



the Residency was finally and formally relieved on the 17th. The next ten days were occupied in the withdrawal of the whole force from that position to the Alam Bagh, where Outram was left with 4000 men. Havelock, his great comrade in arms, had passed away on November 24th, the end achieved for which he had fought so heroically.

In the interval, the Gwalior mutineer army dropped its rôle of being merely threatening, and became for the first time actively aggressive, under Tantia Topi, the ablest leader the mutineers produced. While Sir Colin was engaged in relieving Lucknow, Tantia Topi crossed the Jamna at Kalpi, was joined by Nana Sahib's forces, descended on Cawnpore, was met by Windham, whose troops he drove back step by step into their own lines, and on Nov. 28 was seriously threatening the position; when Sir Colin was able to dispatch the rescued non-combatants of the Lucknow Residency to Allahabad on their way to Calcutta; and then on the 6th attacked the rebel force, and drove them in rout with great slaughter, some across the Ganges, and others across the Jamna.

This virtually commenced the campaign of conquest. During the next three months, the armies gathered to crush the rebels in Oudh. From the east by way of Sultanpur came Franks with a column, followed by a Nepalese contingent led by Jang Bahadur; from the west, Sir Colin, with reinforcements from Agra; at the Alam Bagh lay Outram with his 4000 men. Both Franks and Outram had sharp fighting before the columns had formed their junction; but in the second week of March, the siege of the great mutineer army in Lucknow had begun; by the 17th the whole city was in the hands of the British, and the rebel forces were in full flight; but it was unfortunate that the cavalry missed their opportunity, and failed to cut off the retreat or rather the rout of the enemy, who were still able to re-assemble and take the field.

In the Indur district, Durand inflicted considerable punishment on the rebel forces, between October and December when Sir Hugh Rose took over the command. In January his force began its march—one column towards



Agra, the other with Sir Hugh himself, for Sagar and Jhansi. The left column cleared the country up to Gunah on the direct road; and then during March, moving eastwards, attacked and on the 17th captured the strongly held fort of Chandairi. The right column, advancing to Sagar, relieved it on Feb. 3, and after capturing the fort of Garrakota started for Jhansi on the 27th. By skilful manœuvring in difficult and hilly country and not without some sharp fighting, Sir Hugh reached Jhansi on March 21, where he was joined by the column from Chandairi, during the next four days.

Capture of Jhansi. Jhansi was a powerful fortress, with 10,000 men behind its ramparts. After commencing the siege, Sir Hugh learnt that Tantia Topi was on the march to raise the siege. Thereupon Rose, leaving the bulk of his force to carry on the operations, marched with 1500 men to meet Tantia Topi, routed him completely, and captured all his guns. Returning to Jhansi, he captured the city on the 3rd April, and on the night of the 4th the Rani evacuated the fort, escaping with her troops towards Kalpi. Thus, with Lucknow and Jhansi both captured by early April, the war—in familiar phrase—was “practically over.”

Recrudescence of the struggle in Oudh. This however did not mean that the fighting was finished. The Mussulmans had congregated in Rohilkhand; Tantia Topi, and the Jhansi fugitives joined forces south of the Jamna; and the Governor-General, acting on a misapprehension, issued a proclamation the intention of which was in turn misunderstood by the Oudh Talukdars; who now, believing that mere confiscation and ruin were to be their portion, took the field in person with their clansmen, with an energy which heretofore they had not displayed. The result was a prolonged and very trying period of active guerilla warfare, and some heavy fighting. It was not till the close of December, and after the younger Havelock (afterwards Sir Henry Havelock-Allen) had induced the authorities to employ mounted infantry, that the last embers of rebellion were crushed out on the north of the Ganges. On the south, the Jhansi Rani and Tantia Topi appeared before Gwalior in June; Sindhia, seeking to resist them, was deserted by his

Termination of the contest.



forces and had to fly to Agra; Gwalior was in the hands of the insurgents, and Nana Sabib was proclaimed Peshwa. Rose however was soon moving against the Rani and she was killed in the course of an action fought on June 17. From this time, the war dropped into a pursuit of Tantia Topi, who with dwindling forces was hunted month after month, till, left with only a few followers, he was finally betrayed and handed over to the British in April of the following year, to die for his complicity in the Cawnpore massacre.

And so guttered out the last sparks of the great conflagration.

So far this chapter has been occupied with a simple narrative of events. It is now time to examine some particular aspects of the revolt.

As to its constituents: in the earlier stage, those who took part in it were of these classes: The Hindostani sepoys of the Company's army; the Hindostani sepoys of the Native "contingents," as at Gwalior; the Mussulmans of the Ganges provinces; a few aggrieved Talukdars in Oudh, with their clansmen; among the Marathas, the Nana Sahib, the Jhansi Rani, and a few minor chiefs. Havelock's retirement to Cawnpore added to these the levies of the Oudh Talukdars generally; but these never showed fight till the last part of the war, when Canning's proclamation made the Talukdars actively instead of formally hostile. Then the Rajput clansmen became formidable foes. The Mussulmans of Afghanistan and the frontier, the Sikh, Ghurka, and Madras sepoys, almost without exception remained staunch. The Princes held aloof. They made declarations of loyalty, but would not be answerable for their troops.

Who took
part in
the revolt.

