in India, but many of whom will probably remain in the country, is that connected with the recently introduced railways, and I might add, steamers. The present insurrection has shown the value of the stalwart arm of the English navy, and of the cool vigour and practised eye of the English railway engineer, as the Sontal revolt did indeed already two years ago. The only regret one can feel is, that the number

marred half a century of efforts for the raising of a low-caste population to civilization and Christianity.

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of such auxiliaries to the regular forces is not tenfold greater ; nor can we forget at such a juncture, that several years back already Colonel Cotton, now chief engineer in Madras, published a most suggestive work, tending to establish that what India needed was many cheap railways soon, and not a few dear ones in slow succession. Had his plans been followed up, it is incalculable what advantages might have accrued from them under present circumstances. It will be seen that the up-country railway terminus at Ranee-gunge is upwards of 150 miles from Dinapore, the seat of the last great mutiny ; whereas the cheap railways advocated by Colonel Cotton might have been pushed ere this into the very heart of the disaffected districts, perhaps as far as Delhi itself. Now railways,—besides being generally a mighty witness of resolute, abiding occupation,—are as yet an almost exclusively European appliance. The mutineers could at best have destroyed them ; and being cheaply constructed, the loss by such destruction would have been comparatively trifling ; whilst so far as they were available at all, they would have been available to us. And the value of a many times larger number of English railway engineers, clerks, and navvies, would have been beyond price. It may not be too much to say that Colonel Cotton's cheap railway system might have crushed this insurrection at once, or, even have precluded its outbreak.

When we thus review the infinitesimally small number of Englishmen in India, as compared with its vast population of 180 millions, the conviction must rise strong upon every one, that

we cannot possibly hold it, otherwise than for a time, as a hostile, or even merely as a conquered country, passively submitting to our rule, but incapable of actively supporting it. The English element in India must be largely increased; above all, the permanent element, the settler element. And let us remember, that we have only ourselves to thank if it is so weak. It is only of late years that Englishmen have been allowed to settle at all in that country; only of late years that Englishmen have been freed from the liability to be expelled at any time, simply because it pleased the local Government to expel them. We have laboured with our eyes open, as it were, to build upon the sand, to blast away every fragment of rock upon which the edifice of our power might have stood firm.¹

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One benefit, indeed, may be looked forward to as likely to result from this insurrection. It must tend to create, or rather evolve, what has

¹ Long after the legal prohibition against European settlement had been removed, it was practically maintained by the Company's policy. A Queen's officer, an old comrade of a near relative of mine, applied some years back for a grant of forest land in India, meaning to settle. His application was favourably received. But the Indian land-tax being, at its full rate, prohibitory of at least European comfort, he asked what remission would be allowed him. He was told that there could be no remission; that the land must be assessed at the full rate, and that the Government claimed, moreover, all the timber upon it.

Of course he gave up all thoughts of settling in India, and went with his family to New Zealand.

The Mussulman Nizam,—one of the stock examples of native misgovernment,—allows six years' exemption from taxation to all who will reclaim waste lands. The boon is largely acted on.

"Look on this picture and on this."

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been wanting in India,—a Christendom. Wrapping in one common danger the Englishman, the Portuguese, the half-blood or East Indian, and the native Protestant convert, it must draw them together, break down barriers which have separated them, bring out more strongly the points of contact between them. The native converts to Christianity I have not even numbered amongst the distinctively Christian elements, so uninfluential are they for the most part. Mr. Kaye, in 1852, gives the total number of native Christians, Protestant converts, in India, (deducting Ceylon,) at 91,295, of whom 74,512 are in the Madras Presidency alone, where Tinnevely is situate. The difficulties under which even these have been gathered together would be almost incredible to us in England. It is only in our own days, and by the efforts of living men, that native Christians in the south have been exempted from the special Mussulman poll-tax on infidels, which was regularly levied on all new converts! We Englishmen, pretending to be Christians,—not of design, I verily believe, but from sheer stupid ignorance and routine,—actually levied a tax upon conversion to our own faith!¹ It was still worse as to official employment. The nomination to the lowest posts lying of course with the native officials, who are Hindoos or Mussulmans, no native Christian

¹ It is only of late years that the native law has been so far altered, as to exempt the convert from being absolutely disinherited by the fact of his conversion. An instance occurs in Sir Charles Napier's life, in which he found an English official in Scinde levying the infidels' poll-tax on Hindoos.

had,—I might probably say has,—a chance of being employed. As respects the higher offices open to the natives, the only instance I ever heard of in which such an office was conferred on any but a heathen, or a Mussulman, was that of a gentleman of old Portuguese lineage and pure blood, who was appointed to a native judgeship in the south.

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On the other hand, it is difficult for one to doubt that at one time the Protestant missionaries sent out to India, with some noble exceptions, were below par in point of intellect and attainments; ignorant, on the one hand, of all that relates to India, to its people, and to its worship,—with a blind horror of idolatry, coupled with an utter incapacity of penetrating to the half-truths which lie beneath it; on the other hand, inobservant of, perhaps to a great extent religiously indifferent to, the social condition of the people. Those days have, I trust, gone by, and I hail above all, with hearty satisfaction, the Bengal missionaries' late petitions for inquiry into the grievances of the cultivator, extracts from which will be quoted hereafter. Let the natives once understand that Christianity is no mere system of abstract dogmas, but Christ's kingdom of order and of peace, of truth and of righteousness, of gentleness and of love, and that good news will not find their ears closed, their hearts dull, any more than it did those of the West Indian slaves.

Still, even now, I believe the missionaries have conferred one immense boon on India by means of their schools. It is an admitted fact, that those schools have grown—had grown at least—

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to be better attended by native children than the Government ones. The thirst for education is awake already amongst the natives, and will assuredly become daily more intense. But their own good sense has taught them that the godless Government schools, which stimulate the intellect without training the spiritual nature of man, may unmake Hindoo and Mussulman quite as much as the missionary school, but that the latter, at least, endeavours to make of its pupils dutiful children and honest men ; and they have shown that they prefer a worthy half-Christian to a clever, worthless sceptic.¹

There are two numerically small communities in India which, though distinct from the Christian in creed, deserve, nevertheless, rather to be treated in connexion with that body than with any other, as being bound up with it, in great measure, by common interests—the Jewish and the Parsee.

Both are, as it were, erratic boulders, lying deeply bedded in the soil. The native Jews of India seem to have reached the western coast in the early centuries of our era, about the same time as the Syrian Christians. Their chief seat is in and about Cochin, in the far south ; they are divided between “ White Jews ” and “ Black Jews,” the latter being native proselytes. They follow agriculture and all other ordinary employments ; but,

¹ It is not to be denied that native Christians have, in many instances, been a disgrace to the name. “ Can there be a greater set of rascals, drunkards, thieves, and reprobates, than the generality of native Christians ? ” asks Captain Hervey, in his “ Ten Years in India,” published in 1850. But this state of things is, I fully believe, fast passing away. I shall have to revert to this subject.

like their brethren in many other parts of the world, are filthy in their habits; their colony at Cochin is noted for the prevalence of leprosy and elephantiasis. But in addition to these, there is a remarkable body of from five to eight thousand men in Western India, who call themselves "Sons of Israel"—*Beni Israel*—and do not even intermarry with the other Jews.¹ These are remarkable as entering freely into the army, where they make good soldiers; but I believe they are confined to the Bombay troops. The Jewish race in India is one which seems not to have received so much attention as it deserves. In addition to these native Indian Jews, there are, of course, as in other countries, foreign Jews, English and others, scattered through the great cities, and busy in their usual money-getting pursuits. The mercantile keenness of the natives makes them, however, formidable competitors, and the Jews in India enjoy by no means the financial pre-eminence that they have attained in Europe.

The Parsees or fire-worshippers are a remnant of the old Persian race, one of the oldest branches of the Indo-Germanic family, whose holy language, the Zend, is near of kin of the Sanskrit of the Aryas. They fled to India in the seventh century, as a refuge from Mahommedan invasion and persecution, and have always been looked upon with peculiar aversion by the Mussulmen, probably as being the most civilised and able of the heathen nations which they had to encounter. In the "Arabian Nights," or any other book of popular Mussulman literature, you will fre-

¹ See an account of them in Mr. Clarkson's "India and the Gospel," p. 97 and following.

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quently find "accursed Guebres," or fire-worshippers, playing a prominent part in all the wickedness and devilry of the tale.

The Parsees have thus inhabited India for more than the last 1000 years; and although some of them are scattered throughout Western Asia, India is their chief home,—the one in which they have risen to wealth and consequence, especially under our rule. Having kept themselves strictly from intermarriage with the Hindoos,—showing their Caucasian origin by their light complexions¹—free from the fetters of caste—they have shown a singular aptitude for co-operation with the Europeans. Parsee partners are frequently admitted into Anglo-Indian firms; the Parsee population of Bombay have adopted almost all our usages, perhaps all our luxuries. And whilst in India they gather chiefly together at the Presidencies, Bombay especially, under the protection of English law, (though they are also to be found up the western coast, at Surat, and, I believe, throughout Guzerat), yet they show no disinclination to follow our flag wherever it may be planted in Asia; at Aden to the east, at Hong Kong to the west. They are reckoned at 50,000.

The main means of their assimilation to ourselves has been, I take it, their very general study of the English language. Their own holy language, the Zend, in which their Bible of Fire-worship, the Zend Avesta, is written, was a dead

¹ The Parsee cast of countenance being somewhat Jewish, whilst the social *status* of the Parsee is higher in India than that of the Jew, it is said that Jews are apt to pass themselves off as Parsees.

language long before their coming to India, and is but indifferently understood even by their priests. The language they brought with them, the Pehlvee, a much later branch from the same stock, is in great measure obsolete also, and appears to be a quite unfit vehicle for the needs of modern civilization. By adopting English, they distinguish themselves from the Hindoos whom they despise, from the Mahomedans whom they hate, and raise themselves to the level of the conquering strangers. They have adopted it with so good a will, that not only is all their business correspondence carried on in English, but English is the language in which at least the younger generation of Parsees correspond in private.

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Active, energetic, independent, it is the Parsees especially who have leavened the native population of Bombay (the city) with that manliness and freedom which distinguish it so pre-eminently. Jealous of religious proselytism, they would certainly brook no legislative interference with their religion;¹ nor are there wanting a few of them who are disaffected to our rule. I believe, however, that, with trifling exceptions, they constitute the solitary instance in India of a native population in *active* sympathy and alliance of interests with ourselves.

They engage largely in all branches of trade;²

¹ They will even combine with the Hindoos and Mussulmen against missionary efforts. Mr. Clarkson mentions a remarkable instance in which a Mussulman at Surat was engaged to reconvert a Parsee youth who had become a Christian,—and succeeded in his efforts.

² A few of them enter the Bombay army; but the field of their activity lies generally in other directions, and their social position is also generally above that of the Sepoy.

PART I. but there is one great industrial calling which
Races. they have made specially their own in Bombay,
LECT. V. that of ship-building. It is well known that the
Parsee ship-yards can turn out excellent ships of
the largest dimensions, whether for purposes of
war or commerce ; and that it was in ship-build-
ing that the first Parsee knight and baronet, Sir
Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, made for himself that vast
fortune which he knew so nobly how to use.

PART II.

THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.

LECTURE VI.

RISE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY (1600—1743).

Formation of the first East India Company, 1600—Early English relations with India—First Voyages of the Company—It obtains the Imperial Firman to trade—State of India—The Mogul Empire never homogeneous—The English encouraged, to thwart the Portuguese—Sir T. Roe's Embassy, and his Advice to the Company—Indifference of the Native Princes to the Proceedings of the Christians—Tribulations of the Company at home and abroad—Progress of Trade and Settlement during the Seventeenth Century—Struggle for Existence at home at the close of the Century—Settlements of the Company in 1702—Further Progress to the middle of the Century—The Charter of 1732—The Development of the Company's Power the result of Native Weakness—Review of the History of India since the opening of relations with England—Aurangzebe—Insurrection of the holy old woman—Rise of the Mahrattas—Romance of Seevajee's life—The Mahrattas the champions of Hindooism—Aurangzebe's anti-Hindoo policy—His war of the Deckan—He destroys the native Mussulman monarchies—The plunder system of the Mahrattas—Aurangzebe's retreat and death—Disorganization of the Mogul empire—Nadir Shah's invasion—The Soobahdars—The Rohillas, Rajpoots, Sikhs, Jats—The Pirates—The Christians—The English not to be feared.

THE East India Company, of which we may very probably see, ere long, the extinction as a governing body, dates from the last day of the year 1600, when its first charter—or rather the first charter granted to any of the bodies which it now represents—was signed by Queen Elizabeth. Take notice at once that the term “charter,” as applied

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to the instrument by virtue of which the Company exists and holds sway, has long been quite inappropriate. A charter is a royal grant signed and sealed by the Sovereign, but for a length of time the so-called "Charter" of the East India Company has simply been an Act of Parliament from time to time renewed, like the statutes regulating Loan Societies, Tithe Commissions, and other bodies to which it is not deemed prudent to give a permanent sanction.

Ever since the reign of Henry VIII., the opening of a trade with India had been an object of English, as it had been of Spanish and Portuguese ambition. It gives one a vivid idea of the slenderness of English trade, and the narrowness of English wants, in those days, to read that a single Venetian ship, coming yearly, supplied England with Indian produce by the way of Venice; and that the wreck of one such vessel on the Isle of Wight (1518), was perhaps the first event that excited a popular desire for a direct trade with India. But the Spaniards held the Western Coast of the Atlantic, the Portuguese the Eastern. England tried in vain to open for herself new routes, by the North-west, by the North-east; Drake and Cavendish passed through the Straits of Magellan, traversed the Pacific, visited the Eastern Islands. Great Portuguese carracks, loaded with Indian produce, were taken by Drake, by Burroughes, and served to whet English longings to reach the mysterious land. Thomas Stevens, an English sailor, had indeed already done so. Sailing from Lisbon on board a Portuguese ship, he arrived at Goa in 1579, and sent home an account of his voyage, which

was published by Hakluyt. He had been followed overland by some English merchants, bearers of letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Kings of Cambay and China (1583). Imprisoned at Ormuz, they, however, not only pushed on to Goa, but to the very Court of the then Mogul emperor at Delhi, where one of them, Leades, a jeweller, remained. Another, Neuberg, died at Lahore on his return. About the same period, Fitch, a London merchant engaged in the Levant trade, visited Ormuz, Goa, Cochin, Calicut, Ceylon, Bengal, pushed on to Pegu, Siam, and Malacca, and returned to England in 1591. In 1589, the Queen received the first application for permission to trade with the East. In 1591, the first expedition was fitted out, but never reached. In 1599, the first subscription for a company was entered into, the charter for which, as I have said, was granted in 1600. At its outset, its operations were similar to those of the underwriters at Lloyds'. Every voyage was a separate venture, in which each of the associated merchants invested what sum he pleased. It was only after awhile that a "joint stock" was formed.

The first voyages of the Company were, however, directed not to India proper, but to the islands of Eastern India.¹ It was only in 1609 that the actual Indian coast was touched by Sir Hugh Middleton, whose voyage has lately been reprinted by the Hakluyt Society. But he was baffled by the Portuguese in his attempts to open a trade. A fleet which sailed the next year was

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¹ On its proceedings and acquisitions in this quarter I shall not dwell.

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attacked by them at Swally, near Surat, but came off victorious. It was favourably received in consequence at Surat ; and on the 11th January, 1612, the English received the imperial firman, empowering them to establish factories at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambaya, and Gogo. From this day, properly speaking, begins the history of British India. Our subject, however, divides itself into two parts, a positive and a negative ; how the power of the Company rose—how the native powers fell. And the latter part is, perhaps, far more important than the former. Had the Indian Governments possessed only the vigour of the Chinese, we might yet have been penned up in our factories of the coast. With the germs of decay which they contained, we must have overpowered them as soon as a conqueror arose amongst us, though we had only had foothold in a single Indian town.

The ruling power in India was now, as it had been for the last century, that of “the Great Mogul.” The Sovereign now upon the throne was Jehangeer, great grandson of Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty (1605-1628). His father, Akbar, had been the greatest of the Mogul sovereigns, the organizer of the Mogul system of administration. But you must not suppose that the Mogul empire was at any time a homogeneous whole. Under Jehangeer, for instance, the Mussulman vizier of Malwa, the Hindoo rajah of Bengal, were feudatories whose power bordered upon independence. The whole of the Deckan, divided between Hindoo and Mussulman princes, paid little more than a nominal allegiance, if so much. In Guzerat, the abo-

original tribe of the Kolees (whose habitual occupation, at present, as labourers on the western coast, has induced the application of the term "cooly" to the whole class) kept the whole population in terror by their depredations, until the Mussulman sovereign decreed their utter extirpation. The feudal Hindoo princes of Rajpootana were frequently in revolt. The Afghans made incursions from the north-west.

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Still, the "Great Mogul" was one of the powers of the world. Jehangeer would have laughed to be told that one of his descendants would, two centuries and a half later, be besieged in Delhi itself, by a handful of these newly-arrived islanders, to whom he was giving permission to trade at particular spots of his empire, with the chance of being treated if taken, not as a captive sovereign, but as a caught rebel. Their arrival, and the naval skill which they showed, were entirely acceptable. Those Portuguese, who still held so much of the western coast line of India, were troublesome to him. Any other set of infidels, Dutch or English, who might be a thorn in their sides, were welcome. After a second defeat of the Portuguese by the English, at Swally,—after receiving at his Court not only an agent from the trading company of the islanders, but an envoy, Sir Thomas Roe, from their king (now James I.), he increased his favours to them. They obtained permission to trade and have factories anywhere in his dominions, more particularly at Surat, in Bengal, and in Scinde (1614).

It is curious to observe the Crown and the Company thus in presence of each other in India, at the very outset of the Company's relations

PART II. with that country. Sir Thomas Roe warned the
History. Company against building forts, acquiring terri-
LECT. VI. tory. If the emperor were to offer him ten forts,
he says, he "would not accept of one." It was
an error, he insisted, "to affect garrisons and
land wars in India." The Portuguese were "beg-
gared by keeping of soldiers." The Dutch, not-
withstanding all their commercial thrift, were in
error in seeking "plantations here by the sword,"
—their "dead pays" consumed "all the gain."
If the Company wanted profit, let them "seek
it at sea, and in quiet gain."

Sir Thomas Roe preached to the winds; perhaps
he could not fail to do so. Trade in those days
was warfare; a commercial rival was an open
enemy; a fort was almost a necessary adjunct to
a factory. For a long time, the history of the
English traders is scarcely at all mixed up with
that of the country itself. The native princes
and rulers let the infidels drive their trade, fight
their quarrels, pretty much as they pleased.
Battles and treaties with the Portuguese, whose
power was indeed fast declining,—with the Dutch,
who were soon found to be worse foes, because
keener traders, than the Romanist Portuguese,—
the establishment of the Danes in Tanjore
(1624-5), to the exclusion of the English,—the
formation of a French East India Company,
(1664), or later of an Ostend Company, soon
extinguished—besides the setting up of factories
and the building of forts, and the obtainment of
privileges from native sovereigns, or the maltreat-
ment inflicted by them on the one hand, and on
the other the proceedings of rival English com-
panies, or individual English traders (the "inter-

lopers"); such for nearly a century were the great events and questions of the day for the Company. Considering what the trade of those times was, it must be admitted that they seemed to have some reason to dread the interference of competitive countrymen. The Indian sovereigns had no war-navy, exercised no police at sea. But when an offence was committed against their own people, they were not particular whom they punished for it. Towards 1635, the Company was put into the utmost state of alarm by the formation of a rival association under Sir William Courten, in which the king himself took a share. By way of trade, the new Company seized and plundered two ships of Surat and Diu, torturing, it was said, the crews. Whereupon the Mogul threw the President and Council of the old Company at Surat into jail, and confiscated the factory proper, for this crime of their rivals. At home, as unscrupulous as the Mogul, King Charles the First, being in want of money, proceeded to a performance which, had he to go into the Bankruptcy Court now-a-days, would weigh heavily against his chance of a certificate with Mr. Commissioner Holroyd. He bought all the Company's pepper on credit, sold it at a lower price for ready money, and didn't pay the greater part of the bonds which he had handed over for the price.

The position of the Company, it must be admitted, was a very difficult one. Whatever might be the profits of the Indian trade, building forts and factories is an expensive matter. New capital was constantly being wanted; but new capital could only be attracted by good dividends; and

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good dividends at once excited competition. Hence a constant stamp of duplicity on all the proceedings of the Company, which could hardly be avoided so long as its commercial privileges subsisted. For the shareholder's ear, for the capitalist's, there must be a golden tale of Indian prosperity. For the Crown, for Parliament, there must be a dark tale of losses, difficulties, dangers, rendering indispensable the maintenance of all existing privileges, the addition of new ones. Scarcely has the Company had time to prove its stock the safest of investments, when it has to prove itself almost on the eve of beggary. For, as I have said, besides the attempts of individuals to open up a trade for themselves, new bodies of associated traders were constantly forming to petition the Crown for a licence to trade with India. So goes on the old see-saw of trade, which we are so familiar with in our own day, competition producing amalgamation, amalgamation breeding new competition. A union was effected with Courten's Association in 1650, but in 1653 Cromwell dissolved the Company, and threw open the trade, though he restored the Company and its monopoly four years after. In 1656 the merchant adventurers obtained a commission to fit out four ships for India. They united again with the old Company in 1658, and for a time the Company's monopoly seemed secure. But the interlopers (sometimes encouraged by the Company's own servants) were a constant thorn in its side. Directions were given to seize them all and send them to England; their property was confiscated, some were not even sent home, but left to find their way, thus beggared, as they

could. This was, no doubt, slightly illegal ; on renewal of the charter at the Restoration, the Company obtained some of the attributes of sovereignty, in the shape of a power 'to make peace or war with any non-Christian states, and to send to England all unlicensed adventurers (1662). In 1684, powers of admiralty were conferred upon the Company, with jurisdiction to seize and condemn the ships of interlopers, and power also to raise regular troops ; and by favour of these enlarged privileges, interlopers were freely condemned and sent home as pirates. And the Company's servants, too, injured it by trading on their own account—a mischief, indeed, which dated from the very earliest times of its existence. Sir Edward Winter, chief servant at Fort St. George, when superseded on this ground, put his successor in confinement, and bade defiance for two years to his employers (1665-8). Towards the end of the century we are told that Bombay, from being a populous place, became almost a desert through misgovernment, and would have been abandoned altogether, if the English inhabitants could have obtained permission to return home. Foreign rivals, of course, were not scrupulous ; the Danes brought great obloquy on the English by committing piracies under the English flag in the Red Sea.

Still, amidst all these difficulties, the English flag creeps on during the seventeenth century. It makes its appearance on the Coromandel coast (1619). A piece of land is bought, a factory built, at Armegum near Nellore (1628). Privileges are granted by the King of Golconda ; permission is obtained to trade at Piplely in Orissa (1630).

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PART II. Fort St. George, near Madras, takes the place of
History. Armegum (1641); thanks to the skill of an
LECT. VI. English surgeon, a Government licence is obtained
for an unlimited trade, free of duties, in Bengal
(1651-2). Note this fact, for much will turn on
it. Fort St. George is erected into a Presidency
(1653-4); the establishments of the Company
are regularly organized, the President and Council
of Surat being at the head of all, with Fort St.
George and Bantam, in Eastern India, as subor-
dinate Presidencies; the factories of Bengal, as
well as of the Coromandel coast, being made
subject to the former (1658). The Bengal
factories spread inland, from Hoogly, already
occupied by the Portuguese, to Balasore and Cos-
simbazar (1662-3). Bombay, ceded to England
by the Portuguese, as part of the dowry of the
Infanta Catherine, is eventually handed over to
the Company, to be held in common socage, as of
the manor of East Greenwich, on payment of
10*l.* a year in gold, every 30th September, and
with it the Company receive authority to exercise
all political powers for its defence and govern-
ment (1668).

In 1685, the Bengal factories are important
enough for Bengal to be established as a separate
agency. Bantam is lost, and the seat of the
Eastern Islands' Presidency is removed to Fort
St. George. The seat of government on the west
coast is also shifted from Surat to Bombay in
1686, which is made a regency. But hostilities
now break out with the Moguls on both sides of
India. The Nawab of Bengal seizes the factory
at Patna; the English flee from Hoogly, an open
town, to Sootanuttee, near Calcutta (1686), and

although a truce is concluded the next year, the factories are only re-established in 1690, when Job Charnock selects a woody site for what is now Fort William. The village of Calcutta, so called from the goddess Kalee, is purchased the next year. Aurungzebe had, indeed, resolved to expel the English; Surat had been seized, the English agents and other subjects imprisoned (1689), Bombay besieged by the Abyssinian admiral of the Mogul, Masulipatam and Vizagapatam seized. An abject submission is tendered by the English, 15,000*l.* paid by way of fine, and orders are given by the emperor to restore Surat and withdraw from Bombay (1690).

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The struggle for existence was, perhaps, never worse for the Company than it was at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. A new charter, barely obtained by bribery, was forfeited by neglect within three months (1693). Merchants and manufacturers petitioned against the Company; the House of Commons inquired, found that 100,000*l.* had been distributed in bribes within a year, and durst look no further, so high and great were the recipients. The trade was in the first instance declared free; then a new rival company, called the General Society, obtained incorporation (1698). Competition was again followed by amalgamation, and in 1702-3 the two Companies became "The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies." In the deed of settlement we find an enumeration of the Company's settlements.¹

¹ The ports and islands of Bombay and St. Helena; the forts of Mazagon, Mahim, Syon, Syere, and Worlee, with

PART II. Its factories had now been pushed as far as
History. Agra and Lucknow; besides the island of Bom-
 LECT. VI. bay, and several small forts in its neighbourhood,
 it held, on the Malabar coast, the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry, Calicut, and Anjengo; on the Coromandel coast, "Fort St. George, at Madras, with the city and its dependencies (the population of which was reckoned at 300,000 as early as 1687), Fort St. David and its territory of three miles, containing several towns and villages," the fort of Vizagapatam; and, in Bengal, Fort William, at Calcutta.

Both before and after the amalgamation, the relations of the English with the Mogul authorities continued far from creditable. In 1700, Aurungzebe ordered the property of the old Company (called the London Company) to be seized, to enforce compensation for various acts of piracy and privateering committed against Mogul ships. In 1700, Sir Wm. Harris, going as an ambassador from the new Company to the Emperor, seized three members of the old Council and delivered them to the Mogul Governor, but ended by being three months detained himself. In 1703, again, Aurungzebe ordered both Dutch

the factories of Surat, Swallee, Broach, Ahmedabad, Agra, and Lucknow; the forts of Carwar, Tellicherry, Anjengo, and Calicut. . . . On the Coromandel coast, Chingu, Orissa, Fort St. George at Madras, with the city and its dependencies; Fort St. David and its territory of three miles, containing several towns and villages; the factories of Cuddalore, Porto Novo, Pettipolee, Melchelepatnam, Madapollam, and the fort and factory of Vizagapatam. In Bengal,—Fort William, at Calcutta, and the factories of Cuttanutty, Ballasore, Cossimbazar, Dacca, Hooghly, Malda, Rajmahal, and Patna."—*Taylor and M'Kenna's "India,"* App. 584.

and English, at Surat, to be seized, for acts of piracy against Mocha ships. The rivalry between the agents of the two Companies continuing after their amalgamation, Sir N. Waite, of the new Company, bribes the Mussulmen with 2,700*l.* to retain the servants of the old in prison. Madras shares the danger. It is blockaded in 1702, besieged in 1704, buys off the Mogul general for 2,500*l.*

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And still the English creep on. An embassy is sent to Delhi, and obtains, again through a surgeon's skill, important privileges from one of Aurungzebe's successors, including the power to purchase the zemindarship, or revenue farm, of thirty-seven towns (1715); although, indeed, there were at first no willing vendors. In 1726, the first attempt at a judicial establishment for the native subjects of the Company was made. They had as yet no power of inflicting capital punishment; but the lash was soon wielded so as to inflict certain death.

Again the Company's monopoly is threatened. A petition is presented against it. The usual struggle takes place. The Government of the day are in want of money. Each party offers to lend it. But the old Company are naturally enabled to be more liberal. For 200,000*l.* they buy a further extension of their charter (1732), till Lady-day, 1766. It was during this term that the extraordinary series of events took place, which transformed the East India Company, in a few years, from a mere mercantile association into a warlike, conquering power. That transformation is utterly inexplicable through the history of the Company itself; its explanation

PART II. must be sought without, as I have in part before
History. intimated. The Company might have added
LECT. VI. { factory to factory and fort to fort ; bought new
privileges in England on every renewal of its
charter, won new privileges in India on every
illness of the Great Mogul, it would still have
remained a band of pedlars, but for the disor-
ganization of the native Governments, and the
irresistible temptation which it might, sooner or
later, offer to some bold adventurer in the Com-
pany's service to profit by it. That disorganiza-
tion reached its height in the middle of the
eighteenth century ; that adventurer was Robert
Clive.

Let us, then, turn back now to the history of
India itself, as it has been unrolling itself since
the first English ship touched the western coast
of Jehangeer's empire. The state of the country
has greatly changed.

Jehangeer was succeeded (1628) by his son
Shah Jehan, under whom, for a time, as I have
said before, the Mogul Empire attained its
highest pitch of prosperity. But rivalry even-
tually broke out among his sons, the third of
whom, Aurungzebe, eventually dethroned him
(1658).

Aurungzebe, contemporary of Louis XIV.,
may be said to have been the Louis XIV. of the
Moguls, though with far blacker shades in his
character, and a deep dissimulation to which the
French sovereign was a stranger. During his
long reign the empire attained its highest pitch
of outward splendour, and appeared for a time
more consolidated than ever. But it was already
tottering to its fall. How baseless it was, one

single incident will show. In the very height of his power, Aurungzebe was nearly being overthrown by a rich old woman, whose liberalities to the Fakeers or religious devotees had gathered thousands of them round her. Chosen saints to whom the world was promised, they refused payment of tax or cess, levied contributions on all sides, and at last marched upon Delhi, 20,000 in number, with the old woman at their head, proclaiming her sovereign, and giving out that she was possessed of powers of enchantment. A body of imperial troops was defeated; the whole army was paralysed by superstitious dread. But Aurungzebe was himself a noted saint (notwithstanding such little peccadilloes as killing a brother or two, and dethroning a father). He gave out counter-charms, to be carried at the spear's point before each squadron. The counter-charm was sufficient, and the Fakeers were cut to pieces.

A far more dangerous enemy were the Mah-rattas. These take their name from the aboriginal tribe of the Mhars, who seem to have become in the main converts to Hindooism, and to have been classed, with other converted aborigines, among the Soodras. Their country is the north-west angle of the table-land of the Deckan, formed by the Injadri or Satpoora range, and the Western Ghauts, which afford them a series of fortresses most difficult of access. They are short, sturdy men, copper-coloured rather than dark; fearless riders on their small, strong, mountain nags; keen for gain; successful cultivators; the most successful of plunderers. In the beginning of the seventeenth century they

PART II. rise into notice as light cavalry ; but no distin-
History. guished Mahratta name appears until the reign
LECT. VI. of Aurungzebe. Then came forth the founder of
the Mahratta rule, Seevajee the Great, as he is
sometimes called.

The history of Seevajee, as you may read it in Mr. Elphinstone's work, is a romance in itself ; and one cannot wonder that, up to the present day, it is the main repertory of Mahratta legend and song. At the period we are speaking of (latter half of the seventeenth century), the Deckan contained two great Mussulman states, Beejapoor and Golconda, acknowledging, perhaps, some nominal allegiance to the Emperor of Delhi, but always aiming at, and for the most part realizing, practical independence. Seevajee was the son of an officer in the service of the former prince,—an able, politic man himself, evidently, though less daring than his son. The holder of a jagheer or two—estates held upon the tenure of military service—the old Mahratta seems to have spent his life (pushing south and west to near Madras and to Tanjore) in making conquests in his master's name, but of which he always retained possession, and which eventually went to swell Seevajee's dominions. Seevajee, on the other hand, appears to have been a born robber. At sixteen he was suspected of sharing in divers large gang robberies, committed in that strip of lowland between the Western Ghauts and the sea called the Concan. A few years later he surprised a hill fort belonging to his sovereign. It was not easy to retake ; he was allowed to retain it. Several other exploits of the same kind followed, until at last he openly rebelled.

(1648), and took possession of a whole province, the Northern Concan.

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I shall not go into the details of his conquests. They are hard to reduce into a connected narrative. I might sum them up into two sentences: he plundered all he could, and could not help plundering, even when it was imprudent to do so. But circumstances were most favourable to him. Between Beejapoor, Golconda, and the Mogul, the two former jealous of each other, and both afraid of the third, it was hard if he could not find always some purchaser for his services, some protector in his needs. What he most covets is what the luxurious Mussulman princes set least value on — rugged hill-ranges that yield no revenue, but which he can stud with almost impregnable forts,—strips of coast-land which open the sea to him. The rich defenceless lowlands he does not care to possess, and only seeks to levy tribute upon. By his first treaty with Beejapoor, he remains in possession of 250 miles of western coast, 150 miles of hill country (1662). If he is compelled, three years later, by the Moguls to give up twenty out of his thirty-two forts, and acknowledge suzerainty as to the remainder, he receives also a per-centage upon the revenues of Beejapoor, which he is to help the Mogul to conquer (1665). Two years later, he is able to compel both Beejapoor and Golconda to pay him a yearly tribute. A few years more, and we find him instituting that remarkable form of Mahratta dominion, the *chout*, or black-mail, being a contribution of one-fourth of the yearly revenue, as an exemption from plunder (1670). Four years more, and master, amongst

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other territories, of the whole of the Southern Concan, except the points occupied by the English, Abyssinians, and Portuguese, he has himself solemnly crowned at his hill fort of Raighur (1674). His troops are pushed northwards; plunder, not for the first time, Candeish, Berar; cross for the first time the Nerbudda. He swoops himself to the south, passes close to Madras, which he had approached before, reduces Jinjee, 600 miles from his own territories, and Vellore; recovers his father's jagheer in the south-east, and then obtains the full sovereignty of it from Beejapoor, as part of the price of rescuing it from the Moguls. At his first treaty with Beejapoor, in 1662, he was already at the head of 7000 horse and 50,000 foot. In his last great campaign to the south, which lasted eighteen months, he took the field at the head of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot. Cavalry, indeed, were to be from henceforth the main strength of the Mahratta power during its rise. It was by means of these that Seevajee could perform those sudden raids for which he was famous; although in his latter years he was strong enough on one occasion to defeat 20,000 Moguls in a field action (1672). At other times his raids were by sea; for, different from the Moguls, Seevajee was no mere landsman. Once established on the coast, he collected a fleet and began plundering by sea; giving great offence to the Moguls in particular, by plundering the Mecca pilgrim-ships. On one occasion, with 4000 men, in eighty-seven ships, he made a descent far to the south, where the people dwelt secure and defenceless, and sacked the town and territory of Barcelore.

You must not, however, think of Seevajee as a mere robber. No mere robber could ever have won and kept such a dominion, been obeyed with such faithfulness. On the contrary, he is noted as having introduced the strictest organization into his army, as having encouraged agriculture. But that he was well nigh devoid of all moral scruple, I need hardly say. At an early period of his career he had a Hindoo Raja assassinated, who was faithful to the King of Beejapoor. But the most famous of his exploits in this line was when, a large army being sent against him by that sovereign, Seevajee asked a personal interview with its commander to tender his submission. He was seen descending from a hill with no weapon in his hand, meanly dressed in a cotton cassock. But his hands were armed with what the Mahrattas call "tiger's claws," of sharpened steel, opening with a spring—apparently not unlike those "anti-garotte gloves" which were to be seen last winter in London shop-windows,—and he had a dagger under his cassock. Tiger's claws and dagger had despatched the unsuspecting Mussulman before any one could help him. The troops were bewildered, and soon dispersed.

A less ruffianly, but equally striking exploit, marks his first war against the Moguls. An army was sent against Seevajee, which occupied Poona, within twelve miles of Singhar, a hill-fort occupied by him. One evening after dark Seevajee descended from his mountain eyrie. Posting small bodies of infantry on the road, he gained admission with twenty-five men to the town, by joining a marriage procession; went straight to the house occupied by the Mussulman

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general, Shaista Khan, which was one he had himself inhabited as a child, entered it by a back door, surprised the Mussulman in his bed-room, and all but killed him, cutting off two of his fingers as he let himself down from a window ; and after having cut to pieces Shaista Khan's son and most of his attendants, made good his retreat, his parties on the road lighting their torches as he joined them, and escorting him up to his rock-nest in a blaze of fire, visible from the whole of the Mogul camp. While his enemies quarrelled over their shame, imputing it mutually to treachery, he made a dash 150 miles to the northward with 4000 horse, to rich and defenceless Surat, which he leisurely plundered for six days—not for the last time. It was here that, for the first time, the English came into contact with the Mahrattas. One is glad to be able to say that they were beaten off from the English and Dutch factories.

