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# History of British India.

*Part IV.*

*Founders of the Indian Empire.*

(From 1756 to 1813.)

BY

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# HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA.

## PART IV.

### THE FOUNDERS OF THE INDIAN EMPIRE.

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#### CHAPTER I.

#### INTRODUCTION.

##### I. The Political condition of India in 1756 :—

The political condition of India about the middle of the XVIII century can be summed up in the two words, *chaos and anarchy*. The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 had sounded the death-knell of the mighty Moghul Empire. The process of disruption at work ever since that year was very nearly completed. The usual consequences of the collapse of a mighty Empire clearly followed. The subordinate officers of the Moghul Emperor made themselves independent in their own territories and fought with their neighbours for power and territory. In this way India was in a state of anarchy.

The reign of misrule was greater in northern India than in Southern India. The vast Empire of Aurangzeb, stretching from Kabul on the west to Tanjore in the south, was now reduced to Delhi and some of its neighbouring districts. The title of Emperor was only a nominal one. Alamghir II was powerless even to quell the insurrections within his own kingdom. His Vizier rose in revolt against him. Unable to suppress the rebellion

himself, the titular Emperor invoked the aid of the Afghan adventurer, Ahmad Shah Abdalee. The Shah put down the revolt and appointed one Najib-ud-Daula as the Vizier but plundered the land. However, the old Vizier again seized his post and sought for him the help of the Marathas. Rajaputana, Malwa, Gwalior and Guzarat had ceased to pay tribute. Agra was under one high officer. Delhi was seized by another. The Punjab was under the control of the Afghans though there was a Moghul Viceroy. One of the Emperor's Nizams made himself independent in Oudh. The unruly Rohillas (hill-men) swarmed Rohilkhand. The Jats under Suraj-mul had founded their kingdom of Bhurtpore on the Jumna. The Sikhs had set up insurrections. Bengal had become independent under Aliverdi Khan. The rest of Northern India was under the influence of the Marathas but for some of the settlements of the English and the French.

In Southern India, the Nizam, the Viceroy of Dekhan, made himself the independent ruler of his state at Hyderabad. The European powers, chiefly the English and the French, contested for political ascendancy in the general scramble for power. The First and the Second Carnatic Wars had been fought. The succession disputes at Hyderabad and Arcot had given room for European intervention in the Native affairs. The out-break of the Seven Years' War in England and the consequent arrival of Lally with a fleet had led to the Third Anglo-French War.

Thus, about the middle of the XVIII century there was no strong ruler in India who could bring the various states under his sway. Left without a strong central

authority capable of subjugating the various small states and filled with innumerable chieftains of equal strength, India was plunged in constant fightings, rapine and plunder. A sort of struggle for existence and overlordship arose with the result that anarchy reigned supreme in the land. As Sir Alfred Lyall says, "Within fifty years after the death of Aurangzeb, who was at least feared throughout the length and breadth of India, the Moghul Emperor had become the shadow of a great name, a mere instrument and figure-head in the hands of treacherous ministers or ambitious usurpers. All the imperial deputies and vice-gerents were carving out for themselves independencies, and striving to enlarge their borders at each other's expense."

## **II. English Settlements in Bengal.**

The English had several settlements in Bengal of which Calcutta was the most important. Ever since it was founded in 1698 the place had grown in importance. To a sea-faring nation like the English, the possession of Calcutta was of inestimable value. Situated on the left bank of the Hughli, it commanded not only the outlet to the sea but also the entrance of any ship into the interior. The fortifications which had been erected all around the town and named Fort William in honour of William III, the king of England, made the place secure from the attacks of ruthless Native chieftains. In addition to this valuable settlement the English had some minor factories at Kazimbazar and Hughli and out-agencies at Patna, Dacca and Balasore.

Besides the English, the French and the Dutch had their own settlements. They were also places of equal

importance. Chandranagore, the seat of a French factory, and Chinsura, a Dutch settlement, were all situated on the Hughli.

One could thus foresee, from this narrative, the possibility of war among the European powers themselves. And, in fact, it was what actually happened.

## CHAPTER II.

### **REVOLUTION IN BENGAL.**

The Revolution in Bengal was the sudden and violent change by which the Government of Bengal was taken out of the hands of the Native rulers by the British, as a result of which their ascendancy in Bengal was established. This was effected by the Battle of Plassey.

#### **I. Battle Of Plassey (1757) :-**

##### **(a) Events Leading to the Battle :-**

(1) **SURAJ-UD-DAULA :-** The accession of Suraj-ud-Daula to the throne of Bengal in 1756 put an end to the harmony that existed between the English and the rulers of Bengal especially Aliverdi Khan up to that year. A youth of barely twenty years at the time of his accession, prone by nature to distrust others, the new Nawab suspected the English of having conspired with a possible rival against him for succession. Some of the actions of the English, too, only tended to confirm the Native chief's suspicions. Foreseeing the possibility of an outbreak of war between the English and the French at Home the two Companies in the East began to build additional forts. The Nawab, as the overlord of the foreigners, ordered them to desist. Whereas the French

obeyed his orders, the English paid no heed to the commands, giving out that the fortifications were intended against the French. This naturally made the Nawab conclude that the English had flouted his authority. So he became angry with the English. His anger increased when the English Governor, Drake, refused to surrender to him the fugitive Krishna Das, the Governor of Dacca, whose treasures the Nawab wanted to seize. What was worse, the messenger sent for the purpose was turned out from Calcutta. Hence Suraj-ud-Daula now decided to attack the English.

(2) HIS CAPTURE OF CALCUTTA (June 16th 1756). Thereupon the Nawab captured the British factory at Kazimbazar as a first step. He then marched upon Calcutta with a large army. The President and many soldiers of the small English army of 500 fled and took refuge at Fulta lower down the Hughli. The rest who happened to be caught were imprisoned by the Nawab.

It is with reference to these prisoners that the story of the Black Hole of Calcutta is vividly told by Holwell, one of the officers of Fort William. It is narrated that 146 English prisoners were packed into a cell (18 feet square, within the fort and that the next morning only 13 survived. The result of recent historical research is to consider this 'Black Hole Tragedy' a myth and fiction intended to depict the Nawab as an inhuman monster. However no definite decision has, as yet, been arrived at.

(3) RECAPTURE OF CALCUTTA BY CLIVE (Jan. 2, 1757) When the news of the capture of Calcutta by Suraj-ud-Daula reached the ears of the President at Madras a strong



force was at once sent to Bengal to take back the town. The army consisting of 900 Europeans and 5000 Indians headed by Clive took the land-route along the Eastern Coast. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Watson.

The relieving force reached the mouth of the Hughli by October 1756 and relieved the fugitives of Fulta in December. By January 1757 Calcutta and Hughli were captured. A last attempt to defeat the English was made by the Nawab but it proved ineffective. He came to terms with the English and concluded with them an offensive and defensive alliance in February 1757. The Company's forts and all its privileges were restored to it. Permission to build fortifications was accorded. The English were to be paid compensation for the loss.

(4) SEIZURE OF CHANDRANAGORE :—Meanwhile war had broken out between England and France in Europe. The presence of the English army was therefore urgently needed at Madras to carry on operations against the French. But it would be quite unsafe to leave Bengal in that unprotected condition. The alliance with the Nawab had not yet been put to test. The power of the French had not been put down. Moreover, the Nawab showed signs of unfriendliness towards the English. He had not fulfilled the treaty obligations. He had enlisted Frenchmen in his service. It seemed that he had even secret correspondence with the French. So Clive made up his mind to march upon the French settlement of Chandranagore. The small French contingent stationed there easily gave way to the mighty English army led by Clive and Watson. Chandranagore surrendered to the British in March 1757.

(5) **PLOT WITH MIR JAFAR:**—Having secured himself against the French, Clive then set to bring about the downfall of his foe, the Nawab, by having recourse to a conspiracy. A secret plot was formed with Mir Jafar, the Nawab's Commander-in-chief. Jafar promised to desert his overlord in the hour of need, to confirm for the English all their privileges and to pay them a sum of money by way of compensation. Clive agreed to place Mir Jafar on the throne of Bengal. The negotiations were conducted by Aminchand (Umachand), 'a Calcutta merchant of considerable wealth, great address, unbounded cunning and absolutely without a conscience'.

It may not be out of place here to point out how the duplicity practised by Clive upon this blackmailer had stained the name of the 'heaven-born general'. When the plot was about to be matured the merchant threatened to divulge the whole secret unless twenty lakhs of rupees were promised to him. Clive also was not unwilling to excel him in fraud. He made ready two documents, one a sham one and the other the real one and pacified the merchant by deceiving him with showing the sham one. When Watson refused to affix his signature to the forged document Clive had no scruple to forge Watson's name. When, at the time of the division of the spoils, after the victory at Plassey, the secret was let out to Aminchand, it is said, that the disappointment very nearly drove him mad.

**(b) The Battle of Plassey (June 23rd 1757)—**

Having thus made a fair way in the negotiations with Aminchand, Clive began to send repeated ultimatums to

the Nawab who had encamped in a strong place. Receiving no reply from him, Clive decided to march upon the Nawab's entrenchment. So he quitted Chandranagore and after a halt of four days at Katway reached Plassey 23 miles south of Murshidabad on the 23rd of June 1757.

The Nawab's army consisted of 50000 infantry 18000 cavalry and 53 guns. His commanders were Mir-Madan and Mir Jafar. The Nawab was also helped by a small French detachment under Saint Frais. The English army was comparatively much smaller in number. Clive had with him about 1200 European infantry 2100 sepoys 50 sailors and artillery.

The River Baghirathi winds itself in the form of a horse-shoe with both the ends compressed and then flows downwards slightly turned to the left. (See. V. A. Smith 'India in the British Period' p 493.) Near the neck which is quarter of a mile in length, the Nawab had his entrenched camp. In front of the entrenchment there was a redoubt on which he had placed his cannons. The space between the redoubt and the small tank was occupied by the Nawab's army commanded by his trusted general Mir Madan. The large tank in front of the small one was occupied by the French troops under Saint Frais. Another part of the Nawab's army commanded by Mir Jafar was arrayed in the form of a semi-circle starting from the small hill-lock near the Nawab's redoubt and extending almost behind the mango grove. The English army was stationed almost within the mango grove.

The fight began by the French opening fire. The trees in the mango grove and the mound in front of it

offered effective protection for the English from the cannon balls. Clive understood that the chief danger to him was from the Nawab's army commanded by Mir Madan, since he had conspired with Mir Jafar to desert the Nawab. He also realised that it would be ineffective on his part to venture an open attack against the entrenched enemy, by advancing from his secure position in the mango grove. So he kept his position till noon when a heavy rain drenched the almost uncovered ammunitions of the Nawab. The English powder well preserved by Clive was kept so dry that when the enemy advanced they opened fire and caused great damage to the Nawab's forces. One of the shots killed the Nawab's faithful general, Mir Madan. Deprived of his only trusted subordinate the dispirited Nawab begged his treacherous uncle Mir Jafar not to desert him in the hour of need. And Jafar, too, was not wanting in feigned words of comfort. As the day progressed the hypocrisy of Mir Jafar become more and more evident to the Nawab. So he made up his mind to flee to Murshidabad. The only allies of the Nawab that remained faithful to him throughout were the French who tried their best to maintain their position of vantage.

Meanwhile, Clive after a conference with his colleagues, had decided upon a surprise attack at mid-night. But on the persistence of Sir Eyre Coote, the veteran hero of Wandewash, he had to attack the French position. Feeling themselves insecure, the French abandoned their position. To add to the advantages of the English, Mir Jafar had come over to their side with a large part of the Nawab's army. Hence Clive had but to send a small

detachment to pursue the fleeing army so as to prevent their rally.

Thus the day resulted in a decisive victory for the English. The enemy's loss is computed at about 500 killed and 500 wounded while the English lost only about 23 killed and 49 wounded. Thus the rout of Plassey—for it was nothing less than a rout—decided the fate of the English in Bengal.

### (c) **Results and Importance of the Battle:-**

“The victory of Clive at Plassey in 1757 was followed by the military occupation of Bengal by the British.” Suraj-ud-Daula was taken and imprisoned. Mir Jafar was proclaimed the Nawab of Bengal and he agreed to pay to the Company  $2\frac{3}{4}$  millions sterling. The real government of Bengal was in the hands of the Company.

This victory had immense and far-reaching effect upon the position of the English in India. Their resources were increased to such an extent that the defeat of the French in India thenceforward seemed certain. The acquisition of Bengal to the Company was of inestimable value. And the value of the possession of Bengal to any power whose strength chiefly consists in their superiority at sea can hardly be exaggerated. In addition to being the most fertile of the provinces of India and the best base for further expansion into the interior, Bengal commands the gateways to India by sea. Calcutta is situated in such a position that it can serve as a base of operations for advancing into the country by sailing up the Ganges, while its situation in the Hughli delta serves to



retain its connection with the sea. Thus with their headquarters at Calcutta the English could safely venture on the road to territorial expansion. In this way, the battle also effected a change in the policy of the East India Company.

#### (d) **Reasons for the victory of the English:-**

The victory of the English in the Battle of Plassey is to be attributed to the want of training and discipline on the part of the Nawab's levies, the incapacity of the Nawab's commanders, their treachery and, above all, the superiority of the English forces.

### **II. Capture of Chinsura (Nov. 1759):—**

The victory at Plassey had made the English ascendancy in Bengal secure against the Natives as well as against one of their European rivals, the French. It remained, then, for the English to strengthen it against the only remaining European power in India, namely the Dutch. And soon complications arose which made the English attempt the expulsion of the Dutch.

(a) **Causes:—**The Dutch who had posed as the chief rivals of the English in the XVII century had in Bengal during the XVIII a settlement at Chinsura on the Hughli about 20 miles from Calcutta. The new privileges granted to the English Company by Mir Jafar greatly affected the Dutch trade. The monopoly of salt-petre trade, the right to search all the vessels coming up to Hughli, the employment of no other than English pilots, all these led to the bitter resentment of the Dutch. Hence they now resolved to enter into negotiations with Mir

Jafar. Mir Jafar who was displeased with the English at finding himself reduced to the position of a puppet Nawab readily consented to co-operate with the Dutch fleet to be sent to expel the English.

(b) **Course:**—Hence a Dutch fleet arrived in the Hughli. An English squadron was damaged. Some of the houses on the bank were destroyed. Clive now made himself ready to fight against the Dutch, when fortunately for him Colonel Forde, the conqueror of the Northern Circars, arrived. So he sent an army under him and Captain Knox to fight against the Dutch. The attempt of the Dutch to capture the position taken by the English at Chandranagore met with a failure, while Colonel Forde succeeded in defeating the Dutch on their way to Chinsura at Biderra.

(c) **Result:**—The victory at Biderra was very decisive. The Dutch made peace with the English and agreed to pay compensation, to reduce their fortifications and to keep only 300 soldiers. Their status was reduced to one of mere traders. Mir Jafar was cowed. Cleared of all their rivals the English remained masters of Bengal. Thus the victory of Forde at Biderra complemented the one at Plassey and completed the Revolution in Bengal. Clive now felt the position of the English to be so strong that he prepared to return to England for rest.

**III. Confusion and Misgovernment in Bengal.**  
(1757—60):—(*Deposition of Mir Jafar and appointment of Mir Kasim*):—

For nearly a decade after the Battle of Plassey there was nothing but confusion and misrule in Bengal. This

was due partly to the position which the Company occupied in Bengal and partly to the weakness and incompetence of Mir Jafar.

The victory of the English at Plassey had made them the de-facto rulers of Bengal. But they could not take upon themselves the de-jure rulership, being merchants of a purely trading venture. Hence the internal administration of the kingdom was left in the hands of the Native ruler. The Company merely controlled the Nawab's policy. This sort of divided authority would naturally lead to confusion. As Lyall says, "nothing more surely leads to misrule than the degradation of a civil government to subserve the will of some arbitrary force or faction within the State".

And, what was worse, the "evils of this precarious and divided authority were greatly heightened by special aggravations".

The Company as well as the Nawab were both hard pressed for money. The Company needed money to carry on the war with the French and so pressed the Nawab for the tribute. The Nawab had to secure himself against attacks from without. The revolt of some of the landholders in his kingdom had to be put down. The Marathas were threatening Bengal from the West. The heir-apparent of the Moghul throne at Delhi was collecting forces with a view to recover his lost possessions in the East. To add to these, Mir Jafar who had suspected the English maintained a Native levy whose sepoys were for the most part mutinous and clamouring for pay.

Under these circumstances the Nawab taxed the people heavily. The people had to groan under the weight of oppressive taxes and unruly tax-gatherers. Confusion and chaos prevailed all over the land. In the words of Lyall, "this period of Anglo-Indian history throws grave and unpardonable discredit on the English name. During the six years from 1760—65 Clive's absence from the country left the Company's affairs in the hands of incapable and inexperienced men just at the moment when vigorous and statesmanlike management was urgently needed." But the English were bent upon money-making. "Some of them lost all sense of honour, justice and integrity; they plundered as Moghuls or Marathas had done before them though in a more systematic and business-like fashion; the eager pursuit of wealth and its easy acquisition had blunted their consciences and produced general insubordination. This universal demoralisation necessarily affected the revenues and exasperated the disputes between the Company and Mir Jafar by increasing the financial embarrassments of both parties." Of course the English had to be blamed for not having provided for efficient administration. The result of this state of affairs was that the sums due to the Company from Mir Jafar remained long overdue.

Hence the Company's officers, Vansittart and Holwell, thought that the misrule could only be ended by deposing Mir Jafar and by placing on the throne a capable man. The Nawab himself was incompetent and feared his own subjects on the one side and his masters, the English, on the other. His secret negotiations with the Dutch and his suspicions of the English became more evident. Finally

Mir Kasim offered to give money to the company if they would make him the Nawab.

So Vansittart deposed Mir Jafar and appointed Mir Kasim as the Nawab of Bengal in October 1760. Mir Kasim granted to the Company Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong. He also gave to the Company vast sums of money as well as presents to individuals.

#### **IV. The Battle of Buxar 23rd Oct. 1764:-**

##### **(a) Events leading to the Battle:-**

(1) **THE CHARACTER OF MIR KASIM:**—Mir Kasim possessed all the capacities of a ruler. He knew thoroughly the evils under which the three provinces, Bengal, Behar and Orissa were groaning and proceeded with great energy to reform them. He was a capable administrator. He paid up a portion of the debt due to the Company and made attempts to reform his finances. Unlike Mir Jafar he fully realised how the English would treat him. He removed his capital from Murshidabad to Monghir, a town with a fortress on the right bank of the Ganges, commanding Northern and Eastern Behar and nearly midway between Calcutta and Benares. He also trained his infantry according to the European system. He then wanted to alleviate the misery of his subjects and this brought him into trouble with the English.