The active elements then are reduced to three—Mussulmans associated with the Mogul tradition; aggrieved chiefs and their retainers or sympathisers; Hindostani sepoys. Now these last consisted of a small proportion of Mussulmans, and a very large proportion of high-caste Hindus. It was the Hindostani sepoys that rose: but it was the Mogul party which forthwith attempted to turn the rising to political account; with them lay the immense advantage of possessing

Active
partici-
pants.



a figure-head. But their action served to check the rebellious element in the Hindu community. What might have happened if Sindhia had rallied the Marathas to his name, it is hard to say ; but even the Nana Sahib was not set up as representing a cause till June '58. It is quite clear therefore that there was no concerted attempt at a Hindu rising ; but it is almost equally clear that there was a definite Mussulman plot to foment a general Mutiny as a means to a Mogul restoration. That the plot would have come to anything without the cartridge incident is improbable enough ; but that incident provided a first-class lever to work with on the high-caste regiments of the Company's army ; more particularly in conjunction with the General Service Enlistment Act. Once the mutiny was on foot, its extension to the Gwalior Contingent, largely recruited from the same field, was natural. That the Mussulman party was prepared beforehand to work the Mutiny for its own ends is a sufficiently obvious inference from the promptitude with which on its outbreak they took its direction on themselves both at Delhi and in Oudh.

Neutral
elements.

On the other hand, the Panjab and Frontier Mussulmans were not associated with the Mogul tradition. The Sikhs, Gurkhas and Madrasis were not high-caste Hindus. For the third factor, such general suspicion and hostility to the British Raj as had been aroused among Hindu princes and chiefs had been very much allayed in Rajputana by the management first of Henry and then of George Lawrence, and in Oudh by Henry. Except among a few Marathas, it was not sufficient to produce active hostility ; that needed the sense of personal grievance to be found in Nana Sahib and the Jhansi Rani. But, in spite of those soothing influences, and of such ministerial control as was exercised by Dinkar Rao at Gwalior, and Salar Jang at Haidarabad the anti-British sentiment was sufficiently strong to preclude active support of the British, until after the fall of Delhi ; except from such quarters as the loyal Maharaja of Patiala, and the particularly astute Gholab Singh of Kashmir, who inherited from the master of his youth, Ranjit Singh, a conviction that in the long-run the British were sure to come out, so to speak, on top.



The conclusion then, in view of all the facts, seems to be this. The condition of any sort of successful rising was the development in the sepoy of a determined spirit of rebellion. There were two classes of malcontents—the Mogul party and the aggrieved chiefs—who had a direct interest in fostering such a spirit. But the aggrieved chiefs had no definite policy, the Mogul party had one. The latter therefore were able to calculate that it was their main business to make sure of a rising big enough to throw off the British yoke, because they themselves would inevitably reap the fruits of possessing a definite policy, and would emerge dominant among the other conflicting parties. Without active fomentation, the mutinies would have been sporadic, and readily suppressed. Without the cartridge incident, the mutinous spirit could not have been sufficiently fomented. The revolt was not long prepared; to say that it was organised would be an undeserved compliment to the Mussulmans; but for some months before the outbreak, the Mussulmans were seeking to convert the Hindostani army into a catspaw for their own political ends.

Next, as to the attitude of the Panjab, and the frontier. Dost Mohammed at Kabul remained entirely loyal to his engagement, vindicating thereby the policy of alliance with him, on which opinion had differed among the highest authorities. Dalhousie adopted the policy, which really emanated from Herbert Edwardes; men whose theories were poles apart like John Lawrence and John Nicholson agreed in disliking it. But the result was convincing. In the Panjab itself, there was sympathy neither with the Mogul nor with the Hindostani sepoys; yet it was not till the fall of Delhi that John Lawrence could venture on allowing levies *en masse*. Here is one of the insoluble problems of the might-have-been. The policy carried through by Dalhousie and John Lawrence prevented the Sikh Sirdars from being actively dangerous. The policy advocated by Henry Lawrence would have made them an active power for good or for evil. Would they have thrown in their lot with the British or with the rebels? Under Henry Lawrence's own guidance, it may be confidently held that they would have

General
con-
clusions.Behaviour
of Dost
Moham-
med.Attitude of
the Pan-
jab.



been loyal like their kinsmen in Sirhind; but under any guidance less sympathetic the effect might have been far otherwise.

So much for the "might-have-been." For the actual conditions, they seemed to John Lawrence in June so serious that he actually proposed the transfer of Peshawar and the trans-Indus to Dost Mohammed, in order to set free the troops there to join the Delhi force. Fortunately however other counsels prevailed; and, in spite of the risk, he presently assented to the dispatch of Nicholson's column, and the employment of Gholab Singh's Kashmir levies—measures entirely justified by the result.

Conduct of
the Hindo-
stani
sepoys.

As to the attitude of the Hindostani sepoys themselves; in the majority of cases they followed the call of a few energetic spirits; hanging together, but rarely even fighting with much enthusiasm. There were some wholesale massacres of British officers and residents; but it was not unusual for those officers only to be murdered whose popularity and influence were feared, and this not so much from a vengeful spirit as from the leaders' desire to make the regiments feel that they had committed themselves irrevocably. The massacres at Delhi, at Jhansi, and at Cawnpore obliterated from the ordinary British purview the many cases in which officers and families were escorted to the protection of friendly chiefs or of British garrisons by sepoys, who, after accomplishing their task, returned to throw in their lot with the mutineers.

Lord
Canning.

Throughout the great crisis, the conduct of the Governor-General was the subject of bitter animadversion in Calcutta and in England. As a matter of fact he appears to have made two mistakes altogether. The first was before the mutiny; the General Service Enlistment Act, already discussed.

His Oudh
Proclama-
tion.