Another striking event in Seevajee's life was his escape from the Court of Aurungzebe. Cunning and treacherous as he was, the Mahratta was once outwitted by the Mogul. After a campaign against Beejapoor, in which with 2000 horse and 8000 foot he joined the imperial army, rendered great services in the campaign, and received the most flattering letters from the emperor, one of them inviting him to the Court at Delhi, in an evil hour he took the bait, and set off with his son, and an escort of 500 horse and 1000 foot. But he was received by Aurungzebe with the utmost haughtiness, and swooned away for very shame. He soon found himself practically a prisoner.

They did not retain him long. He applied for leave to send back his escort ; it was of course at once granted. He feigned illness, and gained over his Hindoo physicians. He became very religious, and sent out large baskets of sweetmeats and provisions to holy men, Mahommedan as well as Hindoo. One fine day the birds had flown. Seevajee's bed was occupied by a servant ; himself and his son had been carried out in the sweetmeat hampers, and he was making his way to the Deckau, in the garb of a religious mendicant. It took him nine months to reach one of his mountain fortresses, called Raighur (1666).

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You will have observed the character of piety under colour of which the Mahratta bandit made his escape. This was, indeed, no new character with him,—except, probably, as regards his largesses to holy Mahommedans. At an early period he seems to have conceived the idea of setting himself up as the champion of Hindooism. As soon as he has conquered the Northern Concan, we find him reviving Hindoo institutions, restoring Hindoo endowments. After his coronation, in 1674, he changes the names of his principal officers from Persian—the official language since the Mahommedan conquest—to Sanskrit, and becomes more strict than ever in the observance of caste. More or less, this policy stamps itself upon the whole future of the Mahratta. They are emphatically the Hindoo power, as opposed to the Mussulman. They represent a great Hindoo reaction.

Seevajee's policy of Hindooism was singularly favoured by the opposite policy pursued by Aurungzebe. The house of Baber had been pre-

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eminently a tolerant race. The great Akbar was no mere Moslem; was thought by Christians to be half a Christian. Aurungzebe was the Philip II. of his house, a cold-blooded fanatic, with no scruples but as to dogmas. Although the Rajpoots had supplied him with some of his best generals, he latterly went so far as to forbid the employment of Hindoos in public offices, and to revive against them the long obsolete Mussulman poll-tax upon infidels. By these and other intolerant measures the whole Hindoo population were alienated from him; the Rajpoots were excited to open warfare by personal acts of ill-treatment.

We have seen the rise of the Mahrattas. Let us now see the decline of the Moguls.

You may, perhaps, place the culminating point of Aurungzebe's greatness about the period of Seevajee's escape from Delhi (1666). The flight of the low-caste robber was probably little thought of at that Court, which in little more than another century was to be in abject dependence on a Mahratta chieftain, descended from one of Seevajee's followers. The great emperor was receiving embassies from the Shereef of Mecca and other Arabian princes, from the King of Abyssinia, the Khan of the Uzbeks, the Shah of Persia. Beejapoor alone, aided underhand by Golconda, successfully resisted. Perhaps the Mahrattas rather deserved to be strengthened against them. At any rate, the crafty imperial saint seems to have shown no anger against the runaway. He concluded a new treaty with him after his escape; acknowledged his rajaship, gave him back territory, bestowed upon him a new jagheer in Berar.

He did not, of course, give up the idea of making him smart for past success, and broke the peace with him shortly afterwards by an attempt openly to seize his person. But on no occasion afterwards did he turn his forces against him to crush him. His great enemies were his brother Mussulman sovereigns of the Deckan. Against them he put forth all his strength.

I know nothing more remarkable in all history than the tale of the Deckan war of Aurungzebe. Everything seemed to favour him. Death had stopped Seevajee's conquests short in 1680. The greatness of his house departed with him. The greatness of the Mahratta people seemed to do so. Sambajee, his successor, was a drunken, licentious tyrant, who put his father's widow to a lingering death. The Mahratta power broke up almost of itself before the Moguls, when Aurungzebe's great army entered the Deckan in 1683. Seevajee seemed to have done the emperor's own work in weakening the rival Mussulman princes. Beejapoor is destroyed within three years (1686); Golconda is subdued the next year (1687). It may seem, then, worth while to chastise the Hindoo robbers. Sambajee is surprised and beheaded by the Moguls (1689). For a time the fort of Jinjee, to the far south-east, was the only one in which his brother Ram Raja held out, as regent for Sambajee's infant son; even that was at last reduced (1698). Then only came out the real character of Aurungzebe's triumph. He had simply abolished all remains of settled authority throughout the Deckan; he had made a waste, and sown it with the dragon's teeth. The Mahrattas soon took advantage of the anarchy thus

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produced. The Mahratta *State* having disappeared, they reorganized their plundering system. Under Seevajee, officers and men had received high pay, but *chout* and plunder went to the State. It was now settled that *chout* should be levied for the payment of the troops, that all booty should go to the actual captors, that each chief might levy "corn and hay money" on his own account. The whole Deckan was filled with their bands. The defeat of one produced no effect on the next; only broke up the defeated band into smaller ones. As Mr. Elphinstone says, "A defeat to the Mahrattas was like a blow given to water, which offers no resistance to the stroke, and retains no impression of its effect." The Moguls went on defeating bands and taking forts, and growing weaker and weaker at each success. Their sojourn in the rich plains of Hindostan had enervated them by habits of cumbersome luxury. The land was wasted, less even by the troops than by the locust hordes of their camp followers. The Mahratta *chout* was an impost easier to bear than their exactions. The finances were in disorder; the troops mutinied for want of pay; the Mahrattas plundered to the very skirts of the camp; a fortified village kept the royal forces at bay for months. At last, after twenty years' absence from Hindostan, the old emperor broke up his camp on the Bima, and retreated, or rather fled, to Ahmednuggur, and soon died there, dreading to meet his father, whom he had dethroned. "I have committed numerous crimes," he wrote to his favourite son, "and I know not with what punishments I may be seized." He was in his eighty-ninth year, and

had reigned fifty (21st February, 1707). A great general, he had been forced to retreat without losing a battle, without even meeting a hostile army. The ablest sovereign of his race, he had ruined their empire. The most devout of Mussulman princes, he had broken up Mahomedanism in the Deckan; for whilst the native Mussulman monarchies which he destroyed had subsisted for centuries by their own strength, the Mogul viceroy of the Deckan, afterwards called the Nizam, would have been destroyed long ago by the Mahrattas, but for English protection, and the Mussulman kingdom of Mysore can be looked upon but as a passing comet in the political sky of India.

The decline of the Mogul power was rapid after Aurungzebe's death. It becomes no longer worth while to name all his successors. The great events of the empire are no longer the accessions and deaths of princes, but disasters, which perhaps, if dreadful enough, cast a lurid glare upon the otherwise obscure name of the reigning sovereign. Ten years after Aurungzebe's death (1717), the Mahratta *chout* was recognised throughout the Deckan; seven years later (1725), throughout Guzerat. Though the house of Seevajee sank into insignificance, the Mahratta power was once more in great measure consolidated under their hereditary Brahmin ministers called the Peshwas, the most eminent of whom, Bajee Rao, bears the greatest name after Seevajee in Mahratta history. Other Mahratta chieftains formed houses of their own, the principal of which were the Guicowar ("herdsman") in Guzerat, Scindia and Holkar in Malwa, the Boslas,

PART II. Bhoslas, or Bhoonslas (claiming kinship with
History. Seevajee) in Berar. Bajee Rao, who died in
 1740, already openly advocated the plundering
 { LECT. VI. of the North, in order to strike the Mogul power
 at the heart ; they already dreamed of empire, of
 reaching the Himalayas. In 1737, they appeared
 before Delhi, and plundered its suburbs. In
 1743, the Boslas invaded Bengal, and the em-
 peror had to buy the aid of the then Peshwa,
 Balajee Rao, to drive out his own countrymen,
 by the formal cession of Malwa.¹

But we think more of a single rift opened by
 an earthquake than of the acres of land worn away
 by the constant fretting of the wave. Worse
 than all Mahratta plunderings, as respects what-
 ever remained of *prestige* to the Mogul empire,
 was the invasion of Nadir Shah, a Persian robber-
 chief, who had become an emperor. Under the
 fourth successor of Aurungzebe, Mohammed
 Shah (1739), occurred this event, which has left
 so deep an impression in India, that even later
 Afghan plunderings have not effaced it. Im-
 perial Delhi was sacked—a Mussulman capital by
 Mussulman hands ; its population was massacred.

¹ Observe that the Mahratta power, even at its height, is
 not to be considered as a consolidated sovereignty, except
 in a few provinces. Elsewhere, it would be a mere division
 of the rights of sovereignty. The same tracts of country
 would hold allegiance to the Mogul emperor, or to some one
 of his officers, and pay the *chout* to the nearest Mahratta
 chieftain. Even if that chieftain were established in a pro-
 vince, he would probably hold only the forts and hill-grounds,
 leaving the plains to his tributaries, without troubling him-
 self whose orders they obeyed in ordinary circumstances, so
 long as *chout* was not refused, but ready to treat them at
 once as rebellious vassals if it were withheld. Thus the
 same provinces may be found described alternately as Mah-
 ratta and Mogul.

The conqueror disdained even to remain ; withdrew after fifty-eight days of exactions, taking with him, at the lowest reckoning, thirty millions' worth of spoil.

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The empire is breaking up within, as much as it is harried from without. Neither Mahratta nor Persian have come uninvited. The realm is divided into vice-royalties or Soobahs, all tending to become hereditary and independent. The greatest of these viceroys, he of the Deckan, Nizam ool Moolk, though invested with the Vizierate, is the one who has called in the invaders. Other great *soobahdars*, or viceroys, are those of Bengal, of Oude, of Allahabad. A tribe of Afghans, the Rohillas, occupy the country east of the Ganges, between Oude and the mountains. The Rajpoots of the west are only hindered by mutual dissensions from affecting dominion. Further north, the Sikhs, a religious sect which has grown into a nation, though often harassed and nearly exterminated, maintain themselves with only keener fanaticism in the Upper Punjab. Between them and Delhi, the Jâts are often troublesome and formidable. Hindooism generally is so strong, that the infidels' poll-tax has to be given up. On the west coast, the Abyssinians, whom the Mogul sovereigns have employed as a war-navy, make themselves independent at Jinjira ; from this pirate-nest they plunder the Mahrattas even, and are too strong for them. Further south, a Mahratta adventurer, Angria of Colaba, in nominal dependence upon the Mahratta state, has established another pirate nest, from whence he levies *chout* on the sea for his own benefit. He plunders the ships of all nations ;

PART II. he defeats every attempt of the Europeans
History. against him,—English, Portuguese, Dutch,—
LECT. VI. whether singly, or the two former combined.

Probably of all the hungry creatures,—wild beasts, foetid vermin, creeping things,—that were preying upon the weakened body of the Mogul empire, there were none that the heads of that empire dreaded less than the infidels of the far west. The Portuguese were indeed in full decline of power. The Mahrattas harassed them, drove them out of several of their forts, including Bassein (1739), and at last invaded Salsette. Dutch nor Danes were making further progress. Cochin on the south-western coast, Negapatam and a few other places on the eastern, Chinsura on the Hooghly, were the chief settlements of the former; Tranquebar, in the south, Serampore, in Bengal, of the latter. The last comers in the field indeed, the French, seemed active and spirited. Their chief settlement on the south-eastern coast, Pondicherry, was fast rising into great importance; Mahé to the south-west, Chandernagore on the Hooghly, became also flourishing places. But what were all these petty occupations of sea-coast towns beside a Persian invasion, or the plundering of a province by the Mahrattas?

Perhaps none of the western infidels gave less disquietude to the Mogul than the English. As traders, indeed, they had already, by the beginning even of the eighteenth century, surpassed all competitors, dotting, as we have seen, nearly the whole sea-board with their forts and factories, and pushing their trade to the very heart of the empire. But they were very peaceful and submissive; somewhat stronger, perhaps, than the

Portuguese, to whom they gave refuge on their expulsion from Bassein ; harassed occasionally by the French, who took their ships in the Bay of Bengal (1712), and made them earnestly seek the emperor's protection. The following was the style in which the governor of their settlements in Bengal, John Russell, addressed the Moslem sovereign :—

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“ The supplication of John Russell, who is as the minutest grain of sand, and whose forehead is the tip of his footstool, who is absolute monarch and prop of the universe, whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon's, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus The Englishmen having traded hitherto in Bengal, Orissa, and Behar, custom free (except in Surat), are your majesty's most obedient slaves, always intent upon your commands. We have readily observed your most sacred orders, and have found favour ; we have, as becomes servants, a diligent regard to your part of the sea We crave to have your majesty's permission in the above-mentioned places, as before, and to follow our business without molestation. Calcutta, Sept. 15, 1712.”¹

What could be feared from such humble-minded infidels ? Besides, they lived in constant dread of the Mahrattas generally, of Angria in Bombay. Their three chief settlements were in equal danger of them. Before Madras the plunderers might appear at any time. They threaten Bombay from Salsette (1742), whilst Angria prevents all safe trading on the coast, and even grain can hardly be procured. At the very same time (1742), a ditch was being dug round Calcutta, to resist their incursions.

No ; it would have seemed folly for the Emperor of Delhi, however reduced in power, to dread the English traders.

¹ See Taylor and Mackenna's “ History of British India,” p. 556.

LECTURE VII.

RISE OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

PART I.—CLIVE (1743—1767).

The French conceive the Idea of an Empire in India, and discipline the Natives—Labourdonnais, Dupleix—The English Campaign in Tanjore—The English and French take opposite Sides in the Carnatic War—Clive at Arcot—He returns to England—Bussy's Influence with the Nizam—Dupleix's Recall—Sooraj-ud-Dowlah's Proceedings in Bengal—The Black Hole—Clive's Second Voyage to India—Plassey, 22nd June, 1757—Meer Jaffier enthroned instead of Sooraj-ud-Dowlah—Proceedings in the Carnatic—Lally—Coote's Victory at Vandiwash—The French Empire in India at an End—Ferde's Campaign in the Northern Circars—Clive's against the Moguls—Hostilities with the Dutch—Clive's Second Return to Europe—Second Campaign against the Moguls; Knox's Victory at Patna—Meer Jaffier replaced by Meer Kasim—The Company's Servants claim a Monopoly for their Private Trade—Meer Jaffier restored—Glance at the State of the Mogul Empire—The Battle of Paniput (1761)—Monro's Campaign against Oude; his Victory at Buxar—Death of Meer Jaffier—English Arrangements—Fleecing of the Nawab of the Carnatic—Clive's Second Return to India—His Reforms—The Company assume the Dewannee of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa—Arrangements with Oude and the Emperor—Clive's Final Return to Europe (1767), and Death (1774)—Altered Position of the English.

PART II. ENGLAND owes the idea of an Indian empire to *History.* the French, as also the chief means by which she
LECT. VII. has hitherto sought to realize it.

The war of the Austrian succession had just broken out between France and England. Du-

pleix, the governor of the settlements of the French East India Company, proposed to the English Company a neutrality in the eastern seas ; it was rejected. The English probably repented of their presumption when they saw Captain Peyton, the commander of a squadron of three liners and a frigate, after an indecisive engagement with the French admiral, Labourdonnais, take flight to the Bay of Bengal, leaving Madras, then the most flourishing of the English settlements, defenceless.

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Dupleix and Labourdonnais were the first of that series of remarkable Frenchmen who, amidst every discouragement from home, and in spite of their frequent mutual dissensions, kept the French name so prominent in India for more than the next half century, only to meet on their return with obloquy, punishment, even death. Labourdonnais, who was Admiral of the French fleet, was also Governor of Mauritius, then called the Isle of France. He had disciplined a force of African negroes. With French troops and these, he entered the narrow strip of coast, five miles long, one mile broad, which was then the territory of Madras, bombarded the city, compelled the fort (which had lost five men) to surrender. But his terms were honourable ; the English were placed on parole ; the town was to be given up on payment of a moderate ransom (1746). Dupleix, however, was jealous ; he denied Labourdonnais' powers ; broke the capitulation ; paraded the Governor and other English gentlemen in triumph through Pondicherry. In vain did Admiral Boscawen besiege the latter place ; time was wasted, the trenches

PART II. were too far, the rains came on ; Boscawen raised
History. the siege, crippled in men and stores ; was
 LECT. VII. recalled by the news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and, to close his career of misfortune, lost several ships and 1,200 men on the Coromandel coast (1748-9). News of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, however, produced a very temporary cessation of hostilities, Madras being restored, with fortifications much improved.

The English fortunes seemed at their lowest in India ; the French rising to their full height. Dupleix conceived the bold plan of interfering in the internal politics of the country. Labourdonnais had disciplined the negro ; Dupleix disciplined the native Indian, organized the first sepoys. Labourdonnais had beaten off the so-called Nawab of the Carnatic, when he attempted to take Madras ; the event produced an immense sensation ; it was the first victory obtained for a century by Europeans over the natives of India. Dupleix was strong enough to be reckoned a valuable ally. But on the English side a young man had appeared, who was to change the whole course of events in the East. Robert Clive, an attorney's son from Market Drayton, born in 1725, sent off at eighteen as a writer to Madras—a naughty boy who had grown into an insubordinate clerk, who had been several times in danger of losing his situation, and had twice attempted to destroy himself—ran away from Madras, disguised as a Mussulman, after Dupleix's violation of the capitulation, obtained an ensign's commission at twenty-one, and began distinguishing himself as a soldier under Major Lawrence, then the best British officer in India. For him,

as it turned out, and not for themselves, had the French trained the Hindoo sepoy to discipline warfare. For him, and not for themselves, did Labourdonnais fight, and Dupleix plan and plot for empire.

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The idea of territorial aggrandizement went abroad amongst the Europeans. The middle of the eighteenth century was not a period of great tenderness of conscience. The Anglo-Europeans were far from scrupulous, even for that age; and in the state of things which then obtained in India—closely analogous, as Lord Macaulay has pointed out, to that which existed in Europe after the death of Charlemagne—there was little settled law. Every throne almost had pretenders as well as occupants. A descendant of Seevajee's brother, Sahujee, had been displaced from the throne of the petty state of Tanjore in favour of his illegitimate brother, Pretaup Sing. He offered the English the little fort and territory of Devee Cotta, if they would restore him. They had acknowledged his brother, and solicited his aid against the French. What of that? The bribe was accepted, and 100 Europeans and 500 sepoy were sent to make sure of Devee Cotta. They had to retreat disgracefully. A new detachment was sent under Major Lawrence, Clive acting under him with a lieutenant's commission. Devee Cotta was stormed, Clive volunteering to lead the attack. He was too rash; suffered his platoon of Europeans to be separated from their support of 700 sepoy, scarcely escaped with his life, and saw his platoon all but annihilated. Major Lawrence had to advance with his whole force, and the place was taken. The English had

PART II. been vigorously resisted on their way ; but now
History. it turned out that Sahujee had no party in Tan-
 LECT. VII. jore. The English made peace with Pretaub Sing,
 gave up Sahujee's cause, agreed to detain him
 prisoner ; thought even, it was said, of handing
 him over to the Mahratta mercy of his brother.
 But they kept Devee Cotta (1749).

The sovereignty of Tanjore was a small affair. The Carnatic, forming a large portion of the Coromandel coast, as far south as the Cauvery, was ruled by a deputy or nawab named by the Nizam. The present nawab, Anwar ud din Khan (called by the English Anaverdy Khan), had a rival pretender named Chunda Sahib. On the other hand, the Nizam of the day, Nazir Jung, had also a competitor, Muzaffir, or Mirzapha Jung. Chunda Sahib, when engaged with the Mahrattas, had sent his family to Pondicherry, where they had been kindly treated by the French. He became thus attached to French interests, and entered into correspondence with Dupleix. The two pretenders, Chunda Sahib and Muzaffir Jung, united their interests and their forces. Dupleix supplied them with auxiliaries. They marched against Anwaruddin and defeated him ; he fell in the engagement, a veteran warrior of 107 ; his eldest son was taken prisoner, and Mohammed Ali, his second son, fled to Trichinopoly. The French received eighty-one villages as a reward for their services (1750).

The English now took up the cause of Mohammed Ali and Nazir Jung. But though at first slightly successful, their advantages did not last long. Nazir was shot by a Patan (Afghan) in his pay ; Muzaffir Jung, who was his prisoner,

was placed on the throne only to be assassinated; the French gave the nizamship to Salabut Jung, another prince of the same house. Muzaffir had ruled long enough to proclaim Dupleix Governor of the Mogul dominions, from the river Kistna to Cape Comorin, or, in other words, ruler over thirty millions of people. Dupleix erected a column, and built a city in his own honour (1751). Trichinopoly alone remained to Mohammed Ali, whom the English could with difficulty prevent from surrendering it to the French. Major Lawrence returned to England; a detachment sent to the aid of Trichinopoly was defeated by Chunda Sahib, disgracefully to the Europeans, who fled, while the sepoy stood. Trichinopoly was besieged. But rivalry between Law, the French commander, and Dupleix, retarded the progress of the siege.

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Meanwhile, the rash stormer of Devee Cotta had won his captain's commission. He persuaded the English authorities to let him attempt a diversion by attacking Arcot, Chunda Sahib's capital. With 200 Europeans and 300 sepoy, with eight officers, of whom two only had seen action, with three field-pieces, afterwards increased by two eighteen-pounders, and through a terrific storm for the last ten miles of his way, he advanced to the gates of Arcot. Both fort and town were abandoned in terror, without a blow (31st August, 1751).

Clive instantly prepared for a siege, and had not long to await it. Chunda Sahib sent against him his son, Raja Sahib. 7000 natives, and 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, occupied the

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town. With characteristic rashness, Clive attacked, and was repelled with a loss, serious for him, of thirty-one killed and wounded, including his only artillery officer.¹ On the next day a regular siege was begun, the besiegers having been joined by 2000 men from Vellore. It lasted fifty days. The assault was made on the 14th November. Clive had only eighty Europeans and 150 sepoy fit for duty, but all weakened by scanty fare. They repelled the assault, inflicting a loss of 400 killed and wounded. All knew that a great English leader had appeared in India.

200 English soldiers and 700 sepoy joined him the next day. A body of Mahrattas, who had never before known that the English could fight, joined him also. He began the pursuit the same day; overtook the enemy, numbering still 5000 men, of whom 300 were French; defeated them, taking Raja Sahib's military chest; took into the British service 600 sepoy who came over from the enemy, recovered Conjeveram without a blow. Still the enemy was not daunted. Raja Sahib, with 400 French troops and a large army, ravaged the very suburbs of Fort St. George. At the head of much inferior forces, Clive unexpectedly met him at nightfall, closed with him by moonlight. The English seemed on the point of a defeat, when Lieutenant Keene, by a charge from the rear, took and turned the French guns against themselves. Raja Sahib's

¹ This account differs from that of Lord Macaulay. Finding that his omissions and variations all tend the same way, viz. to the keeping out of sight whatever may be disparaging to the military talent of his hero, I prefer following Mill wherever the two are at issue with each other.

army was dispersed. More than 100 French were killed or taken (1752).

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Major Lawrence now returned from England. It is creditable to both himself and Clive, that the latter cheerfully placed himself under Lawrence's orders, that the former showed no jealousy of Clive's fame. Law, the French commander, was forced to raise the siege of Trichinopoly, besieged in his turn. The Rajas of Mysore and Tanjore sent contingents to the English. Clive intercepted a convoy sent by Dupleix, blocked up in a fort the French reinforcements, took their leader prisoner. Chunda Sahib surrendered to the Raja of Tanjore; the allies fell out as to his custody; the dispute was cut short by his assassination. The French-army capitulated; Mohammed Ali was proclaimed Nawab of the Carnatic. Finally, with the worst of materials—raw native recruits and English scoundrels—Clive took two French forts. But his health was so far shattered, that he had to return to England.

And now for awhile the tide seemed to turn. Mohammed Ali had promised Trichinopoly to the Raja of Mysore. He refused to fulfil his engagement. The English supported him in his breach of faith. The alliance was broken up; Mysore and the Mahrattas began to treat with the French. These were still all-powerful at the Nizam's court. An able French officer, Bussy, had enabled Salabut Jung to defeat the combinations of his nobles, had baffled their efforts against himself. The Nizam invested him with the government of the so-called Northern Circars, the coast-province to the north of the Carnatic, thus giving the French an uninterrupted line of

PART II. 600 miles of coast, as far as Juggernât. Lawrence
History. was ill; a detachment was cut off by the French
 LECT. VII. in the hills. A body of Swiss, sent by sea, was
 taken by a French ship of war. But Lawrence, though hardly recovered, took the field with success, and drove the French within the boundary hedge of Pondicherry. After a year of indecisive skirmishes about Trichinopoly, Dupleix was recalled, and a treaty concluded, most favourable to the English (1754). Labourdonnais had been thrown into the Bastille for three years, and had become so weakened in mind and body, that he scarcely survived his liberation. Dupleix was persecuted and ruined on his return. French influence seemed for one moment, indeed, almost on the eve of expiring in India; for the Nizam, dissatisfied with Bussy's reluctance to carry on war with the Mahrattas, then in alliance with his countrymen, dismissed his French officers and auxiliaries, and solicited an English detachment from Madras. But the state of Bengal prevented his request from being complied with.

Besides the viceroy or soobahdar of the Deckan, whom we call the Nizam, other Mogul viceroys, those of Oude and of Bengal, were alike virtually independent of their master. The vizierate had passed to the Soobahdar or Nawab of Oude. But the Mahrattas of Berar were dangerous neighbours to Bengal. We remember how they had had to be driven out once by their own countrymen, under the Peshwa. They returned to the charge a few years later, and succeeded in levying *chout*, and obtaining the cession of Cuttack (1743). On the other hand, the Mahrattas of Malwa, Holkar and

Scindia, were called in by the Nawab of Oude against the Rohillas; and in return for their services were allowed to levy *chout* on the conquered territory (1751). A few years later, they were called in against the Nawab of Oude himself. Meanwhile Ahmed Shah Dooranee, ruler of the Afghans, who had been repelled on the invasion of Northern India, invaded it a second and a third time, and now with better success. The second inroad procured him the cession of the Punjab (1752). At the third, Delhi was taken, a new massacre perpetrated (1756).

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It was in the midst of this dissolution of the Mussulman power, that Sooraj ud Dowlah, then the Soobahdar of Bengal, the tributary of the Mahrattas, drew upon him the revenge of England. On the ground of the non-delivery of some native, to whose person he laid claim, he marched upon Fort William. The governor, military commandant, and part of the council ran away, leaving 146 persons behind, including Mr. Holwell, the second member of council. Sooraj ud Dowlah promised that not a hair of their heads should be touched, but handed them over to his guards to be secured for the night. The garrison prison, called the Black Hole, was a room twenty feet square, with scarcely an air-hole. How many single criminals had rotted in it hitherto, we do not know. But now 146 persons were crowded into it (20th June, 1756). You will read in Lord Macaulay's "Clive," how 123 of that number had perished by the morning; how the remainder were placed in irons, fed on grain and water, till kind women, the Nawab's relatives, procured their release. He himself was proud of

PART II. his performances. He wrote to Delhi about his
History. conquest, garrisoned Fort William, changed the
 LECT. VII. name of Calcutta to Alinagore, the Port of God.
 Forty-four years before, the letters in which the
 English addressed his master, proclaimed them
 his "most obedient slaves, always intent upon
 his commands."¹ Only seven years before Sooraj
 ud Dowlah's predecessor had prohibited the
 French and English from prosecuting hostilities
 within his dominions; he had exacted contri-
 butions from the Europeans for protection he
 bestowed; from the English 100,000*l.* The new
 viceroy knew of no ground for thinking that the
 character of the islanders might have changed.
 But the avenger was at hand.

Clive, unseated for bribery in the House of
 Commons, having dissipated his earnings in a
 couple of years, was glad to return to India, with
 the rank of Lieut.-Colonel in the King's service,
 and the Deputy-Governorship of Fort St. George.
 He came round by Bombay, where there was
 work for him to do. The pirate Angria, of
 Colaba, had continued and enlarged his depreda-
 tions. The English and Mahrattas joined their
 forces against him. One or two of his forts had
 been reduced already, when Admiral Watson
 arrived, and Clive. The combined attack was now
 made by sea and land upon his chief stronghold
 of Gheriah, Clive leading the land attack. It
 was taken, and a booty of 150,000*l.* with it. It
 was to have been handed over to the Mahrattas.
 It was retained (1756).

Clive now proceeded to Fort St. David. In

¹ See ante, p. 139.

the month of August news of the Black Hole horrors were received at Madras. Within forty-eight hours, as Lord Macaulay tells us, it was determined that an expedition should be sent, and that Clive should command it. But it was two months before his appointment was finally sanctioned, his authority being then declared independent of the Presidency of Calcutta, but under strict orders to return as soon as the objects of the mission should be accomplished. The expedition started in October, but did not reach Bengal till December. Clive retook Calcutta after a two hours' cannonade, captured Hooghly, about twenty-five miles higher up, attempted to surprise the Soobahdar and his camp, and through the fright produced by this attempt, though unsuccessful, brought him to sign, two days later, a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. Finding the Soobahdar intriguing with the French, he next proceeded to take the French settlement of Chandernagore.

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The English honour was restored. The time was come when Clive should have returned to Madras. But the time was also come when he would brook no restraint in the accomplishment of his designs. Sooraj ud Dowlah was imbecile, faithless, hated. A conspiracy had for some time been plotted against him. A young English civilian, Warren Hastings, had been privy to it, whilst a prisoner near Moorshedabad. Meer Jaffier, an uncle by marriage of Sooraj ud Dowlah, was the organizer of it. By immense bribes to the Company at large, the generals, the members of the Council, he secured their co-operation. Clive wrote affectionate letters to Sooraj ud Dowlah,

PART II. . promising assistance by the same courier to
History. Meer Jaffier. Threatened with betrayal by his con-
LECT. VII. fidential native agent, Omichund, who demanded
300,000*l.* sterling as the price of secrecy and
assistance, he deluded him by a sham treaty, by
the forged signature of Admiral Watson. He
then threw off the mask, and with 3000 men,
of whom one-third were Europeans, eight six-
pounders, and two small howitzers, marched
towards the Nawab. The latter came to meet
him with 50,000 foot, 18,000 horse, sixteen
pieces of cannon. Meer Jaffier wrote that he
durst do no more than desert on the day of
battle, if an engagement were hazarded. Clive
called a council of war, and voted with the
majority against hazarding a battle. But he
changed his mind, crossed the river, and took up
his position in the grove of Plassey. The en-
gagement commenced at eight in the morning
(22nd June, 1757), lasted but an hour at close
quarters, continued till five in the shape of a
distant irregular cannonade. Sooraj ud Dowlah,
persuaded by one of the conspirators, soon took
to flight. Only a small body of French offered
any serious resistance. The panic-struck army
left all behind to the victor, whose total loss was
twenty-two killed and fifty wounded. Meer
Jaffier came in the next day, and was graciously
received. Sooraj ud Dowlah fled in the first
instance to his capital, Moorshedabad, then
towards Patna. He was seized on his way,
delivered to Meer Jaffier, and put to death by the
orders of Meeran, Meer Jaffier's son. Clive
reached Moorshedabad on the 25th June, and
installed Meer Jaffier as Soobahdar of Bengal,

Behar, and Orissa. But now it was found that Sooraj ud Dowlah's treasury was insufficient to meet Meer Jaffier's promises to his allies. It was agreed that half should be paid immediately, and the balance by three equal yearly payments. Yet there was enough, as Lord Macaulay tells us, for 800,000*l.* in coined silver to be sent down from Moorsshedabad to Calcutta, in more than a hundred boats, with flags flying and music playing. Clive, for his share, was left free to help himself. He took between 200,000*l.* and 300,000*l.* The Mahrattas and their *chout* were outdone. Omichund was now informed of the treachery which had been practised upon him. The news cost him his mind ; he died an idiot a few months later.

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Note the year, the month, in which these events occurred, for they have a terrible interest for ourselves. As the tide of English success swept on in after days, as some irresistible force seemed to uproot every Indian dynasty beneath its waves, there went forth a prophecy, such as vanquished nations often cling to, that the cycle of our rule would last one hundred years and no more. As the time drew near, as the foreign yoke grew more irksome, the longing to see the prophecy fulfilled shaped itself into conspiracy. In June last,—one hundred years from the overthrow of the Mussulman Soobahdar of Bengal by Clive,—that conspiracy was to have broken out, on the anniversary, if I mistake not, of Plassey. Fortunately for us, its explosion was precipitated in some places, so as to deprive the insurrection of the simultaneousness and concert at which it aimed.

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There was a wretched war meanwhile going on in the Carnatic. Clive refusing to send back any of the troops from Calcutta, all that the few English troops could attempt were partisan surprises, burnings of towns, ravaging of districts, which the French in their turn retaliated ; whilst stronger robbers than either, the Mahrattas, appeared before Madras, and actually received *chout* from the English (1758). Bussy—probably, on the whole, the ablest French officer ever in India—reduced the Northern Circars, of which the revenues had been granted to him by the Nizam,—the English factories included,—and by timely services rendered himself all-powerful in the Nizam's territory. The French were near at hand, indeed, to Bengal, in Behar ; and only left that province, in spite of English efforts, to be received with open arms in Oude. French influence seemed destined to rise higher still when Bussy was summoned with his troops to Pondicherry, to meet a large armament sent out from France, under command of the brave Count de Lally, of Irish descent, a deadly hater of the English name, and who was accompanied by his own Irish regiments. In spite of the ignorance and inefficiency of the French authorities,—in spite of the English fleet,—Lally reduced Fort St. David, and levelled its fortifications to the ground. Devee Cotta was abandoned at his approach. Money, however, was wanted, and Lally took the wrong means to obtain it. He alienated the Europeans by accusing them (very likely with reason) of dishonesty and misconduct. He alienated the natives by violating caste, and compelling all, without distinction, to perform servile offices.

He marched upon Tanjore to enforce a French claim of five millions of rupees upon the Raja, stormed a pagoda on his way, which was reputed wealthy, and, finding nothing, blew six of its attendant Brahmins from his guns. Calliaud twice relieved Tanjore when invested; an English fleet appeared off Karikal, whence the French were supplied: the siege was raised, and became almost a flight, through the sortie of the garrison of Tanjore; and the French fleet, after an engagement off Karikal, made sail for the Mauritius.

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Left alone, however, Lally took Arcot, and, having been joined by Bussy, laid siege to Madras, and took what was called the Black Town. The White Town and Fort St. George would probably have fallen, when a reinforcement arrived from Bombay, and the French precipitately retreated. Colonel, afterwards Sir Eyre Coote, now took the command. Vandiwash was captured, and Lally defeated before it, in the important battle of that name (22nd Dec., 1759). The tide of fortune now turned completely. The French army was without equipments, stores, or provisions; town after town, fort after fort, was taken or surrendered. At last, the French were confined within the bounds of Pondicherry, the English encamped within four miles of the town. In vain the French called in the aid of a new power which had arisen in Southern India, that of Hyder Ali, of Mysore. The Mysoreans, indeed, defeated an English detachment; but, finding the French cause hopeless, they withdrew. Notwithstanding the ill-success of Monson, who temporarily succeeded Coote, and in spite of Lally's utmost efforts, Pondicherry had to capi-

PART II. *History.* tulate (12th Jan., 1761) ; the few inconsiderable
 LECT. VII. French factories which remained followed it in
 its fall. As to the unfortunate Lally, his fate
 exceeded in misfortune that even of Labour-
 donnais and Dupleix. He was imprisoned, tried,
 sentenced, executed on the same day that he was
 sentenced, carried to the scaffold, gagged, in a
 dung-cart (1761). The French East India Com-
 pany soon went to pieces. The fortifications of
 Pondicherry were destroyed. The French empire
 in India was at an end from henceforth, though
 many Frenchmen remained to sharpen native
 resistance against the English.

Coote's supersession had been occasioned by
 his being called to Bengal, where Clive was now
 Governor. Instructions had, indeed, been re-
 ceived from England, written before the news of
 Plassey, which gave him no authority ; but the
 persons appointed to govern placed theirs in his
 hands, and soon new instructions came which
 gave him the government. A diversion was
 effected against the French by sending Colonel
 Forde to reduce the Northern Circars, where
 some of the chiefs or Polygars were in rebellion
 against Bussy. Forde's campaign was a most
 dashing one. He defeated the French under
 Conflans, in superior numbers, at Rajamundry,
 besieged Masulipatam with troops in mutiny for
 want of pay, bombarded the town till there was
 not two days' ammunition left for the batteries,
 then took it by a midnight assault, when it was
 found that the captives, French and disciplined
 sepoys together, greatly outnumbered their cap-
 tors (6th April, 1759). The Nizam Salabut
 Jung at once treated with the English, ceding

Masulipatam, and engaging to banish the French for ever from his dominions.

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The next campaign was against the Moguls. The time was come when the English infidels had really made themselves dangerous. The ruling sovereign, Alumgheer II., granted to his son the investiture of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, wishing to overthrow Meer Jaffier and his English confederates. The Nawabs of Oude and Allahabad joined him. The prospect of plunder was splendid, and attracted Mahrattas, Rohillas, Jâts, Afghans. Ram Narayin, the able Hindoo governor of Behar, was discontented; was tampered with, parleyed, but temporized; till finding from a visit to the imperial camp that success was not likely to lie in that quarter, he closed the gates of Patna. The allies fell out; the Nawab of Oude seized Allahabad, murdered the Nawab. Clive was marching to the relief of Patna with 450 Europeans and 2,500 sepoys. The appearance of his advanced guard was sufficient to put the imperial army to flight, in spite of the efforts of a few French auxiliaries. Clive received, as a reward from Meer Jaffier, the revenues of the whole neighbourhood of Calcutta, amounting to 30,000*l.* a year. This jagheer was granted for life. But no Mussulman prince ever recovered possession of it. At Clive's death, by arrangement, the Company entered into it.