(2) **RAPACITY OF THE COMPANY'S SERVANTS:**—Ever since the year 1717 the East India Company had been placed on a position of vantage by the Native rulers of Bengal. It was allowed to carry on its export trade free of duty. In addition to it the monopoly of salt



trade granted to the Company by Mir Jafar resulted in a great income for the Company. Thus by the year 1756 the financial position of the Company in Bengal had been placed on a very good footing.

But this privilege granted to the Company was misused by the Company's servants. The servants of the Company had been engaged in private trade. They claimed this exemption even for their private internal trade and, what was worse, they extended this concession even to their Native agents. In fact the Company's passes exempting its articles from duty were actually sold. Thus the Company's servants amassed much money. The people were oppressed with taxes while the income of Mir Kasim gradually decreased. He therefore appealed to the Company's Council at Calcutta for remedy.

(3) BREACH WITH MIR KASIM :—On his appeal to the Council Vansittart and Warren Hastings were sent to come to an arrangement with Mir Kasim. The Company's export and import trade was to be free of duty. Private internal trade of the servants was allowed on payment of a duty of 9%. The Native merchants were to pay a duty of 25% on their goods. Even under this arrangement the English were placed on a better footing than the Natives. However the Calcutta Council refused to agree to the arrangement while the Company's servants who were carrying on private trade raised much hue and cry. Finding that all constitutional means of correcting the abuses were ineffective the desperate Nawab took up a strong resolution to appeal to the 'God of War'. Hence he abolished the duty on all the goods of the English as well.

as of the Natives within his kingdom. The special concession enjoyed by the English was thus put an end to.

(4) **WAR WITH MIR KASIM :—**(The Massacre of Patna). Enraged at the action of the Nawab Major Ellis, the head of the English factory at Patna, seized the city. However he and his few soldiers were unable to hold it against the Nawab's army. As a consequence Ellis and the whole garrison were made prisoners by Mir Kasim. Meanwhile the English were able to defeat Mir Kasim at Katwa, Gheria etc. The furious Nawab ordered the garrison captured at Patna to be massacred. Hence the massacre of Patna. Unable to hold his own against the English Mir Kasim fled to Oudh. Thereupon the English appointed Mir Jafar as the Nawab.

**(b) The Battle of Buxar (23rd Oct. 1764):—**

Mir Kasim who had fled to Oudh had concluded with Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, a treaty by which he agreed to pay him £100000 for helping him to recover his throne. The two were again joined by Shah Alam II, the Emperor at Delhi. The combined forces marched from Oudh and met the English army at Buxar on Oct. 23, 1764. The Nawab's forces amounted to 40000. The English army contained 10000 soldiers commanded by Major Munro, afterwards Sir Hector Munro. The fight was very contested; but in the end the Native army gave way and the Nawab of Oudh fled. Munro pursuing his victorious course occupied successively Benares, Chunar and Allahabad. In March 1765 Oudh was overrun. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh, a hopeless wanderer,

threw himself at the mercy of the conquerors. Thus the victory at Buxar was very decisive.

### (c) **Importance of the Battle of Buxar:-**

The victory of the English at Buxar was more decisive than that at Plassey. At Plassey Clive had to fight against only the Nawab of Bengal; but Buxar witnessed the discomfiture of a combination of three oriental powers, the Nawab of Bengal, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the Moghul Emperor. The prestige of the Nawab of Oudh as well as that of the Emperor was much shattered. The military skill of the English was brought into clearer light. The battle was very contested and the loss on both sides was enormous. Still the English power in Bengal was made secure. The victory ultimately led to the grant of the 'Diwani'. Thus the Revolution in Bengal was completed. The Battle of Buxar is thus important as the complement of the Battle of Plassey. The English power in Bengal had been once for all established.

## CHAPTER III.

### **CLIVE GOVERNOR OF BENGAL. (1765-67)**

From the year 1760 to the year 1765 Clive remained in England. In the meantime affairs in India needed efficient reform. So the Court of Directors sent out Clive to India in 1765 to carry out the necessary reforms.

#### **I. Clive's Reforms:-**

**THE NECESSITY FOR REFORM:-** Though the Company's arms were very successful so far as its external affairs were concerned, internally Bengal was in a state of anarchy

and confusion. The proceedings of the Calcutta Council, especially its making and unmaking of Nawabs merely for the sake of money and their forcing the Nawabs to give the English freedom of private trade, alarmed the Court of Directors. The Company's servants were very greedily engaged in private trade. Their actions threatened financial ruin to the Company and created terror in the minds of the citizens of Bengal. As a result of all these abuses confusion and terrorism prevailed throughout Bengal. Clive was therefore sent out as Governor to restore order and to stop private trade.

#### **(a) In the Civil Service:-**

Clive at first turned his attention to putting down the abuses in the Civil Service. He forbade the receipt of presents by the Company's servants. With great firmness of mind he prohibited the private trade of the Company's servants. By way of compensation for the loss resulting from the prohibition of private trade he proposed to increase their salaries. But the Court of Directors refused to give assent to his view. Yet he carried out his point by placing the salt-petre trade on a firm basis. The members of the Calcutta Council were not allowed to have both civil and military duties. He also divided the territory into civil districts for the sake of administrative convenience.

#### **(b) In the Military Service:-**

Clive next turned his attention to reforms in the military service. The soldiers were in the habit of receiving an extra pay or allowance while on active service. This "Double Batta" was paid to the soldiers since the

Battle of Plassey even in times of peace. Clive now cut off this extra pay with the result that the Company's expenses were much reduced. The army officers threatened to resign their posts; but with great firmness and promptitude Clive quelled their mutinous spirit.

### **(c) Political Arrangements:-**

After reforming both the civil and the military services of the Company, Clive proceeded to make some arrangements with the Emperor and the Nawab of Oudh for the safety of the Company's strength. The Company had by this time become the real rulers of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. For, the Nawab Najim-ud-Daula, the successor of Mir Jafar, was a mere pensioner receiving 53 lakhs of rupees. Moreover, the 'Diwani' or the right to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa granted to the Company by Shah Alam, the Moghul Emperor, gave a legal clothing for the governance of the provinces by the Company. This 'Diwani' was granted by the Emperor at the Treaty of Allahabad of 1765 in return for Kora and Allahabad and the payment of a tribute of 26 lakhs of Rupees. Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, granted the fortress of Chunar to the Company. He also paid 50 lakhs of rupees for the Company's expenses during the war, agreed not to support Mir Kasim and allowed free trade with the Company. Of all these arrangements the one with the Emperor in the Treaty of Allahabad is of considerable importance. It not only made the Moghul Emperor dependent upon the English Company, but forms a first step in the transformation of the trading Company into a territorial power.



### **(d) Revenue Administration.**

The Revenue Administration of Clive is known by the name of the "Double Government" or the 'Dual System'. Before the introduction of this system the Nawab as the viceroy of the Moghul Emperor exercised two functions, the 'Diwani' that is, the Revenue and Civil justice and the 'Nizamat' that is, the Military and Criminal justice. Early in 1765 the Nawab had assigned to the Company the Nizamat. The Diwani, too, was now ceded by the Treaty of Allahabad. But the system would not have been a dual system had the Company taken charge of both of them. All other functions except that of the military were exercised by the Nawab and his officers. In the Civil, Criminal and Revenue affairs the administration was entirely in the hands of the Native officers who had to obey the Deputy-Nawabs Mahomed Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai. The Nawab was thus made responsible for the Civil, Criminal and Revenue administration of the country. He was to collect the tax. But the ultimate master was the Company and not the Nawab. The Nawab had to pay taxes thus collected to the Company. He was to be paid by the Company a stipulated sum. The defence of the territories was undertaken by the Company. Thus though the Company was the actual ruler it did not administer the province. That responsibility rested on the shoulders of the powerless Nawab. The Company cared only for the regular receipt of the revenue collected by the Nawab. It was but natural that such a state of affairs should lead to the oppression of the people by the Nawab's officers.

## II. Estimate of his work in India.

Clive was great not only as a soldier but also as a statesman. He left the Company strong both politically and financially. He was a great soldier and a commander of rare abilities. His clever diagnosis of the situation, his ready conceiving of plans and the daring with which he was able to carry out his schemes earned for him the appreciation of Chatham who saluted him as a "Heaven-born General". It was due to his successes that the Company came to have territorial power. British India before Clive consisted only of settlements and the English were mere traders. But Clive's victories had won for the British Bengal, Behar, Orissa, Northern Circars and the fortress of Chunar. The trading Company was thus drifting into a territorial power. Clive had thus laid the first foundations of the British Empire in India.

His reforms both in the civil and the military services resulted in much gain to the Company (about 250 lakhs). It must be said to his credit that he carried out all these reforms in the teeth of opposition.

His revenue administration is however open to criticism. The Dual System of Government or the Double Government of Bengal had for its basis a faulty division of functions. The power that ultimately got the revenue had no knowledge as to the means by which the revenue was collected; nor had it any direct interest for the welfare of the people. What it wanted was regular receipt of the revenue. And as long as that was done it never cared to inquire into the means of collecting the revenue. The result was that the Native officers who feared their

superiors oppressed the people and collected the revenue by unscrupulous means. The people were impoverished. A famine arose in 1770 as a result of which a part of the population perished, the Company's revenue decreased and it had to borrow loans. This led to Parliamentary interference in the Company's affairs.

One personal stain might be pointed out in Clive's morality, when one brings to his mind his deception of Aminchand.

In spite of faults there is a stamp of grandeur in him. "His headlong valour on the battle-field, his splendid daring and audacity in a political crisis and in facing disaffected and mutinous subordinates, his force and fire in debate all justify the lofty verdict of Lord Macaulay that 'England has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in Council.' "Clive himself is an epitome of the English in India — first a merchant, then a soldier and then a statesman."

### **III. Clive's return to England and his treatment at home.**

In January 1767 Clive returned to England. He had tried his best to carry out reforms in the Company; but he was not fully successful. His attempts had raised a host of enemies. So when he returned home he was charged with maladministration, receiving of presents, deception of Aminchand etc. However after a trial he was honourably acquitted. But his wounded feelings drove him mad with rage and in November 2nd, 1774, he committed suicide in his 50th year.

## CHAPTER IV.

**EVENTS BETWEEN 1767-1772.****I. Events in Bengal.****a) Confusion and prevalence of grave abuses:-**

The Governor-ship of Clive's successors, Verelst (1767—69) and Cartier (1770—72), were marked by great misgovernment and oppression. The miserable state of affairs is described by Becker in a letter to the Court of Directors in 1769. "Since the accession of the Company to the Diwani the condition of the people of this country has been worse than it was before. This fine country which flourished under the most despotic and arbitrary government is verging towards its ruin."

This state of affairs was the outcome of certain causes. In the first place, the bad effects of the Dual Government worked themselves out. The Deputy Nawabs and their officers oppressed the ryots so much that they left their lands and went into exile. Several industries also suffered on account of lawlessness. The Company did not inquire into the internal administration so long as it regularly received the revenue. Secondly, the Government farmed out lands to the highest bidders who squeezed out from the land-holders as much as possible in order to pay the promised sum to the Company. Moreover the servants of the Company sent their hoarded treasures to England or invested them in China for silk and tea. Thus the country was constantly drained of its wealth. Fourthly, the appointment of supervisors by the Company to check

the Nawab's officers only rendered confusion more confounded. Lastly, the servants of the Company enriched themselves by private trade at the expense of the Company's profits and the ruin of Bengal.

**(b) The Famine of 1770:-**

It was at this stage that Bengal was visited by the terrible famine of 1770. The death of one third of the population and the subsequent stoppage in the cultivation led to a rise in the price of rice. The Company's servants made huge profits by selling rice at exorbitant rates. The severity of the famine is described by Hunter in his Annals of Rural Bengal. "The people went on dying; the husbandmen sold their cattle; they sold their implements of agriculture; they devoured their seed grains; they sold their sons and daughters till at length no buyer of children could be found. They ate the leaves of the trees and the grass of the field; and in June 1770 the resident at the Durbar affirmed that the living were feeding upon the dead. Day and night famished wretches poured into the great cities".

This terrible famine had far-reaching effects both upon Bengal and upon the Company. Many among the aristocratic land-holding class were ruined. Bengal lost much of its prosperity.

It hardly regained its prosperity even after the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The financial condition of the Company became so weak that the Parliament had to intervene in order to remedy the state of affairs.

## II. Events in the South:-

While such was the case in Bengal the situation of the English in the South was far from being secure. In the Carnatic the Nawab, the ally of the English, was mis-managing affairs. In the Deccan the Nizam was in a precarious condition. "After the year 1765 the stress of the English contest with the Native powers falls backwards towards Madras and Bombay; the centres of urgent political pressure move for a time southward to the Peninsula and towards the Western seaboard; the conflicts that check and retard English expansion are against the Marathas in the centre of India and the Mahomedan rulers of Mysore". The Nizam was wavering between the Marathas, Hyder and the English. The immediate danger to the English was from Hyder Ali of Mysore.

### (a) Rise of Hyder Ali of Mysore:-

Hyder Ali was the son of a petty officer in the service of one of the ruling princes of the Deccan. He pushed his own fortunes and by his own powers raised himself to the forefront. When Mysore was ruled by Chicka Krishna Raj, Hyder was the Foudhar or Commander of Barrier fortresses. When the English and the ruler of Mysore gave help to Nasir Jung against Muzaffar Jung, Hyder first distinguished himself. In 1757 he was made Fatah Hyder Bahadur. When Balaji Baji Rao demanded 'Chauth' Hyder boldly refused. Thereupon Gopal Hari attacked Mysore. However Hyder's resistance was such that he had to retire with a very small sum. Hyder then played the part of a King-maker. The Raja Chicka Krishna was controlled by his minister Nanj Raj. The

King's mother desired to remove her son from the slavery. So she sought Hyder's help. Hyder drove away Nanj Raj but the result was only a change of heads. Instead of Nanj Raj, Hyder now overruled the king. So the queen now intrigued against Hyder. This time she sought the help of the Marathas against Hyder. Hyder was driven from Seringapatam but the Maratha force was however withdrawn; for, the Third Battle of Panipat of 1761 had shattered the Maratha power. Thereupon Hyder and Nanj Raj joined hands and surprised Seringapatam. The Raja was captured and given a pension. Hyder became the virtual ruler of Mysore.

From this time the power of Hyder continued to grow. He gradually conquered the neighbouring states and successfully fought against the Marathas. He conquered Bednore in 1763. The next year Savanoor was ravaged though however he had to renounce his claims over Savanoor as a result of his defeat at the hands of the Marathas. In 1765 he conquered the Nairs of Malabar. In 1767 Krishna Raj died and Nanj Raj tried to rule the kingdom. But Hyder drove him out of his kingdom and became the direct ruler.

Thus about the year 1765 Hyder's power was at its zenith. He was perhaps the chief rival of the English. Though unable to read and write Hyder possessed great common sense and was well versed in diplomatic intrigues. He was clever enough to choose for him capable ministers. "A man of great natural genius he had raised himself entirely by superior daring, military instincts and a faculty of managing the mercenary

hands that were always attracted to the standard of a fortunate famous leader." Though he was despised by the Nizam and the Marathas as well as by the English, all considered him as a rival of conspicuous ability.

### **(b) The First Mysore War:-1766-69.**

(a) CAUSES:—The growing power of Hyder alarmed the two chief Native Powers, the Nizam and the Marathas. The English who also regarded Hyder as their rival joined the alliance. Thus a triple alliance was formed by the three chief powers against Hyder Ali. Hyder cleverly bought off the Marathas and the Nizam. So the English alone were left to deal with Hyder.

(b) EVENTS OF THE WAR:—Hyder had made all preparations to meet the English army under Colonel Smith. At Changama Colonel Smith met Hyder and defeated him. Again at Trinomali Hyder was worsted. Meanwhile, Hyder laid siege to Ambur. But it was relieved by Colonel Smith. Hyder, however, captured Mangalore. Yet half his territory was conquered by Smith. So Hyder sued for peace. The Madras Government foolishly rejected the terms offered by Hyder. Thereupon Hyder rallied his troops and arrived at St. Thomas Mount with an overwhelming force. When Madras was surprised, the English in despair offered terms.

(c) RESULTS:—Hence was concluded in 1769 the Treaty of Madras. Both sides agreed to restore their conquests and prisoners. They also agreed to help each other in future wars. This clause promising a defensive



alliance with Hyder plunged the English in fresh difficulties. For, when Hyder declared war against the Marathas, the English had to break the treaty obligations by refusing to give him help. Thereby they earned the bitter animosity of Hyder.

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## CHAPTER V.

### **WARREN HASTINGS.**

#### *Section (i) Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal 1772-74.*

##### **I. Early Career:-**

Hastings, like Clive, was first employed as a writer in the service of the East India Company in the year 1750. In 1754 he was first sent to the factory at Kasimbazar. During the time of the Black Hole Tragedy Hastings escaped from Kasimbazar. On the return of Clive to England he was appointed member of the Council at Calcutta. After 14 years' service he returned home with but a comparatively small income. Hard pressed for money he again applied to the Court of Directors for a post. So in 1769 he was sent out to India as a second member of the Council at Madras. Finally, in 1772, he was asked to proceed to Calcutta to "assume charge of the Government and if possible, evolve order out of the chaos into which the affairs of the Company had lapsed".

##### **II. His reforms:-**

As soon as Hastings had assumed charge of Government he set to work to carry out the necessary reforms

in spite of the opposition of the councillors. His reforms can be arranged under three heads, Revenue, Judicial and Administrative.

(a) **REVENUE REFORMS:—** Hastings was fully alive to the evils of Clive's Double Government and so tried to put an end to it. In the place of the Amils he appointed, for several districts, English collectors supervised by commissioners. He also combined the Revenue Board at Patna and Murshidabad into one Board of Revenue at Calcutta. But the English collectors were for the most part ignorant as to the methods of tax-collection. So the system did not work well. Therefore he again entrusted the Collection of Revenue to Amils whose work and accounts were, however, checked by Provincial Councils. These Councils tried Revenue cases. The appeals from these courts lay to the Sadr Diwani Adalat or the Supreme Civil Court at Calcutta.

Having made arrangements for the proper collection of Revenue, Hastings tried to establish a system of one Board of Revenue for the whole of Bengal. The combination of Revenue and Civil cases in one Provincial court did not work well. So Hastings set up two Provincial Councils, one for Revenue and the other for Civil cases. Even this was done away with in 1781 and a Board of Revenue for the whole of Bengal was created with duties to relet lands to Zemindars. This was the highest office in the Revenue Administration.