The second was the proclamation in 1858 directed against the Oudh Talukdars. Virtually it declared them all to be rebels, and their estates forfeit, subject to such relief as a benignant government might think fit to grant. More troubles arise from misapprehensions than from any other source. Canning intended the Talukdars to understand that if they behaved themselves they would be reinstated by



grace of the Government. What they did understand was that they were to be treated as rebels by a Government which they expected to be vindictive. Canning, in common with most of the community, believed that they had been active in the rebellion, whereas in fact they had only joined it in a very perfunctory fashion when they thought the British had themselves given up hope of recovering Oudh. So that Canning's objects, present to his mind as fair and generous, were interpreted by them as being vindictive and harsh; and the proclamation at last turned them into really active rebels. It was a curious piece of irony that "Clemency Canning" was then rated in England, by way of a change, for harshness and injustice.

For the most part this title of Clemency Canning expresses the attitude towards him both in England and in Calcutta. At home the reports of massacres awoke a passion for vengeance in which all sense of discrimination was lost: to urge discrimination was felt as a kind of sacrilege towards the memory of the helpless victims so cruelly butchered. In Calcutta the feeling was for obvious reasons greatly aggravated; and in addition, the British population there furiously resented the application of any sort of restraint on themselves. But Canning resolutely insisted on discriminating, and on imposing restraints on the British in Calcutta. In nothing that Canning said or did was there a hint that anything short of the uttermost farthing should be exacted from ringleaders, or from participators in murder or massacre. But the regulations and instructions which he issued, after the great Mutiny was an accomplished fact, recognised that whether the question were argued on the ground of morality or of expediency, sheer undistinguishing vengeance on the entire population was not to be permitted; and recognised also that the irresponsible members of the British community had been roused to a pitch of excitement incompatible with the formation of a cool judgment on the facts, or with sober action in the absence of restraint. The horrors of the mutiny, and the consequent irrepressible lust for blood that attended its suppression, left behind them an evil legacy of mutual hostility, to be eradicated only by long years of Canning and his critics.

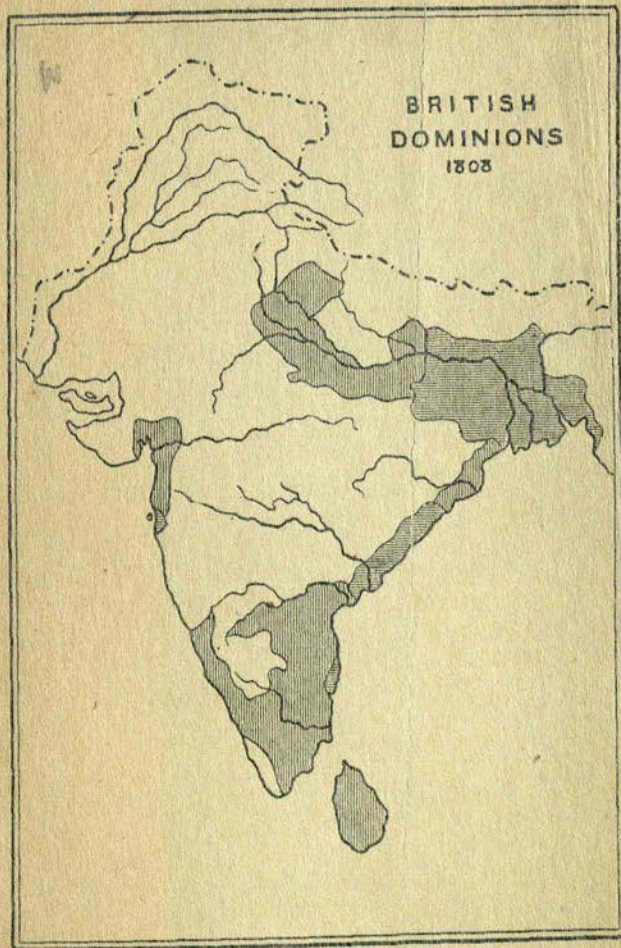
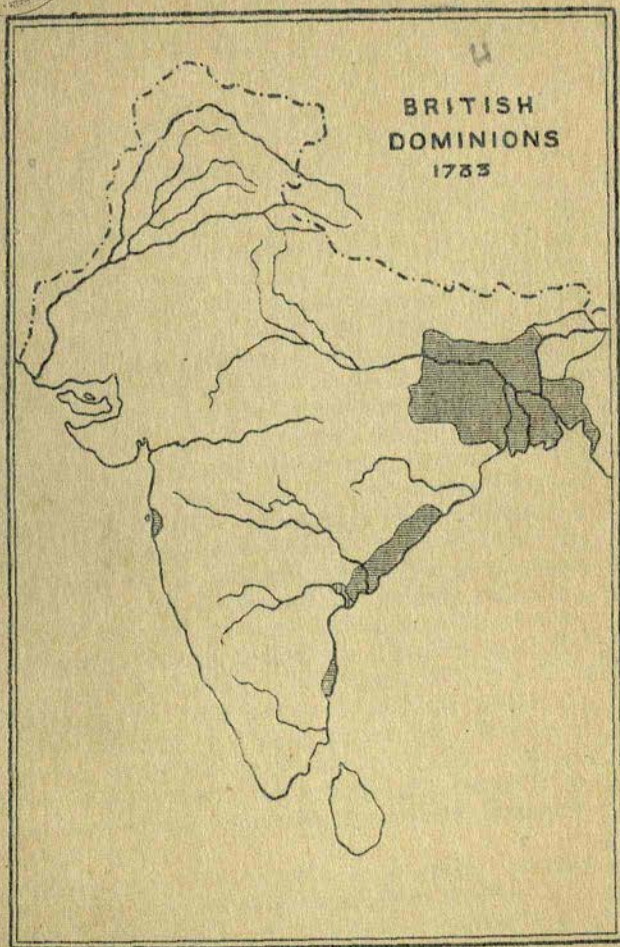


328

CONFIRMATION OF SOVEREIGNTY

CSL

resolutely just administration; a legacy which would have been infinitely more intolerable, perhaps ineradicable altogether, but for the unfaltering firmness with which Clemency Canning, amidst a storm of taunts and bitter attacks, pursued his policy of unswerving justice.