The Dutch were jealous of the English. Meer Jaffier was afraid of his powerful friend. He sought a counterpoise to his friendship; entered into relations with the Dutch authorities of Chinsura, then of Batavia. Seven Dutch ships appeared in the Hooghly, with 700 Europeans

PART II. and 800 Malays. Clive obtained an order from
History. Meer Jaffier, forbidding them to land; they dis-
 LECT. VII. regarded it, and began marching to their settle-
 ment of Chinsura. Holland was at peace with
 England; Forde (now returned from the Northern
 Circars) was ordered to stop them, but knew not
 how to act. He asked explicit instructions.
 Clive received the letter whilst playing a rubber
 of whist; he tore off a slip, and wrote back in
 pencil, "Dear Forde,—Fight them immediately,
 and I will send an order of council to-morrow."
 The ships were taken; only fourteen of the
 Europeans ever reached Chinsura, and the Dutch
 had to pay the expenses of the war. Clive now
 returned to England, a great and a rich man.
 At thirty-four, he had realized an income of
 upwards of 40,000*l.* a year at the least (1760).
 To complete the tale of English successes during
 the period of his first government, it must be
 added that Surat had been taken by the Bombay
 forces (4th March, 1759).

Clive seemed to have stamped his courage and
 rapacity upon the whole English community.
 Shortly after his departure, the Mogul prince,
 now crowned emperor, under the title of Shah
 Alum, advanced once more, supported by the
 Nawab of Oude, to the reconquest of Bengal.
 Ram Narayin, the Hindoo governor of Behar,
 risked a battle and was defeated. Calliaud, the
 English commander, in turn defeated the impe-
 rialists (22nd February, 1760); Captain Knox
 relieved Patna, and with 200 Europeans, one
 battalion of sepoys, five field-pieces, and 300
 irregular horse, besides about 300 more who joined
 him under an auxiliary raja, gave battle to the

imperialists with 12,000 men and 30 pieces of cannon, routed them, and pursued them till his men sank for exhaustion. But the death by lightning of Meeran, Meer Jaffier's son, the nominal leader of the Bengal army, put an end to the campaign.

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Meer Jaffier's treasury, however, was bankrupt, his promised allowances to the Company were months in arrear. His son-in-law, Meer Kasim, intrigued against him. He offered the English to assign to the Company the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, if they would make him real ruler under Meer Jaffier. The English, under Vansittart, treated with him on this footing (27th September, 1760); an English detachment was sent to enforce Meer Jaffier's compliance. Unable to resist, he rejected the empty title which was left to him, and came to reside as a private person in Calcutta.

Meer Kasim now strained every nerve to fulfil his engagements to the English, they lending military aid for the enforcement of his revenue. Carnac, who had succeeded Calliaud, defeated Shah Alum, and expelled him from Behar. At an interview with the emperor, the latter offered the Company the dewanee, or revenue collection of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The offer was remembered some years later.

Services like these rendered requital urgent. As a last resource, Meer Kasim bethought himself of plundering Ram Narrayin of Behar. Clive had stood by him; he had stood by the English. But Coote and Carnac were recalled from Patna; Ram Narrayin was seized, his house plundered, his friends tortured, himself eventually put to death. The natives of India learned that for

PART II. money the friends of the English could be sacri-
History. ficed without scruple.

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The recall of some of Vansittart's friends produced no improvement. Ellis, resident at Patna, began to treat Meer Kasim with the utmost insolence, seized his collectors, appropriated salt-petre which had been purchased for the Viceroy's own use. The Company's servants claimed a most incredible privilege. The Company enjoyed freedom from duties for its goods, whether imported or exported; the Company's servants claimed the like exemption for the whole of their private trade. Meer Kasim complained of the monopoly, which was ruining at once his customs' revenues and his subjects, and led to the most lawless acts on the part of the English; private individuals, runaways and the like, under colour of the English flag, buying goods at their own price, selling them at their own price, compelling those to sell who would not sell, those to buy who would not buy, forbidding all dealings by others till their own were concluded, and using personal violence freely to attain their ends. Vansittart had concluded an arrangement for payment of duties upon the private English trade, on the same footing as the native merchants, viz., nine per cent. The Council refused to sanction it; all that the English would consent to give was two-and-a-half per cent. on salt alone. Hereupon Meer Kasim abolished the duties on behalf of all. The English insisted that the old duties should be retained as against all others but themselves (Vansittart and Warren Hastings alone opposing), and declared the edict an act of hostility against the Company.

Meer Kasim had spirit enough not to yield. He knew that Ellis, the resident, meditated seizing Patna. He stopped a convoy of arms for the English troops there, and only released it on retaining, as hostage, one of two Englishmen, who had been sent to remonstrate with him, letting the other, Amyatt, return. Meanwhile, Ellis seized Patna by a night attack. Meer Kasim sent to retake Amyatt, who was killed in resisting. The English were disgracefully driven from Patna; Cossimbazar was stormed and plundered by the natives (1762).

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Meer Kasim was clearly a dangerous man. He was by this time no longer in the dependence of the English, having paid off all arrears. By means of a German named Sombre (Sumroo), he had disciplined several battalions of sepoys. He encouraged the trade and industry of his subjects. It was time to dethrone him. Meer Jaffier was reinstated; he promised all that was required of him; exemption of the private English trade from all duties, except the two-and-a-half per cent. on salt; the accustomed duties to be levied on all others, natives or foreigners; no Europeans, except the English, to be allowed to fortify.

The army moved out against Meer Kasim; they defeated his van at Moorsshedabad; his whole army at Gheriah (2d August, 1763). This was no Plassey, but a fierce four hours' fight, ending with a total rout, with loss of cannon, baggage, and 150 boats' load of provisions. Yet the Nawab held out. For nearly a month he kept the English at bay in the hilly ground of Oodiwa, till his lines were forced (5th September);

PART II. his capital, Mongheer, was next taken. Meer
History. Kasim was mad with rage. He caused all his
LECT. VII. European prisoners to be put to death, one
physician only excepted. Patna was stormed,
and he took refuge with the Nawab-Vizier of
Oude. In spite of mutinies, the English repelled
an attack from the frontiers of Oude, headed by
Sombre (1764). The mutinies were quelled by
blowing twenty-four sepoy from the guns.

Let us pause for a moment to look back on a
mighty event which has befallen the Mogul
Empire.

Practically speaking, that empire was at an
end, and Oude was now the most important
Mussulman state in Hindostan proper. The
Mahrattas having extended their depredations
till they had captured and plundered Delhi,
overrun the Punjab and left a Mahratta go-
vernor in it (1758), and invaded Rohilcund:
the Prince of Oude had won renown by defeating
them with great slaughter, and driving them
beyond the Ganges (1759). Meanwhile, Ahmed
Shah, the Afghan, was advancing upon his fourth
invasion of India. He reached Delhi, after rout-
ing two of the Mahratta leaders, Scindia and
Holkar. The Mahrattas gathered their whole
forces for resistance. They forced the Jât Rajah
to join them with 50,000 men. They came up
200,000 strong. Ahmed Shah withdrew beyond
the Jumna. Again they plundered Delhi, till
they had to leave it for want of food. The two
armies encamped at Paniput. Soojah Dowlah of
Oude in vain attempted to mediate. The Mah-
rattas had 55,000 regular, 15,000 irregular
cavalry, 15,000 disciplined infantry; 85,000 in

all. Ahmed Shah had 40,000 Afghans and Persians, 13,000 Indian cavalry, 38,000 Indian infantry—91,000. The Mahrattas had 200 pieces of artillery, and a large supply of rockets: Ahmed Shah 30 guns only, and some wall-pieces. The defection of the Jâts turned the day against the Mahrattas. Not one of their leaders escaped, except one who fled on the first charge. No quarter was given; 50,000 men fell in the action, and 30,000 in the pursuit: all the spoil of Delhi went to the Afghans (Jan., 1761). India was not to have the Mahratta for her master.

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But whom was she? Not Ahmed Shah. He withdrew, and never returned. There is, perhaps, no instance in history of a victory so momentous, and, at the same time, so fruitless for the victor. Soojah Dowlah, of Oude, was made perpetual vizier, under Shah Alum, as tributary to the Afghans. He probably thought himself secure of empire, and insulted his pageant master. But Oude, as having given refuge to Meer Kasim, had the English for enemies. Monro, the English general, marched against the Nawab-Vizier, as the ruler of Oude is henceforth called, and wholly routed him at Buxar (22nd Oct., 1764). Shah Alum made overtures to the English. They agreed to conquer, for him, Allahabad and the other dominions of Soojah Dowlah; receiving in payment Ghazipour, and the rest of the territory of the Zemindar of Benares. They continued their extortions from Meer Jaffier, obtained half his revenues, worried and wearied him to death (Jan. 7, 1765). They made his second son, Nujeeb ud Dowlah, of their own authority, Viceroy of Bengal; taking

PART II. on themselves the entire military management
History. of the country, and making arrangements for the
LECT. VII. civil government, as after stated.

These examples were duly followed in the Carnatic. A treaty was signed with Mahommed Ali, by which, on payment of 'twenty-eight lacs of rupees,'¹ and three for Trichinopoly, he was to be exempt from English interference (1763). They soon demanded fifty lacs, and required the Nawab to pay all the expenses of the siege of Pondicherry. Mahommed Ali consented, on condition that he should receive all the captured stores. The Company's servants appropriated them to their own use, promising that the value should be allowed him, in account with their employers;—robbing Peter to pay Paul. The Court of Directors disallowed the agreement, but left the Company's servants in possession of the stores. The English, however, reduced a couple of towns for the Nawab. He had a claim upon the Raja of Tanjore, who had always been an ally of the English. The Company offered to mediate. They fixed the claim at twenty-two lacs of rupees. They took the money as creditors of the Nawab.

News now came of the treaty of Paris (10th Feb.), by which Great Britain was to restore the French factories in India, but the French were to have no troops nor fortifications in Bengal; Salabut Jung (already dead for a considerable time) being recognised as Soobahdar of the Deckan, and Mahommed Ali as Nawab of the Carnatic. In return for so much honour and service, the English now asked for the jagheer of

¹ A lac of rupees is 10,000*l*.

four districts. Mahommed Ali tried in return to obtain a guarantee of protection. It was refused. He was told he had no right to make conditions. "The Company," wrote Mr. Pigot, "do not take anything from you; but they are the givers, and you are a receiver." Pleasant allies and protectors!

But the Company's government in the East was, by this time, one scene of misrule and oppression. What was worst, its servants came home rich, while the treasury was empty. Clive had been turned to,—as the only man to restore matters to order. His last act before leaving India had been an insult to his masters. He was, nevertheless, sent out as Commander-in-chief, President, and Governor of Bengal, and with power, together with a committee of four, to act without consulting the Council. He was rich;—he could afford to be virtuous: perhaps his second stay in England had given him some sense of right and wrong. He appears to have been shocked at the state of tyranny in which he found Bengal. He required all the servants, civil and military, to enter into covenants, stipulating that they should not accept presents under any pretence from the native princes. General Carnac delayed signing till he had received 200,000*l.* from the emperor. To place the *employés* above the reach of corruption, the trade in salt, betel nut, and tobacco was made a monopoly, for the exclusive benefit of the superior servants of the Company, who were to be entitled to the produce in certain shares, according to their rank. The Nawab was required to resign the dewanee,—in other words,

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PART II. the whole revenues and management of his
History. country,—to the Company, on payment of a
 LECT. VII. pension of fifty lacs of rupees, under the manage-
 ment of three nominees of the Company.

Meanwhile, the war in Oude, in the emperor's name, was carried on, until the Nawab-Vizier threw himself upon the generosity of the English. The arrangement for conquering this state had been disapproved of at home. A sort of compromise was effected after this manner:—The Nawab-Vizier was restored to all his dominions, except Allahabad and Korah, which were to be reserved for the emperor. He engaged not to disturb his vassal, Bulwant Sing, of Benares, who had aided the English. Thirty lacs of rupees were due to the emperor for the tribute of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. He was told not to expect them. He had to give up certain jagheers in those provinces. Finally, in consideration of twenty lacs a year, he conferred upon the Company the dewannee for the three provinces, and confirmed all their acquisitions within the Mogul Empire (12th Aug., 1765).

The only other event of Clive's second government was the so-called double batta mutiny, caused by a suppression of the double field allowance to officers, originally granted by Meer Jaffier, and continued since then. A number of the conspirators, including Gen. Sir R. Fletcher, were tried, and dismissed the service.

Clive had made himself intensely unpopular through his later reforms. He was harassed by attacks on his return to England (1767), and finally committed suicide, 1774, aged 49.

Twenty-three years and a man had made a

great change in the relations of England to India. Trade was now subordinate to conquest. Instead of being a mere set of timid merchants, chaffering in factories and sheltering themselves in forts, the English were now a host of warlike adventurers, who set up and pulled down princes, had worsted all European rivals, and possessed themselves of the richest viceroyalty of the Mogul Empire, though still nominally exercising its functions in the emperor's name ; besides extending their acquisitions on numberless other points. Almost utterly unscrupulous, insatiably grasping, they might well be hated ; but they were brave,—brave almost beyond the conception of the degenerate Moguls, and they were feared accordingly. Their leading seemed to animate even natives of India with irresistible courage : the Indian prince saw himself overthrown by his own countrymen, whom he was accustomed to see cringe as abject slaves before his feet.

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What was to be the end of it ? Clive, like other self-wrapped men, placed it in his own work. It was folly, he said, to look beyond the dominion of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Perhaps, since he recorded this opinion, the year 1857 has been the first in which it did not seem wholly impossible that he might have been right.

LECTURE VIII.

RISE OF THE BRITISH POWER IN INDIA.

PART II.—WARREN HASTINGS (1767—1785).

Hyder Ali of Mysore the next great Name after Clive in British Indian History—First Mysore War—The English break faith with Hyder Ali—The Tanjore Wars—Warren Hastings in Bengal—Arrest of Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy—The Company openly assume the Dewannee—Sale of Allahabad and Korah to the Nawab-Vizier of Oude—The Rohilla War—The Regulating Act and the New Council—First Interference with the Affairs of the Mahrattas—Discussions between Francis and Hastings—Execution of Nuncomar—Impey and the Supreme Court—Hastings all-powerful—The Madras Feud between Lord Pigot and his Council—Peculation of Sir T. Rumbold—Reduction of the French Settlements—Operations against the Mahrattas—League between Hyder Ali, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam; Second Mysore War—Baillie's Disaster—Coote's Victories at Porto Novo and Perambaucum—Lord Macartney at War with Selfishness and Incapacity at Madras—Hyder Ali's Death (1782)—Treaty of Salbye with the Mahrattas—Peace with France: with Tippoo, Hyder's Son and Successor—Warren Hastings' Extortions, from Cheyte Sing, from the Begums of Oude—The New Regulating Act and Hastings' Departure (1785)—His Acquittal—Why he ought to have been acquitted—His Opinion of the Natives—What has become of his Work in Rohilcund.

PART II. AFTER Clive's departure, the next leading name in the history of British India is not that of an Englishman. In the field appears the first really formidable native enemy whom the British arms had yet had to cope with—Hyder Ali, the founder of the short-lived Mussulman dynasty of Mysore.

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The story of the Moslem adventurer, who

never learned to read or write, and yet lived to transmit to his son a kingdom comprising a large portion of southern India, though not so romantic as that of Seevajee, is by no means devoid of interest in itself. But I have no time to dwell upon it here, except so far as it bears upon the development of our own power, which was thwarted for a time by the Mysore princes, in a way in which it never was by any other enemies, from the time when it first began to unfold itself. Suffice it to say that Hyder Ali, the great-grandson of a fakeer from the Punjab, had commenced his fortunes by receiving the fort of Dindigul from Nunjeraj, one of two brothers (Hindoos) then all-powerful in Mysore. He added Bangalore to his possessions, commanded successfully against the Mahrattas, supplanted Nunjeraj, obtained the assignment of more than half the revenue of the State, then used the supplanted Nunjeraj as his tool to become master of the whole. He now engaged in a war on his own account with the Mahrattas, in which he was at first rather unsuccessful, but at last won great renown by the conquest of Malabar, never before subdued by the Moslem, over the warlike Hindoo caste of the Nyrs (1765). His first war with the English was entirely provoked by them.

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For want of funds, they had made a disgraceful treaty with Nizam Ali, the new Soobahdar of the Deckan, by which they had engaged to pay him tribute for the Northern Circars, and to assist him with an auxiliary force in any of his undertakings. He called on them for aid in reducing Bangalore, which, as we have seen, was subject

PART II. to Hyder Ali. The English sent a force as stipu-
History. lated.

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Hyder Ali was cunning, the Nizam was faithless. They joined forces against the Nizam's English allies, nearly cut off one of their detachments, nearly surprised Madras. But some small successes on the English side now followed, the Nizam broke up his new alliance, and renewed his treaty with the English, reducing their tribute, and granting other advantages. The English thought Mysore already conquered, and conferred its sovereignty on their creature Mohammed Ali. But Hyder Ali routed Colonel Wood, the English commander, and, by a rapid march of 120 miles in three days, at the head of 6000 horse, suddenly appeared before Madras itself. The English did not venture to sacrifice their rich houses, their pleasant gardens. He dictated a peace. All conquests were to be mutually restored; there was to be mutual alliance for defensive wars (1769).

The Nawab of the Carnatic was heavily in debt to English money-lenders. He was required by the English to keep a large force to protect the country; he was required by them to defray its cost; his treasury was ruined by their exactions; his revenue fell short of his expenditure. At this juncture, Sir J. Lindsay reached Madras, as Minister Plenipotentiary, to carry out the treaty of Paris. He formally recognised the Nawab as a sovereign prince. He listened to his complaints against the Company,—which was right. He listened to his suggestions against Hyder Ali,—which was wrong. The Mahrattas had invaded Mysore, and Hyder Ali had called for English

assistance, pursuant to treaty. They procrastinated ; the Nawab urged alliance with the Mahrattas against him. Sir J. Lindsay supported the same views. Sir Robert Harland, who was sent out in his place, did the like. The Presidency of Madras held out, indeed, against an alliance, but Hyder Ali got no aid. The Nawab mediated a peace between the Mahrattas and Hyder Ali, on terms very unfavourable to the latter. Hyder Ali hated the faithless English from henceforth (1771).

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The next series of transactions which I am about to relate, is among the most disgraceful of the Company's history. The Raja of Tanjore had always been considered an English ally. But he had not sent quite so much money, quite so many troops, in aid of the last campaign, as was expected ; he was said even to have secretly communicated with Hyder. In the then state of Indian politics, when every man nearly was engaged in spoiling his weaker neighbours, he was endeavouring to reduce certain petty chieftains, called Polygars, of a district called the Marawars, over whom the Nawab claimed sovereignty. The Nawab enjoined him to desist ; the Tanjorine persisted. The joint forces of the Nawab and the English now invaded Tanjore, invested the capital, breached it, prepared to assault, when suddenly the Nawab's son, in command of his forces, came to terms with the Raja. The English were very indignant, and retained possession of a frontier town in virtue of their indignation. But they left their forces at the Nawab's disposal.

He now called upon them to help him in sub-

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doing those very Polygars on whose behalf he had pretended to go to war. The English were nothing loth. These petty chieftains, whose country seems to have been flourishing, were reduced; the utmost barbarity shown in the course of the conquest. Next the Nawab called on the English to subdue Tanjore, on pretence that the treaty had been violated (1772). The English knew the assertion to be false; the President and Council solemnly recorded their sense of the injustice of the war, and undertook it. Tanjore was again besieged and stormed in the heat of the day; the Raja was deposed, and detained a prisoner, with his family. The Dutch, who had purchased a small town of him, were forced to evacuate it (1773).

It is necessary not to overlook these transactions, although carried out upon a comparatively small scale; so complete is the foretaste which they give of those larger crimes to which we shall now have to pass, so thoroughly do they show that our sins in India of this period were national sins, and cannot be thrust off upon the shoulders of a Clive or a Warren Hastings. To play fast and loose with the plighted word of the State, to sell the mercenary English sword to whoever might bid high enough for it, to help wrong and fleece the wrong-doer, such was English custom in those days.

Bengal now claims our attention. After Clive's return, and until the administration of Warren Hastings, a period of tranquillity had intervened. The Court of Directors had indeed sent out a commission of three, invested with almost unlimited powers, for the reform of the administra-

tion; but the ship they sailed in was never heard of (1769). The same year witnessed one of those dreadful famines, caused by drought, which will always desolate India, so long as due care is not taken to store up and diffuse the waters of irrigation, or at least by the opening of roads, canals, and railways, to enable one district to profit by the abundance of another. In 1772, Warren Hastings (who had returned to England in 1764, had come out again to Madras in 1769, and had effected important reforms in the commercial department of that presidency) was appointed Governor of Bengal. You will not, of course, expect to find him a very scrupulous governor. He had witnessed the whole course of Clive's successful treacheries in Bengal, as well as those which followed his departure; had been engaged at an early period himself in the plots against the Soobahdars. He came fresh from Madras, from the spoiling of rajas and the fleecing of nawabs. It will be but fair to judge the man, not by his acts in themselves, but by reference to the school from whence he came. Those who sent him out, at all events, seem to have known their man. He soon received instructions from home, to place under arrest Mohammed Reza Khan, an able Mussulman, whom Clive had placed at the head of the administration of Bengal, and who had held the office for the last seven years, and to inquire into his administration. The Brahmin, Nuncomar, who had been a former competitor of Mohammed Reza Khan, a man of notorious dishonesty, had been Mohammed's chief accuser. He was pointed out by the Court, as likely to be useful in the inquiry.

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PART II. Mohammed Reza Khan was arrested at midnight,
History. in his palace at Moorshedabad. Shitab Roy, a
LECT. VIII. brave soldier, who had distinguished himself
when Knox relieved Patna, and had been placed
at the head of the administration of Behar,
although a noted friend to the English, was
arrested in like manner.

As far as Hastings was concerned, these two arrests were evidently made only by way of putting out of the way the two only men whose character and influence might have enabled them to resist the charge which was in contemplation. He now declared (11th May, 1772) that the Company had resolved to "stand forth publicly in the character of Dewan," in other words, to take openly upon themselves the financial administration of the country. Civil and criminal courts of justice were established. The Nawab was allowed a pension, and to retain the outward marks of sovereignty. He was placed under the guardianship of Munnee Begum, one of his father's wives, and Goordass, a son of Nuncomar. Mohammed Reza Khan and Shitab Roy were now tried before a committee, presided over by Hastings himself. There was not a shadow of evidence against the latter; he was acquitted with honour, received a formal apology, and sent back to Patna in great state. It was too late; he died broken-hearted. He could be a faithful servant; he could not brook to be treated, at the caprice of his employers, as a slave. Mohammed Reza Khan was equally acquitted and set at liberty, in spite of all Nuncomar's accusations. The Brahmin, like Omichund, was outwitted. Neither he nor Hastings ever forgave each other.

All this while the English held the districts of Korah and Allahabad, which, at the peace with the Nawab-Vizier of Oude, had been retained for the emperor, under pretence of preserving them for him. The emperor pressed them to fulfil old promises of restoring him to the throne of Delhi. Finding his requests unheeded, he turned to the Mahrattas. These promised aid, on being allowed to plunder the Rohillas. The Mogul and Mahratta forces combined attacked the leading Rohilla chief, Zabita Khan, who had been latterly governor of Delhi for the emperor; the Mahrattas ravaged his country. The other Rohilla chiefs sought the aid of the Nawab-Vizier of Oude, undertaking to pay thirty lacs of rupees, on condition of his expelling the Mahrattas. These having quarrelled with the emperor, occupied Delhi, and reduced him to a mere puppet in their hands, and returned again towards Rohilcund. The Rohillas called on the Nawab-Vizier for his aid; he did nothing but demand the promised subsidy.

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Hastings was pressed for money from home. He had taken means, after his own fashion, for saving money. He had reduced the deposed Bengal Nawab's allowance by one-half. From the moment that the emperor, for want of English assistance, had thrown himself into the hands of the Mahrattas, he had withheld the stipulated tribute of 300,000*l.* a year for Bengal. He now sought a purchaser for Allahabad and Korah. A meeting took place between Hastings and the Nawab-Vizier at Benares (Sept., 1773). For fifty lacs of rupees (500,000*l.*) Hastings sold to him Allahabad and Korah. For forty lacs

PART II. (400,000*l.*) he agreed to lend him English assist-
History. ance to "exterminate" the Rohillas, with whom
LECT. VIII. the English had no manner of quarrel. Breaches
of faith by the Company were now so common
that Hastings did not take the trouble to conceal
from his Council those towards the emperor,
who was indeed bribed to submit by the promise
of a share in Rohilcund when conquered. But
Hastings did not for awhile venture to bring
forward that part of the treaty of Benares
which related to the lending of English forces as
hirelings to subdue what was then the best
governed country in India.

However, the Nawab-Vizier claimed the promised aid, and it was not withheld. Colonel Champion, with an English brigade, joined the invaders. The Rohillas fought nobly. The English had to bear the brunt of the war. They defeated the Rohillas. The Nawab-Vizier could only plunder them. The whole country was given up to fire and to the sword. More than a hundred thousand people fled to the jungles. Quiet and fertile Rohilcund became a waste. Colonel Champion remonstrated; Warren Hastings did not. The war was over when the imperial troops appeared upon the scene, claiming the emperor's stipulated share in the conquest. The Soobahdar refused it. The English supported him in doing so. All Rohilcund passed under the Nawab-Vizier, except a small district assigned, at the request of the English, to a Rohilla chief, who swore allegiance.

A new act had been passed this year (1773) at home, known as the Regulating Act, for the government of the Company's possessions. The

Presidency of Bengal was to be first in rank, its Governor being styled Governor-General, with a salary of 25,000*l.* a year, assisted by four Councillors, at 10,000*l.* A Supreme Court of Justice was also created, with a chief and three inferior justices, and made independent of the Governor-General in Council. Hastings was named first Governor-General.

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On the 1st August, 1774, the new act was put in operation, and in October three of the new Councillors arrived from England. They were General Clavering, Mr. Monson, and Philip Francis. The other member, with Hastings, was Mr. Barwell, already in India. The majority of the Council was soon found to be against Hastings. The three new comers strongly censured the Rohilla war ; condemned, as they well might, an arrangement by which Hastings kept up a private agent in Oude, whose correspondence was not submitted to the Council ; required the withdrawal of the British forces, and immediate payment by the Nawab-Vizier of what was due to them, the expenses of the war having, indeed, been stipulated to be paid by him. Soojah Dowlah now dying, they insisted that the allowance to the English troops should be increased, and that the Zemindaree of Benares should be ceded to the English (1775).

Bombay had long been far from prominent in the history of British India. It now comes again under notice. The possession of Bassein and Salsette, which, you will recollect, were in the hands of the Mahrattas, was of great importance to that Presidency. A disputed succession to the Peshwaship, as well as to the authority of the

PART II. Guicowar in Guzerat, seemed to open a way to
History. these and other acquisitions. The Bombay Go-
vernment recognised Ragonath Rao, or Ragoba,
LECT. VIII. as Peshwa, on condition of his ceding Salsette,
Bassein, and some other small territories. They
occupied them, and sent troops to support the
Peshwa's cause. Suddenly orders came from the
Calcutta Council, disapproving of all their pro-
ceedings, and requiring Ragoba to be abandoned.
A new treaty was concluded with his rivals,
which gave up all the conquests of the English
except Salsette and the neighbouring islands. It
was scarcely signed when letters reached from
the Court of Directors at home, approving all
that the Calcutta Council had disapproved.

Meanwhile the Calcutta Council had been
receiving charges of corruption and peculation
against the Governor-General. Nuncomar was
his chief accuser. Hastings was accused of
selling offices, receiving bribes ; amongst other
things, large sums for the appointment of Raja
Goordass and Munnee Begum to the charge of
the Nawab's affairs and his person ; a large sum
for the escape of Mohammed Reza-Khan. Nun-
comar exhibited documents, particulars, seals.
He was fully capable of having forged the evi-
dence. Hastings, I suspect, was equally capable
of having received the bribes. He refused to
acknowledge the authority of the Council. The
Council pronounced the charges valid, and he
was ordered to refund.

Hastings was not idle. A charge of conspiracy
was first brought forward against Nuncomar.
It wholly failed. A charge of forgery was then
tried before the Supreme Court. It had very

likely been committed. But it was only alleged to have been committed in 1770, while the law which gave the Supreme Court jurisdiction was only put in force in 1774. But Elijah Impey, the chief justice, was an old schoolfellow and tool of Hastings. Nuncomar was tried by a jury of Englishmen, convicted, sentenced to death, hanged (5th August, 1775). All believed that it was Hastings' work.¹

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The Rohilla war was strongly condemned by the Court of Directors in England. The Governor-General could be removed on an address to the Company. The Court of Directors voted the address, by eleven to ten. But in the Court of Proprietors there was a majority in his favour. Lord North wanted Clavering to be governor, and threatened to bring in a bill to deprive the Company of all political power. In anticipation of a crisis, Hastings had placed his resignation in the hands of a Colonel Maclean. Maclean thought the time come, and tendered it. It was accepted; Mr. Wheeler, a Director, was sent off to replace Hastings, Clavering receiving interim powers. Meanwhile, by the death of Monson, Hastings had acquired a casting-vote in the

¹ Lord Macaulay says that none but fools and biographers can doubt that Nuncomar's death was by Hastings' procurement. But he attempts to palliate the act on the ground that it was only getting rid of an inveterate enemy. What! an Englishman unjustly accused, with a resort in the last instance to his country and to his sovereign, can be justified in putting his accuser out of the world? If none but fools and biographers can believe that Hastings did not deliver up Nuncomar to death, on a sentence which the instincts of mankind pronounce illegal, by a judge whom he knew to be without conscience, I should say that none but fools and brilliant essayists can believe that Hastings was not guilty on Nuncomar's charges.

PART II. Council. When the news came of Wheeler's
History. arrival, he repudiated Maclean's act on his
LECT. VIII. behalf. Clavering insisted on his authority.
Hastings defied it; directed the army to obey no
orders but his, but offered to refer the matter to
the Supreme Court—a mock reference, seeing
what Impey was, but one which it would have
required unscrupulousness equal to his own to
have refused. The Court decided in his favour.
He now had the upper hand, and used his
authority. His former agent was again sent to
Oude; other agents of the Council were displaced.
Clavering died in August, 1777. The quarrels
in the Council at Calcutta were for a time sus-
pended, Francis undertaking not to oppose,
Hastings to allow Francis's friends a share in the
loaves and fishes. He now felt strong enough to
throw overboard his friends of the Supreme Court.
By attempting to enforce English law and pro-
cedure, without the slightest reference to native
habits and feelings, it had roused the whole com-
munity against itself. Hastings had every one
on his side in opposing it. Impey showed fight;
had the Governor-General and all the Council
served with writs. Hastings bade them defiance.
But probably Impey knew enough to be danger-
ous. He had 8000*l.* a year as Crown Judge.
Hastings offered him about 8000*l.* more as Com-
pany's Judge, removable at pleasure. In vain
Francis opposed the arrangement; it was con-
cluded. Any other troublesome scoundrel Hast-
ings would have no doubt arrested and shipped
for England. Impey received double pay and
double jurisdiction. Hastings and Francis now
fell out again, chiefly in consequence of the

operations against the Mahrattas, which I shall soon advert to. Hastings charged Francis, in a recorded minute, with being "void of truth and honour." Francis challenged him. Hastings shot him through the body, though not mortally. Francis quitted the Council and left for England. Hastings was supreme. It was perhaps well that he was so, for a second Mysore war was come.

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We might well think that dissensions like these I have briefly referred to, but of which you will find the detailed account in Lord Macaulay's Essay, so disgraceful to the depositaries of the British power in India, must have been something altogether exceptional, unique; that none but a Hastings and a Francis could have engaged in them. We should be wholly mistaken. The spirit of selfish lawlessness of which they testify was characteristic of the time. For a similar feud between Governor and Council had meanwhile been raging at Madras, but with exactly opposite issues, and results the most disgraceful to the English name. It will be recollected that the Raja of Tanjore, an old English ally, had been despoiled of his territories, and imprisoned by the English, on the demand of the Nawab of Arcot,¹ in a campaign of which the Madras Presidency had themselves previously recognised the injustice.

Proceedings like these were too much even for the strong stomachs of the Court of Directors at

¹ The Nawab of the Carnatic gradually came to be so called,—apparently in consequence of the curtailment of his territory. So in later days the Mahratta State of Berar came to be known as that of Nagpore, its capital; so in Bengal, the Soobahdars of old have dwindled into the Nawabs of Moorshedabad.

PART II. home. Lord Pigot—who as Mr. Pigot had already been Governor of Madras, at the taking of
History. Pondicherry—was sent out a second time as
 LECT. VIII. governor, with orders to restore the Raja (1775), which he did. Hereupon, a Mr. Paul Benfield, a junior servant of the Company with a small salary, of extravagant habits, put forward a claim to a large share of the revenues of Tanjore, as having been assigned to him by the Nawab of the Carnatic, in payment of a debt of 250,000*l.* The claim was preposterous; neither could Benfield have lent the money, nor could the Nawab have given the security; but eventually, in spite of Lord Pigot's opposition, it was declared valid by the Council. Lord Pigot protested; the majority of the Council had him suddenly arrested; a Colonel Stuart, who had breakfasted and dined with Lord Pigot, seized his person that night. Lord Pigot died of vexation, after eight months' confinement (1776). There was great indignation in England; but it ended in four members of the Council being sentenced to a fine of 1000*l.* each (1777). A compromise of claims was effected with the Raja.

Peculation now ran riot in Madras. The zemindars, or revenue farmers, were summoned personally to the Presidency, to make their financial arrangements with Sir Thomas Rumbold, the new governor, and his supporters. A raja was compelled to hand over the affairs to his brother. It afterwards turned out that the favoured brother had paid large sums in Madras, not to the Company's treasury, and that Sir Thomas Rumbold and his secretary had remitted

to Europe more than six times the amount of their respective salaries. He refused to pay any portion of the stipulated tribute to the Nizam for the Northern Circars, and replied with insult to the remonstrances of the Supreme Council of Calcutta. He let both the finances of Madras and the troops fall into complete disorder. Lastly, he involved the English in a second war with Hyder Ali.

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Hyder Ali, we have seen, deemed himself already to have been betrayed by the English. He had had relations with the French; he drew them closer. Through Mahé, the French settlement of the Malabar coast, he received arms and ammunition. Rumbold continued to treat him with studied disrespect.

In the year 1778, tidings having been prematurely received of war between England and France, a resolution was taken to seize all the French settlements in India. Pondicherry alone resisted. Mahé was taken, notwithstanding an intimation by Hyder Ali that, if attacked, he would invade the Carnatic. French emissaries, however, real or pretended, had also appeared at Poona, and had been received with distinction. There was an old feud between the Peshwas and the Boslas of Berar. Hastings allied himself with the former, took up the cause of Ragoba, and sent six battalions of sepoy, a company of artillery, and a corps of cavalry across the Deccan to co-operate with the Bombay troops, under Colonel Egerton and others (1779). The campaign was a tissue of blunders. When within sixteen miles of Poona, Egerton retreated, harassed by the Mahrattas. The Bombayers

PART II. eventually concluded a disgraceful convention
History. at Worgaum. Leslie, on his part, crawled on,
LECT. VIII. treating with every petty chief, till orders came
that he should be deprived of his command,
when he committed suicide. The command
devolved on Colonel Goddard, who repudiated
the Worgaum convention, reached Surat in
safety, in spite of 20,000 Mahratta horse; was
joined there by Ragoba, and, in the month of
January, 1780, was able to retake the field,
storm Ahmedabad, and rout, by surprise in their
camp, the combined forces of Scindia and Hol-
kar, almost without loss (April 3rd). On the
other hand, a small body of troops—sent, under
Captain Popham, to the aid of a petty Rajpoot
prince, called the Rana, who occupied a petty
country between Oude and the territories of
Scindia, and had lately entered into a treaty
with the English against the Mahrattas, who had
invaded his territory—met with distinguished
success, and signalised itself by the escalade of
Gwalior, a reputed impregnable fortress, on the
summit of a rock scarped to the height of twenty
feet, with a precipitous ascent of a hundred feet
from scarp to wall, and a rampart wall of thirty
feet besides, and which was garrisoned by 1000
men (3rd August). The Mahrattas abandoned
the country, and Scindia trembled in his capital.