Hastings farmed out parcels of land among highest bidders for fixed rental. The Zemindars were allowed

to pay Kists by instalments. They had with them civil and criminal powers. The lands were let on lease to them for 5 years. The defects of this Zemindari system made necessary the Settlement of Cornwallis.

(b) JUDICIAL REFORMS:— After reforming the Revenue Administration, Hastings proceeded to set right the judicial system. So far as civil cases were concerned he established civil courts under English Collectors in each district. Appeals lay from these courts to Sadr Diwani Adalat at Calcutta. In the same way, Hastings wanted to control criminal justice. To that end he established criminal courts in each district. The court of Appeal in criminal cases was the Sadr Nizamath Adalat or the Supreme Criminal Court at Calcutta. But Hastings could not place these courts under English collectors. The district courts had to be placed under native officers while the central court was presided over by a native judge. In 1776 the head-quarters of these courts were transferred from Calcutta to Patna and Murshidabad where the Nawab-Nazims, Mahomed Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai superintended.

(c) ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS:—Hastings also carried out several other reforms in the administration. He prevented corruption among the Company's servants. The servants of the Company were forbidden to receive presents or to engage in private trade. The monopoly of trade in salt was removed. Mahomed Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai were tried for corruption. The police system was strengthened by the appointment of Fcujdhars. Dacoits were hanged and Sanyasi Bandits put down.

### **III. His policy towards the Emperor, the Nawab of Oudh and the Rohillas:-**

The desire of Hastings to increase the finances of the Company led to his entering into relations with the Native Powers.

(a) **HASTINGS AND THE EMPEROR:**—In spite of their defeat at Panipat in 1761 the Marathas had begun to build up their lost power under the minister Madava Rao Ballal and the able soldier statesman and diplomatist, Madava Rao Sindia. The Marathas now threatened the Empire and Sindia promised to restore Shah Alam to the imperial throne. Thereupon Shah Alam joined the Marathas. The Marathas then tried to occupy Kora and Allahabad. The English successfully resisted their attempts. Finally, the Company took, for itself, Kora and Allahabad and refused to pay the tribute to the Emperor on the ground that the Emperor had voluntarily abandoned the English alliance and had joined the enemies.

(b) **HASTINGS AND OUDH:**—Hastings concluded with Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, a treaty at Benares in 1773. By it Hastings gave Kora and Allahabad to the Nawab for 50 lakhs of Rupees. He also promised to him military help against the Marathas on payment of a subsidy.

#### **(c) HASTINGS AND THE ROHILLA WAR 1774—**

The Rohillas were a predatory tribe who had come to India from Afghanistan and had occupied Rohilkhand situated to the North-west of Oudh. Their leader was one Rahmat Khan. Rahmat Khan had concluded with

the Nawab of Oudh a defensive alliance against the Marathas in 1772. The very next year, that is, in 1773, the Marathas menaced Rohilkhand. And, in accordance with the treaty the Nawab helped the Rohillas against the Marathas. After the danger was over the Rohilla chief evaded payment of the promised sum of 40 lakhs of rupees to the Nawab. So Shuja-ud-Daula now made preparations to conquer Rohilkhand and sought the help of Hastings. Hastings agreed to help him chiefly on account of two reasons. He thought that "the English would get a strategic advantage by extending the boundary of Oudh to the natural barrier formed by the chain of hills and the Ganges and their junction." Secondly, he thought that the coffers of the Company would be filled up. So he sent some troops under Colonel Champion to help Shuja-ud-Daula in ravaging the Rohillas. In April 1774 a decisive battle was fought at Katra. The Rohilla chieftain Rahmat Khan was killed. The Rohillas were crushed for ever. Many were banished and after great oppression Rohilkhand was annexed to Oudh.

*N. B.*—HASTINGS' SHARE IN THE ROHILLA WAR:—Hastings' part in the Rohilla war is a bone of contention among historians who have not as yet come to a clear decision.

The old school of historians lay much blame upon Hastings for his share in the War.

The Rohillas are described by them as "a simple pastoral people, patterns of antique virtue", and the English had no quarrel with them. On the other hand,

Shuja-ud-Daula is depicted as a cruel monster. That Hastings should associate with this monster is surely to be blamed. The peaceful Rohillas, Hindus and Mahomedans were harassed and maltreated by the Nawab's English soldiers. What was worse, the treaty of Shuja-ud-Daula with Rahmat Khan was very vague. Shuja and the English did not actually fight with the Marathas. So the leader of the Rohillas evaded payment. Even admitting that the chief had to pay the sum it is not proper to harass a whole population for the fault of its leader. Hence, Hastings is certainly to be blamed for unnecessarily maltreating and expelling a peaceful people for the sake of his cruel ally.

However, some of the historians of the new school try to justify the action of Hastings. They say that the blame has been exaggerated by "the venom of Francis, the eloquence of Burke, and the prejudice of Mill". Hastings' policy could be justified on political grounds. The Rohillas were a danger to the Vizier, the useful ally of the English. They could "at any moment join the Marathas against the Vizier and that would become dangerous both to Oudh and Bengal".

Hastings therefore argued that "it could be averted by the conquest of Rohilkhand by which the Vizier would obtain a complete compact state, shut in effectively from foreign invasion, by the Ganges all the way from the frontiers of Behar to the mountains of Tibet. He would, at the same time, remain easily accessible to the English forces either for hostility or protection. It would give him wealth of which the English should partake and give

him security without any dangerous increase of power. It would also render him more dependent upon the English and cement the union more firmly between them". The position of the English in Bengal would thus be strengthened by the annexation of Rohilkhand. As Sir John Strachey observes, the occupation of that province gave to Oudh and to Bengal that permanent protection against the most dangerous of our enemies which it had been the aim of Hastings to secure. Yet even here Hastings is to be blamed for unnecessarily shedding English blood for financial advantages to the Company.

Whatever one might say for or against Hastings' 'Rohilla policy' the fact remains that the merciless devastation of a population that had given no cause for war is indeed a stain in his name.

*Section (ii)—Warren Hastings, Governor-General (1774-85).*

**1. The Regulating Act 1773:-**

**(a) Causes for the passing of the Regulating Act:-**

Though the English Parliament had always an eye upon the proceedings of the Court of Directors at Home it had not actively interfered in the affairs of the Company until the year 1773 when the Regulating Act was passed.

Ever since the victories of Clive and the possession of Bengal by the Company, the Company had become not merely a trading power but also a territorial power. In

the administration of this territory it had to constantly interfere in the affairs of the Native States. Moreover, the weakness of the Company's internal administrative machinery was such as to fill the country with bribery and corruption. The natural result of this maladministration was that the Company's profits began to decrease and the Company found itself face to face with a financial crisis. Unable to pay the usual subsidy to the Crown *viz.*, the £400000 and remaining on the verge of financial bankruptcy, the Company applied to the Home Government for loans. It was at this stage that the eyes of the House of Commons were opened and they all pleaded for a commission to inquire into the affairs of the Company. To add to this, the British House of Commons were already jealous of the Company as a result of the great extent of its lands, the wealth of the English servants of the Company who had returned Home, the alleged abuses of the Company's servants and the oppression of the Natives. So two Acts were passed in 1773; one granting the desired loan to the Company and the other regulating the constitution of the Company.

**(b) Provisions:-**

The passing of the Regulating Act of 1773 forms a landmark in the History of British Dominion in India for it changed not only the constitution of the Court of Directors at Home but the constitution of the Company in India. The Act rested on the basis of the differentiation of the executive and the judicature and the assertion of the power of the Crown over the Company. It sought to regulate both the executive and the judicial branches of the Administration in India.



At first, the Act reformed the Court of Directors and the Court of Proprietors at Home. The Directors' tenure of office was raised to four years from one, with a view to put an end to the constant bustle of annual elections. The qualifications for the proprietorship of the Company was raised from £500 to £1000.

So far as the executive branch of the Government in India was concerned the Governor of Bengal was made the Governor-General of all the British possessions in India. Bombay and Madras were placed under Governors. These Governors were to be subject to the Governor-General and his Council. The members of the Governor-General's Council were reduced from 15 to 4. The Governor-General's salary was £2000 per annum and that of each Governor £600.

The judicial administration was also reformed. A Supreme Court of Justice was established at Calcutta presided over by one chief justice or judge and three puisne judges. English law was to be observed in the Supreme Court of Justice but the District Courts administered only Hindu and Mahomedan law.

Thus, the Regulating Act was the first of the series of Acts which had for their scope the establishment of a definite constitutional machinery for the Government of British Provinces in India and the assertion of the power of the Crown over the Company.

### (c) **Criticism of the Regulating Act:-**

The provisions of the Regulating Act were of course sound in theory but not so in practice. No doubt, the Act was based on sound political principles, viz., the differentiation of the executive and judicial functions of

the Governing body. It also recognised the necessity for checking the greedy servants of the Company and hence three councillors were sent from England. The establishment of the Supreme Court of Justice was meant to be a bulwark against corruption and misdemeanour of the Company's servants. Again the Act illustrated the fact that the House of Commons had recognised the necessity of the Company's affairs being scrutinised by the English Parliament.

But, the provisions of the Act could not be effectively carried out in practice. The machinery established was quite ineffective to carry out the principles laid down in the Act. What was wanted for a Company of foreigners trading in a foreign country, with some slight approach to territorial power at a distance of 6000 miles, was the presence of one superior officer vested with the power of acting on his own responsibility. But the Governor-General had only a casting vote, but no power of veto. Hence quarrels between the Governor-General and the members of the Council became the order of the day. Moreover, the Governor-General's control over Madras and Bombay was not explicitly set forth. Thirdly, the powers of the Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta were not defined. Hence there were constant quarrels between the Supreme Court and the District Courts, the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat. To add to it, the Supreme Court administered English law while Hindu and Mahomedan law were dealt out by the District Courts.

This ill-constituted constitutional machinery was therefore bound to prove a failure in practice. The

relations between the executive Council and the Supreme Court were very far from satisfactory, not to speak of the constant quarrels between the Governor-General and the Council members. The Supreme Court claimed jurisdiction over all the servants of the Company in all parts. But the Council resisted and gave out that the claims of the Supreme Court were mere interferences. For instance the Raja of Cossijurah was arrested by the Court Sheriff in 1779 for severity in collecting tax. The Court thereupon summoned the Governor-General and the Council to appear before them. The Council refused to appear and appealed to the Directors at Home. Warren Hastings appointed his friend Sir Elijah Impey as Chief Justice with a view to effect a temporary settlement. But the Court of Directors did not approve of his appointment. So the trouble again continued and lasted till it was solved by the Amending Act of 1781.

**N. B.— The Amending Act of 1781:**— The Amending Act of 1781 partly removed the defects of the Regulating Act by defining the duties of the Supreme Court. The authority of the Supreme Court was confined to the people of Calcutta and British subjects in other places. The Court had to recognise the legality of the Company's civil and criminal courts. It could not arrest the Company's Officers while on duty and had very little criminal power.

## **II. Hostility of the new Councillors to Hastings:-**

We have already pointed out, as one of the defects of the Regulating Act, the likelihood of quarrels between

the Governor-General and his Council. The first signs made themselves visible even at the outset. Three of the members of the newly constituted Council, Francis, Clavering and Monson came from England already prejudiced against the Governor-General. Barwell alone the fourth member was a resident in India and a friend of Hastings. The new Councillors began by arraigning the past actions of the Governor-General. Led by Francis, who, as Macaulay puts it, "mistook his own malevolence for public virtue", the Councillors condemned the Treaty of Benares and the Rohilla War. They asked Asaf-ud-Daula, the successor of Shuja-ud Daula of Oudh, for the tribute of 40 lakhs of Rupees. He was also forced to surrender the sovereignty of Benares to the Company. What was worse for Hastings, he had no support in London. The Parliamentary resolutions demanded the withdrawal of Hastings. Monson's death in 1776 for a time gave Hastings power. But the very next year his spirits became so depressed that he was even prepared to tender his resignation. But soon Clavering died, and on his death Francis came to terms with Hastings. However, the trouble again cropped up and mutual reprobations resulted in a duel in which Francis was wounded and left for England. It must be said to the credit of Hastings that, in spite of all this opposition, he tried to achieve his object by overcoming the impolitic proceedings of the Council.

The attack of the Councillors upon the Governor-General and the consequent quarrels had the effect of lowering the Governor-General in the eyes of the Natives, and many became bold to bring forth charges against him. The

most famous of all such accusers was Nandkumar a Brahmin of much wealth and influence.

Nandkumar laid before the Council in 1773 a letter charging Hastings with having received bribes of £ 40000 from Mahomed Raza Khan and Raja Shitab Rai for releasing them from the charge of embezzlement and 3½ lakhs of rupees from the Begams, the widow of Mir Jafar. Francis welcomed the accusation and the Councillors demanded the trial of Hastings. Hastings refused to appear before the Council as it was prejudiced and notorious and in the end dissolved it. Barwell retired along with Hastings. The rest three held an examination and sent home to the Directors the documents and the evidence submitted by the witnesses. While the matter was thus pending Nandkumar was charged by a Calcutta merchant with forgery. The case was filed and he was tried by the Supreme Court presided by Sir Elijah Impey and three puisne judges. After a fair trial of seven days he was convicted and executed in 1775. Francis his erstwhile friend did not raise a voice against the cruel sentence.

It was thought that Nandkumar paid the penalty for having dared to attack the Governor-General. As Francis wrote "After the death of Nandkumar the Governor, I believe, is well assured that no man who regards his own safety will venture to stand forth as his accuser". Hastings and Impey, it is thought, had deliberately schemed the judicial death of this Brahmin. The judges also were not beyond suspicion. Again, this crime was considered only as a misdemeanour and not one worthy of capital sentence in India though such was the case in England. Lastly, the

judge could have showed mercy in this case. Whatever might have been the evidence against the accused and whatever might have been his own notoriety and infamy the sentence of execution is rather barbarous.

### **III The First Maratha War (1775-1782) :---**

While Hastings was thus engaged in quarrelling with his Council the very existence of the British Empire was threatened both at Home and in India. In the west, the American Colonies had forced the English to an ignominious surrender at Saratoga. France had declared war on England in 1777. The British possessions in India were threatened by the Natives helped by the French. In India Hastings had to fear two chief rivals the Marathas and the ruler of Mysore. So he first turned his attention to the Maratha menace.

#### **a) Events leading to the First Maratha War :---**

##### **(1) REVIVAL OF THE MARATHA POWER :—**

The Third Battle of Panipat had shattered for ever the chance of the Marathas to found an Empire in India. The power of the Peshwa was utterly crushed and independent Maratha chieftains rose into power. The long line of foreign invaders was closed and the power of the English began to rise. The strong Maratha Empire was broken to pieces.

However the lost glory of the Maratha Empire was gradually being regained by the great soldier and statesman Madhava Rao I, 1761—72. He thrice defeated Hyder Ali of Mysore and installed Shah Alam as Emperor. He

also tried to occupy Kora and Allahabad which led him into conflict with the English. His death in 1772 proved fatal to the Maratha Cause. Succession disputes arose and the Maratha Government became a veritable bed of intrigues. As Grant Duff observes "The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the death of this excellent prince".

### (2) DEATH OF MADHAVA RAO 1772:—

The death of Madhava Rao I in 1772 plunged the Maharashtra in Civil War. His successor Narayana Rao was murdered by his uncle Raghunath Rao or Ragoba who made himself the Peshwa. In 1774 however a son was born to the widow of Narayan Rao. The cause of this infant heir was taken up by a brave minister named Nana Farnavis. The skill of Nana was soon able to win over to his side the great Maratha Chieftains Sindia, Holkar, Bhonsle and Gaikwar.

(3) THE TREATY OF SURAT (1775):—In the meantime the Bombay Government which had been desiring to tread in the footsteps of the Bengal Government took hold of this confusion in the Maharashtra to gain for themselves the long coveted district of Salsette. Accordingly in 1775 they entered into a treaty with Ragoba at Surat. Ragoba gave to the English the districts of Salsette and Bassein and also agreed to pay them  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of rupees. In return, the Bombay Government agreed to lend military support to Ragoba. This treaty, concluded at the instance of the Bombay Government without the knowledge of the Governor-General and Council was strongly disapproved by the Calcutta Council which

condemned it "as impolitic, dangerous, unauthorised and unjust". The troops were therefore ordered to be recalled and Colonel Upton was sent to negotiate with Nana Farnavis. Hence was concluded in 1776 the Treaty of Purandhar.

(4) THE TREATY OF PURANDHAR (1776):—By this treaty Ragoba was given a pension of 3 lakhs a year. Nana Farnavis agreed to bear the expenses and gave Salsette to the English. But meanwhile the Directors in England had confirmed the Treaty of Surat quite against the Governor-General's orders. At the same time, the dealings of Nana Farnavis with the French St. Lubin roused the suspicions of the English and when war broke out in Europe between the English and the French Hastings declared war against the Marathas in 1776.

### (b) **The Course of the War (1778-82 :-**

The course of the First Maratha War can be divided into 3 periods. (1) 1778 to 79 (2) 1780-81 & (3) 1781 to 82. During the first two periods the Maharashtra was the scene of warfare. Then the theatre was shifted to the dominions of Madhava Rao Sindia in Hindustan.

(1) THE FIRST PERIOD 1778—79:— *The Convention of Wargaoon 1779*:—The English army under Egerton, Cockburn and Carnack marched very near Poona in order to place Ragoba on the throne. They could have also achieved their object had not the Bombay Government wasted their time in fruitless discussion resulting in the slow march of the contingent.



The guerilla tactics of the Marathas who risked no pitched battles harassed the enemy very much. Sindia and Bhonsle as well as the other Maratha chieftains effectively cut off the English supplies. The English were surrounded by the Marathas and forced to retreat. They were able to retreat as far as Wargaon and were then forced to surrender unconditionally. By this disgraceful convention at Wargaon in 1779 the English had to restore all the possessions they had conquered from the Marathas since 1772. The English army directed to proceed to Bombay from Calcutta was stopped. A portion of the revenue of Broach was to be given to Sindia. Two English hostages were to be kept by the Marathas. The Convention was thus "the most disgraceful event which marked the annals of the English army in India".

(2) SECOND PERIOD 1779-81 :—This ignominious convention was disowned by the Directors at Home. The generals who surrendered were severely punished. A new army was sent under Colonel Goddard to retrieve the disaster and to revive the terms of Purandhar. Goddard marched upon Surat and into Guzarat and took possession of Ahmadabad. Bassein was then besieged. Nana Farnavis was helped by Hyder and the forces of Sindia and Bhonsle. The English, however, were able to defeat the combined forces and even to march near Poona. But they were so constantly harassed by the Marathas that they were forced to retire to Bombay. Indeed in 1781 the position of the English became critical. Bombay was threatened by the Marathas and Sindia while Tanjore and Carnatic were troubled by Hyder.