MAP VIII. GROWTH OF THE BRITISH DOMINION

THE TERRITORY ACQUIRED BEFORE 1783 IS SHOWN BY HORIZONTAL LINES

"	"	FROM 1783-1803	"	"	PERPENDICULAR LINES
"	"	" 1803-1833	"	"	DIAGONAL LINES
"	"	" 1833-1858	"	"	"





CHAPTER XXX

EPILOGUE

THE great Mutiny ended the reign of the East India Company. For a hundred and forty years, it had been a trading Company and nothing more. Then it had become embroiled in a sharp conflict first with the French and secondly with the Native ruler of Bengal; from which it had emerged after some fifteen years as actually, though not in the strict technical sense, a territorial and military Power without any European competitor. After another brief interval, the Company recognised its own new responsibilities, and the Parliament at Westminster also realised that these responsibilities were in some degree shared by the nation at large. The first experiment at Constitution-making under new conditions was followed by Pitt's India Act, which indicated the Parliamentary idea of the proportion of obligation lying on the Country and the Company respectively, and laid down the plan whereby the responsibilities were to be distributed. As time passed, the Company was forced more and more to subordinate its commercial to its political functions; while the inconveniences of a divided control were in no way modified, and the State evinced a growing inclination to extend its own activities. Just when the Company was completing its century of supremacy, the crisis of 1857 arrived, compelling the decisive termination of the dual system. —1784

That it did so is no reproach to the great Company. The inherent difficulties of governing from London a dependency so distant, when the only means of communication was by means of sailing vessels, were immense. It was inevitable that the men in London should fail to realise always and completely the pressing necessities which were

The Company's Task.



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apparent to the men on the spot: yet London could not simply wash its hands of responsibility, and allow its administrators in India to take the law absolutely into their own hands. To-day, when steam and electricity have so immeasurably increased the facility and rapidity of communication, the difficulty is still sufficiently apparent; in the days of which we have been writing it was incomparably greater. Yet over and above that difficulty, the Company itself was subject to the control of a higher power possessed of no better information than its own, though without quite the same bias against expenditure. And in governing India it was conducting an operation entirely without precedent in history, amidst a vast population whose manners and ideas were wholly alien, to deal with whom successfully it was a prime necessity to divest the mind of superficial western analogies, and arguments based on fundamentally foreign political and ethical conceptions. If under such conditions the Directors had not made grave mistakes, treated their pro-consuls with occasional injustice, hampered their action at times, resisted their expenditure, and failed to encourage their activities in directions which the experience of later days shows to have been desirable, they would have been more than human. On the whole, the Directors deserved well of mankind; and it may be doubted whether the immediate government of Parliament would have been a whit better.

Now however the time had arrived when the State was prepared to take the entire responsibility on its own shoulders, at a moment when the old difficulty of communication, of keeping due touch with the great Dependency, was fast vanishing. The formal change of government did not so much create a new era as express the fact that a new era had begun.

Transfer of Government to the Crown. In 1857, Lord Palmerston was in office: and in February 1858, a bill was brought in to transfer the government of India from the Company to the Sovereign. The Company was by no means willing to surrender its powers and privileges, and fought against the new proposals. Palmerston, defeated on his "Conspiracy to Murder" bill, resigned: and Lord



Derby took office. A new India bill was brought in, which, after many vicissitudes, and much modification, finally passed into Law in August 1858.

By the new Constitution, the East India Company and the Board of Control were both abolished. Instead of them, the ultimate responsibility for the Government of India was vested in a parliamentary Secretary of State who should be a member of the Imperial Government for the time being, with a Council appointed for life—a term of years being afterwards substituted. The first Council consisted partly of Directors of the old Company, partly of civil or military officers from India. As the Directors disappeared, their places were filled by Indian officials or ex-officials, the India Office thus becoming a Department of State in the hands of experts, with a Parliamentary chief.

In India also some degree of reconstruction took place. The work of administration remained in the same hands, the Company's "Covenanted Service" becoming the Indian Civil Service of the Crown. The Governor-General or Viceroy was given an Executive Council of seven, including his Commander-in-Chief, the member for Public Works being a later addition. There is also a Legislative Council without whose assent no law can be passed, consisting of the Executive Council with additions. The additional members usually include some Natives of standing, and some representatives of the mercantile community. There is nothing elective or democratic about the system: the members of Council are nominated from above. It rests on the theory of government by experts, which has its disadvantages, but also has merits which are perhaps less obvious or less readily recognised, from the prevalent theory in England that experience connected with any given department probably makes a man unfit for supreme control of it. It is not clear however that as a mere matter of efficiency the Indian system is not on the whole the more successful.

In three respects it is to be noted that the Mutiny was followed by and was probably the cause of a change of policy. The attitude on the Adoption Question so conspicuously assumed by Dalhousie was given up, and the



Native Princes were well pleased to know that what they regarded as the legitimate course of succession would not again be hastily set aside. The Talukdars were gratified by a new move in the direction of restoring the status to which, as some held, they were entitled, and which, as others held, they had usurped though it is hardly probable that this alteration has been altogether to the advantage of the ryots. Third and not least in importance: the military arrangements were re-modelled. The rule was laid down, that one third of the military forces in India must consist of European troops. The old jealousies between the "king's officers" and the "Company's Officers" were obliterated by the amalgamation of the forces. The vital fact however was that the European soldiery could never again be outnumbered in the overwhelming proportions which had rendered the struggle in the early months of the mutiny so desperate.