Thus, while Rumbold was irritating Hyder
Ali, Hastings was raising the Mahrattas against
him. Those who cry up Hastings' statesman-
ship may do well to remember that by this
means was formed against us the most formidable
confederacy we had yet had to encounter in India;
—a league concluded after the fall of Mahé in

1779, between Hyder, the Mahrattas, and the Nizam, for the total expulsion of the English. Although warned of it by the Nawab of the Carnatic, in November, 1779, they suffered Hyder to make full preparations, and to strike the first blow. He crossed the frontier (July, 1780) with 100,000 men, of whom were 20,000 trained infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 400 Europeans, who had been in the service of the Nizam, headed by an able French officer, Lally ; besides 100 pieces of cannon, managed by trained artillerymen, European and native. The English had only 6000 infantry, 100 trained cavalry, the Nawab's irregular horse, and a few ill-managed guns. They were hated : Hyder Ali sighed for as a deliverer from extortion. Of the two English commanders, the chief, Monro, had formerly been reckoned an able officer, but seemed now to have lost his wits. He shrunk from the command,—wishing to throw it upon Lord Macleod, newly arrived from England in command of a Highland regiment,—quarrelled fiercely in the Council, challenged one of the members. When at last he marched, he encumbered himself with siege artillery, having nothing to besiege.

Next under him was Baillie, a slow, irresolute man, whom Monro ordered to relieve Arcot, besieged by Hyder, and who suffered himself to be five days stopped by the swelling of a small river. However, he made his way ; and when within fifteen miles of the main army at Perambaucum, repelled the attack of Tippoo Saib, Hyder's son, though immensely superior in strength, after a desperate struggle of several hours. Sorely weakened, however, by the battle, he

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pressed Monro to bring up the whole army to his support. It seemed impossible that Monro should do otherwise. Hyder's Europeans were already urging him to retreat. Monro only sent a detachment under Colonel Fletcher. Bailliestruggled on.

On the 10th September (1786) he found himself attacked by the whole army of Hyder. The English fought like heroes. They would have won the day, if Monro had struck a blow in the rear. They might have won it alone, if two of their ammunition tumbrils had not blown up. The sepoys were annihilated. Only 400 Europeans held out, still undaunted. Baillie despaired. He held up a flag of truce. But no sooner were the arms laid down than the wild Mysoreans rushed on the English, massacred 200, and would have massacred them all but for the efforts of Lally and the French. Monro had lain within two miles; he had moved late in the day, and then moved back again, thinking Baillie victorious. He now speedily retreated, and was before Madras on the 13th September. Arcot fell; Madras, utterly unprovided, would have fallen, had Hyder pursued. But the news reached Warren Hastings at Calcutta. He instantly sent fifteen lacs of rupees, and a large body of European infantry and artillery, to Madras,—suspended Sir Thomas Rumbold, and placed Sir Eyre Coote, who had replaced Clavering in the Bengal Council, and as Commander-in-Chief, in command of the Madras army. Rumbold, we may add at once, was, the next year, dismissed by the Court of Directors from their service, together with two other members of the disgraceful Madras Council.

Though Coote was very old, his arrival instilled new life into the Madras troops (1781). He relieved Vandiwash, which was besieged; disarmed the French of Pondicherry, who, on the arrival of a French fleet, had taken arms; protected other towns which were threatened; and, though failing in his attack on a fortified pagoda, defeated Hyder completely at Porto Novo in a six hours' battle; engaged again, with success, his whole forces in the old camping ground of Perambaucum; surprised and again defeated him in his camp near Vellore, and almost annihilated his cavalry. But the campaign had cost the English nearly one-third of their army, by the time it returned to Madras.

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The arrival of Lord Macartney, as Governor of Madras, might have mended matters. But Lord Macartney, to whom justice has not, I think, been done, and who seems to me to have been one of the ablest and best of our Indian statesmen, was hampered by a series of selfish or incapable commanders, upon whom he vainly urged wise plans, decided conduct, and united action. Coote was jealous of any limitation of his authority. War had just broken out between England and Holland; and it was resolved to seize all the Dutch settlements in India. Two of the smaller ones were easily reduced. Lord Macartney next wished to attack Negapatam. Coote would neither do so, nor spare any of his troops. Lord Macartney gathered together what other troops remained, and placed them under Sir Hector Monro, who this time behaved with spirit. Negapatam was reduced, and Trincomalee, in Ceylon, as well (1782).

PART II. The war now became nearly general all along
History. both coasts, on land and at sea. The English
LECT. VIII. admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, like Coote on
 land, disdained to receive orders. Cuddalore
 and Trincomalee were both lost by his neglect.
 Suffrein, the French admiral, though defeated,
 was always allowed to refit. Tippoo, Hyder's
 son, with 10,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, 400
 Europeans, and 20 guns, attacked and destroyed
 a detachment of 1,900 men, commanded by
 Brathwaite, in Tanjore, in spite of the most
 gallant resistance. He received, after this suc-
 cess, a reinforcement of 3000 men, landed by
 Suffrein under Bussy, including a regiment of
 negroes, and became, of course, more formidable
 still. Coote took the field, but did nothing,
 losing even a whole regiment of European
 cavalry, drawn into an ambushade and cut to
 pieces. Madras, abandoned by the fleet during
 the winter, was ravaged by a hurricane, which
 destroyed the rice-laden store-vessels, and by a
 famine. 1,500 bodies were buried weekly outside
 the town. Half a million of people perished in
 the Carnatic. On the opposite coast, after some
 successes, the baggage of the English army was
 cut off in marching to take Palgautcherry. They
 retreated, harassed by Tippoo, fighting at every
 step. Suddenly they beheld the Mysore army
 in full retreat. Tippoo had received tidings of the
 death of his father, on the 7th December, 1782.

The only counterpoise to the late disasters had been the successes in the north-west against the Mahrattas. Colonel Hartley expelled them from the Concan, and having taken up a position at Doogaur, defeated completely 20,000 of them

who attacked him, their general being killed (December 1780). General Goddard, the English commander, had, indeed, after an advance, to retreat from Poona, severely harassed by the Mahrattas. But the war was practically brought to an end through a night-surprise of Scindia's camp, by Colonel Carnac. The Mahrattas fled in disorder, leaving guns, elephants, ammunition (27th March, 1781). Scindia's resources were exhausted. A treaty was concluded at Salbye, 17th May, 1782.

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In vain had Lord Macartney urged General Stuart, now in command of the English army in the south, to attack the Mysore army when in retreat after Hyder's death. He refused to do so, would not begin the campaign till the next February, began it by withdrawing garrisons and blowing up English fortifications. Still, the arrival of a powerful English army, under General Matthews, compelled Tippoo to retreat from the Carnatic, to defend his western coast, where the English attacked and carried many of his fortresses of the Ghauts (1783). But the English troops had large arrears due to them; they expected to be paid out of the treasures found in the Mysorean forts and towns,—Mangalore in particular. Matthews refused to listen to their grievances, severely punished the refractory. Three of his principal officers went to Bombay to complain. The Bombay Government superseded Matthews, giving the command to Macleod, one of the complainants. As they were returning by sea, they were met and attacked by a Mahratta squadron, ignorant of the late peace. Of the three complainants, one was killed, one

PART II. mortally wounded, Macleod remained a prisoner.

History. A few weeks later, Matthews' army lying dis-

LECT. VIII. { dispersed, Tippoo suddenly invested Bednore. The English were unprepared, and after a gallant defence capitulated. After the capitulation, Matthews distributed the public treasure among his distressed soldiers. Tippoo now violated the capitulation. Matthews was assassinated in prison, his companions were barbarously treated. Tippoo proceeded to invest Mangalore.

Meanwhile the French admiral, Suffrein, unopposed, had landed Bussy and French troops at Cuddalore. In vain did Lord Macartney urge General Stuart to prevent the French from establishing themselves there. For a long time he would not move; when he did move, it was at the rate of less than three miles a day. On arriving, he attacked the French lines, with some success, but so much loss that he durst not follow it up. Meanwhile the English fleet had returned, and engaged and defeated Suffrein off Cuddalore, but immediately hurried off to Madras, leaving Suffrein, as usual, full time to refit. He now landed additional men, and Bussy in turn attacked the English lines, and was with difficulty repulsed; a French sergeant, amongst others, who was one day to be King of Sweden (Charles John Bernadotte), being wounded and taken prisoner. A second attack was being prepared, when, fortunately for the English, news was received of peace having been concluded in Europe. Hostilities were stopped, Tippoo was invited to join the treaty, and his French auxiliaries were recalled. Stuart was summoned to Madras to account for his conduct.

After a course of disobedience and resistance such as might have been expected of him, he was dismissed the service and arrested, and finally had to sail for England.

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Tippoo, however, refused to listen to any overture for peace until he had reduced Mangalore. It was vigorously defended by Col. Campbell, and seemed once on the eve of being relieved by Colonel Fullerton, whose course in the south had been most successful. Stopped once by a recall to Cuddalore, he resolved to make a diversion by attacking Seringapatam itself, and had already reduced two strong fortresses, when he received orders to suspend operations and restore the places taken; which last, however, he declined to do. On the other hand, General Macleod, sent with a squadron from Bombay to relieve Mangalore, treated instead of landing, and returned to Bombay on condition of being allowed to throw in a month's provision. It consisted of damaged stores, not one-twentieth of which could be eaten by the very dogs. At last Campbell capitulated, and marched to Tellicherry, with all the honours of war (23rd Jan., 1784).

Tippoo now consented to treat. There was no mistaking that he had had the advantage, and he could afford to be insolent to the English Commissioners. Peace was concluded, 11th March, 1784, all conquests being restored on both sides. The Council at Calcutta ratified it, in Hastings' absence. On his return, he wished to foist into it an additional clause. Lord Macartney was a gentleman, and refused. Hastings had thwarted him throughout in every way, as a peer, as a king's servant, and most of all, probably, as

PART II. an honest man. As a last insult, he sent back
History. to Madras the now effete and impracticable
 LECT. VIII. Coote, as Commander-in-Chief, independent of
 the Madras Government. Fortunately, perhaps,
 for his honour, Coote died of fatigue three days
 after landing (April 26, 1784).

Lord Macartney had, indeed, done one act which Hastings was little likely to forgive. Without violence, without treachery, he had succeeded for the time being in securing the whole Carnatic for England. The Nawab had yielded up the whole financial administration of his country, on condition of receiving one-sixth of the revenues.

Throughout these operations, it had been Hastings' main business to find money. He was ingenious in obtaining it.

The Raja of Benares had long been under the protection of the Company. Clive had stipulated with his immediate suzerain, the Nawab-Vizier of Oude, on his behalf. His allegiance had been lately transferred to the Company, by the Nawab-Vizier handing over to them the zemindaree or revenue-farm of the State. Cheyte Sing, the present Raja, was reputed rich. He had courted Francis and Clavering. On the war with France, in 1778, Hastings demanded of him a subsidy of 50,000*l.* over and above his fixed tribute. Cheyte Sing paid it for this once, stipulating that it should not be required again. The demand was renewed in 1779. Cheyte Sing remonstrated; troops were sent, and Cheyte Sing was forced to pay, over and above the 50,000*l.*, a fine of 2000*l.* for military expenses. In 1780, the claim was made again. This time Cheyte Sing tried

bribery, and secretly offered 20,000*l.* to Hastings. Hastings took the money, and for a time kept it. At last he paid it into the Treasury, enforced the contribution, and another fine, this time of 10,000*l.* Hastings now required Cheyte Sing to keep a body of cavalry for the service of the English. Cheyte Sing durst not refuse, but did not comply. Hastings resolved to treat him as a refractory vassal. Cheyte Sing, alarmed, offered 200,000*l.* Hastings declared that 500,000*l.* would be required ; talked of selling Benares to Oude ; proceeded to Cheyte Sing's capital. Cheyte Sing came near sixty miles to meet him, and behaved with the utmost submission. Hastings treated him with contumely, and when he tried to justify himself, arrested him, and placed him in custody of two companies of sepoys.

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Now, as Rohilcund, as the Marawars, had been prosperous until ravaged by the English, on behalf of their allies,—as the wretchedness of the Carnatic had made the people glad to welcome Hyder Ali as a deliverer,—so was Benares flourishing under its Hindoo ruler, whilst the neighbouring English provinces were only a little less wretched than those of their neighbours of Oude. The people rose for the rescue of their ruler. The English officers, the sepoys, were killed. Cheyte Sing escaped. An attempt to recover the palace was defeated with great loss. All the district of Benares took to arms. The people of Oude rose against their ruler. Behar was ready to revolt. Hastings escaped with great personal danger. Cheyte Sing, who, even after his escape, had negotiated for submission, at last took

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courage from the devotion of his subjects. But the people of Benares, though brave, were undisciplined, little used to warfare. 30,000 men were soon dispersed by the English, under Major Popham, the captor of Gwalior. Cheyte Sing fled to Bundelcund, leaving his wife and treasure in the fort of Bijyghur. It was captured, and the treasure seized as prize-money by the army. It was only one-fourth of what was expected—250,000*l.* Hastings had disgraced his name in vain, so far as present emergencies were concerned. But Cheyte Sing was deposed; another prince invested with nominal authority, the administration of justice being placed under the Company, and the tribute raised to 400,000*l.* a year—double its previous amount.

Money then had to be found elsewhere. The new Vizier of Oude, Asaph ud Dowlah, an incapable prince, had fallen into arrear in payment of his tribute, in consequence of the expense of keeping up the English brigade. In vain he solicited the withdrawal of the troops; Hastings insisted at once that he must keep them, and that he must pay for them; claimed 1,400,000*l.* He was represented at Lucknow by a creature of his, of the name of Middleton, whom he had appointed in express defiance of the orders of the Court of Directors. He announced his intention of going to Lucknow. Fearing, perhaps, the fate of Cheyte Sing, Asaph ud Dowlah hastened to meet his too-powerful ally at Chunar. The following was the plan which Hastings proposed to him for payment of his debt:—

The mother of the late Nawab and his widow, mother of the reigning prince, had been left by

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Soojah Dowlah in possession of his favourite palace at Fyzabad, of large jagheers, and of his treasures, on condition of their supporting the families of preceding Nawabs, comprising many persons. These princesses, known as the Begums, had had great influence over Soojah Dowlah during his life. He knew them, probably, to be more likely to fulfil his wishes than his incapable son. Asaph ud Dowlah had already extorted large sums from his mother. She had appealed to the English, who had formally guaranteed a compact, by which, in consideration of some present help, he undertook never more to molest her. These persons it was whom the English Governor himself now instigated Asaph ud Dowlah to plunder. He would remit the existing claim, rid the Nawab of the English subsidiary force, if he would strip the princesses of their treasures and estates, handing over the proceeds to the Governor-General. The pretext was to be, that they had had a hand in the late disturbances in Oude. But there was to be no trial, no charge supplied, no defence allowed. The Nawab consented.

But the promise given, he shrank from performance. Even the English resident, Middleton, Hastings' tool, recoiled from the proposed infamy. Hastings upbraided him, threatened to proceed to Lucknow in person. The resident then insisted on the treaty. Asaph ud Dowlah yielded under protest. The jagheers were resumed. A body of English troops prepared to storm Fyzabad. There was but little resistance offered. The gates of the palace were forced, the Begums confined to their zenana, the inviolable sanc-

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tuary of native females (January 7, 1782). As they still refused to give up the treasures, of which they were, indeed, less the owners than the trustees, two old confidential eunuchs of the late Nawab, still at the head of their household, were, to use Lord Macaulay's words, "seized, imprisoned, ironed, starved almost to death," to extort money from the princesses; were refused permission to take exercise for health's sake, when the officer in charge of them represented that there was no chance of their escaping; were threatened at last with torture, which in all probability was actually inflicted upon them. At last, when no more money could be extracted from their mistresses, they were set at liberty. What was the reward of all this infamy? 500,000*l.* for the Company, while Hastings, for his part, received 100,000*l.* from the Nawab, asking the Directors' permission to retain it. His worthy ally, Impey, had helped him in this new villany by hastening to Lucknow to receive (quite illegally) evidence against the Begums.

The plundering of the Begums was the crowning act of Hastings' administration. The health of his wife, a Russian, whom he had bought of her previous husband, a German baron and portrait-painter, of the name of Imhoff, began to fail. He appears to have been extremely devoted to her, and followed her to England after a few months (8th February, 1785). It was indeed full time for him to do so. English peculations and atrocities in India had begun to excite attention and indignation at home. Select committees had been appointed by the Commons on Indian affairs, had reported in severe terms. These reports had

been followed by votes in the same spirit. A bill of pains and penalties had been brought in against Sir T. Rumbold, though it was eventually abandoned. A resolution had been passed, that Hastings ought to be recalled. An act had been passed, limiting the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. An address had been presented to the Crown for summoning Impey home, and he had been recalled accordingly. Fox had even brought in a bill for taking the government of India entirely out of the Company's hands. It was defeated; but the adverse India bills of Pitt were little less threatening to Hastings. A Board of Control was created, which, for the first time, gave the Crown power "to check, superintend, and control all acts, operations, and concerns which in anywise related to the civil or military government of revenues of the territories and possessions" of the Company. It was enacted that all servants of the Company should give an exact inventory of the property which they brought from India, and a tribunal was constituted—which, however, never acted—"for the prosecuting and bringing to condign punishment British subjects guilty of extortion and other misdemeanours, while holding offices in the service of the King or Company in India" (17th August, 1784).

Of the remainder of Hastings' life, and of that celebrated trial which Mr. Macaulay describes so picturesquely and at such length, I need say little. He was acquitted after eight years, and at the close of his life covered with honour. He died in 1818,—having survived his old opponent, Francis, by four months, day for day.

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I have now gone through with you the story of the establishment of the English power in India. It is an ugly one. It begins in feebleness and cowardice ; it is pervaded by rapacity ; it closes with a course of fraud and falsehood, of forgery and treason, as stupendous as ever lay at the foundation of a great empire. My lord Macaulay, in that brilliant passage which opens his biographical sketch of Clive, expresses his astonishment at the little interest which we take in the story. I do not know any stronger instance of the short-sightedness of clever men when they only recognise the moral sense as something wherewith to flavour a narrative, as you might flavour a pudding with allspice or with mace. Our own consciences will, long ere this, have given the answer this evening. It is the instinctive hypocrisy of shame which has kept us Englishmen aloof from the tale of the rise of our Indian empire. I suppose that the son of a transported convict in Sydney, whose father has won a fortune for him, who is rising in station and consideration himself, who is received at Government-house, subscribes to charities, sits in front-pews at church, likes nothing less than to be reminded of the notorious robberies and burglaries by which his father won for himself a free passage to the antipodes, and if they happen to be recorded in the Newgate Calendar, would only be the more careful to exclude that exciting work from his library. Is it not so with us ? Is it not in human nature that we should dislike to be reminded of the crimes which Clive and Warren Hastings, and all that shameless generation which surrounded them, committed for our

benefit!¹ I thank God that, until the Whig essayist and cabinet minister, no man had yet had the hardihood to see the picturesqueness of this shameful story, to measure its capabilities as the subject of a brilliant article in a review. For myself, if I could have fancied that any one of you would carry away nothing with him but the remembrance of an exciting narrative, I should have sealed my lips for ever on this subject. It has been painful, very painful for me to treat it. More than once, whilst preparing for these lectures, I have fairly sickened over my materials, and risen from my work, unable at the moment for very shame to proceed. If I have gone through the history with you, it has been in the hope that you would learn from it, as Englishmen, lessons of national humiliation and repentance, and above all, of charity towards those men with whom we are now engaged in warfare; whose forefathers our forefathers have wronged.²

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¹ I do not speak, I trust, in any Pharisaic spirit. My hard words bear first of all upon myself. My father died in the service of the East India Company. His widow's sole income is derived from that country. I was, therefore, bred up, so to speak, a pensioner of the people of India, and a sharer in the proceeds of the extortions which I condemn.

² Let me not be misunderstood. I advocate no "leniency" towards men guilty of the recent atrocities. If any one of us could have outraged helpless women, butchered harmless children, or could even have passively stood by to see such things perpetrated, I think the kindest thing which could be done to us would be to send us as soon as possible out of this world to God. We should have broken the very bond of human fellowship. We ought to be as little capable, for very shame, of bearing the sight of our fellow-men as they, in their horror, ought to be compelled to bear ours. All I ask is, that we should not learn to look upon ourselves as crimeless, because crime has been committed against us;

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But,—to revert to those old days,—for another thing also I thank God. I trust that both Clive and Warren Hastings, had they lived in our days, and done as they did, would, instead of winning a peerage or a pension, have ended their days in penal servitude, and would be held by all to have richly deserved their doom. I do not, therefore, thank God either for the peerage of the one, or for the pension of the other. But I do thank God that neither of them was ever sentenced to the punishment which, as a man, he had deserved. I believe the lowest state of hypocrisy is that in which, while the offender is punished, the punisher profits by his crime without atoning for it. From the canker of that Pharisaism the English character recoiled; that, I have no doubt, is the true, deep-seated, unavowable, instinctive cause of Hastings' acquittal. We were not prepared to restore to the Mogul emperor the provinces which we had undertaken to keep for him, and then sold to another. We were not prepared to restore Rohilcund to its independence, or the Soobahdar of Bengal to the provinces out of which we had tricked him, or Cheyte Sing to Benares and its spoiled treasures, or the Begums to Fyzabad. Much of the wrong, indeed, it was too late to undo; who could give back to the brave Shitab Roy of Behar, the spirit which we had broken, the life which our breach of faith had cut short? Much could not have been undone without greater wrong. It is unfortunately easier to make a man a puppet, than a puppet a man, and the titled pensioners of Moorshedabad

nor to view all as crime in others, which, were we crimeless, might be so.

were no longer capable of ruling. Much, lastly, could not have been undone without sacrifices which we were not prepared to make. I am glad, therefore, I repeat it, that we had not the face to make this man or that the scapegoat of our sins. Whilst the Company subsisted, whilst England retained her Indian conquests, it was right that Warren Hastings should go unscathed.

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As to those glowing passages of Lord Macaulay's two biographies, of Clive and Warren Hastings, in which he speaks of the one as having "done and suffered much for the happiness of mankind," of the other as deserving a grave in Westminster Abbey—you will know by this time what they are worth. What these men were, apart from the glow of their talents, is best appreciated by comparing them with their obscurer Indian contemporaries. Rumbold and Impey exhibit to us their rapacity; Coote, Monro, Stuart, and others their selfishness, their insolent disregard of orders. As respects Warren Hastings, in particular, some of the touches in Lord Macaulay's apology become almost ludicrous when compared with the facts. He speaks of his "honourable poverty," when all that is certain respecting it is, that with a salary of 25,000*l.* a year, he is not known to have accepted bribes, though he asked leave to do so, and in all probability his wife did so for him; that he put out of the way by an iniquitous sentence the man who was his chief accuser; that he spent all he got, and corrupted the press for the sake of buying an acquittal, to the tune of 20,000*l.* a year. And as to his "fervent zeal for the public service," his mean thwarting of Lord Macartney, at

PART II. a time when the whole danger to England in
History. India lay upon the latter, is a sufficient measure
 LECT. VIII. of what that zeal was, whenever the credit of
 { serving the State was likely to redound to another
 than himself.

There is one remarkable point, however, in Hastings' character, to which I have not alluded. Clive had won by his daring the enthusiastic loyalty of the sepoy. Warren Hastings ingratiated himself with the natives by speaking their language, by encouraging the study of their literature, by respecting their usages even in his most tyrannous proceedings. And when, towards the close of his life, he gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords,—on that celebrated occasion described by Lord Macaulay, when his examiners all rose at his departure,—he gave the following most remarkable statement.

“Great pains have been taken to inculcate into the public mind an opinion that the native Indians are in a state of complete moral turpitude, and live in the constant and unrestrained commission of every vice and crime that can disgrace human nature,—I affirm, by the oath that I have taken, that this description of them is untrue, and wholly unfounded . . . In speaking of the people, it is necessary to distinguish the Hindoos, who form the great portion of the population, from the Mahommedans, who are intermixed with them, but generally live in separate communities; the former are *gentle, benevolent, more susceptible of gratitude for kindness shown to them, than prompted to vengeance by wrongs inflicted, and as exempt from the worst propensities of human passion, as any people on the face of the earth*; they are *faithful and affectionate in service, and submissive to legal authority*; they are superstitious, it is true, but they do not think ill of us for not thinking as they do. Gross as their modes of worship are, the precepts of their religion are wonderfully fitted to promote the best ends of society, its peace and good order. . . .”

It is the fashion now, especially since the late

mutinies, to cry up Warren Hastings' rule ; and this cry is the loudest in the mouth of those who speak of the natives with the greatest scorn and abhorrence. It would be well for such persons to ponder these words of their chosen hero.

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And those who measure crimes by their immediate success, would do well to ponder this fact also. It is now eighty-four years since unoffending Rohilcund was subdued by the English arms, though not at first for England. The crime was successful. The peaceable loyalty of the Rohillas has of late years been pointed to as a stock argument for the eventual success of conquest or annexation. What do we see now ? Rohilcund is once more to us a foreign country. We have hardly a foot of ground in it, and scarcely attempt as yet to hold one. Politically, Warren Hastings' work in this quarter is annihilated. But morally, the results subsist. The once noble Rohillas are murderers, like the men of Oude for whose benefit they were subdued. The massacre of Bareilly has only been cast into shade by the deeper gloom of the tragedies of Delhi and Cawnpore.

LECTURE IX.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BRITISH RULE IN INDIA
(1785-1798).LORD CORNWALLIS AND SIR JOHN SHORE.
THE ZEMINDAREE SETTLEMENT.

State of India at Warren Hastings' Departure—Beneficial Effects of his Trial—Mr. Macpherson—Lord Macartney's Ill-luck—Lord Cornwallis's Dealings with Oude and the Nizam—The Third Mysore War—Savendroog—First Siege of Seringapatam—Tippoo sues for Peace, and gives up half his Territory—Internal Organization—Administration of Justice—Police—"Regulations"—The Revenue System—Mussulman Views of Land-ownership and Revenue—The Zemindars, or Revenue Farmers—Mussulman Views adopted, and carried with them by the English—Their Results; early perceived by the English Authorities—The Permanent Settlement, 1793; the Zemindars made Land-owners—The old Zemindars swept away by the Sale Laws—Effects of the Zemindaree System—Sir John Shore—Non-interference Policy—Rise of Scindia—French Influence—Oude more and more Dependent—The Asiatic Society—Sir William Jones—Close of the First bright Era of British Indian History.

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THE forty-two years 'over which the two last lectures extended, had produced a very great change in the condition of India. When Warren Hastings left India, the Mogul empire was simply the phantom of a name. The warlike tribes of the north-west, Sikhs, Rajpoots, Jâts, were henceforth independent; but the Rohillas of the north-east had been subdued and almost exterminated. Of the three greatest Soobahs or vice-royalties of the Mogul empire, at one time practically independent, that of Bengal had

wholly disappeared, those of Oude and the Deckan had sunk into dependence on a foreign power, were maintained by the aid of foreign mercenaries. The only two native powers that remained were, the Mahrattas, and the newly-risen Mussulman dynasty of Mysore. The former were still divided between the great chieftaincies of the Peshwa, Scindia, Holkar, the Guicowar, and the Boslas of Berar. But the supremacy of the Peshwa was on the wane; that of Scindia, on the contrary, in the ascendant. Scindia ruled in the north; he had possession of the emperor's person, of Delhi, the old Mussulman capital. In the south, Hyder Ali and Tippoo, Sultan of Mysore, had attained to remarkable power. They were dangerous to the Mahrattas, dangerous to the Nizam, dangerous, lastly, to the English. But the rise of the last-named power was the great event of the period. Instead of a few scattered handfuls of unwarlike merchants, possessing a few forts on coast or river for the protection of their trade, they had won for themselves the three great provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, besides Benares,—forming a large compact mass of territory to the north-east. They had, farther down the east coast, the province of the Northern Circars, and farther still, the jagheer of Madras; on the west, again, a large stretch of territory at the southern extremity of the peninsula. The two Mussulman sovereigns of Oude and Hyderabad were their dependent allies; they administered the country of the Nawab of the Carnatic, besides having hosts of smaller potentates under their protection. From Calcutta, from Madras, from Bombay, their

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red coats had been seen throughout almost every quarter of India, and had stormed the impregnable fort of Gwalior. And although, under incapable commanders, against overwhelming odds, they had more than once been defeated by the Mysoreans,—though they had sued for peace from the Sultan,—though he treated their commissioners with contumely,—still even these their most dangerous enemies knew how to appreciate their power. “It is not what I see of the Company’s power that I am afraid of,” had Hyder Ali said, “but what I do not see.” A native sovereign, once thoroughly beaten, was exhausted,—these English (according to that characteristic stupidity which a little later used to provoke Napoleon) seemed never to know when they were beaten. From far distant sources they seemed to draw inexhaustible supplies, and each new reverse only attracted new armies to the coast of India.

We know that storms will clear the air, though the lightning may not strike. Although Warren Hastings eventually escaped punishment, still the indignation excited by his enormities served to purify the moral atmosphere of English feeling towards India. A preamble in the Charter of 1784, repeated afterwards in that of 1797, declared that “to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India, is repugnant to the wish, the honour, and policy of this nation.” Peace, moderation, and economy, were inculcated from home upon the Indian authorities. The establishment of the Board of Control,—mischievous as the double Government system has eventually proved,—most undoubtedly have

placed a strong check upon the ambition, even of a Clive or a Warren Hastings. We now enter upon a period during which Governors-general, though still unscrupulous often, yet in the main acknowledge claims of duty, rules of right and wrong, in their dealings with Indian princes and peoples. It was the time, we should not forget it, when the American war had just taught the English people what it cost a mother-country to be systematically unjust and oppressive towards its colonies. And thus it happened that the generation which grew up under the shadow of that great disaster of the American war, and of that great shame of the Hastings' trial, came out to India with a more tender conscience, with more impulses of sympathy towards the native population, than any, not only which preceded (which would be saying very little), but which succeeded it. I am sure that the tone of the oldest Indian officers and servants whom I know, in speaking of the natives, is far more manly and noble, because far less hard and contemptuous, than that of the younger ones. I never knew one to give vent, for instance, to the insolent yankeeism of "niggers," as applied to the natives of India. And I believe that this great trial which we are now passing through, has its main source in the want of fellow-feeling between Europeans and natives in India, arising, on our part, from that forgetfulness of responsibility which always accompanies an overweening sense of power. If its result be once more to humble us in our own sight, we shall once more be exalted in that of the natives.

When Warren Hastings first left India, how-

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ever, his authority passed into the hands of a Mr. Macpherson, senior member of Council, a man as unscrupulous as himself, though without his power, who, twenty years before, had been dismissed the service for making himself the secret agent of the Nawab of the Carnatic. Beyond, however, recalling from Oude Hastings' private agent, who had cost the enormous sum of 112,950*l.*, he seems to have done little during his short tenure of office; though it was marked by a mischievous determination of the Board of Control, that all the alleged debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic should be acknowledged without inquiry, and paid with interest; and that the Nawab should resume his financial administration,—in other words, that his country should once more be handed over to English harpies as a prey.

The appointed successor to Hastings was Lord Macartney, a man whose misfortune seems to have been, that he fell upon evil times, and wanted a little of that boldness for right which Hastings had for wrong. He lost his office, however, by hesitating to accept it, and going to England to urge conditions, both of personal dignity and policy, which were then deemed unadvisable, though one of the most important of them,—that of enabling the Governor-General to act in opposition to the opinion of the Council,—was embodied in an India Bill a little later. Lord Cornwallis was now appointed in his stead (Sept., 1786).

I believe Lord Cornwallis to have been a very benevolent man, though often inconsiderate and hasty, nor always sufficiently scrupulous. His

first business was with our unfortunate ally, the Nawab-Vizier of Oude, who was still complaining that we were ruining him by our assistance. He had bound himself by treaty to maintain a subsidiary force of Company's troops; but, in spite of the treaty, a double force had been imposed upon him, and his country, he asserted, could no longer bear the burden. He was willing to come in person to Calcutta to plead his cause. Lord Cornwallis answered him that one brigade of troops was not enough; that he must keep both: but he limited his tribute to 500,000*l.* as a quit-rent for all possible expenses of the Company in his dominions. From the Nizam he obtained a small circar, called Guntoor, to the south of those already possessed by the English; and he once more resumed from the Nawab of the Carnatic the financial management of his country.

But the great military event of Lord Cornwallis's government was the third Mysore war. It began with some disputes about the petty Raja of Cherika, from whom the English had farmed the customs of Tellicherry, and taken, in security for advances, a district called Randaterra, and by Tippoo's attack upon the lines of the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the English, consisting of a ditch, wall, and other defences, on an extent of about thirty miles. Tippoo was, however, repelled with great slaughter in an attack on the town (1789). Hearing this, Lord Cornwallis at once entered into treaties with the Nizam and the Peshwa for a joint war upon Mysore; all new conquests to be equally divided, all Tippoo's own conquests

PART II. from the contracting powers to be restored.

History. After a first inconclusive campaign, in which,
LECT. IX. notwithstanding the skill of General Meadows, the advantage rather remained to Tippoo, who, amongst other things, gave a decided check to Colonel Floyd (1790), Lord Cornwallis took the command in person, and carried Bangalore by assault, with great loss to both parties, but a tremendous carnage of the besieged. However, so wretched had been the English preparations, that the cattle being "reduced to skeletons, and scarcely able to move their own weight," Lord Cornwallis, after advancing to besiege Seringapatam, was forced to retreat and to destroy the whole of his battering-train and other equipments; whilst General Abercrombie, who was advancing in the same direction from the Malabar coast, had to do the same (1791). A force of Mahrattas came in, well appointed and well provided, but too late to avert these disasters.

The next campaign was more successful. It began by the taking of several of the hill-forts forming the western barrier of Mysore. One of these, Savendroog, "the rock of death," was built on a rock half a mile in perpendicular height, with a base of eight or ten miles round; on all sides, a close forest or jungle, miles in depth, of deadly unhealthfulness, further strengthened by thickets of planted bamboos; one only winding path leading to it from the jungle; the rock itself split by a great chasm into two peaks, each with its citadel. Tippoo congratulated his army upon the siege; one-half of the English would die of disease, the other half by the sword. Yet it was stormed, strange

to say, with the loss of only one man slightly wounded on the side of the English (21st Dec.). Ootadroog, a similar fort, was taken two days later (23rd Dec.), with the loss of two men wounded. Four days later (27th Dec.), Captain Little, in command of a detachment sent to aid the Mahrattas, with less than 750 men and two guns, defeated 10,000 Mysoreans intrenched in their camp, and took all their guns. The Mahrattas, however, sought plunder rather than success, and had to rue it; failing before Bednore, and causing Coimbatore to capitulate. On the 5th Feb., 1792, however, Lord Cornwallis appeared before Seringapatam, situated in an island formed by the Cauvery: the fort and outworks were provided with 300 pieces of cannon; the fortified camp, outside the river, by six redoubts, with more than 100 pieces of heavy artillery. Tippoo's army consisted of 6,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, himself commanding. This first siege, which is celebrated in Indian warfare, continued with complete success on the English side till the 24th. 10,000 subjects of Coorg, whom Tippoo had enlisted by force, deserted. At last, when the whole island was carried and all preparations made for the siege, Tippoo made peace. The English allies had such confidence in Lord Cornwallis, that they left him entire discretion as to the terms. They were,—that Tippoo should give up half of his territory, pay a large sum for war expenses, and give up two of his sons as hostages. The ceded territory was divided between the allies, the Company obtaining a large strip of the Malabar coast, extending eastward to the

PART II. Carnatic. To Tippoo's infinite disgust, the country of the Raja of Coorg was included in the ceded territory.
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The English were surprised to find, on entering the fort, "a degree of state, order, and magnificence in everything," much superior to what they had seen amongst their allies; sepoys in uniform, "and not only regularly and well armed, but, compared to the rabble of infantry in the service of other native powers, well disciplined and in high order." They were still more surprised on taking possession of the ceded country, to find it "well cultivated, populous, with industrious inhabitants, cities newly founding, commerce extending, towns increasing, and everything flourishing, so as to indicate happiness;" to receive no "complaints or murmurings" against the late ruler. It is observed, indeed, of the ceded districts, that "no sooner did an opportunity offer, than they scouted their new masters, and returned to their loyalty again."

Meanwhile, on the breaking out of war between England and the French Republic, the French settlements in India were all again annexed (1792).

Lord Cornwallis now applied himself to questions of internal government. Properly speaking, there was no English Government as yet. Mr. Kaye, the brilliant apologist of the East India Company, says, of Lord Cornwallis, that "he gathered up the scattered fragments of government which he found, and reduced them to one comprehensive system." He organized the administration of criminal justice, reorganized the police. He separated the collection of the revenues from the administration of justice, organizing civil

justice in turn. He gave a shape to legislation. From henceforth, every law (termed "regulation") to be passed by Government was to be printed and published, whilst the Company's servants were invited to send in suggestions for law reform whenever required. He next proceeded to organize the financial system of the Company's government.