### (3) THIRD PERIOD 1781-82:—*The Treaty of Salbai.*

It was at this crisis that Hastings interposed as the saviour of the English. He advised a march upon Bundelkhand and Malwa in order to draw off Sindia and Holkar from Guzarat and Bombay. Captain Popham who was directed to attack Sindia's possessions crossed the Jumna, defeated the Marathas and captured Gwalior. Thereupon Sindia returned from Bombay. Being discomfited everywhere and getting tired of war he became anxious for peace. The English made peace with him on his promise to negotiate for a general peace with the Marathas. In this way the treaty of Salbai was concluded in 1782.

*The Treaty of Salbai 1782:*—By this treaty Ragunath Rao was given a pension, an annual allowance of 3 lakhs of ruppes. The heir of Narayan Rao was made the Peshwa. The Marathas were not to make alliance with any European power other than the English. The English restored to the Marathas all the captured places except Salsette. Futeh Singh was recognised as the Gaikwar instead of Govind Singh. The Gaikwar was given Gwallior. The English also agreed to see that Tippu restored the Maratha territories in the south which Hyder had captured. The district of Broach was given to Sindia as a reward for negotiating the peace.

#### (c) Result:—

The Treaty of Salbai of 1782 was in the main very favourable to the English. By it, they gained their long coveted district of Salsette. Their

alliance with the Gaikwar proved permanent. The intrigues of the French were made no longer possible. Moreover, by considering Sindia as an independent Maratha power they had sown among the Marathas the seeds of disunion which they might utilise to build up their own power. Yet, in one respect the treaty was not a great gain to the English. Their relations with the Maratha leaders were not clearly defined. It had to be decided only by later wars. The war, however, taught the English one valuable lesson that the Marathas were their chief enemies in Central India.

#### IV. The Second Mysore War 1780-84:—

We have already observed how Hastings had to overcome two chief dangers, one from the Marathas and the other from the rulers of Mysore. Even when he was engaged in fighting with the Marathas the operations of Hyder Ali of Mysore demanded the speedy attention of the English.

##### (a) CAUSES:—

The chief cause of the Second Mysore War was Hyder's ill-feeling towards the English due to, several reasons. It has been already pointed out how the promise of mutual military help by Hyder and the English in the Treaty of Madras of 1769 was sure to lead the English into difficulties. That was what actually happened now. Hyder now declared war against the Marathas and in accordance with the treaty obligations asked the Madras Government to give him help. But the Madras Government remained neutral. Thereupon Hyder considered

the English as treacherous and was eagerly biding his own time to attack them. With that view he strengthened his finances and collected a mighty army trained by Frenchmen and ammunitions supplied by the French. He then conquered the neighbouring territories of Savonore and Bednore. He then proceeded to build up a Grand Alliance of the two chief Native Powers, the Marathas and the Nizam, against the English. As for the Marathas, it was the time of the First Maratha War. They were wroth at the English since they had refused to abide by the terms of the Convention of Wargaon. The Nizam was won over by Hyder because he was angry with the English for they had taken Guntur from him and had given it to Mahomed Ali. More over it was at this time that France declared war against England in the Continent after the surrender of the British at Saratoga. Hyder allied himself with the French. So the English in South India wanted to capture the French fortress of Mahe on the west coast, which was well-stocked with ammunitions and the capture of which would go a great way in putting down the French power. But, Mahe was under the protection of Hyder whose allies the French were, and the English had moreover to march through Hyder's territory in order to capture Mahe. So, when an English force was sent from Madras, Hyder resented the march of the English through his territory. In spite of his resentment Mahe was captured by the English. So Hyder now declared war against the English.

**(b) Course:- (1780-1784).-**

For the sake of convenience we can consider the War in two stages, the first stage from 1780-82, ending with

the death of Hyder and the second stage from 1782-84 consisting of fights with Tippu and terminating with the Treaty of Mangalore.

(1) FIRST STAGE (1780-1782) :—The Madras Government was thoroughly unprepared for war. Hence Colonel Bailey sent with a force to join Sir Hector Munro at Conjeevaram was completely defeated by Hyder at *Polli-lore* in 1780. As a result, Munro also was forced to retire to Madras. The news of this disaster reached the ears of Hastings who at once proceeded to take steps to retrieve the disaster. He dismissed the generals who were responsible for the mishaps and appointed the great veteran hero of Wandewash, Sir Eyre Coote, as the commander. Another force was also sent under Colonel Pearce. Coote marched to Cuddalore where he very narrowly escaped being overwhelmed by the French navy aided by Hyder's troops. He then marched to *Porto Novo* where the decisive battle was fought in July 1, 1781. Hyder's forces were thoroughly defeated. Coote then pushed up his victory by again defeating Hyder at *Arni*. He was then joined by the army of Colonel Pearce and this combined English force met Hyder's son, Tippu, at *Polli-lore*. The British arms were again victorious. Yet Hyder was far from being crushed. He concluded an alliance with the Dutch who since the Capitulation of the English at Saratoga had been their enemies. A Dutch force occupied Nagore. But very soon the English stormed Negapatam and by 1781 the town was taken by them. However Hyder's son, Tippu, conquered several places in the West. At this stage in 1782 Hyder died and his work was taken up by his son Tippu who had considered

the English as his enemies even from his infancy. Tippu now succeeded to the throne of Mysore.

(2) SECOND STAGE :—(1782—1784) :—Now Coote had to retire. Thereupon Tippu concentrated all his energies in the West. He conquered all the places once lost and finally laid siege to Mangalore. In the meanwhile the Peace of Versailles had been concluded in Europe in 1783, and as a result the French withdrew their help to Tippu. Tippu was thus left to prosecute the War single-handed. Yet he did not stop the War. He conquered some places, Bednore, Palghat, and Coimbatore. Finally, he attacked Mangalore. The Madras Government were desirous of ending the War and so sent envoys for concluding peace. The Sultan gave out that the English begged for peace. He insulted the envoy sent, and said that he had graciously granted the peace in the hour of his victory.

### (c) Results:--

Thus was concluded in 1784, the Treaty of Mangalore. By this treaty both the parties surrendered the conquered places and restored the prisoners. So then, the termination of the Second Mysore War was not one to the honour of the English. It created in Tippu great confidence in his own capacity successfully to play the part of a rival to the onward march of the British power in South India. The net result to the Company was mere expenditure of money.

### (V) Financial Expedients :--

The various Wars in which Hastings took part resulted in great expenditure of money and placed the Com-

pany on the verge of financial bankruptcy. Hastings set about to get money for the Company by several financial expedients which served as valuable counts for his enemies at the time of his impeachment, on his return. Two of these were his dealings with Chaith Singh, the Raja of Benares and the Begams of Oudh.

**(a) Hastings and The Raja of Benares :-**

Chaith Singh who was formerly an ally of the Nawab of Oudh was made a feudatory of the Company by a treaty arrangement in 1775. He had to pay to the Company an annual tribute of 22½ lakhs of rupees. Hastings who needed money for war demanded 5 lakhs of rupees from the Raja. Very unwillingly and with protest against this injustice the Raja paid the money. But the demand was repeated the next year. The Raja evaded payment and bribed the Governor-General. Hastings who was bent upon squeezing money out of the Raja asked him to supply him with troops. When Chaith Singh pleaded inability to supply the troops required, Hastings levied upon him a fine of 50 lakhs of Rupees and went in person to Benares to collect the fine. When Chaith Singh would not pay the fine even then, Hastings placed the Raja under arrest. This indignity imposed upon the Raja was bitterly resented by the Raja's troops who rose in revolt and drove away the English guards. Hastings was forced to flee to the fortress of Chunar. But very soon English troops arrived and the commotion was suppressed. The Raja fled and his nephew was installed as Raja, the tribute being raised by the addition of some £ 200000.

Hastings' treatment of Chaith Singh is severely criticised by Burke and others. Of course, Hastings had for his aim the enrichment of the Company's treasury and not his own personal fortune. But still what Burke and others severely censured was the exorbitancy of the fine. Moreover, there was a definite agreement in the treaty that while the Raja paid his annual tribute "no demands should be made upon him by the Honourable Company of any kind on any pretence whatever". According to Sir Alfred Lyall private grudge and motive of revenge mainly determined the conduct of Hastings, for, Chaith Singh was made Raja of Benares by Hastings' enemy Francis. Hastings' treatment of the Raja of Benares is thus certainly questionable.

#### **(b) Hastings and the Begams of Oudh :-**

The second victim of Hastings' greed to enrich the Company's coffers was the Begams of Oudh. When the Nawab Wazir of Oudh died in 1775, his wife and mother known to history as 'the Begams of Oudh' inherited treasures worth some 2 millions sterling. In addition to this, they also possessed lands yielding a yearly income of £ 50000. Hastings who wanted to get money by even unscrupulous means made an arrangement with Asaf-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh. He gave out that the Begams had some share in the insurrection at Benares and allowed the Nawab to seize the treasures and the Jaghir of the Begams. Their stewards, the eunuchs, were forced by imprisonment, starvation, fasting etc., to surrender the hoarded wealth and the estates. Thus the Company enriched itself; the Nawab secured the treasures of the Begams and Hastings received a present of 10



lakhs. Here also the questionable conduct of Hastings was due to his hostility towards the Begams since they had made, with Francis, an arrangement over-ruling that of Hastings.

Hastings' actions in these two cases are not thus wholly justifiable. Of course his aim was to strengthen the financial condition of the Company. However, his financial expedients ultimately resulted in tarnishing his name.

**VI. The Home Government and the Company :—**FOX'S INDIA BILL 1783 AND PITT'S INDIA ACT 1784 :—

We have seen how the political and financial condition of the Company led to the intervention of Parliament in its affairs and as a result the Regulating Act was passed in 1773. We have also seen that the Act did not, in practice, remedy all the ills. The features which led to the interference of the Parliament in the Company's affairs ten years ago still continued to exist and to remedy them two more attempts were made, one in 1783 and the other in 1784.

**(a) Reasons for Home interference :—**

The Maratha and the Mysore Wars had reduced the Company's finances to a state of bankruptcy. And it was to relieve the Company from this financial embarrassment that Hastings resorted to his financial expedients which brought upon him much obloquy. Unable to manage its affairs, the Company made applications to the

Home Government for further loans. Moreover, the British Parliament had begun to take increased interest in Indian affairs, for the revolt of the American Colonies had made them regard the increasing power of the East India Company with fear. The House of Commons, alarmed at the Company's state of affairs, repeatedly demanded the recall of Hastings. But the Court of Directors who attributed the territorial ascendancy of the Company to Hastings' administration refused to recall him. The reports of two Select and Secret Committees sent out to India by Parliament revealed the confused plight of the finance and the Government of the Company. Hence Fox who was the Prime-Minister of England brought forward a Bill to change the constitution of the Company.

Before we go to inquire into the provisions of Fox's India Bill of 1783 it is well to review briefly the constitution of the Company, on the eve of this new Act. At Home, there was the Court of Directors the tenure of each Director's Office being 4 years and the Court of Proprietors with the minimum qualification of £1000. In India, the executive government was vested in a Governor-General and a Council of 4 members and two Governors subject to him. The Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta and the two District Courts dealt out justice.

#### **(b) Fox's India Bill:-**

Fox's India Bill had for its aim a thorough overhauling of the constitution of the Company. Instead of the Court of Directors a Board consisting of 7 Commissioners was to be constituted. The Commissioners were

to be nominated by the Legislature and were to hold office for 4 years. The vacancies were to be filled by the King's nomination. In place of the Court of Proprietors a Body consisting of 9 members chosen by the Legislature from among the largest Proprietors was to be constituted. This body was to be subordinate to the Commissioners.

This Bill was passed in the House of Commons, but was rejected in the House of Lords. The failure of Fox's India Bill was due mainly to its revolutionary character. It sought to take away from the Company all its political power. Hence the Company thought the Provisions of the Bill a violation of its chartered rights. Moreover, the Bill met with the strong opposition of George III and his party of 'the King's Friends'.

Meanwhile, the coalition of Fox and North broke up and Pitt became the Prime-Minister. In 1784 he passed his India Act, which placed the East India Company on a constitution which lasted till 1858.

### (c) **Pitt's India Act (1784) :-**

#### **PROVISIONS :—**

By Pitt's India Act the supreme authority over the Company's affairs was placed in the hands of a newly constituted Board of Commissioners known as the Board of Control. The Commissioners were six in number, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, one Secretary of State, and four Privy Councillors. This Board supervised and directed the Government of the Company. The Court of Directors was controlled by this Board of Control. It had to show its records to the Commissioners and its

decisions could be over-ruled by the Board of Control. The Court of Proprietors was deprived of its power of modifying the proceedings of the Court of Directors when they had been approved by the Board of Control.

The constitution in India was also changed. The members of the Governor-General's Council at Calcutta were reduced from 4 to 3, so as to enable the Governor-General to get a majority of his own in the Council. The Governor-General was to have complete control over the Presidency Governments. A Special Committee of the Privy Council was appointed as the Court of Appeal from the Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta. The Governor-General was not allowed to make alliance with the Native Powers without the sanction of the Board of Control except in self defence.

(2) IMPORTANCE :—Pitt's India Act was a success because it was not so revolutionary as Fox's Bill. It established good and settled government in India. The chief defect of the Regulating Act, namely, the constant quarrels between the Governor-General and the Council was almost removed. Moreover, the Act established Parliamentary Control over the Government of India ; for the Court of Directors of the Company was subject to the Board of Control, the members of which had seats in the two Houses of Parliament. Lastly, the Directors at Home had fully realised that the time had not come for them to bid for territorial aggrandisement. So non-intervention in the affairs of the Native States was definitely laid down as the policy to be pursued by every Governor-

General. Thus the India Act of Pitt marks a second step in the assertion of the Crown's Power over the Indian Government. The wisdom of this measure can well be understood when it is stated that the Constitution established by this Act lasted till the formal assumption of the direct Government over Indian affairs by the Crown in 1858. The Act also forms a supplement to the Regulating Act, as it solved its executive and, to a little extent, its defective judicial problems. The constant quarrels between the Governor-General and his Councillors were almost put an end to by reducing the number of the Councillors. The defects in the judicial system were also partly removed by the establishment of the Appellate Court at Home.

However, a new Act had to be passed in 1786 in order to establish the ultimate supremacy of the Governor-General. By this new Act, the Governor-General could override the decisions of his Council. He was also given the power of acting independently in cases of emergency. The Act also legalised the appointment of Cornwallis both as Governor-General and Commander-in-chief.

### **VII Hastings' resignation, impeachment and acquittal :-**

During all his troubles Hastings was debating within himself whether he should tender his resignation. In fact at one time he actually tendered his resignation but soon withdrew it. Now when in 1784 Pitt's India Act was passed limiting the power of the Governor-General by placing the control of the entire administration in India subject to the Board of Control at Home, Hastings

tendered his resignation in 1785. He handed over charge to Sir John Macpherson and returned Home.

He was at first well received by the Court of Directors who showered upon him all possible honours as the man who did much for the Company's interests in India. But very soon the intention of Burke, Fox and Sheridan to arraign the actions of the 'gentle-man just returned from India' was known to all and at the instigation of Francis severe charges were framed against Hastings. The accusers used their influence to impeach Hastings for his acts as Governor-General. The House of Commons thereupon decided to impeach Warren Hastings for crimes and misdemeanours.

The famous trial began in 1788 and lasted for 7 years. The chief counts on which Hastings was accused were four, his execution of Nandkumar, his share in the Rohilla war, his extortion of the Raja of Benares and his spoliation of the Begams of Oudh. Virulent were the invectives against Hastings. The 'fervid eloquence of Burke and the melodramatic rhetoric of Sheridan' were very unjustly turned against the Governor-General. Yet Hastings stood the trial with the firmness of mind of one whose only aim in all his acts had been to advance the interests of the Company.

At last after the disgrace of an impeachment of 7 years he was honourably acquitted. But his personal fortunes had been ruined. It was only the generosity of the Court of Directors who gave him a pension of £ 4000 that enabled him to spend his last days in quiet at his

native village of Daylesford. In 1818 his health gave way and in August of the same year he passed away.

### **VIII. Estimate of his achievements:--**

Hastings was a great statesman of rare abilities. His achievements were truly great. It must be said to his credit that he accomplished what he has done under most unfavourable conditions.

The defects of the administrative system established by Clive in Bengal had plunged the province into a state of misrule and reforms were an immediate necessity. The members of his Council instead of co-operating with him tried their best to ruin him both in India and in England. His actions were so much censured and misrepresented in England by his enemies that the House of Commons constantly demanded his recall. Thus he had no backing either in India or in England. The English had acquired some powers as a territorial power. But that very acquiring of power had made them a point of attack for the Native Princes who had recognised in them the only possible check to their power. The Marathas and the rulers of Mysore were making preparations for open hostilities with the English and Hastings had to subdue them or treat with them. The Company whose Directors were still bent upon getting profits would not give him the necessary support for carrying out his militant operations.

Yet in spite of all these difficulties Hastings was able to realise his aims. Throughout his rule in India his chief aims were "the firm establishment of the British

rule in India " and the strengthening of the Financial position of the Company. His first aim was realised by his operations against the Marathās and against Hyder Ali of Mysore. The two wars, the First Maratha War and the Second Maratha War, whatever might have been their other results, had this one effect namely, that they taught the English who their real rivals in India were, and how they could be overcome. Hastings also carried out his second aim. As soon as he had assumed charge as Governor of Bengal he at once put down the Dual system of Clive and established a system of Revenue and Civil administration which had for its aim the prosperity of the province and the enrichment of the Company's treasury. And when, despite all his attempts, the Company found itself on the verge of financial bankruptcy Hastings proceeded to save it from ruin by certain measures which, however, are not quite justifiable. It was his sincere eagerness to relieve the Company from the financial embarrassment that led to his extortion of Chaith Singh, the Raja of Benares and his plunder of the Begams of Oudh. Again, Hastings' entry into the Rohilla War was based mainly on political considerations. He wanted to strengthen the British possessions on the North-West by retaining a strong ally on that side. Of course, the conduct of Hastings on these three occasions is not beyond question. Innocent persons were made victims of the Governor-Generals' greed to enrich the Company's treasury. In fact, these were the counts on which his enemies vehemently attacked him.

To conclude, whatever might be the criticism offered against some of the acts of Hastings, it must be truly



said that his achievements for the Company were great. He had established order and settled government in Bengal by his Reforms, strengthened the political power of the Company, restored its finances and, above all, calmed the two chief Native rivals. He himself says, "The valour of others acquired. I enlarged and gave shape and consistency to the dominions. I maintained the immediate provinces under my administration in a state of peace and plenty and security when every other member of the British Empire was engaged in external or civil tumult". And such a man to be disgraced by seven years of criminal trial before an incompetent tribunal is really unfair and deplorable. That Hastings felt this very much is clearly revealed by his words at the time of his trial "I gave you all; and you have rewarded me with confiscation, disgrace and a life of impeachment."