Last words. It is not our part in this volume to enter on the history of the new régime. We have had to trace the history of the British in India from their earliest connexion with the East until their supremacy was acknowledged from the mountains to the sea over all the land. When their first factory was established, the son of Akbar the Great ruled at Agra, and the Mussulman kingdoms of the Dekhan still survived in the south: while their future power was yet undreamed of, the Dekhan kingdoms fell under the Mogul dominion. While rival French traders were establishing themselves, the Maratha Power was growing, and the Delhi Empire fell to pieces. After a short and sharp contest, the French rival was driven from the field, and Plassey made the British masters of the richest province of India. A century passed; and the heir of the house of Baber was a State prisoner, while every prince acknowledged the British over-lordship, confirmed by the failure of the great convulsion. The pen of Macaulay has made the story of Clive and Warren Hastings familiar in some of its aspects: many pens have related the stirring episodes of the mutiny. But of the changes which took place between 1783 and 1857, and of the men who made those changes, the great majority are curiously ignorant.



The details are difficult to unravel, difficult to view in their true connexion. It has been the primary object of the present writer to simplify the problem for the student; to help him to a mastery of the fundamental points which shall enable him to appreciate the more readily the records of heroic action, of resolute patience, of unswerving justice, with which our Indian annals abound: to distinguish more clearly between the peoples over whom it has been our task to govern.

Forty-three years have rolled by since the Sovereignty of India passed formally to the British Crown. Since that day, there have been wars beyond the border and "little" wars with the frontier tribesmen. That frontier has not ceased to advance. It has girdled in Burma: decade by decade it has embraced fresh tracts of mountains and ravines, fresh clans of wild hill-men, till only recently we have seen the trans-Indus raised into a separate Province. But throughout the years since the last embers of rebellion were quenched in the last days of 1858, within India Proper unbroken peace has reigned. That after all is the most significant of all possible comments on the British Raj. In the Panjab, in Hindostan, in Bengal, in the Dekhan, for forty years no armies have met in the shock of battle. No foreign foe has set foot on Indian soil since the British became definitely the leading Power; since the Sovereignty of Britain was proclaimed, no Native potentate has raised his standards either in revolt against the alien dominion or with aggressive intent against his neighbours. Since the days of Mahmud of Ghazni, such a period of peace has no parallel in the Indian annals. We believe at least that the intelligent Natives recognise in the British Supremacy the only alternative to anarchy: that they are alive to the need of some one Power whose paramountcy is beyond dispute; that they know that no other overlord would give them the same security or tax them so lightly.

Constantly, but gradually and not often incautiously, the number of Natives admitted to responsible office tends to increase. But time alone will show whether the Orientalism, the forms of thought, the ideals and the prejudices that are



inherited in the blood, the traditions that have been handed down through immemorial centuries, can be displaced by those other forms of thought which are our Western inheritance, and without which democratic institutions are unthinkable. Such a change has not taken place, nor are there any trustworthy signs that it is in progress. Still is the East East, and the West West. In a land where dominion has never been seen and never been held without the power of the sword, the military superiority of the dominant race must still be the ultimate sanction of its domination; where such domination is the condition of order, doctrines of equality cannot take practical effect. But though as yet the British Raj has not brought about the Golden Age, it has brought peace and security and even-handed justice where they never prevailed before save as traditions of a mythical past. Honour to the men who have wrought that great work; may their sons and their sons' sons merit like honour from generation to generation: worthy, when they depart from the scene of their labours to have graven upon their memorial tablets the words that sound the keynote of high endeavour, the epitaph of one who was not the least among the heroes, Henry Lawrence—

HE TRIED TO DO HIS DUTY.



CSL
333

APPENDICES

I. NOTES

II. AUTHORITIES



APPENDIX I

NOTES

A. Ch. X.—THE IMPEACHMENT OF WARREN HASTINGS.

THE attack on Warren Hastings by Burke and his allies is not strictly speaking a part of the History of India ; but some further reference to it is desirable. Macaulay has written of it in one of his most brilliant passages, and the trial has been the subject of much magnificent rhetoric. A brief summary however, unembellished by eloquence, may be found useful.

Hastings reached England in June 1785. His own first impression was that his reception was entirely favourable, and that ministers would be wholly on his side, though some sort of attack on him would probably be made.

On the other hand, Burke had thoroughly convinced himself that Hastings had been a tyrant ; Fox, whatever his moral convictions may have been, saw in the question of Indian administration an excellent means for placing Pitt in a dilemma : Francis was the relentless enemy of Hastings, and represented the authority of the man who had been on the spot.

In January 1786, the challenge was thrown down by Hastings' own agent, Scott, in parliament ; who invited Burke and Fox in effect to come on if they dared, to which they merely replied that they were coming on when it suited them.

In February, Burke moved for the papers required for framing an impeachment. Parliamentary skirmishing went on during March. Then Hastings made the mistake of asking to be heard in person at the bar of the House ; there proceeding to read a long vindication of his administration, which unfortunately was extremely ill-adapted to his audience less on account of its matter than its manner.

The real campaign began in June, when Burke made the Rohilla war his ground of assault. The rights and wrongs in



regard to this charge have been discussed in the text. But whatever they were, the fact that Hastings had been nominated to the governor-generalship three times after that war made it something of a *chose jugée*, and Burke's motion was rejected.