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The ancient principles of Hindoo law, as set forth by the code of Menu, divide the sources of taxation into two,—first, taxes upon merchandise, which are to be fixed with reference to the rates of purchase and sale, the length of the way, the expenses of food and of condiments, the charges of securing the goods carried, and the net profits of trade ;—second, taxes upon produce, viz., one-fiftieth of cattle, gems, gold, and silver ; one-eighth, one-sixth, or one-twelfth of grain ; one-sixth of the clear annual increase of trees, fleshmeat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, drugs, liquids, flowers, roots, fruit, gathered leaves, pot-herbs, grass, utensils made of leather or cane, earthen pots, and all things made of stone.¹

Now, the code of Menu, although it nowhere, that I recollect, expressly recognises, yet it everywhere presupposes, the existence of a right of property in the land ; defining the rules of inheritance, &c. &c. Accordingly, we find that in those provinces which received the Mussulman yoke at the latest period,—in Canara and Malabar, for instance, which were first invaded by Tippoo and the Mussulmen in 1763,—the right of property in land was one of quite immemorial

¹ See the Code of Menu, ch. vii., arts. 127 to 132.

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History. another (subject, of course, to the rights of the
 LECT. IX. village communities), to be held “from father to
 son, through every generation, so long as the
 waters should flow or the plants should grow,
 until the end of time.”¹

The principle of Mussulman conquest, on the other hand, was, as I have said before, that both the lives and property of infidels were forfeited. Hence grew the rule,—first, that the Mussulman sovereign was sole lord of the soil; second, that, as such, by what is called now in France the *métayer* system, he went halves with the possessor in the produce, taking fifty per cent. in the way of land-tax, or, more properly, land-rent, leaving him the other fifty to shift with as best he might. In other words, property in land was abolished, and half the produce claimed by the State.

Now this, compared with Hindoo principles, and with all possibilities of successful cultivation, was an enormous exaction. It must have been most difficult to realize it. The sovereign had not enough officers, nor honest enough, to do so on his own account. Hence grew up the practice, analogous to what existed in France up to the Revolution of 1789, of farming out the revenue to lessees, termed *zemindars*. These agreed to pay certain yearly sums by way of rent or composition to the sovereign, dealing themselves with the actual possessors. Whatever they

¹ See Rickards's “India,” Vol. II., pp. 236, and following. This valuable but ill-digested work, together with Mr. Kaye's “Administration of the East India Company,” has been the chief source from which I have drawn the materials of this Lecture, so far as they relate to the revenue system, and the rights of property.

ground out of them, beyond the amount of the composition, was for themselves.

You will see at once that the position of the zemindar, especially if a Mussulman, tended strongly to grow into that of a landlord. His office generally became hereditary, according to universal custom in the East. Believing that the sovereign was actual owner of the conquered soil; representing himself the sovereign within a portion of that soil, it was but natural that he should consider himself as invested by delegation with the rights of ownership. But whether he had those rights or not, for want of any supreme authority, the more unscrupulous zemindars certainly exercised them; turning out the possessors, appropriating lands to themselves whenever it suited them. And the influence exercised by the more benevolent would recall as strongly to an English eye the character of the landowner as the powers exercised by the more unfeeling.

When, therefore, we first took the dewannee or financial administration of Bengal into our hands, from those of its Mussulman rulers, it was extremely natural that we should take over also Mussulman principles of government. So we adopted, as an unquestionable principle, the doctrine that the sovereign (ourselves virtually from henceforth) was the sole legal owner of the soil; that he was entitled to one-half of the produce; and we also generally came to the conclusion that the zemindar was, by royal grant, entitled to the other half.

Now, observe. Even if this system were correct, as applied to the Mussulman rule, it was

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PART II. only in force in those districts where that rule
History. actually prevailed. But those districts, as Mr.
LECT. IX. Rickards excellently observes, were not more
than one-fifth or one-sixth perhaps of the
countries which we now govern. Yet we, having
once adopted it, went on extending it to every
district which we successively added to our sway.
Provinces in which the Mussulman had never
had strength enough to impose his laws found, on
passing under the English rule, their old ances-
tral tenures suddenly swept away, and an un-
heard-of claim made to one-half of the produce
of their lands.

But, observe this further. The Mussulman governments, although despotic, were never permanently strong. The land-rent of fifty per cent. was never permanently exacted. Things adjusted themselves by bribery, as they do still in the Mussulman states of India. The possessor of land who was called upon to pay ten shillings in the pound, got off for six shillings by paying one or two shillings to the collector. When the English succeeded to the Mussulman, the cultivators found themselves dealing with men who would have their dues to the last farthing. The fifty per cent. was sought to be everywhere enforced; the bribes to collectors and others, in too many cases, were enforced also, by underlings. Let it be recollected also that native governments, and, still more, native revenue farmers, very generally, or at least very frequently, receive payment in kind, whilst the English refuse it, except in money; let it be recollected that whatever money is even extorted by native tyrants, is spent in the country, whilst

a large portion of the revenues received by the English goes to defray the interest of the home debt, the charges of the home establishment, and the payment of pensions, &c., at home. Hence the gradual impoverishment of India under English rule, wherever the land-rent has been strictly enforced. To this day, the very worst Mussulman government of India seems to be preferred to the British. Nothing can be worse governed, according to all European notions, than the territories of the Nizam. A crowd of Arab or other mercenaries, whose pay is in arrear, are every now and then let loose upon a district to help themselves. Murder, rape, arson, robbery, go on unchecked till they are glutted. The villages are often entirely deserted at their approach, and if near our frontier, the inhabitants take refuge in the Company's territories. *But they do not remain there.*¹ When the storm has blown over, or when from their place of refuge they have settled upon a composition, they return to their old haunts. There, if exposed at any time to outrage and robbery, they have, however, a chance also of being left alone, of enjoying for some years at a time comfort and affluence. In the Company's territories they have none. Slow, certain pauperization, till they reach a level from which there is no rising, their crops perpetually mortgaged to the village usurer for the very seed-corn which is to produce them,—no abundance possible but what is swept off by the collector,—such would be their only prospect. They prefer the other.

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¹ I give these statements on the authority of an eyewitness, an officer in the Company's service.

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Now it was quite visible to the Company, from a very early period, that the collection of the revenues was most oppressive to the people. In 1769, English supervisors were already appointed to superintend the native officers. They reported that the governors of provinces "exacted what they could from the zemindars and great farmers of the revenue, whom they left at liberty to plunder all below; reserving to themselves the prerogative of plundering them in their turn, when they (the farmers) were supposed to have enriched themselves with the spoils of the country." In 1772, under Warren Hastings, the experiment was tried of letting the land for five years to the highest bidder,—a somewhat curious way of securing moderation and good government. It failed,—and in 1777 we find the Court of Directors writing, "The country is drained by farmers, or by the [various finance officers] of Government, none of whom have any permanent interest in its prosperity. The zemindars are discontented, many of them deprived of their lands, overwhelmed by debts, or reduced to beggary . . . and in the end the justice of Government is driven to the necessity of granting remissions to repair the wrongs its own rapacity had created." So, after various other experiments, they tried, in 1781, another very curious system, that of letting the lands, by annual settlement, preferentially to the old zemindars, at the highest amount of the actual collection, from 1771 to 1780 inclusive. This, also, naturally failed; and the India Act of 1784 required the Directors to inquire into complaints of "various landholders," who alleged themselves to have

been "unjustly deprived of, or compelled to, abandon their respective lands, jurisdictions, rights and privileges," and to "settle and establish," upon principles of moderation and justice, according to the laws and constitution of India, the permanent rules by which their respective tributes, rents and services should be in future rendered and paid to the said Company, by the said rajas, zemindars, polygars, talookdars, and other native landholders."

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You will see that this Act plainly implies that zemindars, as well as rajas, were only a class of Indian landholders. And this seems to have been what the leading Company's servants either believed or wished to believe. The most able of them—Mr. Shore, for instance, afterwards Governor, as Sir John Shore, and raised to the peerage as Lord Teignmouth—found, indeed, that in every district throughout Bengal, where the licence of exaction had not superseded all rule, the rents of the land were regulated by known rates; that in some districts, each village had its own; but they found also that the proportion of the revenues to be left to the zemindars was never fixed by any established rule; that the zemindars, when an increase had been forced upon them, had exercised the right of demanding it from the ryots or cultivators. The deeper they looked, the more they became convinced that the leading personages in each district, from the zemindar downwards, "could be regarded in no other light than as servants with appointments, and assigned duties, from Government." That all this was a very wrong system; that this sort of universal tenancy at

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will, whether of the land or of public offices, with men of little conscience or scruple, was a bar to all permanent improvement, they clearly saw. They looked, it might be, everywhere for something analogous to the sole absolute owner of land upon English principles of jurisprudence. They found him nowhere. The nearest approach to him was the zemindar. It seemed the first step towards stability and good government, if the zemindar was not a complete landowner, to make him one. Accordingly, "not as a claim to which the zemindars had any grounds of right, but as a grace, which it was good policy to bestow," it was determined to fix the amount of land-tax or land-rent to be paid to Government, from the zemindars. Hence the famous "Permanent Settlement" of Lord Cornwallis (22nd March, 1793). The lands in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, were "divided into estates, and parcelled out in absolute right" to zemindars, who were thus raised from their former state of hereditary collectors, or farmers, of revenue, to figure in future as a landed aristocracy, it being estimated that, after deducting the expenses of collection, one-half or two-fifths would be left as before to the ryots, the remaining one-half or three-fifths constituting the rent, of which the Government took ten-elevenths, and the zemindar the remaining one-eleventh.

This was the first great measure of Indian finance which deserves the name of statesmanship. Its intentions, no doubt, were excellent. But we now see that it was founded on an enormous blunder. We have learned that underneath the whole Mussulman system of

administration and its laws of conquest, founded simply on the right of the strongest, there was another elaborate Hindoo system, founded upon the principle of the village community. We have been able to apply this other system, or rather to restore it to life, in some of our more recently conquered provinces. It is said to be too late to revive it in the old.

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Nor was the wrong perpetrated without protest. At Shahabad, for instance, when the collector was effecting the settlement with the zemindars, "many occupants of land came forward to object to a settlement being made with any but themselves, as *maliks*, or actual hereditary proprietors. The claims of the *maliks* were urged with the greatest importunity. They absolutely refused to enter into any kind of engagement, but as *maliks*; declaring they would rather lose their lives than acquiesce in a relinquishment of what they considered their hereditary rights. These representations, however, could not be attended to by the collector, who was instructed to effect his settlements, in all cases, with the zemindars."¹

We boast often, those even amongst us whose consciences are most alive on the subject of India, of having given the natives "some notions of law and order." What notions of law and order, think you, were given to the natives of Bengal, by the zemindaree settlement, and its flagrant violations of the rights of property?

But the strangest has yet to be told. One main object of the permanent settlement had been to establish the zemindar as a landholder.

¹ Rickards's "India," Vol. I., pp. 366-7.

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Its first effect was, to sweep away nearly the whole class of existing zemindars. By way of protecting the cultivator, arrears of rent could only be recovered by a regular, tedious process by the zemindar from the ryot. By way of securing the Government, arrears of revenue could be recovered from the zemindar by summary process,—imprisonment, and sale of the property. When the power of imprisonment was taken away, in 1794, the other process was rendered still more stringent,—the estate was empowered to be immediately sold on failure of payment of one monthly instalment. Imagine the landlord's property-tax amongst ourselves collected not half-yearly, but monthly; and a house in Belgravia, an estate in Norfolk, sold by public auction because a monthly instalment of property-tax is in arrear!

For years after the introduction of this system, we are told every Calcutta Gazette was filled with advertisements of the sale of estates, confiscated for non-payment of tax. "Before it was possible for the zemindars to recover balances from the ryots, their lands were sold and resold to speculators and moneyed men in Calcutta, to make good arrears of revenue." In the course of twelve or fifteen years, few of the early zemindars subsisted; their great hereditary families had been reduced to beggary. In too many cases the native officers of the courts of justice became the purchasers; in some, lands were sold for this purpose when actually no balance was due.¹

¹ Mr. Kaye denies that the ruin of the old zemindars is attributable to the sale law. Opinion for opinion, I should

Such were the evils of the permanent settlement. But there is a reverse to the medal. Permanency of assessment was in itself an enormous boon. The difficulty of recovering arrears from the ryots, gave in turn some permanency to their occupation, at least as against the zemindar. In 1801-2, Sir John Malcolm, who before travelling through Bengal had not been in favour of the system, wrote, after observation, that "he must ever think it one of the most wise and benevolent plans that ever was conceived by a government, to render its subjects rich and comfortable;" that what added to his pleasure in contemplating "one of the finest and most highly cultivated tracts of country in the world," was to hear every man he asked, "tell how jungles had been cleared, and waste lands brought under cultivation." And Mr. Kaye, writing in 1852, would have us believe that this is still the case. On the authority of an eye-witness of a few months' previous, he speaks of "the sluttish plenty surrounding the cultivator's abode . . the palpable evidence against anything like penury" in Bengal. It may be so; yet so little has the country flourished as a whole that, in the very same year in which he wrote, the Court of Directors wrote also, (3rd June, 1852) that "there has been a diminution in the total receipts from land in the old provinces of Bengal since 1843-4." It may be so; yet other writers, speaking out on the spot in the Calcutta Journal, tell us that the name of the

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prefer that of Mr. Rickards, a Company's civilian, writing a quarter of a century sooner after the events referred to; or that of Mr. Raikes, another civilian of the present day.

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Bengal ryot is "expressive of an ignorant, degraded, and oppressed race;" that the present condition of the ryots "is miserable, and appears to rouse no fellow-feeling, no sympathy, in those by whom they are surrounded;" that whilst the monthly expense of a ryot is one and a half to three rupees, and proportionately higher if he has a family, they "do not believe that there are in all the district five in every hundred whose *whole* annual profits exceed 100 rupees;" that, toiling from morn to night, the ryot "is a haggard, poverty-stricken, wretched creature;" that, "even in ordinary seasons, and under ordinary circumstances, the ryots may often be seen fasting for days and nights for want of food." It may be so; but we shall perhaps see hereafter somewhat overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Lord Cornwallis was succeeded (1793) by Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), a Company's servant, who had taken a large part in the establishment of the permanent settlement, a thoroughly amiable and well-meaning, though weak man. The Act of 1793 forbade the declaring war, or commencing hostilities against native powers, except where hostilities had been actually commenced, or preparations made for their commencement, against the British Government. Lord Cornwallis had considered himself within the spirit of the Act, in attacking Tippoo so soon as he attacked a British ally, the Raja of Travancore. Sir John Shore attempted to follow the very letter of the Act. The Nizam having died, the Mahrattas attacked his successor. Appealed to by the Nizam, Sir John Shore declined to interfere. The most prominent Mahratta chief was now Dowlut

Rao Scindia. He had a large body of disciplined troops, organised originally by a French general, De Boigne, now commanded by another Frenchman, Perron. He took the lead in the war, and the Nizam was completely subdued, and forced to accept whatever terms the Mahrattas chose to impose; though eventually the terms were relaxed through the death of the Peshwa. Greatly disgusted at the refusal of the English Government to allow the subsidiary force to accompany him in this campaign, the Nizam dismissed it, and placed for awhile his whole dependence upon a third Frenchman, named Raymond; who had organised for him no less than twenty-three battalions, with twelve field-pieces. Eventually, however, on the occurrence of a revolt by his son, the Nizam recalled the English troops; but without showing less favour to Raymond and his force.

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As respects British India, the only events of any moment during Sir John Shore's government were, the reduction from Madras, on the breaking out of the war between England and Holland, as well of the Dutch settlements in India as of the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Malacca, Banda and Amboyna; at Cochin alone was there any serious resistance; and the regulating by the Governor-General of the succession to the throne of Oude, one claimant being displaced in favour of another without resistance. The Nawab-Vizier was now treated by other Indian princes entirely as a dependent upon the Company; and indeed, by a treaty concluded with the new prince, Saadut Ali, the Company became exclusively charged with the defence of his territories.

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To the comparatively or thoroughly peaceful governments of Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore belongs the rise, if not the birth, of the "Asiatic Society of Bengal," a body to which we owe much in respect of Oriental subjects. It was founded, indeed, in 1784, under the patronage of Warren Hastings; the first English governor, as I have observed already, who seems to have taken any interest in such matters, and whose possession of the native languages, and familiarity with native usages, no doubt covered a multitude of sins in their eyes. But its real founder was Sir William Jones, a judge of the Supreme Court, already known as one of the first Oriental scholars of his age before leaving Europe; and who, on his arrival in Calcutta, applied himself assiduously to the study of Sanskrit, from which language he translated, amongst other works, the Institutes of Menu, the Hitopadesa, the most ancient collection of fables in the world, and the drama of Sakountala; besides translations of some of the Mahomedan works on law, &c. He presided over the Asiatic Society till his death, in 1794; and the early volumes of its transactions show, that he had already gathered round him, in the Wilkineses, the Wilfords, the Colebrookes, &c., a knot of men equally interested with himself in bridging over the chasm which separates East from West, sad to say, to this hour.

But Sir William Jones brought with him something more than a mere relish for Oriental literature. He brought with him the large and—we should now often think—daring liberalism of a man who, in spite of his acquirements, had been repelled by Oxford University for con-

demning the American war. I find in Mr. Kaye's book, that when Mr. Barlow, Secretary of the Indian Government, had begun an elaborate minute by the words, "The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements, are to insure its political safety, and to render the possession of the country advantageous to the East India Company and the British nation,"—Sir William Jones struck his pen through the first three words, writing instead "Two of the primary" (objects), with the note, "Surely the *principal* object of every government is the happiness of the governed." The correction paints the noble heart of the man, just as much as the original paints the spirit of the East India Company. Equally noble is a passage in one of his charges to the Grand Jury of Calcutta (of 1785), in which he adverts to the subject of slavery, then, and until within the last twenty years, subsisting in India. He made no scruple to declare "his own opinions, that absolute unconditional slavery, by which one human creature becomes the property of another, like a horse or an ox, is happily unknown to the laws of England, and that no human law could give it a just sanction." Domestic bondage he admitted as existing, but insisted that slaves, "if so we must call them, ought not to be treated more severely than servants by the year or by the month;" that "the correction of them should ever be proportioned to their offence," never "wanton or unjust." Let those who will, compare this doctrine with that of the American courts at the present day.

With Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore

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closes one of the two bright eras of British Indian history, only paralleled by that of Lord William Bentinck and Sir Charles Metcalfe ; the era of honest men, governing without ambition, whose worst acts are seldom more than mistakes of judgment. The only increase of territory during this period had been a most justifiable one, that realized through the treaty of Seringapatam. The non-interference policy may, as Sir John Malcolm urged,¹ have been pushed too far for British honour and dignity, and for the happiness of the native populations themselves ; but on the whole an impulse to good was given, which has never since wasted itself wholly away, except through misdirection. Whatever may have been the evils of the Permanent Settlement of Bengal, they have seemed comparative blessings to those of the ryotwar settlement of Madras. And however monstrous may be the invasion of the rights of property, the actual spoliation, which they represent, we should not forget that a precisely similar process went on, unheeded till it was complete, in the northernmost districts of our own island, within the last century. Few who have studied the subject now doubt that the Highlanders of Scotland were joint holders of the land with their chiefs, and that the Saxon law of absolute individual property has been enforced against them by the latter, in the teeth of the immemorial rights of the clansmen. The contests as to rights of way, which have of late years made so much noise in Scotland, are closely connected with that singular but momentous

¹ See his "Sketch of the Political History of India ;" London, 1811.

revolution, which has driven the clansmen to Canada, and given counties to their chiefs. The right of way cannot often be proved, simply because it was once universal. The glen, the moor, the hill-side, were the Scottish peasant's immemorial highway ; you ask him to prove the enjoyment of a particular track across them, and he cannot do so. Glen, moor, and hill-side are forthwith closed upon him, and right is lost, and wrong is done, simply because the law does not know how to take cognizance of either.

These things may teach us how the zemindaree system could be established and enforced by good men. They should not teach us to leave any one of its evils unredressed, that can be redressed still.

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EXTENSION OF THE BRITISH RULE.

PART I. LORD WELLESLEY AND HIS SUCCESSORS
(1798-1813).

Alternations of Peace and War Policy—Lord Wellesley—The Fourth Mysore War—Mallavelly—Taking of Seringapatam—Tippoo's Death—Division of Territory—The Mysore Rajas restored—Dhoondia Waugh—The Egyptian Expedition—Sir J. Malcolm's Persian Mission—Subsidiary Treaty with the Nizam : with Oude—Arrangements with Surat, Tanjore, the Carnatic—Subsidiary Treaty with the Peshwa—The first great Struggle with the Mahrattas—Assaye—Laswaree—Treaties with Berar, with Scindia—Ochterlony's Defence of Delhi—The First Siege of Bhurt-pore—Holkar's Retreat—Lord Wellesley's Recall—His Unpopularity with the Company—The subsidiary Alliance System, its Speciousness and its Evils—Annexation its necessary ultimate Result—It develops a School of Anglo-Indian Statesmen—Lord Cornwallis reverses Lord Wellesley's Policy—Sir George Barlow follows him—Mischievous Treaties with Scindia and Holkar—The Vellore Mutiny—Lord William Bentinck's Recall from, and Sir G. Barlow's Appointment to, Madras—Lord Minto ; his Administration transitional—Reduction of Bundelcund—The Travancore War—The Pindarrees—The Madras Mutiny—Abolition of the Company's Indian Trade Monopoly.

PART II. THE history of British India, since the rise of
History. our power, exhibits a curious alternation of war-
LECT. X. like and of peaceful governors. The warlike gover-
 nors conquer territory, contract loans, generally
 end by insulting their immediate masters, the
 Court of Directors. Then conquest is denounced ;
 moderation and neutrality are cried up. The
 peaceful governor is very careful to obey his

masters to the letter, not very careful to protect allies. Salaries are clipped, coffers refill; but native princes take liberties; military officers grumble and sneer; the Court of Directors begin to feel ashamed of the ingloriousness of peace. And then again comes a new spell of war, and conquest, and expenditure, and loans, to be followed by another one of peace, and moderation and retrenchment. So Warren Hastings is followed by Cornwallis and Shore,—so these are followed by Wellesley. It is much the history of trade societies and their strikes. They are moderate upon empty purses; aggressive upon full ones.

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Cornwallis and Shore, in truth, bequeathed a war to their successor. There was no solid peace possible for the English, whilst the house of Hyder retained its power. If Hyder Ali hated the English much, Tippoo Sultan hated them more, with a deep, implacable, Mussulman hatred. He had every motive, good and bad, for his hate. He was a fanatical Moslem, and he saw clearly that the English power was the great obstacle to the spread of Islam in India. He was the ablest of Indian sovereigns since the death of Aurungzebe, and again the English power was the great obstacle to the spread of his rule. He hated them because he had dictated a peace to them; he hated them because they had dictated a peace to him. He hated them because he deemed them treacherous; he hated them because he had been treacherous to them. He hated them because his subjects hated them; he hated them because his dependent princes clung to them. He disdained to

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disguise his hatred. When Lord Cornwallis sent back his sons, who had been detained as hostages after the treaty of Seringapatam, he repelled all advances towards friendliness.

But both Hyder Ali and Tippoo were wise enough to know that they were too weak to cope singly with England, when the latter put forth all her strength. Hence, no doubt, their moderation, whenever they were able to dictate a peace ; never claiming more from the English than a restitution of conquests, and giving the like in exchange. Hence also their constant looking to France for aid.

It was now the glorious period of French revolutionary history, when France, with a bankrupt treasury, with armies of hungry and ragged recruits, not only kept all Europe at bay, but pursued foe after foe upon his own territory, dictated peace after peace at the sword's point ; the days of Desaix and Hoche, of Bonaparte and Moreau. The clash of that great conflict echoed loud in the far East, and no ear was more open to it than that of the ruler of Mysore. We have already seen how French stragglers were at work everywhere in India, disciplining Mahrattas for Scindia, disciplining Mussulmen for the Nizam. Tippoo did not wait for Frenchmen to come to him ; he sent to them.

Three weeks after the arrival in Calcutta of Lord Mornington (whom I shall call at once Lord Wellesley), sent to replace Sir John Shore (17th May, 1798), the former received a proclamation issued by the French Governor of the Mauritius, stating that two ambassadors from

Tippoo had arrived in the island, to propose an alliance offensive and defensive, and solicit aid in troops for the expulsion of the English, and inviting volunteers for the purpose. Lord Wellesley treated the proclamation at first as a forgery; but finding it authentic, resolved to proclaim war. It was vigorously conducted.

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The French corps—I mean the corps disciplined and officered by Frenchmen—in the Nizam's service, now under Perron, seemed a most dangerous obstacle to success. Reversing Sir John Shore's policy, Lord Wellesley offered additional British forces to the Nizam, on condition of the French being disarmed. Fortunately for the English, the latter were in mutiny for want of pay. By prompt and vigorous measures, 14,000 men were disarmed without the loss of a man.

News now came of the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon, which looked too like an attempt to form a junction with Tippoo. Lord Wellesley wrote letters of remonstrance. Tippoo protested friendship, but equivocated and shuffled. Lord Wellesley proceeded in person to Madras. Two armies were to attack Mysore simultaneously,—one from the Carnatic, numbering nearly 30,000 men, under General Harris,—another from Bombay, under General Stuart. A contingent, supplied by the Nizam, was placed under the command of Colonel Arthur Wellesley, of the 33rd. Born in 1769, he was the dullest of several brothers, and, therefore, probably, was put into the army, where he obtained his first commission at eighteen. He rose rapidly; and at twenty-six commanded his regiment, during the

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disastrous expedition of the Duke of York to Holland (1794), where, however, he seems to have earned some distinction. He was now in India since 1797.

The fourth and last Mysore war now began. Tippoo's first endeavour was to surprise and cut off an English brigade, under Colonel Montresor, at Sedaseer. His advance was discovered, however, in a somewhat singular manner. You will remember that the defection of 10,000 Coorgees, or subjects of the Raja of Coorg, had been the turning-point of the last Mysore war against Tippoo, and that, at the peace, Coorg had passed under English protection, much to the disgust of the Sultan. The Raja, with some English officers, happened to be on this occasion on the look-out from a high hill; making merry together, I dare say, for the Coorgees are said to be free and easy fellows, and not particular about caste observances. Suddenly they descried in the distance, not some roving party, as perhaps they might have expected, but the whole Mysorean army in march towards Sedaseer. This gave them time to make some preparations for defence, and Montresor was enabled, by a desperate resistance, to hold out till relieved by General Stuart, when the Mysoreans were completely repulsed (9th March, 1799). Tippoo now turned against the army of the Carnatic, which he attacked at Mallavelly, endeavouring to cut a gap through it with 300 cavalry under his chief adviser, Poorneah. But the English reserved their fire till the enemy were close, and delivered such a volley that one man only cut his way through their lines. Colonel Wellesley, who commanded the left wing,

had instructions to charge and turn the enemy's flank, which he did with complete success ; indeed, the conduct of the 33rd is said to have decided the action. Tippoo was completely defeated, losing nearly 2,000 men,—the English only sixty-six.

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By an unexpected movement, General Harris soon invested Seringapatam from the west. Tippoo felt that all was over. "What is your determination?" he asked of his assembled officers. "To die with you," they all replied.

The siege—the second siege, as you well remember—was carried on steadily for a month (5th April—4th May). It is chiefly remarkable to us now, as having been the scene of what is known as the Duke of Wellington's "only repulse," in a night attack on a tope or grove, called the Sultanpettah tope, which he was directed to take ; but he carried the position the next day. We make light of this affair now-a-days, and certainly it was nothing in itself. But contemporary Indian officers used to speak of it as the turning-point in General Wellesley's career,—that which brought out the man in him. Till now, they said, he had risen through his birth, and interest, and connexions, far more rapidly than his deserts might warrant. To learn that a Governor-General's brother might fail, made him resolve to be more than a Governor-General's brother.

The losses by the enemy, by disease, by want of supplies, had been already very heavy, when the assault was ordered under General Baird. The European sentry at General Harris's tent-door was so weak, that a sepoy could have

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pushed him down. Still, there were 2,500 Europeans, besides sepoys, fit for duty. The hour chosen was one P.M., the time of the midday sleep. Unfortunately for himself, Tippoo's astrologers predicted to him falsely, that the English would not attack. He would not believe his bravest officer, when he warned his master that they were about to do so. In seven minutes the fort was taken, with dreadful slaughter (4th May, 1799). Tippoo fell in the heat of the fight, struck by three musket balls, and was finally despatched by an English soldier, whom he had made a cut at whilst trying to tear off his embroidered sword belt. The carnage was fearful. The day after the storm, 10,000 bodies of Tippoo's soldiers were buried. The accumulation of wealth in Seringapatam was immense. For days after, soldiers could be seen in the streets betting gold coins on cock-fights. Every officer had a share of jewels, the store of which was enormous. An assistant surgeon, who bought a pair of bangles, or wrist ornaments, from a drummer for 100 rupees (say 10*l.*), found them worth between 30,000*l.* and 40,000*l.*, and settled upon the drummer an annuity of 100*l.* Tippoo's library of Oriental works was invaluable. His father, Hyder Ali, had not known how to write. A copy of the Koran, bought from a soldier for five rupees (10*s.*), was eventually sold for 250*l.*

Again, on this last invasion of the Mysorean territory, the English were surprised to find cities, and towns, and villages, almost universally flourishing, the people wealthy, the armies faithful. An immense number of copies of despatches and letters, by Tippoo, were found ; a selection

from which was eventually published by Colonel Kirkpatrick.¹ Tippoo was himself buried the next day, with military honours, in Hyder Ali's mausoleum, amidst a terrific storm, which destroyed several lives. Colonel Wellesley, who distinguished himself in endeavouring to restore order amidst the sack of the town, received the government of Seringapatam, in preference to his senior, General Baird, not without some observations being made on such a preference. Tippoo's dominions were divided. The ancient capital of Mysore, with a territory round it, was placed under a descendant of the old Hindoo Raja, whom Hyder Ali had dispossessed; Poorneah, Tippoo's able minister, being retained to administer the country. All the sea-coast, and the provinces immediately contiguous to the Company's territory, with Seringapatam itself, and the forts and posts at the heads of the passes into Mysore, were retained by the English. An equal share, inland, was assigned to the Nizam. A smaller portion was offered to the Peshwa, though he had taken no part in the war, but refused by him, and then divided between the other two powers. The Mysorean power was at an end. Tippoo's sons received a handsome allowance, and were consigned to Vellore as a residence. Mark this, for that name will soon recur. The family, however, play no part henceforth in Indian history. One of Tippoo's sons was in this country some fifteen or sixteen years ago. I remember seeing him, together with a member of the royal family of Oude, and claimant

¹ See as to some of the above details, Moor's "Oriental Fragments."

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to the throne of that country. The Mysorean Mussulman was a mean-looking, ill-featured man, and offered a strong contrast to the handsome though sensual countenance and princely bearing of his Mogul co-religionist of the north. Whether, if the present revolt spreads south, the name of Tippoo will yet become a rallying point for Mussulman disaffection, remains yet to be seen.

Colonel Wellesley, named Governor of Seringapatam and Mysore, and commander of the army of occupation, and uniting thus in himself all civil and military authority, had full occupation for some time—ably seconded, indeed, by Colonel, afterwards Sir Barry Close, resident at Mysore—in organising the newly-created state. But he had also opportunity to carry on by himself a little war,—against a bandit chief, named Dhoondia Waugh, and calling himself “King of the Two Worlds,” who, having escaped from confinement at Seringapatam by general gaol delivery after the storm, had raised quite a little army at Bednore out of Tippoo’s disbanded troops, and plundered all the surrounding country. The scene of operations was the Dooab, or space between the rivers Kistnah and Toombudra, cut in all directions by smaller streams, which became greatly swollen after rains. However, after two months’ campaigning, Colonel Wellesley at last came up, and dashed at the enemy, routing him with a charge. Dhoondia fell, and his corpse, lashed to a galloper gun, was carried to the English camp. His favourite son, a boy of four years old, was taken charge of by Colonel Wellesley.

The Mysore campaign was only one incident in the great drama of the war of the revolution between France and England. The Indian trade was much harassed by French privateers from Mauritius. Lord Wellesley planned an expedition against it, the military forces to be under Colonel Wellesley's command. On Admiral Rainier, the commander of the British squadron, refusing to co-operate, he projected an expedition against Batavia, but received, instead, instructions from home to send a force to Egypt. Colonel Wellesley, who was to have commanded the troops in the other expeditions, and was at Trincomalee, in Ceylon, ready to start, jumped too soon to the conclusion that he would also command the latter, and gave orders for Egypt, but on reaching Bombay, found himself superseded. The force was sent under Sir David Baird, but did nothing (1801).

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The expedition is, however, remarkable as a thoroughly successful instance of the employment of Bengal sepoys on foreign service. It is against caste for the Hindoo to cross the sea or the Indus,—though one of those breaches of caste which are, I believe, easily atoned for in money. The sea-voyage, however, carries with it besides an infinite number of special dangers to caste, through its necessary roughings and jostlings, and constitutes really a serious social inconvenience to the high-caste man. Those were, however, the days when sepoys would follow their officers to the death. Every incentive to volunteering was held out,—every precaution was taken to render volunteering less burdensome, by providing a store of all such

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articles as the sepoy might want, whether for consumption or purification. Not a symptom of mutiny appeared; they did their work cheerfully, and would, no doubt, have fought bravely, had occasion offered.¹ The Barrackpore mutiny of the first Burmese war, will show us a different picture.

To dispose, at once, of the foreign policy of the Governor-General, I may mention Captain, afterwards Sir J. Malcolm's mission to Persia. There had been great alarm in India for several years, at the progress of the Afghan sovereign, Shah Zeman, who had invaded the Punjab in 1795, 1797, and 1798, announcing his intention of restoring the Mogul Emperor. To create a diversion in his rear, Captain Malcolm was sent to conclude a treaty with the Shah of Persia. He was very lavish and very successful. But the treaty was useless, before it came into operation; for the news came that Shah Zeman had been dethroned, and his eyes put out, by his brother Mohammed (1801).

In the meanwhile, a new and important treaty had been concluded with the Nizam, at Hyderabad (12th October, 1800), which placed him in a position of entire dependency towards the Company. The latter engaged to guarantee his territories against any unprovoked aggression or hostility; he undertaking, on his part, to negotiate with no other State, without consulting the Company, to commit no hostilities against others, to take the Company for arbiter, in all differences with others; and, moreover, assign-

¹ I speak as the son of an officer engaged in the expedition.

ing over to the Company, in discharge of tribute for the subsidiary force, all the territories which he had acquired by the treaty of Seringapatam, in 1792, and the treaty of Mysore, in 1799. It was further stipulated that the Peshwa, Ragojee Bosla, or Dowlut Rao Scindia, might be admitted to all the advantages of the treaty, if they thought fit.¹

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Lord Wellesley was anxious to place the relations of the Company with Oude on the same footing as those with the Nizam. The murder, if so it could be called, of the British Resident, Mr. Cherry, by the late competitor for the throne of Oude, Vizier Ali, whom it was deemed expedient to remove to Calcutta, gave an opportunity for the attempt. Saadut Ali, the ruling sovereign, made but slight exertions to pursue him, alleging that he could not reckon on the faithfulness of his troops. Vizier Ali was soon defeated, abandoned, and handed over to the English. But Lord Wellesley now insisted that Saadut Ali should disband his army, and replace it by a British force; and, on his pleading, as of old, that he would be unable to meet the expense, required that he should cede to the Company a territory, of which the revenue should be sufficient to defray the expenses of the English forces. He tried hard to escape his fate, but had at last to submit. Lord Wellesley threatening to seize the whole, he gave up nearly one-half of

¹ "The troops for which subsidy was to have been paid, cost us under forty lacs of rupees, 400,000*l.*; the territory ceded in lieu of it was computed to yield sixty-three lacs, 630,000*l.*."—*Remarks on the Affairs of India, by a Friend of India* (Mr. John Sullivan, late Member of Council at Madras); London, 1852.

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his dominions. All the frontier provinces of Oude were thus ceded to the Company,—placing a barrier between him and any enemy, but also wholly insulating him from all possible support from outside. The treaty stipulated that the Vizier should be entitled to the service of British troops, “on all occasions, and under all circumstances,” without further charge or demand; he, on his part, agreeing to introduce into his remaining territories such a system of administration as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and to the security of the lives and property of the inhabitants, and also to act always in conformity with the counsel of the Company’s Government (Nov., 1801). It is by virtue of the happy ponderation of these articles that, on the one hand, the wretched inhabitants of Oude have been utterly cut off from breaking the yoke of tyranny by internal revolution, through the coercion of British forces, pledged to aid their despots “on all occasions, and under all circumstances;” and, on the other, that the Company have had ready to their hand, at any time, the pleas of misgovernment and neglect of counsel, whereon to declare the treaty broken when it should suit them to do so.

The appointment by Lord Wellesley of his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley, who was not in the Company’s service, to the government of the ceded provinces of Oude, created great ire among the Directors at home. They ordered his immediate removal; the Board of Control, however, stepped in, declaring that his appointment could only be temporary. Lord Wellesley contrived to prolong his brother’s employment, by giving

him charge of similar arrangements with the subordinate Nawab of Furruckabad ; he had also some fighting to do, with a Raja named Bugwan Sing, who would not submit to the new settlement, as well as with some refractory zemindars. When all was done, Mr. Wellesley resigned.

With the Nawab of Surat, who had become virtually independent in the decline of the Mogul empire, but had afterwards paid *chout* to the Mahrattas, a still more effectual arrangement was come to. He gave up the whole civil and military administration of his country to the English, retaining his title, and receiving a pension (17th May, 1800). There remained, however, the Mahratta *chout*, shared between the Guicowar and the Peshwa. The Guicowar was ready to give up his share ; the Peshwa at first declined.