## **WARREN HASTINGS (1732-1818).**

### ***(A Biographical Sketch).***

#### **(a) Early Career (1732-1772).**

(FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS APPOINTMENT AS GOVERNOR OF BENGAL):—

Warren Hastings was born in the year 1732. He was descended from a noble and honourable family which, however, at the time of his birth had lost all its property and was suffering from the pangs of penury.

Like Clive, Hastings first came to India as a writer in the service of the East India Company in 1750 before

he had completed his 18th year. After a course of apprenticeship he was posted to the factory at Kosimbazaar. When the factory was captured by Suraj-ud-Daula he escaped to Fulta. On Clive's return to England he was appointed member of the Council at Calcutta in 1761. He remained in this post for a period of 4 years and returned home in 1764.

He had not earned much during his stay in India. So he was again in straitened circumstances. Thereupon he applied to the Court of Directors for a post. He was given the post of a second member in the Council at Calcutta.

While in this post, he was chiefly employed on commercial business. His work was so satisfactory to the Court of Directors that they nominated him to succeed Catier as Governor of Bengal in 1772.

**(b) As Governor of Bengal (1772-1774) :-**

In 1772 Hastings assumed charge as Governor of Bengal, with orders to evolve order out of the chaos into which the country had been thrown by the imperfect reforms of Clive.

The task imposed upon Hastings was certainly very difficult. For the difficulties that confronted him were innumerable and many-sided. Clive's reforms had effected little improvement in the country as well as in the affairs of the Company. The Massacre of Patna had deprived the Company of capable and experienced men. The youths who had succeeded them were scarcely able to keep the accounts properly. The collection of revenue was in the

hands of men whose sole aim was filling their coffers at the expense of the Company's income. The judicial administration was so much corrupt that 'the courts of justice were mere byeword.' The Sanyasi bandits ravaged the land under the pretence of religion. The land was infested with dacoits. The currency was in a hopeless condition. As Hastings himself wrote three months after he had assumed charge, "the new government of the Company consists of a confused heap of undigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself".

Again the relations of the Company with the Native Princes had not been placed on a settled basis.

So Hastings applied himself with all speed to the task of overcoming the manifold difficulties which stood in his way.

The difficulties connected with the government of the provinces were solved in a way by his revenue, judicial and administrative reforms. His establishment of a Central Board of Revenue at Calcutta and his appointment of Amies supervised by English Collectors removed from the country the evils of Clive's Double Government. By farming out lands among the highest bidders for fixed rental Hastings had also laid the foundations for the work of Cornwallis. The establishment of civil and criminal courts, the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Nizamat Adalat, at Calcutta ensured proper administration of justice. This work was made effective by Hastings' utilising Hindu Pandits and Mahomedan Moulvis as advocates of the judges.

The abuses connected with the administration of the Company were also removed.

His policy towards the Native Princes, the Emperor and the Nawab of Oudh, resulted in the enrichment of the Company's treasury. The tribute due to the former was stopped while the latter was made to give to the Company Kora and Allahabad and 50 lakhs of rupees. The very same object impelled the Governor-General to take part in the Rohilla war for which he is so severely criticised by Francis and others.

### (c) **As Governor-General (1774-1785) :-**

Meanwhile, in 1773, the Regulating Act was passed vesting the government of the Company in the hands of a Governor-General and a Council of Four. Hastings in whose abilities and integrity the Directors had unbounded confidence was appointed as the first Governor-General. Then began the famous struggle between him and the members of his Council, especially Francis, Monson and Clavering. The severely criticised his execution of Nandkumar, the Treaty of Benares and the Rohilla War. The attitude of the Council was so hostile that Hastings even was on the point of tendering his resignation. However Monson's death gave him some breathing time.

It was at this time that the First Maratha War and the Second Mysore Wars were fought. The first resulted in some advantage to the English for it taught them who their real rivals in India were. The second was not one to their honour for it created in Tippu a confidence in his

powers and he began to adopt means for the expulsion of the English from India.

The result of these wars was the drain to Company's treasury. So Hastings had to turn his attention to filling up the treasury. It was then that he resorted to his much-criticised financial expedients, that is, the extortion of the Raja of Benares and the spoliation of the Begams of Oudh, which formed valuable counts for his enemies during the time of his impeachment.

**(d) LAST DAYS (Retirement, Impeachment, Acquittal and Death) :-**

When, in 1784, Pitt's India Act was passed limiting the powers of the Governor-General, Hastings who had long been considering about it in his mind tendered his resignation. In the same year he returned home.

At first he was well received by the Court of Directors who showered upon him their eulogies. But gradually the invectives of Burke, Sheridan, Fox and others instigated by Francis turned their minds against him and they wanted to impeach him for crimes and misdemeanour, charges of corruption etc. The execution of Nandkumar, the extirpation of the Rohillas, the extortion of the Raja of Benares and the spoliation of the Begams of Oudh, all formed the counts for the famous trial which lasted for seven years at the end of which, however, Hastings was honourably acquitted. But his private fortunes had been ruined and only the generosity of the Court of Directors who granted him an allowance enabled him to spend his days in quietude at his native village of Daylesford till his death in 1818.

### CHARACTER --SKETCH OF HASTINGS.

Warren Hastings possessed almost all the qualities needed for a successful administrator. His industry was almost superhuman, his resolution inflexible and his courage imperturbable. He was patient to the core. It really requires a great deal of patience and forbearance to bear the severe strain of an unfair trial.

In private life, he was generous to all, at times even to the extent of a defect. He earned the love and admiration of all. As a contemporary has said, "all who knew him loved him, and they who knew him most loved him best".

As Governor and Governor-General, Hastings reveals his consummate statesmanship. Throughout his term of office he was actuated with one single aim namely, the advancement of the public good. So as soon as he had assumed charge of his post he began to remedy the ills under which the land was suffering, by his reforms. He was sorry to find the Company financially on the verge of bankruptcy and its servants corrupt. He tried his best to put an end to these abuses. Of course in the realisation of this aim he committed certain actions which are certainly questionable. Yet the motive which underlay these operations of Hastings was not his own personal advancement but the interest of the Company. If his character is delineated in the most unfavourable light it is due to the venom of Francis, the eloquence of Burke and vituperation of Sheridan. The actions of Hastings were those worthy of a capable statesman. We should look at them in the light of the ministers and statesman of modern times. Hence the impeachment was rather undeserved. Even Mill who, at first, vehemently attacked the Governor-General finally eulogises him.

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## CHAPTER VI.

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### **LORD CORNWALLIS (1786-93).**

On the resignation of Hastings in 1783, Cornwallis was appointed as the Governor-General. But till his arrival Sir John Macpherson acted as Governor-General for about a year and a half. Cornwallis who had refused to accept the post in 1712, now accepted it on condition that his powers were enlarged. Hence the Act of 1786 was passed vesting greater power in the hands of the Governor-General. Cornwallis had not been in the service of the Company and therefore his appointment forms a new epoch.

#### **I. His Character:-**

He was a great soldier and though he had the misfortune to surrender at Yorktown in 1781 the country had yet great trust in him. He was a gentleman of high rank and had the moral courage to openly put down corruption on the part of his subordinates. He was actuated by the noblest of motives and the best of intentions. He carried out many reforms and by strenuous efforts raised the morale of Englishmen.

#### **II. His Policy towards the Native Princes:-**

Pitt's India Act had clearly laid down 'Non-intervention' as the definite policy to be pursued by

the Company. The Governor-General was not allowed to make war or peace or in any way interfere in the affairs of the Native princes without the consent of the Board of Control. Therefore, Cornwallis was definitely ordered to follow a policy of peace. But the circumstances amidst which he assumed charge of his post were such as to render a peace policy impracticable. Hence he departed from the policy of strict neutrality, with the result that the Company was plunged into the complications of the Native princes.

(a) THE EMPEROR :— In 1788, the son of Shah Alam requested Cornwallis to help him to recover his throne at Delhi. But Cornwallis bluntly refused to give him any help.

(b) THE NAWAB OF OUDH :— However, affairs in Oudh were in such a state of confusion that the Governor-General could not but interfere. He reduced the number of troops that the English maintained in that province so that the amount of tribute due from the Nawab might be reduced. The Nawab was made quite independent in his Local Government. The Marathas, especially Sindia, were asked to keep their hands off Oudh.

(c) THE NIZAM OF HYDERABAD :— Cornwallis then turned his attention to the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1788 an English force was despatched to take Guntur which, however, the Nizam at once surrendered. The Nizam also asked the English to help him to recover some of the districts seized by



Hyder and at the same time negotiated for an alliance with Tippu. The negotiations fell through and thereupon, he concluded a fresh alliance with the Marathas against Tippu. However, Tippu was able to make alliances with the Nizam and the Marathas.

(d) **TIPPU SULTAN OF MYSORE** :— The next Native Prince into whose affairs Cornwallis had to actively interfere was Tippu Sultan of Mysore. Tippu's aim was to strengthen his position so as to enable him to concentrate all his energies in overcoming the English and thereby to establish an Empire in India. He understood that the English were the only obstacles to his ambitious schemes and so set to work to defeat them. His operations therefore demanded the immediate attention of Cornwallis.

### **III. The Third Mysore War (1790-92).**

#### **(a) Causes:—**

I. **CORNWALLIS' HELP TO THE NIZAM AGAINST TIPPU** :— The treaty obligations of the English with the Native Powers, especially the Nizam of Hyderabad and Hyder Ali of Mysore, led to great difficulties. The English had agreed to help the Nizam against his foes by the Treaty of Masulipatam of 1768, during the First Mysore War. They had also entered into a defensive alliance with Hyder by the Treaty of Madras of 1769. Again this treaty of peace was confirmed by the Treaty of Mangalore with Tippu in 1784. The Nizam now sought the help of the English against Tippu. Cornwallis

accepted the offer and lent troops to him but had expressly provided that he should not use them against the allies of the English. But Tippu's name was deliberately excluded from the list containing the names of the English allies. When Tippu came to know of this his wrath knew no bounds.

2. **ENGLISH ALARM AT TIPPU'S POWER:**—Tippu's name was thus omitted because the English had come to consider him as a danger to their power as he had defeated a combined army of the Marathas and Nizam Ali in 1786. Moreover, it was evident that Tippu was in alliance with the French. Again, Tippu's religious zeal and intolerance struck terror in the minds of all and made his name feared. On account of these reasons the English were ready to attack Tippu who also decided to take up arms in self-defence.

3. **TIPPU'S ATTACK OF THE RAJA OF TRAVANCORE:**—The immediate cause for the actual out-break of the war was Tippu's attack of the Raja of Travancore. In 1789 Tippu attacked the Raja of Travancore. The Raja and his Malayali troops strenuously held out till, in the end, Tippu was forced to retreat. The Raja was an ally of the English and the attack of their ally made them declare war upon Tippu. Cornwallis formed a Triple League of the three chief powers the English, the Nizam and the Marathas against Tippu.

**(b) Course of the War (1790-92):—**

1. **FIRST CAMPAIGN:**— The operations were begun in 1790. The first campaign was led by

General Medows, the Governor of Madras. Medows marched from Trichinopoly and captured, on his way, Coimbatore. Dindigal and Palghat were occupied. The Bombay troops took possession of Malabar and the Marathas pursued their own operations. However, the operations were not decisive.

2. SECOND CAMPAIGN:— Thereupon Cornwallis assumed the command of the forces in person and laid siege to Bangalore. The city was captured and made the base of his operations. From Bangalore he marched upon the Sultan's capital, Seringapatam. Tippu drew up his army to protect his capital and took up a strong position "at Arikera, only 10 miles from his capital." Cornwallis succeeded in defeating the Sultan but the victory was useless. His supplies ran short and the help rendered by the Maratha allies was rather late. Hence the Governor-General found his position unsafe and retreated to Bangalore.

3. THIRD CAMPAIGN:— The two campaigns having thus failed, Cornwallis resolved to finish the business in 1792. The northwest and the northeast of the Sultan's territories were overrun by the Marathas and the Nizam's troops. The Governor-General himself advanced at the head of an English force upon Seringapatam. The outworks of the capital were captured and the city was besieged. Tippu, convinced that he could no longer resist, made his submission and signed the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792.

## (c) Results:—

THE TREATY OF SERINGAPATAM 1792:— By this treaty nearly half of Tippu's dominions came into the possession of the English. Tippu was also forced to pay an indemnity of 3 crores of rupees and to give up his two sons as hostages. The English secured possession of Malabar, Dindigal, Madura and Salem as well as the control of the passes. The Marathas got the territories bordering the Tungabhadra and one-third of the indemnity. Bellary and Cuddapah fell to the share of the Nizam who also was given one-third of the indemnity. The independence of the Raja of Coorg was recognised. The Treaty thus strengthened the position of the English and reduced the power of Tippu by shutting him out from access to the sea and to the valley in the East. Thus, the policy of Cornwallis though opposed to the orders of the Home Government had the result of extending the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies.

## IV. His Reforms:—

Cornwallis was also a great statesman and carried out many reforms both in the Revenue and the Judicial branches of the administration. The most important of his reforms was the Permanent Revenue Settlement of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

## (A) Revenue Reforms:— The Permanent Revenue Settlement:—

## (a) Events leading to the Permanent Settlement:—

1. LAND REVENUE SYSTEM UP to 1772:— The system of land revenue that prevailed in Bengal before Warren Hastings was that of the Moghuls, the Settlement of Todar Mal. The lands were divided into two kinds, the 'Kalisa' paying rent direct to the Emperor and the 'Jaghirs', owned by the 'Jaghirdars' who retained the surplus and paid fixed rent to the Emperor. The collection of the land revenue was placed in the hands of middlemen known as the 'Zemindars' who were given for their trouble one-tenth of the revenue collected, the remaining nine-tenths going to the Emperor. This 'Zemindari System' had some grave defects. According to this system the Zemindars were not the owners of lands. The rent was arbitrarily fixed and was therefore liable to constant changes. Hence there was no impetus on the part of the ryot to effect improvements in his land.

2. LAND REVENUE SYSTEM UNDER WARREN HASTINGS:— It was partly to remove the defects of this Zemindari System that Hastings granted the right of collecting the revenue to the highest bidders, Zemindars and others. The rent was fixed for five years. This system also did not work well, for the bidding price was so high that the Zemindars were in great arrears. Moreover, the bidders were in some respects men of no standing and did not pay the dues to the State. So the tenure was again fixed for one year. But this resulted in the absence of fixity of tenure. There was no incentive on the part of the ryots to bring waste lands under cultivation. The Zemindars

troubled the ryots by the imposition of petty taxes. The system led to much rack-renting and the misery of the ryots became greater. The land revenue which the Company received began to decrease and the Parliament interfered to set matters right.

3 THE EXPERIMENT OF 1784:— In 1784, the Parliament made an experiment in the collection of the land revenue. Attributing all the former evils to the system of one-year leasing, the new leasing was done for ten years. This experiment was found to be very successful in practice and so Parliament decided to settle the land revenue of Bengal on the basis of a permanent settlement.

**(b) The Permanent Settlement of 1793:—**

In 1793 Parliament passed an act by which Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore determined, from an examination of the old accounts and payments previously made, the amount to be paid to the Company. This was fixed at about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  million sterling. The rent was thus fixed permanently and the Zemindars were barred from levying customary dues. This system by which the land revenue of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, subject to changes since the time of the Moghuls, was permanently fixed is known as the Permanent Revenue Settlement of 1793.

**(c) Importance:—**

1. MERITS:— The Settlement of 1793 was ultimately of great advantage both to the provinces

and to the British Government. The Zemindars who were up to that time mere middlemen or tax-collectors now became the virtual owners of lands. The permanent fixing of the rent secured for them fixity of tenure. Moreover, the unearned increment from the land could be enjoyed by the Zemindars. So there was great stimulus on the part of the Zemindars to bring waste lands under cultivation and to effect great improvements in agriculture. The resultant progress in agriculture more than compensated the loss in revenue to the state. The system also consolidated the power of the British by earning the popularity of the Natives.

(2) DEMERITS — However, the immediate effects of the system bore hard upon the Natives as well as upon the State. By fixing the revenue due to the State from the Zemindars, *permanently* the State lost a good deal of the revenue which would otherwise accrue to it from the improvements of the lands. The State had thus no power to claim revenue for the untaxed portions of the land. The system especially affected the condition of the ryots. The ryots who were till then the owners of land were deprived of their ownerships since the system made the Zemindars the practical owners. No provision was made in the act to check the rapacity of the Zemindars. Hence there existed much rack-renting while the bad management of their resources made some of the Zemindars unable to pay the rent due to the State. Of course Bengal had a great handicap over the other provinces so far as its economic condition was concerned. But the miserable condition

of the ryots continued to exist and was only partially ameliorated by the Bengal Land Act of 1859.

**(E) Reforms in the Judicature:—**

Cornwallis also reformed the judicial administration. He separated the executive from the judicature and thus carried out the work begun by Warren Hastings. He also removed the chief defect of Hasting's judicial reforms by separating the revenue and judicial functions which were in the time of Hastings vested in one. A separate court had to collect taxes while another was to administer justice. As for the Civil administration he established four courts in a sort of gradation. Small courts were established all over the provinces for the recovery of petty debts. These courts were subject to the Zilla or the District courts presided over by an English judge and assisted by Indian assessors. Above these Zilla courts there were the provincial courts under three English judges assisted by Indian assessors. These courts were established at Dacca, Patna, Murshidabad and Calcutta. The Supreme Court of Appeal in all matters was the Sadr Diwani Adalat.

The same system was extended to criminal administration, with this difference that the judges of the Provincial courts went on circuit. The Supreme Court of Criminal Justice was the Sadr Nizamat Adalat. The jurisdiction of the Zemindars over criminal cases was put an end to. Rude punishments were stopped. All these courts were assisted by a Hindu Pandit and a Mahomedan Kazi or Moulvi.



(c) **Reforms in the Company's Service:—**

Cornwallis made some minor reforms in the Company's Service. He effected a separation between the executive and the judicial duties of the Company's servants. Sinicure places were abolished. The commission given to the Company's Servants for the collection of revenue was stopped. This, however, did not rouse up opposition since their salaries were increased.