Now, the supposed facts of this war formed the strongest part of the indictment against Hastings. No one believed that, after this had failed, any of the other charges would suffice as the basis of an impeachment. The second attack was grounded on the treatment of the Raja of Benares. Great was the astonishment when Pitt after apparently defending Hastings, at length announced that as in his opinion the fine imposed on the Rajah was excessive, he would give his vote in support of the hostile motion. Every sort of explanation for the sudden change of front was offered. The reason given by Pitt himself was universally scouted; nor can it be pretended that it was in any sense sufficient to account for his action. Personal motives were freely imputed both to Pitt and Dundas. The indisputable fact is that when the Rohilla motion came on, Pitt did not intend to countenance an impeachment; when the Benares motion came on, he had made up his mind to countenance it. It is certain that in the interval Pitt had been studying the whole question of the Hastings administration; and setting aside the natural temptation to seek for improper motives in the conduct of ministers, it seems perfectly reasonable to hold, with Lord Rosebery (*Pitt*, p. 85) that Pitt was simply convinced by the evidence examined and digested in the interval not exactly of the guilt of Hastings but of the impropriety of the Government identifying itself with him. The conclusion was only reached at the last moment, but once reached it could only be acted on by accepting the hostile motion.

Pitt's action settled the question. The hostile motion was carried. In February 1787, Sheridan made the famous speech on the affair of the Oudh Begums which was regarded at the time as having touched the high-water mark of British eloquence. The impeachment was now a certainty; and in May, Hastings was formally impeached by Burke at the bar of the House of Lords.

For a fuller account of the proceedings from the picturesque point of view, the reader may be referred to Macaulay's essay: from the historic and ethical point of view, to Lyall's *Warren Hastings* (English Men of Action), chapter viii. Here we need only summarise.



The trial began in February 1788. After the preliminary steps, Burke opened the attack with a general indictment, powerful but violent. Then Fox had his turn and it was not till June that Sheridan again developed his theme in relation to the Oudh Begums. After this the court rose—it had been occupied altogether for thirty-five days. The sittings were not renewed till April of the following year when the court sat for seventeen days. In 1790 it sat for fourteen days, and for five days in 1791. Next year, the defence had twenty-two days. When the defence continued in 1793, "of one hundred and eighty-six peers who had seen the Begum charge opened by the prosecution, not more than twenty-eight were now listening to the defence" (Lyll); yet it was not till April 1795 that the House of Lords gave judgment—acquitting Hastings by a large majority on every one of the questions submitted. The trial had cost the accused about £100,000.

B. CH. XXVII.—THE INCREASE OF THE NATIVE ARMY
UNDER DALHOUSIE.

It is stated in the text, p. 302, that the grave disproportion between British and Native troops was partly due to the increase in the latter necessitated by Lord Dalhousie's Annexation Policy.

This statement, previously emphasised by General M'Leod Innes in his *Sepoy Revolt*, has been challenged in a very recently published work by Mr Demetrius Boulger (*India in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 197), where he writes: "What are the facts? . . . He reduced the number of the native army by 7000 men. . . . Here it must suffice to say that Lord Dalhousie's annexations did not lead, as alleged, to an increase of the native army, but to its reduction, however slight."

Mr Boulger cites no authorities; and it would be interesting to discover his grounds for this very surprising and positive assertion.

"What are the facts?" In 1845, when the first Sikh war broke out, the numbers of the Native Regular Army were about 240,000 (*cf.* Sir W. W. Hunter's *Dalhousie*, p. 213). When Dalhousie left India in 1856, their numbers were 233,000. That is, between 1845 and 1856 there was a reduction of 7000. Is this the fact over which Mr Boulger has stumbled? If so, it has escaped his attention that, *after* the first Sikh war, Lord Hardinge reduced the Native army by not less than 50,000 men, and



Dalhousie increased it again by over 40,000. The difference between Hardinge's reduction and Dalhousie's increase would seem to have taken shape in Mr Boulger's mind as a reduction by Dalhousie. Hardinge effected the reduction by lowering the strength of the battalions from 1000 to 800—not by disbanding regiments. Dalhousie effected the increase by the reverse process of raising the same battalions to approximately their previous numbers. (See Henry Lawrence's Paper on Lord Hardinge's administration, in the *Calcutta Review*, 1847: also Viscount Hardinge's "Hardinge" in the *Rulers of India*, p. 167: Sir W. Hunter's *Dalhousie*, p. 213; and reference there given.)

The actual fact therefore appears to be that the great Native army of 1845 was reduced by about twenty per cent. by Dalhousie's predecessor, and that the Annexations necessitated its restoration practically to the earlier strength—mainly at the instance of Sir Charles Napier, who succeeded Gough as commander-in-chief in 1849.

Yet this does not represent the whole increase, for it does not take into account the new regiments raised in the Panjab itself: so that, under Dalhousie's régime, the native army was actually increased by not less than twenty-five per cent.

Dalhousie himself viewed the resulting disproportion with apprehension, repeatedly urged the need for more European troops, and actually raised an additional European regiment in each of the three Provinces: but this was more than counterbalanced by the withdrawal of regiments for the Crimea, in defiance of his protests, and later for Persia also. Moreover, he designed a fresh reduction, by reverting to the lower strength of Native battalions; in almost the last Minute he wrote, he proposed the disbanding of several Native regiments, as well as an addition to the European forces. But the broad fact remains that Dalhousie took the risk of adopting a policy which involved the increase of the Native army by twenty-five per cent., without obtaining a corresponding increase in the European military establishment—although he was alive to the resulting danger and urged the necessary precautions on a deaf Government at Westminster.