Again, the Raja of Tanjore, that old English ally, was in like manner reduced to a shadow. The last Raja bequeathed his kingdom to his adopted son Serfojee, under the guardianship of the noble missionary Swartz. The English decided against the adoption, and put the young man's uncle on the throne. He proved a tyrant, and eventually Serfojee was made Raja, on condition of his handing over the civil and military government to the Company. Similar arrangements were finally concluded in the Carnatic, the infant Nawab for the time being having to be deposed for the purpose, and receiving an annuity (1800). Ugly as this last business was, one can hardly help rejoicing to see an end of this wretched sham sovereignty, so often set up and bowled down like a very ninepin, and only preserved till now, apparently through the in-

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trigues of English money-lending harpies, interested in squeezing their victim a little longer.

Lord Wellesley was very anxious to conclude with the Mahrattas, similar arrangements to that with the Nizam. A war which broke out between Holkar and Scindia, the Peshwa being at that time practically dependent on the latter, favoured his designs. Holkar defeated the united forces of Scindia and the Peshwa near Poona; the latter, Bajee Rao (very different in character from the great Peshwa of that name), fled to Bassein, and there concluded a treaty binding him to receive an English force,—he making over an adequate territory for its support,—to exclude from his territories all Europeans of nations hostile to the British; to relinquish all claim on Surat; and to take the Company as arbiter in all disputes with the Guicowar and the Nizam (31st December, 1802). The English, meanwhile, had been interfering in Guzerat, and aiding the chief minister in getting rid of a competitor to the throne, and of a force of mercenary Arabs. Holkar, on his part, had set up another Peshwa, Anunt Rao,—who, however, before long came over to the English, and became a pensioner of the Company.

Bajee Rao was easily reinstated by the English; Colonel Stevenson, with the Hyderabad subsidiary force, and 15,000 Nizam's troops, approaching from the east, and General Wellesley, with Madras troops, making a forced march from Mysore upon Poona, which Holkar evacuated on his approach. But a formidable combination was now effected, by the efforts of Ragojee Bosla of Berar, between the lately

defeated Scindia, Holkar, and himself. Lord Wellesley prepared for a severe struggle. He invested General Lake, in command of an army destined to act against the northern Mahrattas, and General Wellesley, who was to act in like manner in the south, with complete civil, military, and political powers; General Wellesley, in particular, being specifically authorised to conclude treaties with any of the three chieftains. He began by demanding that Ragojee should fall back upon Nagpore, that Scindia should cross the Nerbudda. They refused.

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Let us pause for an instant. We are entering upon what is called sometimes the second, sometimes the first Mahratta war, according as the campaigns under Warren Hastings, terminated by the treaty of Salbye, are or not reckoned as the first. Hostilities with the Mahrattas, it will, indeed, be remembered, had taken place as far back as the days of Seevajee. But this was the first time that the English found themselves engaged in a struggle with the whole Mahratta nation. That struggle, which extends so far as over the rule of Lord Hastings, and of which, indeed, one latest throe was felt in the Gwalior campaign under Lord Ellenborough, was the severest, except that with Mysore, that we ever engaged in for the mastery of India, until quite recent days. But the Mahratta wars are very different from those of Mysore; as different as the enemies with whom we waged them. In the Mysore wars, we had opposed to us the unity of purpose, the concentration of force, of an able and, on the whole, popular despotism. The loose confederacy of the Mahratta princes, never inti-

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mate enough to act long with unity, never sufficiently estranged not to be easily reunited, presented quite other dangers. Our real opponent was the warlike Mahratta race, not this or that sovereign. The princes might be cowards, imbecile; but every able chief, every bold adventurer was in himself a new peril. Of all our Indian enemies, except the Sikhs of our days—a warlike confederacy themselves—none ever cost us so many “glorious victories.”

General Wellesley was in command of 10,000 men of all arms, Europeans and natives. He was assisted by Colonel Stevenson, at the head of the Nizam's subsidiary force, whose division was of about equal strength. In his campaign against Dhoondia, General Wellesley had learned the difficulties of Indian warfare during the rainy season. He resolved to turn them to his own account, by preparing boats and pontoons, and then beginning operations when the rivers were not fordable. In order to facilitate transport, he had taken great pains to improve the breed of draught-bullocks. In order to strike terror into the natives, he gave orders to take a fort or two by escalade, and, I am sorry to add, to kill all the garrison if the resistance were desperate. It was done. Ahmednuggur, reported impregnable, held out four days only (August 12, 1803). After the taking of a fort, one Mahratta chief wrote to another:—“These English are a strange people, and their general a wonderful man. They came in here this morning, looked at the pettah wall, walked over it, killed all the garrison, and returned to breakfast. Who can withstand them?” General Wellesley

now went in pursuit of the Southern Mahratta army (Scindia's), intending to attack them on one side, while Colonel Stevenson should do so on the other. But coming on their intrenched camp at Assaye, he resolved to attack them, without waiting for Colonel Stevenson.

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General Wellesley's force was 1,200 cavalry, 1,300 infantry and artillery, 2,000 sepoy, besides about 3,000 of the Peshwa's and Mysore cavalry, who, however, took no part in the battle. The Mahrattas had 10,500 disciplined troops, commanded by European officers, exclusive of artillery, infantry of the Raja of Berar, and Scindia's irregular foot, 30,000 cavalry, and 100 guns—the English having only a few field-pieces. The Mahrattas, expecting to be attacked in front, formed a long line on the bank of the Kaitna river, near its junction with the Juah. General Wellesley turned them, by crossing the Kaitna, and occupying the tongue of land between the two rivers,—a terrible position in case of defeat, but which disarranged the enemy's position, and in great measure crippled the movements of his cavalry.

The Mahrattas, who had expected an attack from both Wellesley's and Stevenson's corps, and meant to have anticipated it, thought the English mad when they saw one little body only come forth against them (23rd September, 1803). It was a dreadful struggle. There were blunders on the English side. One regiment, the 74th, was almost annihilated. Even after the taking of some of the enemy's guns, a body of Mahratta cavalry charged from the rear, retook their guns (the gunners of which had lain down as if dead,

PART II. and now rose up), and turned them and many of
History. our own against us. But the victory of the
 LECT. X. English was complete. The enemy lost 1,200
 killed, about 4,800 wounded, 120 guns; the
 English 626 killed and 1,580 wounded. After
 the battle, General Wellesley wrote to Major
 Malcolm, "We ought not to attack them again,
 unless we have something nearer an equality of
 numbers." Stevenson joined the next day, pur-
 sued the fugitives without overtaking them, but
 reduced Burhampore and Asseerghur, whilst a
 detachment of the Guzerat army took Broach
 and other places.

To the north General Lake defeated Perron's
 troops before Allyghur (29th August), took the
 town by blowing open the gate. A British
 detachment was, indeed, surprised and forced to
 capitulate in Shekoabad, by a body of horse
 under a Frenchman named Fleury. But they
 were rid at this very juncture of their most
 dangerous opponent, by Scindia's superseding
 Perron. He immediately resigned, and asked
 for a safe conduct to Lucknow, which the English
 were only too ready to grant. Other able French
 officers, however, still remained. Bourquin, the
 next in command, completely surprised Lake on
 his approach to Delhi. The numbers were
 19,000 to 4,500, the Mahrattas having sixty-eight
 guns. The English infantry marched up within
 one hundred yards, without taking a firelock
 from off their shoulders, when they gave one
 volley, charged instantly and drove the enemy;
 they then opened ranks and let the cavalry
 through; all the guns were taken. Delhi was
 occupied, and blind Shah Alum, the emperor,

long a captive to Scindia, became puppet to kinder masters. (September 11). Lake now marched upon Agra, the garrison of which had confined its European officers, and would not admit seven battalions of Scindia's regular infantry, lest they should plunder. Lake defeated these first, taking twenty-six guns; soon after, the garrison capitulated. Twenty tumbrils of treasure, containing about 220,000*l.*, 162 guns, and abundance of ammunition and stores, fell thus into the hands of the English (October 17).

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Delhi still retained the prestige of the capital of India. The Mahrattas were anxious to retake it. Fifteen battalions of regular infantry had been sent up from the Deckan by Scindia; two had escaped from Delhi, in all about 9000; the flower of Scindia's infantry, and calling themselves "the Deckan invincibles." They had with them ninety-two guns, and from 4000 to 5000 cavalry. Fortunately for the English, the French officers had previously surrendered. Lake attacked the Mahrattas at Laswarree with half the numbers,—about 9000 men (November 1). The Mahrattas had chained their guns together, so as to resist the charge of cavalry. The victory was complete, but with a somewhat severe loss to the English, of more than 800 killed and wounded, or nearly one in ten. "These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes," wrote Lake, after the battle. "If they had been commanded by French officers, the event would have been, I fear, extremely doubtful." He stated that their army was better appointed than the English, no expense being spared; three times the number of men to a gun, bullocks of a superior sort,

PART II. better baggage arrangements, &c. However,
History. Scindia's power in Northern India was de-
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The Duke of Wellington's subsequent career has invested Assaye with peculiar interest for us, whilst Laswarree is only known to the readers of Indian history. Yet, at the time, the latter was the greater, because the more decisive, victory, and won a peerage for Lord Lake, years before General Wellesley became Lord Wellington.

Whilst English detachments were subduing Cuttack and Bundelcund, General Wellesley was pursuing the southern army. A truce had been concluded with Scindia, but a large body of his horse still accompanied that of Ragojee Bosla of Berar, who had also a numerous regular infantry with artillery. General Wellesley attacked them at Argaum (29th Nov.), and, notwithstanding a panic in the British native infantry, completely defeated them, with the loss on the English side of 346 killed and wounded. The only serious fighting was with a body of Persian cavalry. Thirty-eight guns were captured. Fifteen days later, Gawilghur, a strong fort of Berar, was also taken.

The enemy now began to seek peace. The first who did so was the Berar Raja, who agreed to give up Cuttack, and all westward of the river Warda, thereby surrendering all claim for *chout* upon the Nizam; to submit to the arbitration of the Company all disputes with the Nizam and the Peshwa, never to admit into his service any Frenchman, or the subject of any European or American power at war with England, and to interchange ministers (17th Dec., 1803). A

fortnight later, Scindia made peace on similar terms. He ceded all territory to the north of the Rajas of Jyepoor, Jodhpoor, and the Rana of Gohud, the fort and territory of Broach, all lands to the south of Ajunttee, and all claims upon the British Government, the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Guicowar, the English agreeing to give certain pensions to officers thereby dispossessed, and yielding up a certain number of small hereditary jagheers (30th Dec., 1803). By a further treaty (27th Feb., 1804), he became entitled to a subsidiary force, to be paid out of the revenues of the ceded territories.

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Holkar, meanwhile, had been occupied, pleasantly to himself, in plundering friend and foe. General Lake wished to treat with him; but Holkar's demands were extravagant; "his country and his property were on the saddle of his horse; and whithersoever his brave warriors might turn their reins, that whole country should be his." War was resolved; but General Lake unwisely went into cantonments at Cawnpore, leaving detachments under Monson and Murray to carry on the campaign. Hearing of Holkar's advance, Monson did not venture to meet him single-handed. He retreated; was harassed by the way; the retreat became a flight. Lake took the field in person, but soon gave an opportunity to Holkar of seizing behind him, in Muttra, much grain and baggage. Emboldened the more, Holkar, with 20,000 men and 100 guns, made a dash upon Delhi. "The place, in its most prosperous days, had always been given up on the first appearance of an enemy." The Mussulman population within were hostile. But the Resident,

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Colonel, afterwards Sir David, Ochterlony, the future hero of the Goorkha war, and Lieut.-Colonel Burn, with altogether about 2,200 men, defended, and defended successfully, for a week, the walls, ruined in many places, of a city ten miles in circumference. This tale of the first siege of Delhi has for us, in 1857, a peculiar interest.

On the news of Lake's advance, Holkar suddenly decamped (15th Oct.). Meanwhile, Colonel Wallace reduced a couple of forts, and all Holkar's territory in the Deckan, as Colonel Murray had that in Malwa, including Indore, Holkar's capital. Lake pursued Holkar's horse ; his infantry went towards the territory of the Jât Raja of Bhurtpore, who had revolted against the English, and was pursued by General Frazer. Frazer overtook them at Deeg, but fell, mortally wounded, at the commencement of a victory which, fortunately for himself, Monson was able to complete. Nearly 2,000 of the enemy perished ; eighty-seven guns were taken, including fourteen which Monson had lost on his retreat (13th Nov.). Three days later, Lake overtook Holkar himself at Furruckabad, and would have destroyed him but for the alarm given by the explosion of an English ammunition-tumbril ; as it was, 3000 troopers were killed (16th Nov.). Deeg was now invested, and stormed after ten days' siege. The principal part of the remaining artillery of Holkar, 100 guns in all, was here taken (Dec. 23). Holkar's power was destroyed for the present.

The success of the campaign was, however, chequered by a half-failure before Bhurtpore, a very strongly fortified town, eight miles in extent,

with a high and thick and bastioned mud wall, and a deep wide ditch,—crowded with warlike Jâts, and covered by the remains of Holkar's force. The English had a very insufficient battering-train; the town had not even been reconnoitred. Four several assaults were repulsed, the English losing in all 3,100 men and 103 officers killed and wounded. Seeing, however, new reinforcements arrive, the Raja began to fear, his treasury being exhausted. He took occasion of General Lake's elevation to the peerage to send him a complimentary message, and to open negotiations. He undertook to pay 200,000*l.*, and not to entertain any Europeans in his service without our sanction, and left Deeg in our hands as a guarantee of his faith (10th April, 1805). Still, in a military point of view, the English arms had for the first time in India received a decided check. You will see in a subsequent lecture what a deep impression this event produced on the mind of the natives, and how the impregnableness of Bhurtpore came to be looked to with superstitious hopes by their princes.

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Lake now attacked Holkar's camp, which broke up. Holkar retreated across the Chumbul, with an army reduced from 40,000 horse, 20,000 foot, and 100 guns, to 8000 or 10,000 horse, 4000 or 5000 foot, and from twenty to thirty guns, and took refuge, now a mere freebooter, with Scindia, who, though he did not actually take part in the war, had advanced towards Bhurtpore, and had even allowed the camp of the British Resident to be attacked and plundered, and went so far as to detain him as a prisoner.

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The war was, however, now virtually over, for there were no more armies to vanquish. But its final winding-up, and on terms different, in many respects, from such as seemed to flow as a consequence from our successes, was to take place under another administration. Lord Wellesley had driven the British frontiers, almost on all sides, hundreds of miles farther than where he found them. To the south, nearly the whole territory of the Mussulman dynasty of Mysore had, sooner or later, been annexed, and the British rule spread now from sea to sea, except where broken by the dependent territories of Travancore, Cochin, and the new state of Mysore. Other acquisitions had taken place to the north of the Deccan, on either side of the peninsula ; in Hindostan, amongst other additions to territory, Oude had been curtailed of some of its fairest provinces, and completely isolated from the other native states. The formidable Mahratta princes had, one by one, been met and worsted (the Guicowar excepted), and the great victories of Assaye and Laswarree had established the vast superiority of the English, even at greatly unequal odds.

But Lord Wellesley had not only sated, but surfeited, his countrymen with glory and conquest. From the first, indeed, though always supported by the Board of Control, he had been at issue with the Court of Directors. He despised them ; they thwarted him. His brilliant wars added to the Company's debt. But his worst crime was, that he did not favour their commercial monopoly. On the renewal of the charter in 1793, it had been enacted that 3000

tons a year of Company's shipping should be allotted to private merchants. But the rate of freight was not strictly specified ; it was fixed, of course, at monopoly prices. At last, by way of favour, the Court of Directors authorised the Bengal Government to take up ships on account of the Company, and re-let the tonnage to the merchants of Calcutta. Lord Wellesley was a gentleman, and refused to play fast and loose with an Act of Parliament. He left the merchants and ship-owners to make their own arrangements, subject only to the privileges of the Company. Strange to say, the London ship-builders joined the East India Company in clamouring against the extension thus given to trade. Lord Wellesley was supported, as I have said, by the Board of Control, and the small end of the wedge was thus driven into the Company's trading monopoly. But they never forgave him.

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Nor did they forgive him a still more worthy act, the foundation of a college at Fort William, for the instruction of the Company's writers in Bengal in the Oriental languages. Every effort was made to resist this preposterous attempt to teach the Company's servants how to understand those whom they were sent to govern and to judge. It subsisted, however ; and a few years later a similar institution was set up in England, at Haileybury, near Hertford, which we have lived to see broken up.

The conflict with the home authorities became at last unbearable, and Lord Wellesley returned to Europe,—shaking off what he termed, in a letter to Lord Castlereagh, “the ignominious tyranny of Leadenhall-street.” He left behind

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him the reputation of one of the ablest statesmen who ever ruled India, and unquestionably he deserved that reputation. He stands out above all in British Indian history, as the organizer of the system of subsidiary alliances with the native princes. The system was one, I have no doubt, devised without dishonesty, and grounded on views of policy which might well seem wise at the time. Restless intrigue is, more or less, one of the characteristics of Eastern sovereignty ; the keeping up of disorderly and excessive armies is another. To check the one, you may observe that Lord Wellesley adopts two means, the first geographical, the other political. He endeavours, on the one hand, to insulate all native sovereignties from each other, and above all from the sea, by surrounding them, whenever practicable, with British territory. On the other hand, he requires of the sovereigns engagements by treaty, to hold no communication with foreign powers, to entertain no foreigners in their service without British permission, to receive a British resident, and to submit all their differences amongst themselves to British arbitration, or even to be swayed by British advice. To provide against the other mischief, of too numerous armies ill-disciplined and ill-paid, a terror alike to the subject, to the prince, and to his neighbours, he requires them to take into their pay a force to be disciplined and commanded by English officers, and by means of this force undertakes the military defence of the country ; providing, moreover, against disputes as to pay by cessions of territory, out of the revenues of which the expenses of the subsidiary force are to be defrayed.

An admirably devised machinery, no doubt ; what consideration had been left out in order to its due working ? Simply that of one little troublesome element—human nature. It was not in human nature that the native princes should not become slaves under this English protection. It was not in human nature that the English protectors should not become masters, often tyrants. Cut off from the whole outer world,—no longer responsible for the defence of his country,—placed under the tutelage of a Resident,—the native sovereign for the most part became emasculated in mind ; gave himself up to sensual indulgence ; sought, like a West Indian gang-driver, to forget that he was a slave by tyrannizing over others. Then would come a chronic state of discontent amongst his people, breaking out into insurrection every now and then. Had the country been left alone, such insurrections would, in course of time, have been successful, would have hurled down the tyrant and placed another sovereign in his place,—the very fear of them would tend to check his tyranny.¹ But under the subsidiary treaties, the British forces would be called out, with inevitable success, to repress these insurrections, to rivet the chains of native tyranny ; till at last

¹ "The usual remedy," says Sir Thomas Munro, "of a bad government in India, is a quiet revolution in the palace, or a violent one by rebellion or foreign conquest. But the presence of a British force cuts off any chance of remedy, by supporting the prince on the throne against any foreign and domestic enemy. It renders him indolent, by teaching him to trust to strangers for his security, and cruel and avaricious, by showing him that he has nothing to fear from the hatred of his subjects."—*Life*, Vol. I., p. 463,—quoted in Mr. Sullivan's "Letter to Sir John Hobhouse, on the impolicy of destroying the native States of India" (1850), p. 10.

PART II. the popular discontent might become or seem
History. actually intolerable, and in spite of all treaties
 LECT. X. the territory would be annexed.

But suppose, however, a native sovereign who, stronger than his fellows, should rise above self-indulgence, should feel himself capable of ruling, should determine to rule for himself? Such a man would almost necessarily fret and chafe against his chains, until at last he sought to break them. And then what should we do but, with loud protestations against his faithlessness, to punish the wrong, to remove the wrong-doer? But would this be enough? Could we trust any of his line? Would he not have afforded a just ground for annexation?

Thus, under the subsidiary system, both the impotence and the ability of native princes tend equally to provoke the absorption of their territories into the British Indian empire. Yet I have considered only one element hitherto in the process—the native one. But do you suppose that all British Residents will be wise and conciliatory? do you suppose that all Governors-General will be just and moderate? I can hardly imagine any situation more trying to the just balance of a man's mind than the Residents'hip at a native court. The Resident is not an ambassador, representing a sovereign towards a sovereign. He is the representative of a dominant power. He is courted, caressed, looked up to, dreaded by men of far higher rank than himself. He learns easily to love the display of state, or the exercise of power. If not a man of superior moral strength, now he will overlook the vices, and foster the misgovernment, of the

prince who flatters him ; now he will take delight in interfering with, thwarting, overbearing one who does not. What recourse is open to the native prince? Complaint to the Governor-General ; but his complaints must go through the hands of the party complained of. They will hardly reach their destination without comment ; he will be prone to think that they will not reach it at all. He cannot send an agent to represent his grievances, without permission, to be applied for through the Resident. He cannot go in person to state them, without passing through the like ordeal. Can you fancy a more difficult, galling position than that of a "protected" prince, afflicted thus with an unwise or unjust Resident? one more calculated to drive him to hatred, or to self-forgetfulness in self-indulgence? Accordingly, in the few instances in which the Resident is removed at the request of the native prince, we generally find that the latter has taken the opportunity of a Governor-General's tour, of a personal interview, to represent his grievances.

But suppose that his representations have reached the Governor-General,—what chance is there of redress? Very little, we may easily suspect. For depend upon it, in the long run, few complaints of native princes reach the Governor-General *but ill-founded ones*, — complaints which it is not worth the Resident's while to stop on the way. Accordingly, the Governor-General grows naturally and necessarily into a habit of deeming the native prince in the wrong, and the Resident in the right ; and such will be the case more and more, in proportion as the native character sinks under the

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pressure of the system, as the prince becomes more of a puling, peevish puppet, living in a world of shams, unable to face the reality of his own servitude; clinging more and more to forms the more substance eludes his grasp. And then, whilst the native powers dwindle, while the British power increases, this fatal consequence ensues. It becomes more and more dangerous for a native prince to be in the right, for a British Resident to be in the wrong. Policy—false policy—dictates to the Government not to listen to the best-founded complaints; to hush up wrongs the most grievous. The sense of power is at hand to second such counsels. It becomes much easier, speedier, to coerce, depose, annex, than to listen patiently, to compare opposing statements, to unravel the true from the false. Though the Governor-General may be averse to such a course, there are always plenty of advisers to urge it upon him. The Resident, perhaps, looks forward to be Commissioner; or, in other words, to exercise sole rule over the territory, instead of sharing its rule with the native prince. At any rate, the native territory constitutes a new field of patronage to be thrown open. It would afford employment, it begins to be calculated, to so many civilians, so many military men, so many uncovenanted servants. All expectants begin to urge the expediency of annexation. The newspapers teem with tales of the misgovernment of the native ruler. Perhaps, at this moment, the British Indian revenue is deficient,—deficiency, indeed, is its normal condition now-a-days. Calculations find their way into the papers, which, no doubt, have long

previously been laid before the Governor-General, that the native territory yields so much, might be made to yield so much, under British rule. Justice, expediency, authority, patriotism, the public voice, all seem to urge annexation on the Governor-General; is it in human nature that he should abstain from it?

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I may very likely be mistaken, but I recollect no marking instance, since the days of Lord William Bentinck, in which a British Resident has been removed on the complaint of the sovereign to whose Court he was accredited. Do you believe that, of the hundreds of Englishmen who have filled such posts during the quarter of a century which has elapsed, none has ever deserved to be so? But, on the other hand, who will count the territories of protected or dependent princes which have been annexed within the same interval? I cannot.

I have thus endeavoured to follow out to its ultimate consequences, Lord Wellesley's policy of subsidiary treaties and the establishment of a British protectorate over native States. Those consequences are, almost fatally, misgovernment or breach of faith on the native prince's part; fatally, in the long run, annexation. I do not mean to say, for an instant, that these consequences were visible to Lord Wellesley; I believe he would have recoiled from them, if he could have perceived them. But the contemplation of them beforehand may help us to understand much of the coming history. For the present explains the past even more, unfortunately, than the past explains the present; so that, in fact, few understand present things until they have become past.

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At the time, however, Lord Wellesley's policy produced one marked effect upon the English occupants of India. The peaceful Governments which had preceded him had formed a school of Anglo-Indian literature and learning. Lord Wellesley's Government formed a school of Anglo-Indian statesmanship. He had himself a quick eye to discern and appreciate intellect and character, and great powers of fascination,—as may be seen, for instance, in Sir John Malcolm's correspondence, through the influence which Lord Wellesley evidently exerted over the former. The residencies and agencies which he created were offices to call forth all a statesman's powers, if he had any; especially at this time, when native princes were still able, dangerous, mindful of their former greatness. The least the Englishman could do, if fit at all to hold his post, was to be constantly on the alert, to foil the schemes of wily Brahmins, treacherous Mussulmen or Mahrattas. If he looked beyond, the field before him was almost unbounded. The destinies of prince and people hung upon him. If he could once establish his influence, there was hardly a blessing of civilization and good government which he could not introduce.

Under Lord Wellesley, then, grew up most of the great names of India's future *home* history, the Malcolms, the Munros, the Elphinstones, with Metcalfe a little in the rear, destined to pass them all in honour. And it is characteristic of these men, that they were not only statesmen themselves, but masters of statesmen in turn. Each of them had his "men." "Malcolm's men," "Elphinstone's men," "Munro's men,"

form so many groups in the detail of Indian history. One of "Metcalf's men" is now Governor of the Mauritius, doing good service in sending troops to India at this juncture. To be "one of Elphinstone's men," is, perhaps, the greatest praise of all in the mouth of an old Indian of the south, familiar with the discernment of that remarkable man, who appears to me to have left a deeper impression of intellectual power on those who came in contact with him, than almost any English statesman I know of; who was offered and declined the highest authority in India; the only man of whom it could have been said, at any time in 1857, if his years had allowed him to undertake the task of government: "Now India is saved, for Mountstuart Elphinstone is there."

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The story of Lord Wellesley's immediate successors, though the policy they pursued was directly opposite to his, is yet so linked with that of his own government by the course of events, that it can hardly be separated from it.

Lord Cornwallis, now very old, came out to succeed Lord Wellesley. He only held office for a few weeks (30th July—5th October, 1805), dying from the fatigues of a journey to the upper provinces. But he lived long enough to inaugurate that complete change of policy, of which I have spoken. His instructions from the Directors were, to abandon all connexion with the petty States, and generally with the territories west of the Jumna. He consented to treat with Scindia, without requiring the previous liberation of the British Resident, though, fortunately, Lord Lake obtained it before the tidings

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came of the concession. The Raja of Jyepore, a Rajpoot State, who had entered into an alliance with the English against Scindia, was given up, the alliance being dissolved, notwithstanding his protests. Lord Cornwallis's temporary, and afterwards permanent successor, Sir George Barlow, senior member of Council, adhered to the same policy. Holkar had eventually fled into the Punjab, where the Sikhs, in a grand national council, agreed not to aid him. Treaties were finally concluded both with Scindia and Holkar. Scindia obtained Gwalior, and the greater part of Gohud, the English undertaking not to treat with the Rana of Oodipore, the Rajas of Jodhpoor, Kota, and other [Rajpoot] chiefs, the tributaries of Scindia in Malwa, Mewar, or Marwar; and not to interfere with Scindia's conquests from Holkar, between the Chumbul and Taptee. Somewhat similar, but rather less favourable, terms were allowed to Holkar; he, however, undertaking to entertain no Europeans in his service, without British consent. The treaty had been mediated by the Sikh ruler, Runjeet Sing, who said, many years afterwards, that "he was truly glad to get rid of two such great personages as Lord Lake and Holkar."

The condition of the States with subsidiary treaties soon became far from satisfactory. In the Nizam's dominions, a conspiracy had to be suppressed, having for its object to remove a minister supported by the English, and to break up the alliance with them. Holkar's troops mutinied, proclaimed his nephew king, and their arrears had to be paid out of the plunder of the Jyepore Raja. Holkar went mad, and so died

in 1811; his country falling into anarchy between the factions of one of his wives and his minister, a bandit chief named Ameer Khan,—one faction being Hindoo, the other Patan or Mussulman. Scindia's territories were frightfully ravaged by his own too numerous troops. The King of Delhi was too weak to do much harm; but Shah Alum having died, his son, Akbar the Second, gave some trouble by his pretensions, one principal one of which was to invest the Governor-General with a dress of honour, as a mark of dependence. Only the Peshwa's territories were prosperous and fairly governed, under an able minister recommended by General Wellesley, Bappoo Gokla. Lastly, within the English territory occurred the notorious mutiny of Vellore, caused by the superciliousness of officers, and attempts made to assimilate the natives to the Europeans in dress and accoutrements, which were construed into endeavours at forcible conversion. Vellore, it should be recollected, was the residence assigned to Tippoo's family—twelve sons and six daughters; and would thus form an apt centre for insurrection. The native troops at the station were 1,500, the English 370. At three o'clock in the morning of the 16th July, the natives, led by their native officers, attacked the Europeans. Thirteen officers and eighty-two privates were killed, ninety-two wounded. The remainder defended themselves, and were relieved by a strong force from Arcot, nine miles distant. Three native officers, and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates were executed, and the names of the two mutinous regiments erased from the army list.

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PART II. Tippoo's family were not sufficiently implicated
History. (or it was not deemed worth while to prove them
 LECT X. so), to take any severe measures against them.

This mutiny has a painful interest for us now-a-days. It resembles in many respects the one which has yet to be quelled. The occasion was much the same—ignorance of, or martinet indifference on our part to, the caste feelings of the native soldiers. It was preceded by the same discontents and warnings as the present one. It is lamentable and incredible to relate, that the plot was revealed by a sepoy to his colonel, a month before the mutiny; that the matter was referred by the colonel to the native officers, themselves implicated in the conspiracy, and the informant put into gaol for his faithful service! It broke out finally with the same suddenness as the late mutiny, and found us alike unprepared. Fortunately for us, the plot was not then wide-spread; fortunately also, it was met instantly on the spot with the utmost vigour. In both these respects, the story of 1806 differs as much from that of 1857 as it resembles it in others.

The mutiny led to two measures, one unexceptionable, the other most ill-judged and unjust. Not only was Sir J. Cradock recalled, the Commander-in-Chief whose measures had caused the mischief, but Lord William Bentinck, then Governor of Madras, beyond comparison the best governor who ever ruled over British India. He had effected many reforms; he had, in respect of this mutiny, after the first executions, wisely recommended lenient measures towards the less guilty of the mutineers. Strange to say, a mere

mare's nest was the cause of his recall. The commanding officer of a station imagined he had discovered another plot on the south coast, disarmed all the Mussulmen, applied for aid to the Governor of Ceylon. When inquiry took place, it turned out that there was no shadow of a conspiracy. But the Governor of Ceylon's report went home meanwhile; and the news of the imaginary plot, added to that of the real one, gave such an idea of Lord William Bentinck's incapacity, that he was suddenly recalled, before the facts were known.

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Quarrels between the Court of Directors and the Board of Control led afterwards to the removal of Sir George Barlow as Governor-General. As some compensation, he was appointed to the governorship of Madras. Strangely enough, his administration was destined to witness another mutiny, nearly as alarming as the one which gave him the office.

Lord Minto succeeded Sir George Barlow. His administration forms a transition between the peace and non-interference policy of his two immediate predecessors, and the renewed war and annexation policy of his successor, Lord Hastings. Considered within India itself, his rule may be called a peaceful one. But India under him becomes, in a marked manner, a centre of operations for the British power in Asia; and I should have much to do were I to enter into the detail of what may be called Lord Minto's foreign policy. This comprises missions to Cabool, to Sinde, to Persia; an expedition, operating in concert with the Imaum of Mascat, against the pirates of the Persian

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Gulf; another to Macao, which did nothing; the reduction of the French island of Bourbon, and of the bulk of the Dutch colonies in Eastern India, including Amboyna, Banda, Ternate, and Java. In India, the chief warlike events were, the reduction of a few chieftains in Bundelcund; a little war in Travancore; and a campaign in Berar, to defend the Raja against the incursions of Ameer Khan, the freebooter, then Holkar's minister; besides a singular mutiny at Madras.

Bundelcund is a district, level towards the Jumna, but encompassed to the south and south-east by portions of the Vindhya chain, forming four nearly parallel ranges, which run from north-east to south-west, and are separated by narrow valleys, or table-lands, overgrown mostly with jungle; the most northerly range throwing out, northwards, isolated hills, which have been strengthened into forts. The two principal of these, Kalinjar and Ajayghur, were considered impregnable by the Boondelas, and had baffled many attacks, but were nevertheless reduced. One chieftain, Gopal Sing of Kotra, gave so much trouble for what his country was worth, that the Government were at last glad to obtain his submission, in exchange for a full pardon, and a jagheer of eighteen villages as a provision for his family (1809-12).

The war in Travancore arose out of the subsidiary force. The Raja's tribute had fallen into arrear; he protested that he could not support the expense of the English troops. To make both ends meet, the English required him to dismiss a native corps. He refused, and his Dewan, or minister, roused the Nyrs, or military

caste of Malabar, to revolt. The insurrection was soon quelled; the Raja had to submit to all that the English required; the minister was hunted down by his successor, his brother hanged, his own dead body exposed on a gibbet before the English lines. Mr. Wilson says, of this affair, that "the proceedings in Travancore were, in truth, among the least justifiable of the many questionable transactions by which the British power in India has been acquired or preserved." It is pleasing, however, to add that, although a few years later the English Government had to take upon itself the whole administration, or dewannee, of the country, these functions were eventually handed over by Colonel Munro, the Resident, to the Raja, with a country prosperous, and increased revenues (1808-14). The Raja of Travancore is now known as one of the most enlightened of native princes; he is fond of astronomy, has a good observatory, and an English astronomer in his pay.

The war in Berar is chiefly interesting as introducing us to that singular class, the Pindarrees. Considered as bodies of irregular horse, serving without pay for the sake of plunder, these had been known since the days of the last Mussulman sovereigns of the Deckan. They had been largely employed by the Mahrattas. They latterly attached themselves chiefly to Scindia and Holkar, forming two great divisions under the names of "Scindia Shahee" and "Holkar Shahee" Pindarrees (King Scindia's and King Holkar's), and received grants of land, chiefly near the Nerbudda river, which became their head-quarters. Latterly they had grown to plunder the Mah-

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rattas without much scruple, and had been largely increased through the disbanded levies of the Mahratta war, until they had attained to a regular organization. In every 1000, about 400 were well armed and mounted, every fifteenth man carrying a matchlock; the rest, the long Mahratta spear, of from twelve to eighteen feet; while the remaining 600 were common plunderers. They started on their incursions immediately after the rainy season, as soon as the rivers were fordable, hastening their march, as they proceeded and their numbers swelled, from ten to thirty or forty miles a day. Acting on a concerted plan, they swept round in a half circle, committing the most cruel tortures to extort booty.¹ For a long time they ravaged chiefly in Malwa, Rajpootana, and Berar, venturing, however, within the Nizam's and Peshwa's dominions, but as yet respecting the British frontier. Rajpootana they were an especial scourge to, and the chiefs implored in vain British protection. There had always been, they said, some power in India which had protected the peaceably dis-

¹ I cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the following account of Pindarree tortures from the recently published autobiography of Lutfullah:—"First, the victim was pinioned and exposed bare-headed to the burning rays of the sun, while his ears were pounded or pinched between the lock of a gun; secondly, after being pinioned, as above, he was made to stand in the sun, with a stone of enormous weight on his head, first inserting a gravel stone of the size and shape of a small grape, which gradually forced its way through the skull to the brain; thirdly, a horse's grain-bag, half filled with ashes and red pepper in powder, was tied over the sufferer's face, so as to include his mouth and nose, the consequence of which was, at first, a most violent fit of sneezing, and if protracted to a quarter of an hour, a horrible death by suffocation."—P. 10.

posed ; the British had crushed all other powers ; it was their duty to be guardians to the weak and peaceable. The campaign in Berar had, however, for sole result to bring the Pindarrees for the first time in contact with the British arms ; Ameer Khan of Indore soon withdrawing, when he saw these interfere ; but Lord Minto refused to let him be pursued into his own dominions (1808-10).

The mutiny at Madras was not between natives and Europeans, but arose from the suppression of an "allowance called the tent contract," hitherto made to the officers in command of native regiments, and, through the injudicious conduct of Sir George Barlow, spread throughout two-thirds of the officers of the native army, the sepoys standing by them. Seringapatam was occupied by the mutineers, and the native troops had actually a skirmish with the King's, who remained staunch to the Government. Lord Minto, at last, personally quelled the mutiny (1808).