**V. Renewal of the Charter in 1793.**

The Company's Charter which had been extended for 20 years by the Regulating Act of 1773 was now about to lapse. So a fresh application was made by the Company for the renewal of the Charter. This led to a great agitation in England where the chief towns Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol etc., that wanted to gain a share in the company's trade, demanded the throwing open of the trade with India to all. But Cornwallis and the Court of Directors used all their influence and were able to get from Parliament a fresh Charter securing for the Company its privileges for further 20 years.

In the same year the Revolutionary War between France and England broke out. In October of the same year Cornwallis returned home and was given a pension of £ 5000 a year. His statue was placed in the India House by the Directors in recognition of his great services to the Company.

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## CHAPTER VII.

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### ***SIR JOHN SHORE (1793-98).***

On his return to England, Cornwallis recommended Sir John Shore as his successor. So Sir John Shore was appointed as the Governor-General. Shore was a man of high rank, noble views and upright conduct. He was given strict injunctions to follow a policy of non-intervention and he strictly adhered to it. Shore's policy might be characterised as one of 'Masterly Inactivity' when one considers the circumstances which were such as to force him to rouse to some action.

#### **I. His Policy towards the Native Princes.**

Sir John Shore strictly adhered to the policy of neutrality laid down by the English Parliament. Even when intervention was absolutely necessary he refused to depart from the policy laid down by the Directors. This policy of neutrality has been censured by several historians. In the first place, the policy was quite inopportune and unsuited. The English Government had agreed to give help to the various Native Powers as a result of their treaties with them. They therefore could not remain neutral without breaking their treaty obligations. For instance, the Nizam who was a staunch ally of the English and to whom the English were in many ways bound, now sought their help against the Marathas. But Shore refused to give him help.

But on a similar occasion Cornwallis had followed a war policy and the Raja of Travancore was certainly not so staunch an ally of the English as the Nizam. Moreover, the policy is to be condemned on the ground that it gave power to the enemies of the English.

This neutral policy of Sir John Shore led to grave consequences. The Nizam, left without an ally against the Marathas, was defeated and his dominions were reduced. His anger became very great and he made alliances with the French. The power of the Marathas increased and they became wealthier than before. Típpu eager to regain his lost power in the late war considered this his best opportunity to take up arms. He also allied himself with the French.

(a) **His policy towards the Nizam:—**

Nizam Ali, the ruler of Hyderabad, was now pressed by the Marathas for 'Chauth'. Nana Farnavis had united the Peshwa and the Maratha chiefs and attempted to conquer the territory of the Nizam. Realising his incompetence to withstand the Maratha attack single-handed, the Nizam requested the help of his ally, the English. But Shore stoutly refused to interfere giving out that the treaty had become null and void by the two allies quarrelling with each other. The Nizam was thus left to shift for himself. He got some help from the French but yet the Marathas were overwhelmingly strong. At Kharda in 1795 the Nizam was

defeated and forced to abjectly surrender. He agreed to pay 3 million pounds sterling by way of 'Chauth' and also to cede some territories. This humiliating treaty incensed the Nizam against the English and increased the power of the Marathas.

(a) His policy towards the Nawab of Oudh:—

In 1797 Asaf-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, died. One, Vizier Ali by name, claimed the throne and craved Shore's sanction. In haste, Shore recognised him as the successor. But very soon he came to know that he was not the real heir but only the son of a menial and that the real heir was one Saadat Ali Khan, a brother of the late Nawab. Thereupon the Governor-General boldly marched to Lucknow, drove away the usurper and placed the real heir on the throne. The new Vizier entered into a treaty with the English by which he gave them Allahabad and also 76 lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of the troops stationed in Oudh. Vizier Ali who tried to recover his position was imprisoned and kept there till his death.

## **II. The Mutiny in Bengal (1795).**

Lord Cornwallis who had personal courage and a good backing at Home carried out certain reforms in the Service of the Company. He had forbidden the English officers both in the military and civil departments to receive perquisites. He had also put down corruption. The army officers now joined together and rose in mutiny. They demanded the 'Double Batta' stopped by Clive,

promotion by strict seniority and other personal privileges. The weak Governor-General who found himself in a precarious position granted all the demands of the mutineers. The Directors became displeased with him and recalled him. They then appointed Cornwallis as his successor but he refused to accept the post. Thereupon Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, was made the Governor-General of India in 1798.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

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### **LORD WELLESLEY (1798-1805).**

Marquis of Wellesley, the first and the greatest of the Founders of the British Empire in India assumed the reins of the office of the Governor-General in May 1798. He was 38 years of age at that time and had full experience of Indian affairs. He had been a member of the Board of Control and had made a special study of Indian problems. He was one with Cornwallis in honesty of purpose and uprightness of conduct. But he resembled Warren Hastings in his political views. He was diametrically opposed to the effete policy of Sir John Shore. He had immense faith in the justice and fair-play of the British and held that rule by the British was the best panacea 'for all the ills under which', as he said, 'the States of India suffered'. Hence he discarded the attempt of

Cornwallis to maintain a sort of Balance of Power among Indian States and adopted a policy which might be termed 'Imperialistic'. He sought to establish the power of the British by annexing some provinces and by making others dependent on the British by his policy of 'Subsidiary Alliance' or 'Subordinate Isolation'. Indeed, on his return to England the British were left supreme in India.

### **Section 1) Wellesley's Policy**

The condition of India in 1795 made the policy of Non intervention of no use and Wellesley whose chief aim was to establish a British dominion in India gave it up for a new policy of his own. On Wellesley's accession to office the chief powers in India were four, the English, the Nizam, Tippu and the Marathas. Cornwallis had tried to maintain a sort of Balance-of Power among those States as he was content with making the British a power of equal status. But the imperialistic instincts of Lord Wellesley could not acquiesce in a position of equality but was sure to make him pursue a policy he would deem fit. Moreover, the Native powers were in league with the French. And the French influence was really a great peril to the English since England was at that time plunged in the Revolutionary Wars. Napoleon had formulated his own schemes for the establishment of a French Empire in the East and had started on his Egyptian Campaign. He had corresponded with Tippu and the Marathas. Therefore Wellesley launched on a policy of opposition to the Company's policy of

'Ring Fence'. His imperialistic policy had for its aim the reduction of the French power in the East and making the British the paramount power in India at all costs. This aim he tried to secure by two means, annexation of territories and Subsidiary Alliances. The Native States whose internal affairs were in such a state of chaos as to be beyond redemption were declared annexed to the British Empire. The other powers were made dependent upon the British by his new policy of 'Subsidiary System'. As he himself states in his Despatches, 'his declared object was to establish the ascendancy of the English power over all other States in India, by a system of subsidiary treaties, so framed as, to deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measure or of forming any confederacy hazardous to the British Empire, and to enable the English to preserve the tranquillity of India by exercising a general control over the restless spirit of ambition and violence which is characteristic of every Asiatic Government.'

## **I. The Subsidiary System:-**

### **(A) Earlier features of the Subsidiary System :—**

This Subsidiary system or the Policy of Subordinate Isolation was inaugurated by Wellesley and was completed and consolidated by Lord Hastings. Yet some of its features were already in existence. Its first feature could be found in the military aid lent by the British to the Native Princes. Such was the nature of the help rendered by the English to Mahomed Ali in his wars with

Chanda Sahib. The second stage came in when the English took the field on their own account, assisted by the ill-disciplined Native levies. For instance, the English army aided by Mir Jafar's troops beat off Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh from Bengal. Next, the Native allies were required to give money in the place of men. The English trained and raised troops on the payment of a subsidy equal to the cost of their maintenance. It was this arrangement that was made with the Nizam in the Treaty of Hyderabad of 1799. And arrangements somewhat similar to that were made with the rulers of the Carnatic, Tanjore and Oudh. But the promised subsidy was not regularly paid and so instead of money land was assigned for the payment of troops. Thus in 1788 the Nizam made over the Guntur Circar to the British in return for two battalions.

#### (B) Features of Wellesley's System:—

But Wellesley's System was more complete, definite and practical and made the Native States dependent upon the British. By his system the international life of the Native States was surrendered to the British. The external affairs were placed under the control of the British though the internal administration was left in the hands of the Native Princes. The Native Princes were not allowed to conduct war or carry on negotiations without the consent of the British. Europeans other than the English were not to be entertained at the capitals of the Native States. Each Native



Prince had to take in his kingdom an English Resident who was to act as his minister his guide and a watch over his actions as well. A British contingent was placed in each Native State for the preservation of peace both from within and from without. The charge of the maintenance of the army stationed at the capital was met by cession of territories. The British undertook the responsibility of preserving peace within the kingdom and removing external dangers. The internal administration of the State, revenue and judicial, was placed in the hands of the Native Princes. The system thus made the Native States practically dependent upon the British as regards general military control and external policy.

This policy is commonly known as the 'Policy of Subsidiary Alliance' or 'Subsidiary System' as the Native States that entered into the alliance paid subsidy to the British for the maintenance of the troops stationed at their capitals. It is also styled the 'Policy of Subordinate Isolation' since the territories of the Native Princes were isolated that is, reduced to fixed limits and cut off from connection with other States.

### **(C) Criticism of Wellesley's System:-**

1. **ADVANTAGES:-** The system of Lord Wellesley had both advantages as well as drawbacks and as such can be justified and also condemned. It can be justified on the following grounds. The system by establishing some sort of order saved the Native States from complete

anarchy. The Resident stationed at the court of the Native Raja was not a mere watch over his actions but actually helped the administration of the country and the preservation of peace. What the Native States, suffering from the pangs of misrule at that time, wanted was peace and settled government. And perhaps the only power at that time that could give that was the British and Wellesley thought that his was the policy best suited to the time. As Hunter has put it, "India craved for firmer rule, for freedom from tyranny and corruption, for expansion and liberty. There was no power Hindu or Mahomedan that could fulfil these demands. The British Company stood already among them and from it alone would union and regeneration spring. At Home, the Directors thought of commerce, the Government of policy. No one but Wellesley saw that there lay before the British the making of an Empire and through it the making of a nation." The districts assigned by the Native Princes swelled the Company's territories. Above all, Wellesley had achieved his aim. The British were made the arbiter of the destinies of the Native States and the paramount power in India.

2. **DRAWBACKS:**— Yet the policy of Wellesley can be censured on equally strong grounds. In the first place, the independence of the Native Prince was very much crushed, and he was reduced to the position of a nominal ruler. The maintenance of an English force in the court of the Native Prince led to the disbanding of a major portion of the

Native levies. The discharged Native sepoy, deprived of opportunities of fighting against enemies swelled the ranks of predatory gangs. The number of these insubordinate sepoy who later on produced chaos in the land as the Pindarees increased to half a million. Again, the Native Prince, deprived of fear of rebellion at home and invasion abroad, lost all sense of responsibility, sank in his own esteem and plunged the country into misrule. In the words of Sidney Owen, "The Native Prince being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions but deprived of so many essential attributes of sovereignty, sinks in his own esteem and loses that stimulus to good government which is supplied by the fear of rebellion and deposition. He becomes a sensualist, an extortionate miser or a careless or lax ruler. The higher classes coerced by external ascendancy in turn lose their self-respect and degenerate like their master. The people groan under a complicated oppression which is irremediable. Thus in spite of the Resident's counsels and attempts to secure good government, the back of the State, so to speak, is broken; the native community tends to dissolution; and annexation is eventually the inevitable remedy for its helplessness and the chronic disorders." The system did not make any provision for the timely intervention of the British in cases of misrule. According to Sir William Hunter "The English were compelled to stand by and witness the cruel rendering of an Oriental Prince independent of his people."

Thus the policy of Wellesley cannot be fully justified. Of course the ends which Wellesley had

in view were patriotic and honourable. He wanted to give peace and good government to the mis-governed states of India. But the means which he adopted to secure his ends were not quite justifiable. Annexation by the British was not, in the eyes of the Indians, the best remedy for mis-government. Again, the policy of Subordinate Isolation had its own drawbacks which we have already narrated. We can however justify the policy of Wellesley in the breath in which we can support that of Hastings. In the case of Wellesley, as has been the case with all rulers actuated by imperialistic ideals, the end justified the means. In other words, Wellesley's policy was one of 'political expediency' or 'Machiavellianism'.

## **II. Wellesley's Annexations.**

The states that were annexed to the British territories by Wellesley for misrule were chiefly four in number, Tanjore, Surat, Carnatic and part of Oudh.

1. **TANJORE 1799** :—In 1799 there arose succession disputes in Tanjore as a result of the death of the ruling prince. Wellesley seized that opportunity for annexing it to the British Dominions. The Raja was given a pension of £ 40000 ; the kingship of Tanjore was abolished and the kingdom was declared annexed.

2. **SURAT** :— In the same way the Double Government of Surat was abolished and it was annexed.

3. THE CARNATIC 1801 :—The third kingdom that was annexed by Wellesley for mis-rule was the Carnatic. The evils of the Double Government had plunged the Carnatic in anarchy. Umdut-ul-Umra, the reigning Nawab, so mis-managed the affairs and his dues to the Company were so much in arrears that the 'Nawab of Arcot's Debts', a debt of millions of pounds, "in favour" as Burke said, "of a set of men whose names with few exceptions are either buried in the obscurity of their origin and their talents or dragged into light by the enormity of their crimes," became a great scandal. The Nawab and his officials had no control over the rapacity of the Company's servants. "The dual control had thus debased the Nawab, ruined his people and so corrupted the settlement of Madras that the civil servants of Madras possessed the worst reputation of all the Company's servants." Wellesley who was eager to annex that province was waiting for a pretext for carrying out his object. At the capture of Seringapatam Wellesley found some letters revealing secret correspondence of the Nawab with Tippu. So when in 1801 the Nawab died Wellesley proceeded to annex the province of the Carnatic. On the refusal of Hussain the real claimant, to resign his title Wellesley offered to Azim-ud-Daula, a nephew of the late Nawab,  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the revenue for resigning his title. The Carnatic was thus annexed to the British provinces in 1801.

4. OUDH 1801 :—Wellesley then carried out the annexation of a part of the dominion of the Nawab

of Oudh, Rohilkhand, Ferukhabad and some other districts. The dominions of the Nawab of Oudh were threatened by the Afghan Chief Zeman Shah. The Nawab with his ill-disciplined levies was sure to be worsted in his struggle against the fierce Pathan Chief and his followers. The English frontier on the North-west would thereby be exposed to danger. So Wellesley wanted to establish, on that frontier, a state directly under the British control and guarded by the British troops. Moreover, the internal administration of Oudh was very bad. The people were much oppressed the state being little benefited. To put down all these ills Wellesley wanted to annex the kingdom. So he asked the Nawab to disband the Native levies and to receive a larger subsidiary force. The Nawab gave out that the demands of Wellesley were nothing short of asking him to abdicate. Wellesley then asked him to abdicate but he agreed to do so only on the condition that his son was made his successor. Thereupon Wellesley demanded from him an enormous sum as subsidy. And in spite of his appeals the Nawab was forced to accept the terms and to maintain a subsidiary force. However, Wellesley who had no scruples as to the means he adopted to realise his end in view could rest content only with the annexation of Oudh. So though the Nawab regularly paid the promised subsidy he was made to cede to the Company, for the maintenance of the subsidiary force, Rohilkhand and the Northern districts between the Jumna and the Ganges (the Doab) and Gorakhpur, by the Treaty of Lucknow in 1801. The Nawab of Ferukhabad

an ally of the Vizier of Oudh was asked to surrender his kingdom and on his refusal it was annexed by the British.

The conduct of Wellesley on these occasions is highly questionable. It was high-handed and arbitrary, especially in the case of Surat, Oudh and Ferukhabad. Wellesley cared little for the feelings of the Indian Princes. His only aim was to annex by means, fair or foul, as much of the Native territories as possible to the British Dominions. In the realisation of his aim he had no scruples to use coercive measures whenever necessary. As Sir Alfred Lyall says, "He subordinated the feelings and interests of his ally to paramount considerations of British policy in a manner that showed very little patience, forbearance, or generosity. His preponderating motive was to bring Oudh completely under British influence and control, to accomplish a valuable and productive extension of British territory and to quarter British troops on the revenues of Oudh".

### **III. Subsidiary Treaties:-**

While he annexed some of the Native States for misrule, Wellesley established the suzerainty of the British over many of the Native states by asking them to accept his system of Subsidiary Alliance. Such states were Hyderabad, Mysore and the Dominions of the Marathas. But this attempt of Wellesley was not, however, accomplished without much fighting.

**(a) Wellesley and the Nizam:-**

The Nizam of Hyderabad who was extremely angry with the English for having been deserted by Sir John Shore made himself an ally of the French. The French troops stationed at the court of the Nizam continued to increase in number and the ascendancy of the French in the Nizam's court struck terror in the mind of Wellesley. Moreover, the Nizam and the French were in correspondence with Tippu whose actions were directed towards driving the English out of India. So by way of a first step towards the reduction of Tippu's power the English had to put down the power of the Nizam. Therefore Wellesley opened negotiations with the Nizam. The Nizam accepted the conditions imposed by the Subsidiary System at the Treaty of Hyderabad in 1799 and yielded to the English his acquisitions from Tippu.

**(b) Wellesley and Tippu:- The Fourth Mysore War 1799:-**

I. CAUSES — Having disarmed the Nizam, Wellesley then prepared to cripple for ever the power of his rival Tippu Sultan, The 'Tiger of Mysore'. Tippu was in league with the French. He had held correspondence with Napoleon Buonaparte who had cherished the desire of driving the English out of India. The French peril as a result of Tippu's alliance with them became very threatening when the Governor of Mauritius issued a proclamation to the effect that Tippu and the French were in alliance to drive the English out of India. Moreover, Tippu had concluded an alliance



with Zeman Shah who had invaded the Punjab. Thus the increased power of Tippu and his earnest desire to attack the English made Wellesley declare war upon Tippu.

2. EVENTS:— Three English battalions led by Harris, Stewart and Arthur Wellesley were ordered to advance against Tippu. The Madras regiment led by Harris marched upon Seringapatam from the East, while the capital was threatened from the west by the advance of English forces under the leadership of the Bombay Governor Stewart. Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, advanced at the head of the main army consisting of also the Nizam's forces. At *Malavalli* Tippu was thoroughly defeated by Harris. Thereupon Tippu retired to his fort at Seringapatam and turned to bay. He took a strong resolve to fight to the last. In the course of the battle he was slain and the siege of Seringapatam thus resulted in placing Mysore in the hands of the English.

3. ARRANGEMENT OF THE CONQUERED PROVINCES:— On the termination of the war Wellesley proceeded to make for the government of the conquered provinces an arrangement which could be made permanent. He carried out a sort of partition of Mysore. He annexed to the British, Canara, Coimbatore and some districts east of Seringapatam. From the Coromandal Coast to the Carnatic the British had thus possessions. Mysore was thus surrounded by British frontiers except in the north.