C. CH. XXIX.—LORD CANNING.

The view of Lord Canning taken in the text is one which is generally repudiated by residents in Calcutta at the time of the



mutiny. Calcutta opinion was unanimously in favour of the most stringent measures; no severity would have been deemed excessive; and all restrictions on Europeans were accounted as something of an outrage. The *Times* in London took the same view; and it is only necessary to look at the *Punch* cartoons of the period to realise that the popular temper had been roused beyond the control of reason. This was natural enough; and neither Calcutta nor London deserves much reprobation, if it is true that both capitals "lost their heads." But that they did lose their heads, while Canning kept his—that he was right and they were wrong—is certainly the impression produced on the student who comes to examine the question as one not having taken part in it.

Calcutta had many grievances against the Governor-General. It held that the General commanding in Behar should have had positive orders to disarm the sepoys instead of being instructed to act on his own judgment. It believed that he had discountenanced the formation of Volunteer Corps in Calcutta. It was angry because a strict censorship had been extended to the European as well as the Native press, and because Europeans as well as Natives were required to obtain a license if they wished to carry arms. There were individuals whose services did not meet with the recognition they deserved, and for this Lord Canning was held responsible. Yet in some of these cases, it is clear that the Governor-General could not have been personally to blame; while in others he would have deserved blame if he had acted otherwise than he did.

But the head and front of his offending lay in the Resolution of July 1857, giving instructions to what may be called the emergency officers appointed to deal with deserters and mutineers. The effect of these instructions was to confine severe penalties to mutineers who had taken part in the murder of officers, or in other outrages, or were taken in arms. The storm of indignation roused by the instructions appears of itself to be sufficient proof that they were imperatively needed to check what would afterwards have been recognised as a fatal policy of bloodthirsty reprisals, though the passion of the hour would have accounted them as no more than an instalment of just retribution. Nevertheless it is the fact that Lord Canning deliberately chose to accept the obloquy with which he was bespattered on account of the Resolution, rather than make public the whole of the evidence



on which he acted ; not because the evidence was insufficient, but because it was too staggering. The historian must recognise the splendid courage and self-control displayed under extraordinarily difficult conditions by the Governor-General ; but since the data by which he was guided were not made known to the public, it is scarcely surprising that the public did not take them into consideration though it may be doubted whether in its then frame of mind it would have been greatly influenced by their publication.



APPENDIX II

AUTHORITIES

A.—GENERAL HISTORY.

The History of India by MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE remains the standard English account of the various Native Dominions, prior to the establishment of British Ascendancy. It is a work of immense research, to which all students are deeply indebted : and it covers the whole ground of custom and myth as well as political history.

The standard history of the British Dominion down to the first decade of the nineteenth century is that of JAMES MILL, continued by Wilson to 1835. James Mill however was inclined to pose as the Philosophic Historian ; in other words, as a censor of his own countrymen ; and his interpretation of events is always inclined to err as imputing the baser rather than the higher motive, while he gives undue weight to the evidence against the Empire Builders. Substantially, his views on the character of the leading actors are very much those of T. B. Macaulay.

But from the point where his history closes, there is no other general work of quite the same rank. MARSHMAN'S *History* covers the whole field from the earliest times to the retirement of Dalhousie. It is usually sound, accurate, and impartial ; but occasionally lacks lucidity. To the same class as Marshman belong the *Short History of India* by Talboys Wheeler, and the *Student's Manual* by Meadows Taylor. The former is very well arranged and indexed.

Sir W. W. HUNTER in *The Indian Empire* and the *Brief History of the Indian Peoples* is concerned comparatively little with the story of the rise of the British Power. The two completed volumes of the *History of British India* on which he was engaged at the time of his death only come down to the amalgamation of the rival British Companies in the first decade of the eighteenth century.



Sir ALFRED LYALL'S *British Dominion in India* is an admirable study ; but it is more a study than a history, and at any rate after Wellesley it becomes all too brief. As an introduction to the subject, however, it can hardly be surpassed.

There are gaps in the RULERS OF INDIA series, which prevent it from forming a complete story ; while the historical interest is, by the scheme of the series, somewhat subordinated to the personal. The individual volumes are referred to below in connexion with their respective periods.

TOD'S *Rajasthan*, CROOK'S *North West Provinces*, and KEENE'S *Hindustan*, are all informing works, though the two former deal rather with the bye-ways and accessories of history than with history proper ; and like the valuable but ponderous (larger) History of TALBOYS WHEELER, treat of the Peoples of India, not with the British Expansion. CUNNINGHAM'S *History of the Sikhs*, and GRANT DUFF'S *History of the Marathas* will be found serviceable by the student ; and also Sir JOHN MALCOLM'S *Political India* (the Rise of the British) and *Central India* (The Marathas) to 1825. Captain MAHAN'S *Influence of Sea-Power* (chapters vii., viii., and xii.), and the second part of SEELEY'S *Expansion of England*, are almost necessary for the understanding of certain aspects, military and political, of the British Expansion ; while the exposition of Native traits in SLEEMAN'S *Rambles and Recollections*, and in LYALL'S *Asiatic Studies* may be supplemented by the intimate knowledge of Native habits shown in the Indian novels *Tara*, *Seetah*, and *Tippoo Sultan*, by MEADOWS TAYLOR.

To these may be added Sir JOHN KAYE'S *Lives of Indian Officers* (a dozen biographical sketches) ; COMPTON'S *Lives of the Indian Adventurers* which deals rather with the bye-ways of history ; MALLESON'S *Decisive battles of India*, a vigorous but not always accurate piece of work ; LEE-WARNER'S *Protected Princes of India*, a work to be consulted only by serious students, but of much value ; and some portions of Sir JOHN STRACHEY'S *India*, and Sir GEORGE CHESNEY'S *Indian Polity*, both of which are chiefly concerned with post-mutiny conditions.