In the Nizam's territory, the Brahmin Chundoo Lall, Dewan, or prime minister, showed himself firmly attached to the English, and exerted himself to form a regular army, disciplined by English officers, in return for which he was supported against all enemies, and allowed to oppress and ruin the country. In the Peshwa's dominions, the British Government interfered authoritatively to compel an arrangement between the sovereign and some great landholders, or jagheerdars, in the south, much to the disgust of both parties. The Nawab of Oude was admonished to govern better,—the English officers being disgusted at being constantly called on to

PART II. act as tax-gatherers in enforcing the collection of
History. revenues. A more satisfactory arrangement was,
 LECT. X. that of a treaty with Runjeet Sing (25th April, 1809), by which the Sikh States between the Sutlej and Jumna, and their territories, were placed under British protection, to be henceforth known as the "Protected Sikh States." Do not overlook this treaty. It is the rulers of two of these protected Sikh States, the Rajas of Puttiala and Jheend, who are rendering us such efficient service at this present moment in the field. Of the former in particular it is said, that whatever we cannot get ourselves, he is asked for it.

The administration of Lord Minto is further marked by the first official denunciation of the existence of those hereditary murderers called Thugs, and by the first stringent measures against the hereditary robbers called Dekoits. It was not, however, for many years, that any permanent success was obtained in putting these down. Whilst the Pindarrees were a community, it was, perhaps, premature to think of doing so. These, at last, invaded the British territory, and ravaged the district of Mirzapore. The Goorkhas of the north-east, who had by this time extended their sway over all Nepaul, were also encroaching upon the petty tributary rajas of the plain, and made some ravages in Gurruckpore and Sarun.

Lord Minto returned to England, bequeathing to his successor, amongst other necessities, a Goorkha and a Pindarree war. And, indeed, so clearly were these seen to be imminent, that Lord Hastings, then Lord Moira, was sent out to take his place, with the double authority of Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General (1813).

Whilst these things were taking place in India, an important change took place at home in the position of the Company. On the renewal of its charter in 1813, the trade with India was, under certain restrictions, thrown open to the public ; the monopoly of the trade with China ; and the tea-trade generally, being however reserved to the Company.

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ERRATUM.

At pages 163 to 165, I have been clumsy enough to relate the arrangement which secured for the Company the government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, so as to make it appear like separate transactions. There was, in fact, but one such arrangement, concluded after Clive's return to India.

A P P E N D I X.

A. (See p. 24.)

The aboriginal races, their treatment and capabilities.

General Briggs thus sums up the differences between the aborigines of India and the Hindoos.

The Hindoos, he says, 1st, are divided into castes,—the aborigines have no such distinction. 2nd. The Hindoo women are forbidden to marry,—the widows of the aborigines not only do so, but usually with the younger brother of the late husband. 3. The Hindoos venerate the cow, and abstain from eating meat,—the aborigines feed alike on all flesh. 4. The Hindoos abstain from fermented liquors,—the aborigines drink to excess, and conceive no ceremony, civil or religious, complete without. 5. The Hindoos eat of food prepared only by those of their own [or of a higher?] caste,—the aborigines partake of food prepared by any one. 6. The Hindoos abhor the shedding of blood,—the aborigines conceive no religious or domestic ceremony complete without the spilling of blood and offering up a live victim. 7. The Hindoos have a Brahminical priesthood,—the aborigines do not venerate Brahmins; their own self-created priests are respected according to their mode of life and their skill in magic and sorcery, in divining future events, and in curing diseases. 8. The Hindoos burn their dead,—the aborigines bury

their dead, and with them their arms, sometimes their cattle, a victim having to be sacrificed to atone for the sins of the deceased. 9. The Hindoo civil institutions are all municipal,—the aboriginal, all patriarchal. 10. The Hindoo courts of justice are composed of equals,—the aboriginal, of heads of tribes or of families, chosen for life. 11. The Hindoos brought with them, more than 3,000 years ago, the art of writing and science,—the aborigines are not only illiterate, but it is forbidden for a Hindoo to teach them. (But the chief aboriginal language, the Tamool, is highly cultivated, and possesses an abundant literature.)

It is, however, acutely remarked by Mrs. Speir, in her most interesting work on “*Life in Ancient India*,” that nearly all the differences indicated by General Briggs must have arisen since the date of the earliest monument of Hindoo literature, the *Rig Veda*,—as to which, see the next Appendix. We are thus led, as it seems to me, to seek deeper for the origin of the distinction between the two races; and we find it sufficiently, I conceive, in their divided worship.

But the differences above mentioned are not less important practically, because they do not appear to be primordial. General Briggs is entitled to the credit of having distinctly pointed out, now more than five years ago, the value of the aboriginal element, as respects the maintenance of our rule. “*In their native forests*,” he says,

“They are faithful, truthful, and attached to their superiors, ready at all times to lay down their lives for those they serve, and are remarkable for their indomitable courage. The aborigines of the Carnatic were the sepoy of Clive and of Coote. A few companies of the same stock joined the former great captain from Bombay, and fought the battle of Plassey, in Bengal, which laid the foundation of our Indian empire. They have since distinguished themselves in the corps of pioneers and engineers, not only in India, but in Ava, in Afghanistan, and in the celebrated defence of Jellalabad. An unjust prejudice against them has grown up in the armies of Madras and Bombay, where they have done best service, produced by the feelings of

contempt for them existing among the Hindoo and Mahomedan sepoys. They have no prejudices themselves, are always ready to serve abroad, and embark on board ship, and I believe no instance of mutiny has ever occurred among them. It is to be regretted that separate regiments of this race are not more generally enlisted."

Again :

"Ignorant of the use of letters, outcasts from the rest of the population, without any religion but that of a sanguinary or demoniacal worship" (*quære* this), "having little or no idea of a future state, their minds are unshackled by any of the deep-rooted prejudices of either Hindoos or Mahomedans; and if ever the efforts of the missionary are to be successful in the East, it is upon this race the attempt should be first made. The task has fortunately been begun; and both the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, Dr. Wilson and others at Bombay, and the Rev. W. Taylor, Mr. Fox and his colleagues on the opposite coast, are gradually making progress among them." *

"Is it fit or just," we may well ask with the General, "that such a population should continue neglected under our rule?" Unfortunately, our policy towards these aboriginal races has been far from creditable to us as a nation, whatever bright examples of self-devotion may have been shown by individual English officials in their dealings with them. We have made little account of that independence which they may have successfully defended, or fortunately preserved, against Hindoo and Mussulman. A range of hills or tract enclosed by them, has been geographically included in a ceded district. We have held ourselves entitled, whenever it suited our convenience, to exercise all rights of sovereignty over it, to enforce them, although never enforced

* A missionary thus speaks of the Hill-men of Bhaugulpore, in Bengal:

"If the missionary dwells on the theme, that the Son of God left the glory of Heaven and came down on earth to suffer for sinful mankind, to die for us a most painful death, the Mahomedan will not unfrequently be observed to listen with an expression of contempt and disgust. The Hindoo, with a sort of sceptical smile. The Hillman will generally listen with an expression of astonishment, of awe, as if he was about to exclaim, 'What do I hear! O God! is it thus that thou lovest man?'—"Bengal as a Field of Missions," p. 326.

before. For a time, perhaps, the native officials have, from routine, abstained from including them in the assessment-books, and the wild men have remained undisturbed, dreaming of no change in their condition. In many cases, the inveterate habits of plunder which distinguish the more warlike amongst them, bring them into forcible conflict with our authorities; as was the case with the Bheels of Western India. In others, their traditional faithfulness to the duties of hospitality brings upon them the weight of our revenge. They give refuge to some Hindoo prince whom we have declared our enemy; some "refractory Zemindar" whom we seek to seize. Such was the case with the Gonds of Central India; with the Khonds of Orissa. Troops are sent against them; and on scaling the mountain frontier, perhaps, are "surprised to see, expanded before them, an extensive and fertile tract of country, covered with flourishing villages, and richly cultivated,"*—as we are told of Goomsur, the country of the Khonds, in 1836. In other instances, the mode of our introduction is different. Some day or other an Englishman, led by the love of sport, curiosity, the mere desire to breathe a purer air, is led to explore the hill range, and brought into contact with its tribes. A report is made to Government; and then, if the new people appear peaceful and friendly, above all, if their haunts appear to include tracts of fertile land capable of yielding revenue, they are gradually brought under "the blessings of our rule." These blessings the wild men at first realise in the shape of taxes, which they never paid before, in exchange for which they receive the privilege of "British justice," which means, that of having their disputes decided, their offences punished, by an official, native or European, out of their own territory, who in most cases does not speak a word of their language. Such blessings they are in general barbarians enough not to appreciate; especially when they came accompanied with that mixed swarm of locusts and scorpions who invariably follow in the

* Taylor and Mackenna's "India," p. 363.

English civilian's* train—native officials and native money-lenders. After a time, if they are not very timid and submissive, and thoroughly capable of being ruined by inches, they break out into what is called rebellion. Then the military are let in upon them; then come those "smart affairs" which are godsend to many a young officer, especially in peace-time, as bringing his name forward, in which villages are burned, stretches of country laid waste, large bodies of "insurgents"—half-armed or even unarmed creatures, huddled together often as much from fear, or even for submission, as for resistance†—routed "with great slaughter" by a handful of sepoy.

If, however, the "insurgents" belong to the more warlike tribes; if their hill-fastnesses are too hard to penetrate; if their country be too sterile to be worth the cost of subduing to the regulation pattern of modern "good government," halcyon days now generally dawn upon them. They are decidedly unfit for "the full blessings of our rule." They are placed outside the pale of "the Regulations"—i. e., the enactments of the Supreme Council in Calcutta. They are handed over to some enterprising English officer, civil or military, but more often the latter, as "Special Commissioner." Sometimes, when the considerations which prompt the establishment of the Commissioner ship are obvious from the very first, this stage may even precede the other. The "Commissioner" is a man, and not a system; somewhat above the common most probably, to have accepted the arduous task of governing savages; who lives amongst them at any rate, learns to speak their language, becomes familiar

* Let me not be misunderstood. I am not blaming the men, but the system. Among Indian civilians have been men of the very noblest character, such as the late Lord Metcalfe and many others. I have myself in the Indian civil service near relations and connexions, whom I respect and whom I love. But the *system*, so far as everything in it ultimately hinges upon revenue, so that a sure passport to honourable and lucrative employment is to extract a few thousands more from a district than has been done hitherto, I look upon as utterly mischievous and monstrous.

† See, in Wilson, the history of the Gond War.

with their customs. There is not an instance on record in which, if the Commissioner be anything of what he ought to be, the poor savages do not turn out capable of the utmost improvement. From Cleveland, the civilian of the last century, in the Bhaugulpore hills, through Sir John Malcolm among the Bheels of Malwa, to Colonel Dixon now dying in Mairwara, on the borders of Rajpootana, the peaceful triumphs of these Commissioners are among the brightest incidents of our rule in India.

Unfortunately, the stage of Commissionerships is but temporary. The great standard of civilisation for the Indian Government is, capability of paying taxes. The life's devotion of heroic Englishmen is only a means to this end. When it is supposed to have fulfilled its purpose, the "Regulations" are introduced; sometimes successfully,—sometimes not.

The account I have given is not, I am convinced, overcharged. Any student of Indian history, since the consolidation of our rule in that country, in the larger works, such as Professor Wilson's continuation of Mill, will find running through it, though pale generally by the glare and blaze of our great wars with Mahratta or Goorkha, Afghan or Sikh, as it were a long low line of fire, in the constant insurrections of the wilder populations included within our territories. These, if traced to their source, will almost invariably be found to result from the introduction of our fiscal or judicial systems;* and the stock remedy for them in the last resort is the appointment of Special Commissioners. The last of these insurrections, that of the Sontals of the Rajmahal hills in Bengal two or three years ago, which created uneasiness in Calcutta itself, seems evidently to have arisen from revenue causes. Our revenue system is not even so oppressive in itself, as in its consequences. Different from the native Governments, we exact taxation in money, not in kind. Now, in the ruder districts of India, money is very rare,

* See, for instance, in Wilson, the history of the disturbances in Cuttack and Orissa, under Lord Hastings.

if not almost unknown. Hence that frightful curse of the Indian Mofussil (the provinces, as distinguished from the capitals), the village money-lenders or *shroffs*, sharp Hindoos or Mussulmans, who "accommodate" the cultivator with coin to meet the Sahib's (Englishman's) demand, at rates of interest which appear to us perfectly fabulous. The main grievance of the Sontals was that the Bengalee *shroffs* charged them 300 or 400 per cent. for money—they were willing to pay 25 ! They admitted that they had no complaints to make of the "Sahibs" personally, but with rough logic said that the Sahibs were masters, and that it was their business to prevent such things. So they rose against the English, and massacred them right and left, until cut to pieces right and left by the troops.

Let us hope, however, that a brighter future is now in store for these races. The joining of the high castes in this insurrection, which does not as yet extend (with a few exceptions) to the two armies of the Deekan, composed generally of lower-caste men, has made us feel the value of "low castes" and of "no-caste men"—the "no-caste men" being the unmixed aborigines,—the "low-castes," generally, those aborigines, so to speak, *Hindooised*. But it must not be supposed for an instant that we can hold India by means of the pure aborigines in their present condition. Many of these races,—the most numerous of them, the Gonds, for instance,—are at present too weakly and undersized for the purpose. Nor could we even rely exclusively on the sturdier tribes, those most mixed with Tartar blood. You cannot permanently hold in check a semi-civilised race, like the Hindoos, by savages just trained in the use of arms and military discipline, even though you may have made them throw away the bow and arrow for the Minié rifle. The degradation of such a state of things is too great ; all the noblest feelings of human nature revolt against it. The one recollection of the occupation of France by the allied armies which has left an undying sting in the French memory is that of "The Cossacks."

We may then, we must, make greater use of the aboriginal races than heretofore. But we must do much more than attempt to make mere soldiers of them—we must render them prosperous, civilise them, Christianise them. The Hindoos will offer no opposition to us in so doing. Their worship forbids proselytism. Not a Brahmin finger would have been lifted against us, though every Sontal, Garrow, Bheel, Mair, Gond, Khond, &c., in the country had become a baptized English-speaking Christian, if they had not thought that we meant to interfere with *their* caste, with *their* institutions.* Nor, indeed, must we suppose the Hindoos themselves incapable of aiding in the work of civilising the wild men. They will do so whenever influenced by some Englishman whom they really look up to with respect and love. When Sir John Malcolm (my godfather) tried the experiment of disciplining the Bheels, his sepoy took a pride in treating the wild recruits with kindness, and instructing them in their duties.

One thing is certain,—that unless we apply ourselves at the earliest period to develop the good qualities of these aborigines, we shall find those good qualities sadly deteriorated or wholly erased. Loyalty, truthfulness, courage, honesty, do not run in the blood in spite of all adverse circumstances. They are, above all, essentially bound up with *freedom*.† It is because

* Mr. D'Israeli was utterly mistaken, in his otherwise statesman-like speech on Indian affairs of the last session, in denouncing Mr. Halliday's plan of handing over the Sontal country altogether to the missionaries, as likely to have excited the Hindoos against us. I may doubt greatly whether the missionaries of India are possessed of the political capacity requisite for such a task. I do not believe that if they had undertaken it, one single Brahmin would have troubled himself in the least about the matter.

I do not base this opinion on vague assumptions of my own. For the last half-century (until interrupted at last by *Christian* agency) my grandfather, and after him my maternal uncle, the late Mr. Murdoch Brown and Mr. F. C. Brown, have been engaged in Southern India in civilising and then Christianising several hundreds of the lowest local caste, the Pulisars. Not the slightest opposition has been offered to them by the higher castes, with the members of which they have always lived on the most friendly terms.

† There is one case, however, in which falsehood flows from another source than slavery. It is where a man deems himself to be above

the aboriginal savage has hitherto remained free that he has surpassed hitherto in these qualities the bulk of the semi-civilised Hindoos, slaves to the foreigner. Reduce him to their level, and he will be what they are. There is the most abundant proof as to this. When the Neilgherry hills were first discovered, within the memory of living man, they were inhabited by a race of the most noble character, the Tudas. That race is now, I am informed, almost utterly degenerate in all moral qualities, since its contact with us. And after all, what has been the great plea for the employment of the higher castes? That they are more truthful, gallant, chivalrous than the lower. Upon whom does the reproach of utter untruthfulness, brought against the Hindoos, chiefly rest? Upon the lower-caste men. Yet the higher castes are undoubtedly more pure Hindoos—the lower in the main of aboriginal blood. It is the aristocratic freedom of the Rajpoot which makes him truthful; it is the debased condition of the lower castes which makes liars of them. If the moral condition of the higher castes is itself deteriorating,—if the warlike Nyrs of Malabar, whose word was their bond half a century ago, are now almost as slippery as any Bengalee, we may be sure that this is the sure mark of their being gradually debased by oppression—not the less real because its individual steps may be undiscernible,—to a servile level of feeling and thought.

And unless we Christianise the aborigines, let us be sure that they will become absorbed in one of the better organised faiths. Notwithstanding the anti-proselytising character of Hindooism, it is making progress among them. "Among the forest tribes of India," says Major Cunningham, "the influence of the Brahmins continues to increase, and every Bheel, or Gond, or Kohlee, who acquires power or money, desires to be thought a Hindoo rather than a 'Mletcha'"

the truth. This is the special falseness of kings and priests; of English Charles the Firsts, Romish priests of all nations, and Hindoo Brahmins, Nana Sahib included.

(outcast).* So the Bengal missionaries show that in Assam a nominal Hindobism is spreading as well as a nominal Mahommedanism. Others, and I infer by far the greater number, of the aborigines are becoming Mussulmans. Of the Gond converts to Islam in Bhopal, Major Cunningham says that they "have more fully got over the gross superstition of their race, than the Gonds who have adopted Hindooism." General Briggs' Lecture states that "numbers of the Sontals, the Bengies, and the Cheries" of North-Eastern India, "have embraced the Mahommedan faith;" that in the north-west many of the Meenas have done so; that the Mairs, "like other tribes, have embraced the Mahommedan faith;" that a portion of the Bheels have done so. The simpler Mahommedan faith, the absence in it both of idolatry and of caste, make it obviously far better adapted to the character and mode of life of the bulk of the aborigines than the more abstruse and complex religious system of the Hindoos.

Meanwhile, it is extremely painful to find how many of the aboriginal tribes are taking part in the present struggle against us; how little we have succeeded in making them feel, by our treatment of them, that we are their natural allies. The Sontals are admittedly in arms again in the north-east. Their kinsmen, the Koles, trending to the south, are expected to rise after the harvest. In the heart of India, at Jubbulpore, the old Gond Rajah Shunker Shah (who has been preposterously paraded through all our papers, beginning from the *Times*, as a specimen of "the mild *Hindoo!*") has been executed with his son. Even the long-faithful Bheels have revolted at Nassick.

* "History of the Sikhs," p. 18. He there shows that Buddhism, Brahminism, and Mahommedanism are all gradually extending, at the expense of the local worships.

APPENDIX B. (See p. 39.)

The Rig Veda and its Theology.

I do not know a duller book to read in itself, or a more interesting one, through the thoughts which it suggests, than the Rig Veda, the oldest work of Hindoo literature and religion,—to judge, at least, by the two books out of its eight which have been translated by Professor Wilson, from Professor Max Müller's edition of the original.

In the first place,—strongly contrasting in this respect with later Hindooism,—it has no pretence to be primordial. It speaks of “forefathers,” of ancient sages;” * of “elder divinities.” † “From a remote period” night and dawn have traversed earth and heaven, and worship has been performed. The gods are invoked “with an ancient text.” “Ancient cities” have been destroyed. ‡ Early legends and myths are constantly referred to. And, accordingly, the state of society which is implied in it is one of at least semi-civilisation. Although much less is said of the cities of the Aryas than of those of their enemies, and the very prominent place given to cattle and horses, as compared with the products of agriculture, shows a people still in the main pastoral, still there is mention of cultivation, of ploughing, of barley. Metal work

* “May that Agni who is to be celebrated by both *ancient* and modern sages conduct the gods hither.”—“As did Manu, and Angiras, and Yayāti, and *others of old*.”—“Adorable Ushas, whom the *ancient sages* invoked”—“in like manner as of old.”

† “Veneration to the great gods, veneration to the lesser, veneration to the young, veneration to the old; we worship the gods as well as we are able: may I not omit the praise of the *elder divinities*.”

‡ “The hundred ‘*ancient cities*’ of Sambara.” “The *ancient cities* of Asna.”

must have been thoroughly understood, since the sacrificial implements include axes, knives, caldrons, ladles, besides spits, skewers, dish-covers, brushes. The use of chariots and wagons is perpetually referred to, both for the conveyance of persons and of produce. The horse, the ox, the ass, the camel, were already domestic animals. There were cars with three benches; the spoked wheel had already succeeded the solid one. The yokes of oxen are spoken of; the girths, reins, halters, shafts of horses or chariots. The art of the weaver existed, and that of the ship-builder. The Aryas had a respectable knowledge of astronomy, an elaborate grammatical and metrical system. Trade was a distinct calling. Heralds were employed. Theft was a social offence. Prostitution already a social corruption.

But so broad is the gap between the "Aryas" of whom the Rig Veda speaks and the present Hindoos that, according to the remark of Mrs. Speir above alluded to, that gap is almost exactly co-extensive with the one which divides now these latter from the aborigines. The Hindoos, says General Briggs, in distinction from the aborigines, are divided into castes; but no castes appear in the Rig Veda, or what is now a caste was then only a class. "Hindoo widows are forbidden to marry,"—not so the Arya widows of the Rig Veda. "The Hindoos abhor the spilling of blood,—venerate the cow, and abstain from eating beef,"—in the Rig Veda, cows as well as horses are sacrificed and eaten. "The Hindoos abstain from the use of fermented liquors,"—the Aryas of the Rig Veda drink the fermented soma-juice. "The Hindoos have a Brahminical priesthood,"—in the Rig Veda kings perform sacrifice. "The Hindoos burn their dead"—the dead are buried in the Rig Veda. (See *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 146-7.)

The spiritual differences strike far deeper still. The most obvious characteristic of the Rig Veda—except in a few hymns and passages,—is its earthliness, selfishness, animalism, *outsideness*. The immense bulk of it,—unless completely transformed by the most wilful, far-fetched system of allegorising—must be wholly in-

capable of furnishing the slightest nourishment to those deep spiritual cravings with which the Hindoo mind has certainly been more constantly stirred than any other outside of the pale of Judaism or Christianity. Food, riches, prosperity, destruction of enemies, such are the perpetual objects of the hymns of the Rig Veda, to whatsoever deity addressed. He may be asked to avert "sin" from the worshipper; but there is little to show that sin is anything else than the neglect of religious rites. The gods are, of course, treated as having no higher needs than the worshippers, as delighting in food and drink and conquest. The "strong drink" of the soma-juice is the choicest offering which can be held out to them. The drunkenness of India is spoken of as "most intense;" he is "voracious," his belly "swells like the ocean."

Still, the race who offer this worship are a free, brave race, not decrepit, but full of youth. Their gods are fierce like themselves, but are no malignant demons. They are wise, they are truthful, and the source of truth in the worshipper, the fountain of blessings to him. The Fire-god Agni is "ever young and wise," "the observer of truth," "the constant illuminator of the truth," "the purifier," "the benefactor of the universe;" he is "as a loving father to a son, as a kinsman to a kinsman, as a friend to a friend," "all-wise," "the giver of delight," "the domestic guardian of mankind," "immortal sustainer of the universe," "cherisher of friends," "giver of rewards, provider of dwellings," "rich in righteous acts," "the speaker of truth," "the friend of man." The Day-god, Mitra, the Night-god, Varuna, are "born for the benefit of many," "the refuge of multitudes," "lords of true light." The Moon-god, Soma, is "the guide of men," "the purifier," "the protector." The Speech-goddess, Saraswati, is "the purifier," "the inspirer of those who delight in truth, the instructress of the right-minded." "Heaven" and "Earth" are "benignant," "the diffusers of happiness on all, encouragers of truth," they "satisfy with food," they are "fatherly" and "motherly." The

Firmament-god Indra is "the exhilarator of mankind," "the protector of the virtuous," "ever young, ever wise," "a giver among the givers of thousands;" "veracious," "bountiful," "devoid of malice," "the root of happiness," "desirous of giving to man," "the foremost in liberality," "the performer of good deeds," "engaging in great conflicts for man." Brahmanaspati, —probably the Prayer-god,—is "the healer of disease, the augments of nourishment," "a sage of sages," "true," "benefactor," "a kind protector." The Maruts or Wind-gods, are "most wise," "benevolent to men," "devoid of malignity," "liberal donors," "munificent," "pure from sin." The Sun-god Savitri or Surya is "life-bestowing," "radiant with benevolent light." The Road-god Pushan is "sagacious," "free from anger," "bestower of happiness." Rudra, afterwards identified with Siva, is "most bountiful," "radiant," "the wise," "the showerer of benefits," "the cherisher," "the protector of the virtuous." The Aswins, a somewhat nondescript pair of divinities, are "of pleasing appearance," "willing dispensers of wealth and granters of dwellings," "causers of felicity," "in whom there is no untruth," "omniscient." The Dawn-goddess Ushas is "bountiful," "nourishing," "auspicious," "bringer of good," "the protectress of mortals," "endowed with truth." The "Universal gods" are "omniscient," "devoid of malice," "protectors and supporters of men, bestowers." The gods generally are addressed as the "kinsmen" of the worshipper.

Something in these praises may, no doubt, be attributed to that fear of divine wrath which led the Greek to address the furies as "well disposed." This is, indeed, expressly avowed with a good deal of simplicity in one of the hymns, which says that the worshipper "loves not, but fears to speak evil, as a gambler fears his adversary, holding the four dice, until they be thrown." But, making this allowance, there can be no doubt that the Arya of 3,300 years ago looked upon his gods as friends, not as enemies. There are but

few traces of his having deemed any of them capable of delighting in human suffering as such. And so far as the aboriginal worship may have been mere devil-worship, this would go far to explain how he was inspired to overthrow it.

The following hymn to Indra, from the second book, affords a good sample of the staple of the Rig Veda :—

“Bring the desired soma to the adorable Indra, the lord of all, the lord of wealth, the lord of heaven, the perpetual lord, the lord of man, the lord of earth, the lord of horses, the lord of cattle, the lord of water.

“Offer adoration to Indra, the overcomer, the destroyer, the munificent, the invincible, the all-enduring, the creator, the all-adorable, the sustainer, the unassailable, the ever-victorious.

“I proclaim the mighty exploits of that Indra, who is ever victorious; the benefactor of man, the overthrower of man, the caster down, the warrior; who is gratified by our libations, the granter of desires, the subduer of enemies, the refuge of the people.

“Unequalled in liberality, the showerer, the slayer of the malevolent, profound, mighty, of impenetrable sagacity, the dispenser of prosperity, the enfeebler, firm, vast, the performer of pious acts, Indra has given birth to the light of the morning.

“The wise Usijas [certain holy men,] celebrating his praises, have obtained by their sacrifice, from the sender of water, knowledge of the path of their cattle; seeking the aid of Indra, and celebrating his praises, they have acquired treasures, whilst uttering hymns and offering adoration.

“Indra, bestow upon us most excellent treasures, the reputation of ability, prosperity, increase of wealth, security of person, sweetness of speech, and auspiciousness of days.”¹

Here is a portion of a yet wilder strain :—

“Offer worship quickly to Indra; recite hymns; let the poured-out drops exhilarate him; pay adoration to his superior strength.

“When, Indra, thou harnesses thy horses, there is no

(1) See Vol. II. of Professor Wilson's “Rig Veda,” pp. 259-260. I have shortened his translation wherever possible, by the omission of the later glosses of Śāyana, which seem to me often to weaken instead of explaining the original.

better charioteer than thou; none is equal to thee in strength; none, howsoever well horsed, has overtaken thee.

"He who alone bestows wealth upon the man who offers him oblations, is the undisputed sovereign, Indra,—ho!

"When will he trample with his foot upon the man who offers no oblations, as upon a coiled-up snake? When will Indra listen to our praises!—ho!

"Indra grants formidable strength to him who worships him, having libations prepared,—ho!"¹

But now a strange fact comes out. The sameness of praise addressed to all the divinities will have struck every one. Looking deeper, we find that the Vedic mythology is already pervaded by that idea which runs through the Orphic hymns, which became the last refuge of western polytheism in the Neo-Platonic school, that of the identity, or rather, if I may so call it, mutuality of person between all the Gods. The two divinities to whom the great bulk of the hymns are addressed, are Agni, the Fire-god, and Indra, the Firmament-god. But Agni is identified with Varuna, with Mitra, with Vishnoo, with Rudra, with Savitri, with Pushan, with Indra; Indra with Brahmanaspati, with the sun, with the wind, with the constellations. Of Agni, it is said that whatever is offered to any other deity, is assuredly offered to him; whatever other fires there may be, they are all but branches of him; he is "the head of heaven," "the ruler of both heaven and earth," he is "all men;" "all that is born," "all that will be born;" radiant amongst the gods, he in himself alone comprehends the virtues of all; he "appropriates the prayers addressed to the eternal Creator." By him, Varuna, Mitra, and Aryaman are animated; he has been born comprehending them all and encompassing them, as a wheel its spokes. Yet Indra, too, comprehends all things, as a wheel its spokes; there is none other such as he; he is the lord of god-frequented immensity; he has made everything dependent upon him; he takes precedence of all gods; whatever excellent praises are given to other

(1) Rig Veda, Vol. I., pp. 214, 215.

divinities are due also to him. Again it is said of Aditi, supposed to be the Earth-god or goddess, "Aditi is heaven; Aditi is the firmament; Aditi is mother, father, and son; Aditi is all the gods; Aditi is the five classes of men; Aditi is generation and birth." Vishnoo also is "the ancient, the creator, the recent, the self-born." Brahmanaspati is "the father of the gods," "all-pervading." Varuna is "supreme monarch," "sovereign over all, whether they be gods or mortals." Rudra is "the chiefest of beings in glory," "the mightiest of the mighty," "the supreme lord and ruler of this world," preserving "all this vast universe." Of a deity named "Apamnapat," translated variously "son of the waters" or "of the trees," supposed by some to be the sun, it is said that he "has generated all beings by the greatness of his might," that "of him is the world," that he is "the inconceivable deity;" that "all other beings are, as it were, branches of him."

I cannot help thinking that this feeling of a mutuality of person between all gods is either a very early or a very late one; testifies to a truth either freshly forgotten, or newly forcing itself into sight. It is incompatible, as it seems to me, with at least gross idolatry,—that idolatry which cleaves to the individual idol. Accordingly, there are few, if any, traces of idolatry in the Rig Veda. The great bulk of the hymns exclude it by intrinsic evidence. The worship is one essentially of the powers of nature; it is pervaded by a sense of the vastness of their might. That sense is too real,—too magnificently real, I would almost say, in most cases,—to brook the use of material images. Had it sought visible embodiment, it must have produced forms so colossal, that the Olympian Jupiter would have been a pigmy to them. But it is certain that no early traces exist of such forms, or of the temples which would have been built to hold them. Mrs. Speir tells us that "the splendid ruins consecrated to Vishnoo or Siva, which are figured in the works of Tod and Fergusson, are supposed to range from the fifth or

sixth down to the ninth century, A.D." The Greeks mention no idols, no temples. The earliest and rudest Indian sculptures, the Buddhist, are posterior to the flourishing of Greek art. The earliest symbols of divinities on Indian coins are those of Greek gods, cut by Greek artists. In all likelihood, India gave gods to Greece, and received idols from it.

I would not, however, say that there may not have existed in Vedic times small divine figures or symbols, in the nature of the *teraphim* of Scripture, which may have been used in some of the religious ceremonies. The "golden forms" of the gods which are sometimes alluded to may very likely be these. But such symbols would be perfectly inapplicable to the worship of the Fire-god Agni, for instance, to whom are dedicated exclusively thirty-one hymns of the first book, and twenty-five of the second, besides the many in which he is associated with other divinities. "All people kindle thee, Agni, the sacrificer;" when "thou art present as the priest at a sacrifice, and dischargest the mission to the gods, then thy flames roar like the sounding billows of the ocean;" this is surely the invocation of a fire-spirit in the actual flame, and not under the shape of a stone or a lump of clay, however carved or moulded.

The Vedic worship, then, as contrasted with later Brahminism, was in the first place perfectly genuine and honest. Next, it was a worship, not of spiritual principles or intellectual abstractions, but of the Forces of nature, vividly personified, yet with a dim but prevailing instinct that they are all interchangeable, one. Thirdly, it was a worship devoid, it may be said, of idolatry.¹

If we go into particulars, we find also that there is not "the slightest hint," to use Professor Wilson's expression, of the famous Hindoo triad of later times, that of Brahma, Vishnoo, Siva. In a certain group of hymns,

(1) There is "not the slightest allusion," as Professor Wilson remarks, to the obscene symbol by which Siva has been personified for the last 1,000 years.

three divine names occur together, "Mitra, Varuna, Aditi—ocean, earth, heaven," but these cannot be resolved into the later triad. The name of Brahma occurs, but is alike incapable of being identified with the creative member of the later triad. The name of Siva is not to be found; nor that of the goddesses Durga or Kalee, dear to contemporary Hindoo scoundrels; nor those of the heroes Rama and Krishna, Vishnoo's latest incarnations; although there is certainly a look of Siva about Rudra, a god with braided hair, "destroyer of heroes," who seems to be worshipped with more of fear, more of anxiety to appease, than any other. Vishnoo is, indeed, the object of several hymns, and is addressed in terms which, if the like were not applied to so many other divinities, might betoken his later supremacy. And two famous passages, in which his "three steps" are spoken of, and which, interpreted by later times, seem to corroborate the legend of his "Dwarf Avatar," appear, on the contrary, when closely inspected with reference to the context, to resolve that legend itself into an astronomical myth. I can hardly doubt that it was meant to express how the Time-god, appearing in the shape of the Dwarf Moment, strides over all creation with the three giant-strides of Past, Present, Future, and by measuring, preserves it from formlessness and chaos. But the chief objects of Vedic worship, Indra, Agni, the Maroots, the Aswins, are very subordinate personages in the later Hindoo Pantheon. Indra even changes one of his outward attributes, passing from his warlike car upon the back of an elephant.

When we have thus determined how utterly irreconcilable the Rig Veda is with later Brahminism,—how the one must explode the other if fairly brought in contact together at the present day, we have to look at the other side of this historic puzzle,—how Brahminism ever grew up out of it. Here, however, I think, there is less difficulty.

The great social distinction between the Veda system and Brahminism is caste. There is no caste, as

before said, in the Vedas. Kings perform sacrifices ; Brahmins are scarcely mentioned. But the frequent mention of "the five classes of men," in default of any better explanation, I must construe by ordinary Hindoo interpretation, as implying the four original castes and the men of no-caste. And the importance assigned to the due performance of holy rites, the frequent mention of priestly wisdom, show easily how a hierocratic form of society would naturally have sprung up among the Aryas.

Again, as respects the animalism, the force-worship of the Vedas,—there are not wanting indications of the cravings for a more spiritual morality, the anxious questionings of the universe and its mysteries, which distinguish the later Hindoos. Agni, "excellently wise," is praised as directing "the man who follows improper paths, to acts that are fitted to reclaim him ;" he is asked to convey the worshipper, "as in a boat over a river, across all wickedness." The burden of one hymn to this god, concluding every verse, is "May our sin be repented of." The worshipper is "disdainful of sleep, and of the rich man who benefits not others." The distinction between formal and genuine worship is indicated ; "one man propitiates Indra, increasing by sacrifice ; another, who is 'insincere,' worships with mind averted : to the first he is like a lake to the thirsty, near a sacred spot, to the other like a long road, which protracts the goal." There are glimpses of a Being underlying all the divine forms. We have seen how Agni is said to appropriate the prayers "addressed to the eternal creator." In another passage, it is said that "the progenitor" has begotten Indra, the refuge, as the destroyer of the Rakshasas. One verse, put in the mouth of Indra, sounds like a far-off echo of Ecclesiastes. "It is not certain what to-day or to-morrow will bring to us ; who comprehends this mystery ? Verily, the mind of any other is unsteady, and even that which has been profoundly studied is forgotten."

But the main link between the Rig Veda and the spirit of later Hindooism lies in a hymn fifty-two stanzas long, to be found in the second book, of which it is observed by Professor Wilson, that its style agrees better with that of the fourth and certainly the most modern Veda, the Atharva Veda, in which all its verses occur. I cannot myself doubt that it is of a later date than the bulk of the hymns with which it is associated, and yet its presence amidst them seems to me to indicate that it is probably the first definite outflow from this peculiar well-spring of Hindoo thought. Much of it is purely astronomical; but passages like these strike far deeper:—

“Who has seen the primeval at the time of his being born? What is that endowed with substance which the unsubstantial sustains? From earth are the breath and the blood, but where is the soul? Who may repair to the sage to ask this?

“Immature, and discerning in mind, I inquire of those things which are hidden; what are the seven threads which the sages have spread to envelop the sun, in whom all abide?

“Ignorant, I inquire of the sages who know; not as one knowing, [but] for the sake of knowledge; what is that one alone, who has upheld these six spheres in the form of the unborn?

* * * * *

“He who knows the protector of this as the inferior associated with the superior, and the superior associated with the inferior, he is, as it were, a sage. But who in this world can expound it? Whence is the divine mind in its supremacy engendered?

* * * * *

“*I distinguish not if I am this all*; for I go perplexed, and bound in mind; when the first-born perceptions of the truth reach me, then immediately shall I obtain a portion of that word.”