A part of the dominions of Tippu styled Mysore proper was placed under a Hindu Raja belonging to the Udayar dynasty. The new ruler accepted the Subsidiary system. A British Resident was placed at its capital and the Raja agreed to treat with no other power without the consent of the English. The Nizam who gave help to the English in the war was rewarded with some territories.

Wellesley's policy towards Mysore which resulted in the ultimate conquest of the kingdom drew upon him the appreciation of the Court of Directors. He was honoured as the man who had established, "on a basis of permanent security, the tranquillity and prosperity of British Empire in India." Thanks were voted to him in the House of Commons and the Crown honoured him by conferring upon him the title of Marquis.

#### (c) Wellesley and the Marathas:-

The last achievement of Wellesley was the subjugation of the Marathas. But this achievement tested all his capacities as a statesman and taxed all his resources.

## **Section (II) Wellesley and Marathas.**

### **I. The Second Maratha War 1803.**

#### (a) Events leading to the war:-

1. **WELLESLEY'S DESIRE FOR ALLIANCE WITH THE MARATHAS:**—Restless by nature, the Marathas used the advantage presented by their geographical position to constantly harass the territories of

the Nizam and others. They troubled the Native Princes by the collection of 'Chauth' and 'Sardas-muki'. The allies of the English were thus constantly troubled. Moreover, the influence of the French at the court of the Peshwa was gradually rising. All these convinced Wellesley that he should make an alliance with the Marathas. "His general idea was to treat the Peshwa and each of the great Maratha chieftains as separate and independent powers, that is, to break up the confederacy and to place himself at the head of it". "To fix the peace of India in foundations of utmost stability, and to preclude the invasions of the French, it was necessary only that the British Government should draw the Maratha power under its protection." So Wellesley was eagerly waiting for an opportunity to carry out his aim.

## 2. DISUNION AMONG THE MARATHA LEADERS:—

The disunion of the Maratha chieftains very soon presented the opportunity desired by Wellesley. The Maratha territories were apportioned among several chieftains who made themselves each an independent ruler on the break up of the power of the Peshwa, the head of the Maratha Confederacy. The Peshwa whose power was reduced to a very low ebb held sway over Poona and some other districts surrounding it. Katiawar and Guzaret fell to the lot of the Gaikwar. Holkar made himself supreme over the south-western part of Malwa while, Sindia held mastery over the north-western Malwa, the territory west of the Jumna, the Upper Ganges and the Jumna Doab. Bhonsle was the

ruler of the territories extending from Nagpur to Cuttack now called the Central Provinces and Berar. The various Maratha chieftains always fought with one another. Sindia, Holkar and Bhonsle, the most powerful of the chieftains, had a family feud.

3. THE BATTLE OF POONA (1802):— The forces of disruption were, for a time, kept in check by the able statesman Nana Farnavis. But his death in 1800 let loose the eager chiefs who began to fight with one another. The Peshwa Baji Rao II had quarrelled with Jaswant Rao Holkar. When the latter attacked him he made an alliance with Holkar's hereditary enemy Doulat Rao Sindia. The combined forces met Holkar at Poona in 1802. But Holkar proved more than a match for the allies and Sindia was defeated. The Peshwa fled and took refuge in the English possession of Bassein.

4. THE TREATY OF BASSEIN 1802:— The Peshwa now concluded with the English the famous Treaty of Bassein of 1802. By the treaty he entered into a subsidiary alliance with the English. He agreed to receive a British contingent at Poona and assigned a revenue of 26 lakhs of rupees for its maintenance. He consented to receive a British resident and to submit all the disputes between him and the Nizam to the Company and not to negotiate with any power other than the English. The English restored him to his position at Poona.

5. IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY OF BASSEIN OF 1802:— The importance of the Treaty of Bas-

sein of 1802 in the History of India can hardly be over-emphasized. It marks, as it were, a turning point in Indian history. The greatest of the Indian powers, the Marathas, came to be under the suzerainty of the English. The British were made the paramount power in India. The head of the Maratha Confederacy, the Peshwa, had become by this treaty a feudatory of the Company. In the words of Sidney Owen "Previous to this treaty there existed a British Empire in India. The treaty by its operations direct and indirect gave the Company the Empire of India." The provisions regarding the relations of the Marathas with the Nizam strengthened the control of the Company over the Nizam. The power of the Maratha Confederacy was struck at its root and Wellesley's policy reached its culmination. Moreover, though the treaty led to war with the other Maratha chieftains it enabled the English to carry on the war with greater advantages and better chances of success. The war would otherwise have been more devastating than it actually was.

However, it was not possible for even Baji Rao to fulfil all the obligations laid upon him by the treaty. He was sure to try to recover his lost power with the help of the other chieftains sooner or later. Nor were the other Maratha Chieftains far from being ready to set at nought the engagement entered into by the Peshwa. Sindia, the most powerful of the Maratha Princes, was greatly incensed at the action of the Peshwa since his own plans of getting mastery over the Peshwa were

thwarted by the British. Moreover, he also perceived that his own turn would come very soon. In the words of Grant Duff, 'he saw his own independence might be soon affected by the support which the Peshwa derived from a foreign nation whose power by a novel system of encroachment threatened the subversion of the Marathas as effectively as their establishment of 'Chauth' and 'Sardasmuki' had overwhelmed the Empire of the Moghuls.' Bhonsle and Holkar also were of the same sentiment.

6. THE OUT-BREAK OF THE WAR: - The Treaty of Bassein thus alarmed the Maratha leaders. For a time they forgot their internal feuds and combined to make a united effort to gain their freedom lost by the folly of the Peshwa. Sindia joined with Bhonsle with a strong determination to fight with the English. Holkar suspended his operations against Sindia. Even the Peshwa broke his alliance with the English. The Marathas made an alliance with the French who were ready to help them since the war with Napoleon had been resumed in 1802. The Second Maratha War thus broke out. But even at this critical stage the weakness of the Maratha leaders was visible. Had all the chieftains united together perhaps the English would have been defeated. But Gaikwar and Holkar stood aloof. It was this fatal disunion of the Marathas that led to the success of the English.

**(b) Course of the War (1803) :-**

Arthur Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, at the head of some English battalions

began operations in the North while in the South the campaigns were conducted by General Lake.

1. CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH:— Within four days of the declaration of war Wellesley captured the fortress of Ahmadnagar and met the combined armies of Sindia and Bhonsle at the famous *field of Assaye in 1803*. The enemy's force was far superior in numbers but with the skill of his infantry and gunners Wellesley inflicted a severe loss upon the enemy. "In this battle, the most daring and brilliant ever fought against the Marathas, Wellesley lost  $\frac{1}{3}$  of his forces in killed and wounded." Bhonsle's troops were thoroughly defeated near the village of *Argaon* and the stronghold of *Gawilgarh* was captured in November 29th.

2. CAMPAIGNS IN THE NORTH:— Meanwhile, General Lake was capturing many places in the Hindustan. He defeated Sindia's troops commanded by the French Perron and captured the fort of Aligarh. Delhi and Agra were then captured. Next came the *crowning victory of Laswari*. The invincible battalions of Sindia led by the famous French commander, De-Boigne, were with great difficulty and loss over-powered. Lake himself wrote, 'the fellows fought like devils or rather heroes. Pray God I may never be in such a situation again.' Broach and Calcutta were occupied. And with the *Capture of Gawilgahr*, on 29th November the campaigns came to a close. Bhonsle and Sindia signed the Treaties of Deogaon and Surji Arjungaon.

## (c) Results of the Maratha War:-

1. THE TREATY OF DEOGAON, NOVEMBER 1803:— By the Treaty of Deogaon Bhonsle accepted all the terms of the Subsidiary System except that of a resident force which the Peshwa had accepted for himself. He was to receive a British Resident and to submit all his disputes to the English. He renounced his claims to collect Chauth over the territories of the Nizam and agreed not to treat with any other power. The Company was given Cuttack, and the Nizam all the land west of the Warda River.

2. THE TREATY OF SURJI ARJUNGAON, DECEMBER 1803:— A month later Sindia signed the treaty known as the Treaty of Surji Arjungaon. He granted to the English all the region between the Jumna and the Ganges and all those north of the Rajput states of Jaipur, Jodpur and Gohad. He renounced his claims upon the Emperor and the Nizam. Ahmadnagar was handed over to the Peshwa. He agreed not to harbour any Frenchman at his court. He accepted a British Resident and agreed to submit all disputes to the Company. Soon Sindia was brought more completely within the alliance by a supplementary article by which he agreed to receive a British contingent on the frontier of his territories.

The War thus realised the aim of Wellesley by making the English the paramount power in India. The power of the greatest of the Maratha chiefs was shattered. The Emperor Shah Alam



was taken out of the control of the Marathas. The Presidencies of Bengal and Madras were linked together by the acquisition of Cuttack and Balasore. All the Eastern sea-board passed under English control. The alliance with the Gaikwar proved permanent. The cession of the districts near Jaipur and Jodhpur on the banks of the Jamna by Sindia served as the North-western frontier of the Company along with the territories annexed from the Nawab of Oudh. Thus the War had the effect of making the British the paramount power in India. However, there yet remained one Maratha chieftain who had not been subdued, and that was Holkar. He now took up arms and Wellesley was once again forced to engage in a war.

## **II. War with Holkar—(1804-1805.)**

### **(a) Causes:—**

Holkar now claimed 'Chauth' over some of the districts held by Sindia, now the ally of the English. Moreover, he was raging with fury at the humiliation of his brother Marathas by the English. He now hurried up the chiefs of Malwa, the Rajputs and the Sikhs to join in troops in order to put down the influence of the English. And he was, in addition, wise enough to perceive that the best policy for him in an engagement with the English was to adopt the famous Guerilla warfare of his ancestors.

### **Course :—**

(I) **THE CAPTURE OF RAMPUR:—**General Lake and General Monson who were sent against Holkar

were forced to follow the movements of the enemy's troops. The stronghold of Rampur was captured by Lake.

(2) RETREAT OF GENERAL MONSON:— But General Monson had to follow the retreating force of Holkar. The Maratha leader succeeded, by clever tactics, in drawing Monson and his army into the heart of the enemy's country. Monson was also foolish enough not to take along with him the necessary provisions. His own defects, the nature of the country and the constant raids of the Marathas inflicted severe loss upon the British, while retreating from the enemy's country. The Retreat of General Monson which was extremely disastrous to the English cause and prestige remained fresh in the minds of all Englishmen for a long time. Lake himself expressed the full extent of the disaster in the following words, "I have lost five battalions and six companies, the flower the army, and how they are to be replaced at this day God only knows." Arther Wellesley summed up the situation by re-joining "to my mind the detachment must have been lost even if Holkar had not attacked them with his infantry and artillery."

(3) THE BATTLE OF DIG, 1804 :— But Holkar's success was only short-lived. He was soon defeated by the English at the battle of Dig in 1804.

(4) THE SIEGE OF BHURTPORE, 1805:—However, the war was after all disastrous to the English, since General Lake failed very miserably before the walls of the impregnable fortress of Bhurtpore. The

fortress defended by a strong garrison under the lead of a Hindu Raja was, after a siege of three months, left without being captured. It acquired the reputation of being impregnable. The Raja, however, agreed to renounce his alliance with Holkar for an alliance with the English, and paid 20 lakhs of rupees by way of indemnity.

(c) Results :—

The War with Holkar thus resulted in the diminution in the finance of the Company. Its immediate effect was the alarm of the Court of Directors at the 'forward policy' of Wellesley, which led to his recall in 1805.

### **Section III:- The Recall of Wellesley.**

#### **I. The Recall of Wellesley (reasons):-**

The Court of Directors had already viewed with feelings of mingled appreciation and fear the 'forward policy' of Wellesley. The Governor-General's militant policy was quite against their principles and plunged the company into many wars which increased the company's debts from 17 to 31 millions. Moreover, the Directors themselves did not support him as they had done before. Pitt expressed his opinion that "the Governor-General acted most imprudently and illegally and that he could not be suffered to remain in the Government." Again Wellesley had not intimated to the Court of Directors or to the Ministry his declaration of war with Holkar. The Directors came

to know of that war only sometime after its actual out-break. So when the disastrous retreat of General Monson reached their ears they took hold of the reverses to recall Wellesley from India. Lord Cornwallis was appointed to supersede Wellesley and on his arrival in July 1805, Wellesley embarked for England.

## **II. Estimate of Wellesley:- (His achievements in India.)**

Lord Wellesley is entitled to fame as the greatest of the Builders of the British Empire in India. It was he who erected a mighty edifice over the foundations laid by Clive and Warren Hastings. The process was taken up by his successors, Lord Hastings and Lord Dalhousie, under whom it attained its consummation.

Throughout his Governor-Generalship Wellesley was actuated by one single aim, namely, making the British the paramount power in India by putting an end to the dreams of the French to found an Empire in India. He found that the policy laid down by Pitt's India Act was quite unsuited to the realisation of his object and had the courage to adopt a vigorous war policy which secured for his country an Empire in India.

His policy, in the first place, had resulted in the establishment of the political and military superiority of the English all over India. Almost all the States of India had been forced to submit to his Subsidiary System. Politically, they were made

dependent upon the British, for they could not treat with any foreign power, nay, even another State without the permission of the British. Moreover, the ancient ill-disciplined levies were disbanded and in each State was stationed a subsidiary force consisting of English soldiers but maintained out of the revenue of the Native State. This arrangement considerably increased the number of the English troops stationed in India and thereby the military strength of the British.

In the second place, the political map of India was rearranged by the acquisitions of Wellesley so as to encompass the territories of the Native States within their fold. The Maratha possessions were prevented from being connected by interposing British territories or territories under British Suzerainty between them. The English possessions in the South were linked up with their central dominion in Bengal. The British territory was extended northward from Bengal by their occupation of the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi and the annexation of the country between the Ganges and the Jumna. The acquisition of the Cuttack province linked the two presidencies of Bengal and Madras. Thus "the British dominions were prolonged in a broad unbroken belt from the Himalayas to the Bay of Bengal." "This work of consolidation and connection was pushed still further by Lord Hastings, 12 years later, and reached its consummation under Lord Dalhousie; but Lord Wellesley's settlement laid out the territorial distribution of all India (excepting the Punjab and

Sindh) on the general plan which was followed for the next forty years, and which survives in its main outline to this day,"

The third achievement of Lord Wellesley was that he "relegated Shah Alam, the Moghul Emperor, to the position of a State prisoner with royal rank and an ample income assured to him." This achievement secured for him control over the formal Emperor of India whose prerogative, however, he never used as a pretext for asserting English claims over Native States. Wellesley's possession of "the person and family of the Moghul Emperor" inaugurated a significant change of policy. For the imperial sign manual had been for about forty years at the disposal of any adventurer or usurper. The trading companies both English and French had been careful to obtain title-deeds from the Great Moghul. Napoleon had corresponded with the Emperor of Delhi. The Marathas had controlled in some measure the policy of the Emperor. The control over the Emperor which Wellesley now gained was thus not only of direct advantage to the British but also indirectly acted as a set-back to the French power.

Fourthly, the substantial formation of the three Indian Presidencies, Madras, Bombay and Bengal can be dated at this period. The policy of Wellesley had resulted in great augmentation of the British territories. The Madras Presidency which till this time had consisted of a few districts on the coast now embraced a part of Mysore, the kingdom of Tanjore and the territories ceded by the

Nizam. The territorial gains of Wellesley as a result of the Maratha Wars and the acquisition of valuable districts in Guzarat extended the possessions of the British on the West Coast and formed the Bombay Presidency. The frontiers of Bengal were extended towards the west to the Punjab and Calcutta was made the centre of the British administration in India. The boundaries of the three modern presidencies are not far different from those in Wellesley's time.

Again, the Governor-Generalship of Wellesley "constitutes the most important and critical stage in the building up of the British Dominion in India on the foundations that had been laid by Clive and Warren Hastings." The Political horizon was, at the time of his accession, very clouded and unsettled. On the one hand, a policy of non-intervention had been prescribed by the Parliament at Home. But the power of the British in India was threatened from all sides. In the North-west their territories were far from being safe. The Marathas in the West wanted to establish a Hindu Empire at the expense of the English, while, in the South, Tippu of Mysore was burning with vengeance against the English. The policy laid down by the Court of Directors was quite unsuited to the existing circumstances and Wellesley had the foresight to perceive it and the courage to depart from it. "He thus crushed in a single brief campaign the Sultan of Mysore; disarmed and disbanded the formidable *corps-de-armee* of 14000 sepoys under

French officers, that was maintained by the Nizam ; he took possession of the Carnatic, annexed half the dominions of the Vizier of Oudh, forced all the chief military states into subjection or subsidiary alliance, and by completely breaking down the power of the Maratha Confederacy he removed the last important obstacle to the accomplishment of the undisputed supremacy of the British."

In brief, Wellesley had secured his avowed object, namely, the "enforcement of peace throughout India and providing for the permanent security of the British possessions in India by imposing upon every native state the authoritative superiority of the British Government, binding them down forcibly or through friendly engagements to subordinate relations with a paramount power and effectively forestalling any future attempts to challenge British exercise of arbitration or control." Wellesley himself states in his long Despatch of July 1804 to the Court of Directors, "a general bond of connection is now established between the British Government and the principal states of India, on principles which render it the interest of every state to maintain its alliance with the British Government, which preclude the inordinate aggrandizement of any one of those states by an usurpation of the rights and possessions of others, and which secure to every State the unmolested exercise of its separate authority within the limits of its established dominion under the general protection of the British power."

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## CHAPTER IX.

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### **The Consolidation of the British Empire in India.**

FEATURES:—The period from 1806–1814 can be styled the 'Period of Consolidation of the British Empire in India.' The possessions of the British in India had now been safe-guarded from any danger from the sea. The designs of the French had been completely overthrown. The Native States had been either made the allies of the British or had agreed to the Subsidiary Alliance of Wellesley. So the only quarters from which any danger might be apprehended were the passes in the North-west and the North-east. Therefore, the British had now time to devote their attention to the administration of the acquired territories. The period is therefore chiefly marked by the consolidation of the administration of the internal affairs of the provinces. Land tenures were investigated. The police system was instituted. Attempts were made to check ravages by brigands. Provision was made for the administration of proper justice. In fact, "the roots of organised Government were planted at this season of comparative tranquillity." "The first five years of the XIX century were occupied with continuous wars, with great territorial changes, with the removal of land-marks and

the re-arrangement of rulerships. But from that time forward the country under British jurisdiction has experienced immunity from foreign invasion or even serious violation of its frontier and has enjoyed complete political tranquillity."

This period might also be called 'the Stationary Period' or 'Period of Reaction,' for the Governors-General of this period pursued a policy quite at variance with that of Wellesley. They were strictly ordered by the Court of Directors to abandon the 'forward policy' of Wellesley and to follow a policy of complete non-intervention.