In connexion with the theology of the Vedas should, perhaps, also be mentioned the lately sprung up sect of Hindoo reformers, called the Neo-Vedantists, whose object it is to restore the pure doctrines of those works. It may be interesting to quote here an analysis of theo-

logical publications in the Bengalee language, given at the Mission Conference of 1855.

Serampore Tracts	85
Tract Society's Tracts	77
Christian books	53
	—215
Mussulman Bengalee	40
Pauranic (the popular theology, founded on the Pooranas)	98
Sivite	35
Vaishnava (worship of Vishnoo).	80
Vedantic	39
	—252—507

This list, it should be observed, applies only to the Bengalee, the *popular* language of Bengal, alone, and affords no clue as to publications in the sacred languages, if any, within that presidency.

APPENDIX C. (See p. 69.)

The Sikh Faith.

The Sikh element, at the time when the foregoing lectures were delivered, was far from having assumed the importance which it has since done during the present struggle, or I should have dwelt on it at greater length in the text.

The two great names in the religious history of the Sikhs, are those of Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh faith, and Govind, the organiser of the Sikh community. The one was born in 1469, and died in 1539; and belonged, consequently, almost to the dawn of really modern history,—to the days of our Henry VII. and Henry VIII. The other ruled from 1675 to 1708, and belongs, therefore, to the epoch of our later revolution.

It is difficult, indeed, after one has become ever so little familiar with the wide range of doctrine presented in India, both by Buddhism and Brahminism itself, to appreciate what there was in Nanuk's teaching which made it distinctive from that of many a previous phi-

losopher, religious reformer, founder of a sect or of an order, in the elder religions.

The holy book of the Sikhs, the Adee Grunth, begins with the writings of Nanuk, or those attributed to him.¹ The general purport of its teaching, Major Cunningham tells us, is "that God is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, with little reference to particular forms, and that salvation is unattainable without grace, faith, and good works." Nanuk thus openly undermined caste, without directly destroying it.

"Think not of caste; abase thyself and attain to salvation."

"God will not ask man of what race he is; he will ask him what he has done."

"Of the impure among the noblest
Heed not the injunction;
Of one pure among the most despised
Nanuk will become the footstool."

"That Brahmin is a son of Brahm,
Whose rules of action are devotion, prayer, and purity;
Whose principles of faith are humility and contentment;
Such a Brahmin may break prescribed rules, and yet find salvation."

"Devotion is not in the ragged garment, nor in the staff, nor in ashes, nor in the shaven head, nor in the sounding of horns."

Abstinence from animal food appears to be the only trace of asceticism in his teaching; otherwise there is strong and vigorous sense in his mode of dealing with this question.

"A householder" (*i. e.*, ordinary layman) "who does no evil,

Who is ever intent upon good,
Who continually exerciseth charity,
Such a householder is pure as the Ganges."

"Householders and hermits are equal, whoever calls on the name of the Lord."

"Eat and clothe thyself, and thou mayest be happy;
But without fear and faith there is no salvation."

(1) It comprises the works of the various Sikh Gooroos, or teachers, and some other holy men.

That God is one, and the source of grace and truth, he held strongly, and set forth nobly.

"The true name is God ; without fear, without enmity ; the Being without death, the Giver of salvation, the Gooroo" (teacher), "and grace.

Remember the primal Truth ; Truth which was before the world began,

Truth which is, and Truth, O Nanuk ! which will remain.

By reflection it cannot be understood, if times innumerable it be considered.

By meditation it cannot be attained, how much soever the attention be fixed.

* * * * *

How can truth be told ? how can falsehood be unravelled ?
O Nanuk ! by following the will of God, as by Him ordained."

"One self-existent, Himself the Creator,

O Nanuk ! one continueth, another never was, and never will be."

"Numerous Mahomets there have been, and multitudes of Brahmas, Vishnoos, and Sivas,

Thousands of peers" (Mussulman saints) "and prophets, and tens of thousands of saints and holy men ;

But the chief of lords is the One Lord, the true name of God."

"O Nanuk ! he on whom God looks, finds the Lord."

I strongly suspect it was the life of the reformer which gave especial weight to his doctrines. That this was very pure, harmless, and sincere, is not, I think, to be doubted. Mussulman writers speak of him quite as favourably as his own disciples. They ascribe to him the working of miracles (though he himself speaks slightly of mere portent-making) ; report that he studied diligently the writings of their own faith,—which indeed, from internal evidence, I should deem certain,—and even that he was specially instructed by the prophet Elijah. He was a Kshatriya by birth, a grain factor by trade, but threw up his calling to embrace poverty, and spent many years in travel, in company with a few disciples ; after which he returned to his family, and spent the remainder of a life of seventy years in peaceful teaching, by precept and practice.

From Nanuk, there is a succession of (with himself) ten Gooroos, or teachers, in all of whom he is himself believed to have become incarnate. Strange to say, in addition to what may be called the main or leading body of Sikhs, which has become a nation, two other religious bodies are connected with Nanuk, and one of them is really the orthodox representative of his religious views. In addition to abstinence from animal food, Nanuk had equally recommended abstinence from physical force. "Fight," he had said, "with no weapon, save the word of God; a holy teacher hath no means save the purity of his doctrine." Now the genuine *Quaker* Sikhs, if we may so call them, who profess to follow these doctrines, exist to this day as a purely religious community, scattered over nearly all India, engaged in trade, thriving, and keen money-getters, like their Christian congeners; Omichund, Clive's vile ally, but undeserved victim, is said to have belonged to them.¹ But again, Nanuk's own son, whom he had the good sense to set aside from the Goorooship, became the founder of another widely-diffused sect (the Oodassees), who, quite contrary to Nanuk's own teaching, profess indifference to the world. They are, nevertheless, we are told, proud of their connexion with the Sikhs, and most of them use the Adee Grunth.

So slow, however, was at first the progress of the main body of Sikhs, that forty-two years after Nanuk's death, we are told that there were not more than eighty-four disciples. Arjoon, the fifth Gooroo, was the first who gave shape to the Sikh religious community. He it was who put in order the holy writings, established the then obscure hamlet of Umritsir as a religious

(1) In "Bengal as a Field of Missions," will be found a curious account of "an old follower of Nanuk," at Ghazeepore, in Behar, who had "with great attention" heard the missionaries' preaching, and told them that when the Sikh war was going on, he "spent more than 500 rupees for charitable purposes, that the English might obtain the victory, as he knew that his brethren were wicked, and deserved to be no longer rulers of the country." He only made one objection to missionary doctrines: "If you would abstain from killing cows and eating beef, the whole country would, become Christian very soon."—See p. 363.

centre, received regular annual contributions from the faithful, and engaged in company with them in trading operations on a large scale. He gave umbrage, however, to the Moguls, was imprisoned, and died, according to the account of the Mussulman Dabistan itself, of "the heat of the sun and of ill treatment" (1606). From this period, Sikhism assumes a different complexion. A disciple of Arjoon is found in his writings denouncing the bigotry and violence of the Mussulmen, and the asceticism of the Hindoos. Hur Govind, Arjoon's son, the sixth Gooroo, breaks through the rules of Nanuk's abstinence, becomes a hunter, a flesh-eater, a military leader, without, however, abdicating his position as a religious teacher. At one time he is in the service of the Emperor Jehangeer; at others in disfavour, imprisoned even, or skirmishing with the imperial troops. Already the Sikhs were a state within the state; and though Hur Govind's successor was peacefully disposed, still we find even him compelled to engage in political partisanship, and the struggles which then distracted the Mogul empire. Nay, so much was the Goorooship tending to become an hereditary power, that the eighth Gooroo was a child of six years of age.

Up to this time there appears to have been no special antagonism between the Sikhs and the Mussulmen. The author of the Dabistan treats of the former in the last section of his chapter on the religion of the Hindoos, awarding considerable praise to the Gooroos and other Sikh worthies, some of whom he speaks of from personal acquaintance. The instances, however, of implicit obedience on the part of the Sikhs to their teachers, were likely of themselves to give umbrage to the Mogul princes, who, as Major Cunningham observes, must have been perplexed and alarmed by the common Sikh saying, that the Gooroos were "true kings." Under the ninth Gooroo, Tegh Bahadoor, apparently a hard, moody man, and not a little of a bandit chief, hostilities again broke out. The Gooroo was beheaded as a rebel in Delhi, by order of Aurungzebe, and his body exposed in the streets (1705).

Govind, the tenth and last Gooroo, was fifteen years old at his father's death. For twenty years he seems to have spent his life in retirement in the hills, hunting the tiger and the wild boar, brooding over the mission of his ancestors and his own.

As far as one can judge from the extracts of his writings in the Adee Grunth, which Major Cunningham's work contains, Govind's theology was far narrower than that of Nanuk. He is at best only a Sikh Mahomet; contempt for idolatry his leading faith.

"Fall at the feet of God; in senseless stone God is not."

"God is one image; how can He be conceived in another form?"

Escape from transmigration, as with the Buddhists, appears to be for him the leading privilege of the true believer:—

"He who knows not the one God
Will be born again times innumerable."

But God is far from being to him the perfect and gracious One He was to Nanuk:—

"*Time is the only God*; the first and the last, the endless Being; the Creator, the Destroyer; he who can make and unmake."

As the God is, so is his worshipper; fierce, even in his humility:—

"He who speaks of me as the Lord,
Him will I sink in the pit of hell!
Consider me as the slave of God:
Of that have no doubt in thy mind.
I am but the slave of the Lord,
Come to behold the wonders of creation."

But whatever Govind's theology, he did a marvellous work, in organizing the Sikh nation. Wild and incongruous is the story, how, seeking to know the meaning of the saying, "One arrow may become many, and one man may kill a hundred," he was led to consult the

vividly than anything else I know, the spirit both of Govind's reformation, and of the Sikh power.

The history of the remainder of Govind's life is that of his struggles to establish the political independence of the Sikh Khalsa, his fights with Hindoos and Mussulmen. It is neither prosperous nor pleasing. Amongst other reverses, his children are killed; his followers, all but forty, desert him. He curses the cowards, degrades the waverers. The forty faithful ones are killed all but five. In his flight he has to submit to every moral indignity. Although he had undone the knot in his hair—a part of the Sikh religious costume,—he is recognised and cursed by a Mussulman moolla, or priest; offers him money to purchase his silence, and eventually has to eat cow's flesh in his presence;—reverence for the cow being a Hindoo observance which the Sikhs have retained to this day. More galling, perhaps, than anything was the having to plead before the Mogul emperors, and to accept service under them. He seems at last to have grown reckless and weary of life. Pressed by a Patan (Afghan) creditor for payment of a debt, he struck him dead in his impatience, then repented, bestowed presents on and showed kindness to his son. Soon he began taunting him with taking no revenge for his father's murder. The lad forbore from answering his taunts for awhile. But one day as they were playing at chess, Govind renewing his taunts, the lad plunged his dagger into him. The murderer was seized, but Govind forbade his being put to death, saying that he had acted according to his own advice. The wound was sewn up, but he was determined to die. Bending a strong bow with all his strength, he burst the wound open again; his bowels were extruded, and he died at forty-eight years of age (1728).¹ This took place at

(1) I have followed, in the above account, Dr. McGregor rather than Major Cunningham, who gives the more orthodox version, that Govind was treacherously slain when asleep or unguarded. But the other narrative is avowedly from Sikh sources, and is so far less favourable to Govind, that I cannot conceive it to have been invented by a disciple. To me, indeed, it bears internal evidence of credibility. The recklessness and disgust for life which it exhibits,

Nuderh, or Upchullanugger, on the Godavery, now a Sikh jagheer under the suzerainty of the Nizam; the place to which I have referred in the text (p. 69) as now becoming the true centre of Sikh worship.

Govind was the last Sikh Gooroo. Asked to appoint a successor by his disciples on his death-bed, he answered, "He who wishes to behold the Gooroo, let him search the *Grunth* of Nanuk. The Gooroo will dwell with the Khalsa; be firm and be faithful; wherever five Sikhs are gathered together, there will I also be present." But he gave his arrows to a disciple, a fakeer named Bunda, who avenged his death upon the Moguls by frightful devastations and massacres. His own fate was not less frightful. Taken prisoner at last, with his young child, he was ordered to cut its throat. He did so in silence, and had then his flesh torn off with red-hot pincers (1716).

The history of religious development among the Sikhs closes with this period. Bunda endeavoured to introduce various innovations in religious practice; but none of them have subsisted. They were chiefly resisted by a body instituted by Govind, the Akalees, or immortals; soldiers of God, who, clad in blue and with bracelets of steel, relinquish the world, and are bound to spend their lives for the benefit of the Khalsa.¹

Sikhism has been spoken of as a Hindoo Protestantism. It would surely be more correct to call it the Islam of Hindooism. In its strong proclamations of the unity of God, in its fiercely militant character, it entirely reproduces the Mahommedan type of faith. It

appear to me in natural keeping with the position of a fierce, proud, ambitious fanatic, who had thought to create a nation; now a childless, powerless, dishonoured exile, in the pay of those very "Toorks" against whom he had urged his disciples to perpetual war.

(1) Major Cunningham mentions that he "once found an Akalee repairing, or rather making, a road, among precipitous ravines, from the plain of the Sutlej to the petty town of Keeritpoor. He avoided intercourse with the world generally. He was highly esteemed by the people, who left food and clothing at particular places for him; and his earnest, persevering character had made an evident impression on a Hindoo shepherd-boy, who had adopted part of the Akalee dress, and spoke with awe of the devotee."—P. 110, n.

differs from it, however, in what may almost be called its strong *church*-organization,—in the prominence given to the Khalsa, the assembly of the elect,—in the singular life which flows from the later doctrine, which seems to be an echo of our Lord's words,—that wherever five Sikhs are gathered together, the Teacher is among them.

What we are now concerned with, are the effects of this faith. The Sikhs are at present distinguished as a people by a generally tall frame, unshorn hair, black bushy beards, an unmistakable look of freedom and boldness about the eyes. They refrain from tobacco and other intoxicating drugs, and wear breeches or pantaloons instead of girding up their loins like the Hindoos. And the faith which they profess is for them a living faith. In the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1781, will be found a short account, by Mr. Wilkins, of a visit to "the Seeks and their College" at Patna, describing a Sikh religious service in those days. Speaking of the hymns which were given forth by "an old man with a reverend silver beard," the English visitor says: "I was singularly delighted with the gestures of the old man; *I never saw a countenance so expressive of infelt joy*, whilst he turned about from one to another, as it were bespeaking their assents to those truths which his very soul seemed to be engaged in chanting forth." Writing nearly three-quarters of a century later, Major Cunningham says of the Sikhs:

"Their enthusiasm is still fresh, and their faith is still an active and a living principle. They are persuaded that God Himself is present with them, that He supports them in all their endeavours, and that, sooner or later, He will confound their enemies for His own glory. This feeling of the Sikh people deserves the attention of the English, both as a civilized nation and as a paramount Government. Those who have heard a follower of Gooroo Govind declaim on the destinies of his race, his eye wild with enthusiasm and every muscle quivering with excitement, can understand that spirit which impelled the naked Arab against the mail-clad troops of Rome and Persia. . . . They will dare

much, and they will endure much, for the mystic Khalsa or commonwealth; they are not discouraged by defeat, and they ardently look forward to the day when Indians and Arabs, and Persians and Turks, shall all acknowledge the double mission of Nanuk and Govind Sing."

Again, he declares that "England has carefully to watch the progress of that change in social relations and religious feelings of which Sikhism is the most marked exponent. Among all ranks of men there is a spirit at work which rejects as vain the ancient forms and ideas, whether of Brahminism or Mahometanism, and which clings for present solace and future happiness to new intercessors and to another manifestation of divine power and mercy. . . . The extension of Sikh arms would speedily lead to the recognition of Nanuk and Govind as the long-looked-for comforters." And he notices in a note the currency among the Hindoos of a spurious passage of the Bhagavat-Geeta, which foretells the rule, after "the *fair* kings"—which are supposed to be the English—of a dynasty of "silent kings," who are identified with the disciples of Nanuk the seer.

At a time when Sikh bravery and faithfulness have, after English, mainly contributed to maintain our empire in India, it is well to remember these warnings; not that we may selfishly endeavour to crush Sikhism, but that we may lift our Christianity to the level of the vitality of its faith. Let us be assured that no mere system of doctrines will ever avail to conquer that faith. Nothing can subdue it but the sight of a strong, living, organic Christian church, in which it shall recognise the true model of its mystic Khalsa. If we simply break down caste in India without up-raising a Christendom, we shall be working for the disciples of Govind, and not for Christ. Though the Sikh power may have been broken at Sobraon, and again at Goojerat, the Sikh faith remains, and it has survived far worse disasters than it has experienced at our hands. When Govind died in his despair, a dishonoured Mogul pensioner, who could have imagined that, a century later, Runjeet Sing would build up the splendid kingdom of the Punjab?

APPENDIX D. (See p. 78.)

Mussulman Religious Reform.

In the same invaluable number of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1852 (Vol. XII., part 2), which contains Captain Macpherson's account of the Khonds and General Briggs' lecture on the aboriginal races of India, will be found also a translation of a work by a contemporary Mussulman reformer, Maulavee Ismail Haje, with a notice of the author, by a well-known and accomplished Mussulman, Mir Shahamat Ali. The paper is a dry one; and we feel in reading it that it was written amid wholly different circumstances from our own. But, nevertheless, at the present juncture, it contains matter of the deepest interest and importance.

Maulavee Ismail, we are told, was a disciple of Syed Ahmed, mentioned in the text: born in 1781, he was killed with the Syed in 1831, fighting against the Sikhs. But he seems to have been far superior in attainments, genius, and earnestness to his master, whose fame, the writer says, was greatly owing to him, and who was, indeed, scarcely known before he officiated with the Maulavee.

Indian Mahommedanism, we should observe, belongs in the main to the former of the two great divisions of that worship, the Soonnee, comprising the Arabs and the Turks; but intercourse with Persia has also deeply leavened it (in Oude and Bengal especially) with the doctrines and practices of the Sheeahs, who form the other division. The twofold object of the reformers was, to purge it from Hindoo corruptions on the one hand, and from the Sheeah leaven on the other. Thus, the work in question, the "Takwiyat-ul-Iman," inveighs,

on the one hand, against observances in honour of the Sheeah Imaums (holy men descended from Ali, the Prophet's nephew and son-in-law) and other Mussulman saints, or even Mahommed himself; on the other, against worship or respect paid to Hindoo divinities, especially mentioning the Hindoo goddesses. It condemns in the most open manner astrology, the belief in omens, magic, gifts of foretelling, and the like.

The following extracts will show how much noble truth is still mixed up with the Mussulman faith in India at the present day.¹

"Hear ye ! all men are servants of God. The duty of a servant is servitude. The one who will not perform his service, is no longer a servant. True service is to correct one's faith. Of him whose faith is unsettled, no services are acceptable; but of one whose faith is right, even little service is to be taken for much. Hence, every one ought to take much pains in the rectification of his faith, and must prefer its attainment to all other things.

"In the present age, people follow many ways. Some uphold the customs of their ancestors as precedents; others look to the stories of pious men for their guides; while, again, some follow the sayings invented by the Maulavis, from the ingenuity of their own minds; and others allow their own judgment to interfere; but the best of all ways is, to have for principles the words of God and his Apostle; to hold them alone as precedents, and not to allow our own opinion to be exercised. Such of the stories of the pious men, and the sayings of the Maulavis, as correspond with them, ought to be accepted, and the rest rejected.

It is a prevailing opinion among the common people, that it is difficult to comprehend the word of God and the Apostle: 'Much learning is required to divine them; we do not possess abilities enough to understand them; this course can be pursued by great men alone, and we are not able to do so; but for us, the sayings of these men are enough.' This is a great error, because God says that the contents of the Koran are very clear and plain, and that there is no difficulty in understanding it, as stated, &c. To understand these passages is not difficult, but to command one's spirit is rather difficult, because it dislikes submission. Hence, those only who are disobedient will disbelieve them. To comprehend the words of God and the Apostle, much learning is not wanted, for the Prophet was sent to show the

(1) I have sometimes slightly altered the wording.

right way to the unwise, to persuade the ignorant, and to instruct illiterate men, as God states," &c.

Substitute texts of the Bible for those of the Koran, and how many words of the foregoing passage would have to be changed in order to make it into an orthodox Protestant discourse of the present day on the sufficiency of Holy Scripture ?

"Forgetting that God is nearer to his servants than any other, men have taken other mediators. . . . And although, by persisting in this wrong path, they seek to be nearer unto God, they shall never obtain their desires, and will never get nearer to Him. Nay, the more they persist in this course, the more distant they will be from God.

* * * * *

All the prophets who have come on missions on the part of God, have professed the same doctrine,—to serve the Lord, and worship none besides Him.

* * * * *

Do not believe in any god but God, and entertain no fear lest by doing so you may be hurt by genii or devils. Men generally endure patiently the affliction which they experience in the world, and in the same manner they must not yield to the injuries they may receive from the genii, nor through fear acknowledge their power. Verily, everything is in the power of God alone ; and sometimes, to try the faith of his servants, He causes the good to be hurt by a wicked man, that he may make a distinction between the firm and the infirm, and separate the unbelievers from the faithful. . . . In like manner, God causes good men to be hurt by the hands of the genii and of Satan. They ought to submit to such grievances with patience, and not to recognise their authority through fear. . . . As He in due time punishes tyrants, and relieves the oppressed from their tyranny, in the same manner He will chastise the oppressive genii, and thereby relieve good men from their injuries. . . . What business, then, have we with others ? When a person becomes the slave of a king, his sole dependence is on his own master, and not on another king ; much less on a Chamar (outcast) or a sweeper.

* * * * *

Although God is the King of kings, yet He is not proud like an earthly king, who from arrogance does not attend to the prayer of a distressed subject, so that the people are obliged to have recourse to his minister, and seek his patronage to gain their point. Nay, He is very benevolent and merciful ;

there is no need of mediation with Him. He attends to every one who remembers Him, whether there is any to intercede for him or not. He is pure and holy-natured, and higher than all. *His court is not like those of worldly rulers, to which none of the subjects can have access*; so that, their only recourse being to the Ameers and Wuzers, they are necessarily very submissive to the latter, and hang solely on them. But *God is very close to his servants*; if the humblest of them be heartily devoted to Him, he will always find Him present, whether in the time of need or otherwise; there is no curtain between Him and a servant, beyond the latter's own negligence. If any one, therefore, be far away from God, it is on account of his own negligence.

* * * * *

"Anas says, that the Prophet said: 'You must ask all your wants of God, even to the suet for your pot, and strings of your shoes being broken.' We should not suppose that God is like earthly kings, who attend to important affairs themselves, and leave the rest to be done by their ministers, whereby people are obliged to have recourse to the latter. But the management of God's affairs is quite different. He is self-sufficient, and can attend Himself to scores of insignificant things. No one has any interference in his kingdom. The smallest things even should be asked of Him alone, because others can neither give small nor great.

* * * * *

"We ought to be very fearful of God, because, although sometimes one of his servants is deeply involved in idolatry, yet to mislead him, He complies with all the requests which he makes to others, which circumstance impresses the transgressor with the conviction that he pursues a right path. We should not, therefore, place much trust in the attainment or non-attainment of our wishes; and ought not, in consequence, to abandon the true creed of the Unity of God."

Surely the above extracts show that in dealing with Indian Mahommedanism at the present day we are not dealing with a decrepit superstition, but with a creed embodying much of living truth; a creed which sabre nor bayonet, rifle nor revolver, grape nor shell, will put down, which can only be conquered by a faith more true and living than itself.

But now let us see the obverse of the medal,—that which explains how it is that the faith in a God who is "very close to His servants" can yet impel those ser-

vants to wreak unmentionable tortures on innocent women and on little children.

Maulavee Ismail was, I hope, a good man. But the faith which he expressly inculcates is one above goodness,—separable from goodness.

“Every man ought, therefore,” he says, “to hold fast the two points” (of Unity and of the Law), “and to avoid idolatry and heresy, as the two latter pervert the faith. All other sins, in comparison, are less than these, *as they corrupt the morals only.*” “If one alone commits faults equal to all [sinners], but be free from idolatry, yet he shall be pardoned through the blessings of the doctrine of unity; while all the good actions of a polytheist will turn to no good When he is fully convinced that there is no lord but God—that there is no place of refuge beyond his protection—that the sinner can find refuge nowhere, and that there is no equal with God in power,—then, whatever transgressions he may be guilty of, may be ascribed to the frailty of human nature, or to error. But at the same time he ought to be awfully respectful, and be so repentant of his sins that he feel weary of life; he shall then be much visited with God’s blessings, which shall not be less than his sorrow. In fact, *he who is a perfect Unitarian*” (believer in the Unity), “*his sins even will be more effective than the worship of others. A sinful Unitarian is a hundredfold better than a pious polytheist.*” “*Although a man be full of sins, have no shame, be a regular appropriator of others’ property, and have no idea of good or bad, yet he is better than one guilty of idolatry, by worshipping others besides God; because in this way he is misled by Satan.*”

We see at a glance the fearful antinomian excesses to which such a doctrine directly leads, which it almost sanctions by more than implication. It is easy to inveigh against it; but has Christianity as yet shown any better pattern to India? The following passage may well lead us to doubt whether it has. It seems perfectly truthful and devoid of malevolence, as a record of the writer’s impressions.

“The Nasarás (Christians) say that all the affairs concerning both worlds are in the power of Christ; that one who follows and supplicates Him, is exempted from all services to God; that he will receive no punishment for any sins; that he is beyond distinction of lawful and unlawful, . . . and

though he may do whatever he may like, he will be pardoned through the intercession of Jesus in the day of judgment. . . May God direct them to the right path !”

From this it would seem that Christianity had presented to Maulavee Ismail precisely the same anti-nomian character which his Mahommedanism presents to us ; that it was equally to him a faith without works. Would it have been possible for him to have so conceived it, to have so described it, if Christian practice had been there to prove the contrary ?

Maulavee's Ismail conduct, as appears from his biography, was consistent with his doctrine. After six years of travel with Syed Ahmed in Arabia and Turkey, on his return—

“The distressed degraded condition to which the people of India, of late, had been reduced, and which, when compared with the prosperous and happy state of the tribes whom they had lately visited, seemed much more deplorable, excited the patriotic zeal of the Hajjis (pilgrims) ; the relief of their countrymen from their present miserable grievances was the object which wholly engrossed their attention. . . . They travelled throughout India, and went from town to town preaching. . . the holy war. Emissaries were likewise sent into the interior to prepare the minds of the Mahommedans for a holy war. Such was the force of the orations of Maulavee Ismail, that in less than two years the majority of respectable Mahommedans were in his favour. At Delhi he preached in the grand mosque on every Friday and Tuesday. The assembly on these occasions was generally very great ; so much so, that one could hardly get near enough to hear him. In short, thousands of Mussulmen . . . were reclaimed from the darkness of blasphemy in which they were plunged. . . . Since that time, there have been two parties among the Mahommedans of India. The followers of the reformer are nicknamed ‘Wahabees’ by their opponents, while the others are called ‘Mooshriks,’ or associators of others with God. . . Since that period, Mahommedanism in India has much prospered. . . The custom of paying illegal reverence to the tombs of the saints, &c. . . has been much checked, though not abolished. The doctrines of the unity of God, and the Soonnees (legal traditions) are now better understood by the generality of the Mussulmen of India, than they were before his” (Maulavee Ismail's) “time. Many of the old mosques which had been neglected, have been restored to their former position, as sacred places of worship.”

Such is the remarkable movement of Mahommedan religious reform in India, which must have had a great share in preparing the present revolt, which must be its chief animating power. It will be observed, however, that, considered in this light, the combination with high-caste Hindooism, politically so skilful, yet has tended strongly to weaken the genuineness of the struggle. A single-minded Wahabee would not have tolerated such a compromise. The deadly enmity of the Sikhs to the mutineers is also explained by the narration of Maulavee Ismail's life. The holy war, preached by the reformers within our own territories, was, in fact, waged against the Sikhs, 1826-31,¹ and there are very likely old soldiers in our Sikh corps now before Delhi or in the field, who have served in it. They understand the bearing of the rebellion, if we do not.

Another remarkable token of the revival of Mussulman enthusiasm was the tracts which were largely circulated in Oude, the year before its annexation (1855). Of one of these, written originally in Persian, but translated into Hindostanee, and printed in 1852, at Cawnpore, under the title of "The Sword the Key of Heaven and Hell," the English journals of the day gave some account. It declared war sinful when made for conquest or dominion, lawful when undertaken for religion's sake. In comparison with the faith, wives, children, property, have no claims on the true believer; they are to be abandoned one and all, or they will bring temporal and eternal ruin on all who cling to them. For the warrior alone is there peace and joy, here or hereafter. The Mussulmen are weak, their numbers are declining; it is God's judgment on them for forgetting in sloth and luxury more paramount duties. Now a leader is born in the family of the Prophet, let the faithful arise, and soon in all Hindostan let no phrase be heard but "God is God" (Allah-il-Allah).

Who the leader referred to was, I do not know.

(1) A short account of it will be found in Captain Cunningham's "History of the Sikhs," second edition, pp. 190, and following.

The chief seat of the disciples of Maulavee Ismail appears to be in Bhopal. But in Mr. Wylie's "*Bengal as a Field of Missions*" will be found many scattered notices of other reformed Mussulman communities in our own territories. Some, prevailing in the eastern districts of Bengal, call themselves "Ferazees," and were founded by a man named Shurkitullah, (still alive), a direct disciple of the Arabian Wahabees. In Dacca, the sect "has spread with extraordinary rapidity," "and in Fureedpore, Backergunge and Mymensing," all districts of Eastern Bengal, it is reckoned to comprise "one-sixth of the Mussulman population of the above places;" in the city of Dacca itself, one-third. It seems also to be one-third in the district of Backergunge (3,500 square miles), where the population (of 1,000,000) is about equally divided between Hindoos and Mussulmen. "These reformers, as their name implies, profess adhesion to no law, no institution, no ceremony, but what has a divine origin. They pretend to conform more rigidly to the Koran; to abstain from anything that has the slightest appearance of heathenism, and are both more exclusive and more self-conceited than their neighbours. They are a united body, strict in their devotions, and proselyting in their spirit. . . The Ferazees are inclined to think that they ought to be exempted from paying any land-tax to Government, or, indeed, acknowledging any Christian as their master." In Dacca "the Ferazees have the character of being stricter in their morals than their other Mahommedan brethren; but they are inclined to intolerance and persecution, and in showing their contempt of the religious opinions of their neighbours, they frequently occasion affrays and disturbances in the town." Shurkitullah himself, it would seem, at the date when this was written, was "under the ban of the police, for exciting his disciples in the country to withhold the payment of revenue." Farther to the north, in Rungpore, "among those who are better acquainted than the rest with the tenets" of Mahommedanism, "many have of late years become Ferazees."¹

(1) "*Bengal as a Field of Missions*," pp. 103, 104, 113, 114, 125.

In the western districts of Bengal, again, a reforming sect of "Moolavies" appear to have been founded by Moolavee Abdullulah, and extends eastward as far as Dacca, where there are "a considerable number" of them, as well as of the Ferazees.

All these facts show the strong religious fermentation now existing amongst the Mussulmen of India, which should be capable of producing good effects if duly turned to account. The converts from Mahommedanism in Bengal, bear, I am happy to say, a high character. "If you can once get the ear of the Mussulmen," says the Rev. J. Sale, of Jessore, "there is every reason to expect that they will judge fairly and act manfully. Amongst the churches formed of Mussulman converts in Jessore, there is a pleasing independence of spirit, a desire to do what they can for the spread of the Gospel, and a disposition to prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Report of Calcutta Mission Conference of 1855, p. 21.

APPENDIX E. (See p. 93.)

Condition of the French Settlements in India.

The following extracts as to the state of Pondicherry are taken from "Ten Years in India," a work by a Madras officer, Captain Albert Hervey, published in 1850. Captain Hervey can hardly be deemed likely to have been prejudiced in favour of the French settlements, as he had to enter Pondicherry as a prisoner, followed by a shouting rabble of more than 200 natives, from having accidentally peppered a reaper whilst out snipe-shooting. The mere fact, indeed, of two European officers being arrested by natives for such a cause, would be probably inconceivable in our own territory,

and indicates a feeling of independence to which our ryots seem strangers.

"Pondicherry is a very well laid-out, clean town ; the houses are, for the most part, well-built and substantial. . . . The streets are of a uniform breadth, constructed with remarkable regularity, and intersecting each other at right angles ; nearly in the centre is a spacious square, laid out in walks, shaded by rows of magnificent trees, with the Government House on the northern face of it. This mansion is a beautiful building. . . . It is furnished in the Parisian fashion, and the whole quite a fitting residence for the representative of the French Crown. The rest of the public buildings are good, and do credit to the local authorities. . . . The town itself is entirely free from any intermixture of huts, or other native habitations. The Black Town lies to the southward. . . . It covers a considerable extent of ground, and is laid out with nearly the same regularity as the European quarter.

"The troops are small in number, amounting, I should say, to some 500 men. . . . All these are natives of Pondicherry, or of the neighbouring towns and villages, and almost all speak the French language fluently. This I look upon as an excellent plan, calculated to improve the condition of the natives, who are made to learn the language of their rulers ; while we, not placing that confidence in a people whom we have conquered, learn their language ourselves, and do all we can thereby to prevent them from acquiring ours. . . . On the occasion of our appearing before the commandant, there was not a word spoken but French, and the natives talk it beautifully.

"Pondicherry is indeed a very pretty place. It resembles very much, and reminds the traveller of, a French town on the Continent. The roads and streets of the suburbs are lined with avenues of trees ; the roads themselves watered, so that there is little or no dust ; giving the whole a cool, fresh appearance, *instead of the hot, dry, parched-up aspect for which our cantonments are so remarkable.* The houses of the natives, outside the town, are well and strongly built ; with nice, neat little gardens in front of them, inclosed by palings, and little wicket-gates. The residences of the wealthier people are generally very good, and appear to be comfortable, giving evidence of how much can be done with a little ; for be it known, the Indo-French make a rupee go about six times as far as we do. Everything is cheap, so that they live upon little or nothing.

" . . . The whole country yields a tolerable revenue ; the principal produce is cotton and indigo. The villages and

hamlets we saw, seemed to be clean and well-built, and the inhabitants in good condition, *without that poverty-stricken look about them, which forms so remarkable a feature in the peasantry of our own territories.* It struck me that the whole of the French country was superior, in many respects, to ours; their roads are good, with trees on each side; their land seemed better cultivated, and better irrigated, by means of tanks and canals, constructed for that purpose.

“How is it that cholera is so frequent a visitor amongst our native hamlets and towns? Because of the filthy state in which they generally are found, and because of the poverty of the inhabitants. But we seldom hear of cholera, or any other epidemic, breaking out in the villages of the French territories. Let the traveller visit any of them, and he will see how neat and clean they are; let him look at the *paysans*, and he will observe them to be *much better clad and stouter than our ryots generally are.* And why is the difference? Because the poor people are not so heavily taxed by the revenue collector, and they have, consequently, more to live upon.

“The Indo-French are, apparently, a superior set of people; better than the generality of half-castes and Eurasians to be met with in India. They are better educated, better mannered, and have not that vanity and self-importance, so peculiar to those sort of people, in our parts of the country; besides that they talk French (a kind of patois) much better than our folks talk English. . . .

“Their women are superior, certainly, in every way; there is a dash of the French in their manner and deportment. . . . The greater part of the society of Pondicherry is composed of these tawny-visaged Frenchmen and their families. The Europeans, however, mix with them, intermarry, and connect themselves without reference to birth, parentage, or education. It is no uncommon sight to see a dark man with a fair wife, and *vice versa.* . . .

“All the exportations from France are procurable at Pondicherry, at much lower rates than anywhere else; no duty is charged, or if any, very insignificant to the exorbitant taxations imposed upon everything at our English ports. The inhabitants are, therefore, able to indulge in all the elegancies, delicacies, and comforts of the Parisian market, the choicest preserved provisions, the most *recherché* confectionery, the most delicious and rarest wines of the Continent, and the richest silks and satins, as well as every other article of fashionable attire (male as also female), which can be procured from the mother-country; all these are brought to Pondicherry in great abundance, and at times the market is

so overstocked, that things can be purchased up at a mere song."

I have no positive evidence as to the condition of the other French settlements in India. But it was recently stated by an evening paper, that some years back, a proposal being on foot for selling Chandernagore, the French settlement in Bengal, to this country, the remonstrances of the inhabitants, on the ground of the advantages of the French rule, were so urgent, that the French Government, although well inclined to the transaction, did not feel itself justified in carrying it out.¹ I believe, however, it is still to take place,—an enlargement of the Pondicherry territory being given in exchange.

French troops have lately been sent out to India, with the sanction of our Government. Unable to protect ourselves, we, of course, could no longer debar others from taking such means as they thought fit to protect themselves. But the recollection of the influence once exercised by France in India, makes one feel in how many unforeseen ways the present mutinies may yet re-act against us, even though crushed out for the time being.

(1) It must be said, on the other hand, that Chandernagore has been a nuisance to our own territories by becoming a harbour for Dekois, or robbers, who pass there under false names, and are described as sallying out from the French territory to commit depredations in the neighbouring districts.—*Kaye's "Administration of the East India Company,"* p. 412.

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