However, the period marks the beginnings of the relations of British India with the frontier states. The increasing power of Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore and the operations of Zeman Shah, the Afghan chief, in the North-western frontier of India as well as the secret negotiations of Napoleon Buonaparte with the Shah of Persia for invading India by land made necessary the Governor-General's departure from the policy of 'utter inaction.' The XIX century thus witnessed the beginnings of "a series of diplomatic relations with the Asiatic states in the North-west of India for maintaining the Balance of Power between the English in India and the foreign states."

### **Section (I) Lord Cornwallis. (Second Governor-Generalship 1805)**

Cornwallis who was now sent out to India as Governor-General was given strict orders to follow a policy of non-intervention. His views

were quite opposed to those of Wellesley. He viewed with dissatisfaction the subsidiary treaties of Wellesley. For, according to him, the system forced upon the British unnecessary responsibilities in their binding themselves to protect the weak Native states. Instead, he thought that the smaller states should be absorbed within greater ones whose sovereigns should be made the allies of the English. So he set to work to reverse the policy of his predecessor. He abandoned Gwalior to Sindia and renounced the claims of the British to protect the Rajput states. He had not recognised that his policy was bound to fail when each of the Native Princes was aiming at subjugating his neighbours. On his death in October, he was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Council under Wellesley.

## **Section (II)**

### **Sir George Barlow (1805-1807.)**

Barlow at once began to put into practice the non-intervention policy laid down by the Court of Directors.

#### **His Policy of Non-intervention.**

##### **(a) Treaties with Sindia and Holkar :-**

The Subsidiary treaty with Sindia was abandoned for one of equal alliance. Gohad and Gwalior were restored to him as also the Chambal which formed the Northern boundray. Sindia was allowed to harrass the Rajput states of Udaipur,

Jodhpur etc. as he pleased. Though General Lake was successful against Holkar who was forced to take refuge in the Punjab, Barlow restored him to his position and gave him all his territories. The British also agreed not to prevent his designs on the Rajput frontier.

**(b) Withdrawal of protection from Native States:-**

The Governor-General also withdrew the protection that Wellesley had promised to the Rajput states of Northern and Central India against the Marathas. Tonk and Rampur, two Rajput states on the north of the Chambal river, were given to Holkar. The withdrawal of British protection from the Rajput states of Central India led to fatal consequences. The usual internecine wars broke out among the Rajput chiefs, which was taken advantage of by their enemies, the Marathas and the Pathans. Rajputana was devastated; but Barlow was determined to follow the 'policy of unconcern within the ring fence.' The Rajputs were thus left to their fate. "Central India thus became a play-ground for the forces of intrigue and disorder in which the Marathas, the Pathans and the Pindarees tried to excel each other."

However, even Barlow made a slight departure from the cherished policy of 'masterly inactivity' in his relations with the Nizam and the Peshwa. This he made in spite of the Court of Directors who ordered him to modify the treaties with the Nizam and the Peshwa, by contending that the treaties were necessary for the maintenance of

British supremacy in India. The Resident placed in the Nizam's dominions was empowered to directly interfere in the internal administration of the State. The Nizam was also forced to take back his minister Mir Alam who was friendly to the British. As for the Peshwa, Barlow refused to modify the Treaty of Bassein of 1802 and to restore him to his former position as the head of the Maratha Confederacy.

The policy of Barlow resulted in making the Marathas once more powerful. The Native States lost faith in the British. Wellesley's work was undone.

## **II. The Vellore Mutiny (1806.)**

One other event during Barlow's term of office deserves to be noticed and that is the Sepoy Mutiny at Vellore in 1806. The stupid orders of Sir John Craddock, the commander-in-chief, which required the Sepoys to wear a novel pattern of turban resembling a hat, to trim the beards in a particular way and to abstain from wearing caste-marks raised in their minds a suspicion that the English were gradually attempting their conversion to Christianity. As a result, a rebellion broke out at Vellore in 1806 and some of the English officers were slain. But before it could develop Colonel Gillespie marched at the head of an army and easily suppressed the mutiny.

## **Section (III). LORD MINTO (1807-1813.)**

Sir George Barlow was succeeded by Lord Minto who possessed considerable Parliamentary

experience. Minto had taken part in the impeachment of Warren Hastings. His knowledge of Indian affairs was great. He was regarded by all as a man of consummate abilities and statesmanship.

### **I. HIS POLICY:- (Gradual departure from the policy of non-intervention.)**

He came out to India as Governor-General at a time when the guiding policy of the Company was non-intervention. But it was not possible for a man of his nature to remain satisfied with the neutral policy of Wellesley. So he departed from the policy of non-intervention.

As Malcolm observes, "It was impossible for a man possessed of such intellect, and so well acquainted with the whole science of government, to be long in India without being satisfied that the system of neutral policy which had been adopted could not be persevered in without the hazard of great and increasing danger to the state. His calm mind saw, at the same time, the advantages of reconciling the authorities in England to the measures which he contemplated.

Hence, he preferred delay, where he thought that it was unaccompanied with danger, and referred to the administration at Home, when he urged, by every argument he could use, to sanction the course he deemed best suited to the public interests. But the desire to conciliate and carry his superiors along with him, did not result from any dread of responsibility; for wherever the exigency of the case required a departure from this

general rule, he was prompt and decided..... The Government of Lord Minto had no result more important than the impression it conveyed to the authorities at home, of the utter impracticability of perseverance in the neutral policy that they had desired to pursue. It was a progressive return to a course of action more suited to the extent, the character and the condition of the British power ; but when compelled to depart from the line prescribed, the measures adopted by the nobleman were so moderate, and the sentiments he recorded were so just, that it was impossible to refuse assent to their expediency and wisdom. A gradual change was thus effected in the minds of his superiors in England, and this change tended in no slight degree to facilitate the attainment of the advantages which have accrued from the more active and brilliant administration of his successors. The marked feature in this nobleman's character was moderation ; but that was combined with firmness and capacity."

' Within India Minto could not abstain from interference with the Native States. Outside India he took every step to thwart French ambitions.

**(a) In India:-**

(1) TRAVANCORE :— Travancore, a subsidiary state of the British, was misruled. The minister Veluthambi was incapable and hostile to the English. He also set up in revolt the Nayars by touching their religious susceptibilities. The revolt however was put down. The subsidy due to the British Government had fallen into arrears. So the Resident stationed at Travancore demanded the

dismissal of the minister who was chiefly responsible for the misrule. The Rajah and his partisans refused to comply. Thereupon British troops marched into the State and order was restored.

(2) BUNDLEKHAND:— Bundlekhand had come into the possession of the company in exchange for some of the territories granted by the Peshwa to the British at the Treaty of Bassein. Its ruler, helped by certain turbulent chieftains, refused to accept the suzerainty of the English. A campaign undertaken resulted in the capture of the chief strongholds, the submission of several unruly chieftains and the settlement of the country.

(3) BERAR:— The British Government was under no obligation to the Raja of Berar. However, Minto interfered in its affairs because it was situated in the neighbourhood of the dominions of the Nizam. There was anarchy in the kingdom due to the ravages of the Pindarees led by their Pathan chief, Amir Khan. A British force sent by Minto repulsed Amir Khan's army and the trouble was ended.

(4) THE CIS-SUTLEJ STATES:— At this time in the Punjab a Hindu Revival took place in the shape of Sikhism founded by Nanak Shah. The Sikhs, the disciples of Nanak, were formed into a political organisation by the energies of the great Guru Govind Singh. The Sikhs who were noted for their warlike qualities were, at this time, led by their famous leader, Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh now tried to gain control of all the Sikh principalities known as the Cis-Sutlej States, between the



Sutlej and the Jumna. Minto declared that these states were under the protection of the English, and when war was about to break out succeeded by his diplomacy, in inducing Ranjit Singh to come to terms. So a treaty was concluded at Amritsar in 1809. By this treaty Ranjit Singh acknowledged the states east of the Sutlej to be under British protection. The British frontier was thus advanced to the Sutlej. A British garrison was stationed at Ludiana.

Thus within India Minto was forced to adopt a policy of intervention quite against the orders laid down by the Directors. He pursued a more active policy with regard to the states outside India.

#### **(b) Outside India:-**

“Minto's foreign policy outside the British protectorate was influenced by the war between the English and Napoleon.” Napoleon had made an alliance with the ruler of Russia and of Persia for marching into India by land. So in order to counteract the movement of Napoleon Minto sent embassies and treaties of alliance to the neighbouring states and also attacked the French and the Dutch possessions in the East.

#### **(a) Embassies and treaties of alliance :-**

(1) THE PUNJAB :—To prevent a French invasion of India by land an offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with Ranjit Singh by Metcalfe who was sent by Minto.

(2) PERSIA :—Two envoys were sent to treat with the Shah of Persia, Malcolm from India and Jones from the Home Government. The Crown envoy succeeded in concluding a treaty with the Shah by which he agreed to dismiss the French ambassador and to resist the passage of the French army through his country. In return, the English agreed to help him with men and money if his country were attacked by Europeans.

(3) AFGHANISTAN :—Afghanistan was ruled by the famous Shah Shuja. Elphinstone who was sent to treat with him met him at Peshawar and was able to make him promise to resist the advance of the French army through his country.

(4) SINDH :—The Amir of Sindh also concluded with the English a treaty promising to exclude the French from his territory.

(b) Offensive operations against the French and the Dutch :—

Not contented with these diplomatic defensive measures Minto made use of offensive operations. He sent armies against the French and the Dutch in the East. When Portugal passed under French control Goa was seized and Macoa, a Portuguese possession in China, was also taken by the Company, which very nearly plunged it into a war with China. The Isles of Bourbon and Mauritius were captured. Amboyna and the Spice Islands were also captured from the Dutch.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S EXPEDITION TO JAVA:—Next came the Governor-General's expedition to Java. A formidable fleet under Sir Samuell Auchmuti, also including Minto sailed to Batavia, the capital of Java. Colonel Gillespie also led some of the English forces. The combined armies of the French and the Dutch were led by General Janson. The English succeeded in forcing the Dutch and the French to capitulate after storming fort Cornelis near Batavia. The possessions were annexed by the British and Minto proceeded to organise the civil administration of the territory in spite of the orders of the Directors to level the city to the ground. Java was however handed over to the Dutch in 1816. These achievements of Minto added to his military glory and he was made an earl.

Thus "The most brilliant chapter in Lord Minto's Indian Government is that of his foreign policy. Every fresh gain of France in Europe was followed by a corresponding loss in Asia. It was the glory of Lord Minto's administration that, whereas, at its commencement, dread of a French invasion of India haunted the imagination of statesmen, at its close, France had lost all her acquisition eastward of the Cape. The isles of Bourbon and of France, the Moluccas and Java, had been added to the colonial possessions of Great Britian, the fleets of France were swept from the Indian seas, and England was without a rival in the Eastern Hemisphere."

## 1 . **Charter Act of 1813.**

(a) :—

The Company's Charter was to expire on April, 1814. Since 1808 the question of the withdrawal of the Charter had been in the forefront. Even from very early times the manufacturing towns had been fighting for trading privileges with the East. There were now two important questions which engaged the attention of Englishmen. The first was whether the trade of India should be thrown open to all Englishmen and the second, whether the territorial possessions of the Company should be transferred to the Crown. British statutes, however, were not for allowing free immigration to India, for they feared that it would result in the establishment of an English colony in India like the American colonies. As for the other question, the Directors fought hard to retain their privileges and a Charter Act was passed in 1813.

(b) **Provisions** :— The Company's Charter was extended for further 20 years from April, 1814. However trade with India was thrown open to all Englishmen subject to certain conditions. The Company was given monopoly of trade with China. A sum of £ 10000 was set apart for the improvement of Education, Literature and Science. The Government recognised it as their duty to ameliorate the moral and the intellectual condition of the people of India.

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## **APPENDIX (A).**

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### **(i) Governors-General (1774-1813).**

- (1) Warren Hastings (1774—1785).
- (2) Lord Cornwallis (1786—1793).
- (3) Sir John Shore (1793—1798).
- (4) Lord Wellesley (1798—1805).
- (5) Lord Cornwallis (Second Governor-Generalship) 1805.
- (6) Sir George Barlow (1805—1807).
- (7) Lord Minto (1807—1813).

### **(ii) Important Wars.**

- I. First Mysore War 1766—1769.
- II. Second Mysore War 1780—1784.
  1. Battle of Pollilore 1780.
  2. Battle of Porto Novo 1781.
  3. Death of Hyder 1782.
  4. Siege of Cuddalore 1783.
  5. Treaty of Mangalore 1784.
- III. Third Mysore War 1790—1792.
  1. Capture of Bangalore 1791.
  2. Treaty of Srirangapatam 1792.
- IV. Fourth Mysore War 1799 (Fall of Srirangapatam).
- V. First Maratha War 1775—1782.
  1. Treaty of Surat 1775.
  2. Treaty of Purandhar 1776.
  3. Convention of Wargaon 1779.
  4. Capture of Ahmadabad, Bassein and Gwalior 1780.
  5. Treaty of Salbai 1782.

## VI. Second Maratha War 1803.

1. Battle of Assaye-
2. Capture of Delhi and Agra,
3. Battle of Laswari.
4. Treaty of Deogaon (November).
5. Treaty of Surji Arjungaon (December)

## VII. War with Holkar 1804—1805.

1. Retreat of General Monson 1804.
2. Battle of Dig 1805.
3. Siege of Bhurtpore 1805.

**(iii) Important Events.**

1. Battle of Plassey 1757.
2. Battle of Buxar 1764.
3. Treaty of Allahabad 1765.
4. Death of Madhava Rao I. 1772.
5. The Regulating Act 1773.
6. The Amending Act 1781.
7. Fox's India Bill 1783.
8. Pitt's India Act 1784.
9. The Permanent Revenue Settlement of Bengal 1793.
10. Renewal of the Charter 1793.
11. Battle of Khurda 1795.
12. Death of Nana Farnavis 1800.
13. Annexation of the Carnatic and Tanjore 1801.
14. Treaty of Bassein 1802
15. The Vellore Mutiny 1806.
16. The Treaty of Amritsar 1809.
17. Minto's Expedition to Java 1811.
18. Renewal of the Charter 1813.

## **A P P E N D I X. (B).**

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### **Suggestive Questions.**

(1) Trace the events that led to the Battle of Plassey. Briefly describe the fight with the help of a plan. Estimate its importance in the History of India.. (pages 4—10)

(2) What led to the Battle of Buxar? Why is it important in the History of India? (p. 15—18)

(3) Write short notes on:— (1) Capture of Chinsura (2) Mir Jafar (3) Mir Kasim. (Chapter II)

(4) Give an account of the reforms of Clive under the following heads:— (1) Civil (2) Military (3) Revenue. (pages 18—21)

(5) What is your estimate of Clive's work in India? (pages 22—23)

(6) Write short Notes on:— (1) The Dual System (2) Clive's treatment at Home. (ch. III.)

(7) Describe the condition of Bengal from 1767—1772. (pages 24—25).

(8) Give an account of the First Mysore War. (page 28)

(9) Write short Notes on:—(1) The Famine of 1770 (2) Hyder Ali.

(10) Give an account of the Reforms of Warren Hastings. (pages 29—31)

(11) Describe briefly the Rohilla War. Discuss Hastings' share in it. (pages 32—35)

(12) What led to the passing of the Regulating Act? What were its provisions? What were its defects? (pages 35—39)

(13) Trace the events that led to the First Maratha War. Briefly describe the war. What results followed from it? (pages 42—47)

(14) Describe briefly the causes, course and results of the Second Mysore War. (pages 47—50)

(15) Give an account of the Financial Expedients of Hastings. (pages 50—53)

(16) Explain how Pitt's India Act remedied the defects of the Regulating Act. (pages 55—57)

(17) Estimate the achievements of Warren Hastings in India. (pages 59—61)

(18) Sketch briefly the career of Warren Hastings with a short note on his character. (p. 61-64B)

(19) Write short notes on :— (1) The Early career of Warren Hastings (2) Hostility of the new councillors to Hastings. (3) Nandkumar. (4) The Treaty of Purandhar, (5) The Treaty of Salbai, (6) The Treaty of Mangalore, (7) Chaith Singh, (8) Fox's India Bill. (chapter V)

(20) Describe the Third Mysore War giving out the causes, course and results. pages (67—70)

(21) What is meant by the Permanent Revenue Settlement? What led to the Permanent Revenue Settlement of Bengal? What were its merits and demerits? (pages 70—73)

(22) Write short notes on :—(1) The character of Cornwallis, (2) His policy towards the Native



Princes, (3) His reforms of the Judicature, (4) The Charter Act of 1793. (Chapter VI)

(23) What was the policy pursued by Sir John Shore towards the Native States? What were its results? (pages 76—78)

(24) Write short Notes on:— (1) The Battle of Kharda, (2) Bengal Mutiny. (chapter VII)

(25) What new policy towards the Native States was inaugurated by Lord Wellesley? What were its features? Briefly discuss it. (pages 81-85)

(26) Give an account of Wellesley's annexations. (pages 86—89)

(27) Describe the Fourth Mysore War. What arrangement did Wellesley make for the conquered territories? (pages 90—92)

(28) Explain the causes that led to the Second Maratha War. (pages 92—96)

(29) Give an account of the war with the results that followed.

(30) Describe Wellesley's relations with Holkar. What was its result?

(31) Estimate the achievements of Wellesley in India.

(32) Write short notes on:— (1) The Battle of Poona, (2) The Treaty of Bassein, (3) Treaty of Deogaon, (4) Baji Rao, (5) Nana Farnavis, (6) Daulat Rao Sindia, (7) The Recall of Wellesley, (8) Tippu.

(33) Explain the policy of Sir George Barlow and point out its results.

(34) How far did Lord Minto adhere to the Policy of Non-intervention.

(35) Write short Notes on:— (1) Nanak, (2) The Sikhs, (3) The Treaty of Amritsar, (4) Lord Minto's expedition to Java, (5) The Charter Act of 1813.

(36) Draw a map of India to illustrate the Four Mysore Wars. (Historical Atlas of India by Charles Joppen S. J. Map 25)

(37) Draw a map of India to illustrate the Second and the Third Maratha Wars. (India in the British Period by V. A. Smith. page 603)

(38) Draw a map of India and mark therein the possessions of the British in 1795. (Historical Atlas of India by Charles Joppen S. J. Map 27)

(39) Draw a map of India and mark therein the British Possessions in India in 1805 illustrating the states annexed by Wellesley as well as those that entered into his subsidiary treaties. (Historical Atlas of India by Charles Joppen S. J. Map 28).



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