Apart from Blue-books and Despatches in general, sundry volumes of selections therefrom will be referred to in connexion with their particular periods. Similarly the volumes of the *Calcutta Review* contain valuable articles on current political and



military topics, and questions of administration, some of which will be especially referred to below.

B.—SPECIFIC

(The letters R. I. and M. A. mean that a volume belongs to the Rulers of India series, or the Men of Action series, respectively. The purpose of this list is not so much to give a partial list of authorities consulted, or for the verification of facts and opinions given, as to refer the reader to books from which he may gain supplementary information.)

- Cc. i.-iii. ELPHINSTONE'S *History*.
KEENE'S *Hindustan*.
- Ch. ii. BABER'S *Memoirs*: translated by Erskine
and Leyden.
Babar (R. I.).
Akbar (R. I.).
- Ch. iii. *Aurangzib* (R. I.).
- Ch. iv. W. W. HUNTER: *History of British India*,
vols. i., ii.
Albuquerque (R. I.).
MALLESON: *The French in India*.
" *Dupleix* (R. I.).
- Ch. v. BERNIER'S *Travels* (Ed. Constable).
- Ch. vi. MALLESON: *Dupleix*.
- Ch. vi., vii. ORME'S (Robert) *Military Operations in*
Industan.
- Ch. vi., vii., viii. MACAULAY: *Essay on Clive*.
WILSON: *Clive* (M. A.)
- Cc. ix., x. MACAULAY: *Essay on Warren Hastings*.
LYALL: *Warren Hastings* (M. A.)
TROTTER: *Warren Hastings*.
STRACHEY: *Hastings and the Rohilla War*.
STEPHEN: *The story of Nuncomar and*
Impey.
G. W. FORREST: *The Administration of*
Warren Hastings; Selections from Letters
and Despatches, 1772-1775.
Madhava Rao Sindhia (R. I.).
Haidar Ali (R. I.).
- Ch. xi. *Cornwallis* (R. I.).



- Cc. xii., xiii. . . . *Wellesley* (R. I.).
PEARCE : *Life of Wellesley*.
OWEN : *Selection from Wellesley's Despatches*.
- Ch. xv. *Lord Hastings* (R. I.).
Diary of Lord Hastings in India (Ed. LADY BUTE).
- Ch. xvi. *Lord Amherst* (R. I.).
- Cc. xvii., xviii., xix. *Cornwallis* (R. I.).
ARBUTHNOT, *Sir T. Munro* [Minutes and Reports of Sir T. Munro, with an Introduction].
Sir T. Munro (R. I.).
COLEBROOKE : *Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone*.
Elphinstone (R. I.).
Lord W. Bentinck (R. I.).
KAYE : *History of the Administration of the E.I.C.*
KAYE : *Life of Lord Metcalfe*.
„ *Lives of Indian Officers*, vol. i.
MAYNE : *Village Communities*.
- Cc. xx., xxi. *Ranjit Singh* (R. I.).
Auckland (R. I.).
CUNNINGHAM : *History of the Sikhs*.
GOUGH (Sir C.) : *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*.
KAYE : *Lives of Indian Officers*, vol. ii.
„ *History of the Afghan War*.
- Ch. xxii. GOLDSMID : *Life of Sir James Outram*.
NAPIER : *Life of Sir Charles Napier*.
- Ch. xxiii. *Hardinge* (R. I.).
BROADFOOT : *The Career of Major Broadfoot*.
LAWRENCE (Henry) : *The Administration of Lord Hardinge* (*Calcutta Review*, vol. viii.).
GOUGH (Sir C.) : *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*.
INNES (Gen. M'Leod) : *Henry Lawrence*.
CUNNINGHAM : *History of the Sikhs*.
- Ch. xxiv. GOUGH (Sir C.) : *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*.



EDWARDES (Herbert): *A Year on the Panjab Frontier.*

Lady EDWARDES: *Life of Sir Herbert Edwardes.*

SHADWELL: *Life of Lord Clyde.*

THACKWELL: *The Second Sikh War.*

DURAND: *Life of Sir H. M. Durand.* (Vol. ii. Essays and Minutes.)

Dalhousie (R. I.).

Ch. xxv. . . . *Dalhousie* (R. I.).

TROTTER: *Dalhousie.*

xxvi. . . . TEMPLE (Sir R.): *Thomason.*

MACPHERSON: *Memorials of Service in India.*

Dalhousie (R. I.).

DALHOUSIE: *Minute of Feb. 28, 1856.*

xxvii., xxviii., xxix. KAYE and MALLESON: *History of the Indian Mutiny.*

INNES (Gen. M'Leod): *The Sepoy Revolt.*

" " *Lucknow and Oudh in the Mutiny.*

FORREST (G. W.): *Selections from the letters and dispatches in the Military Dept. 1857-8.*
Canning (R. I.).

(For the Mutiny, there are innumerable biographies dealing with portions or aspects: e.g. of Colin Campbell, Havelock, Outram, Nicholson, the Lawrences; Reminiscences, as those of Lord Roberts, Lady Inglis, Holmes, Maude, etc. It is impossible to produce a working list. There is something to be learnt from nearly all such books. The first on the list, Kaye and Malleison, treats the whole story, in great detail; though the personal predilections of the authors are given considerable scope. The two next are markedly careful and accurate, but concise, the work of an actor in the drama; the fourth is a selection of official documents; and the last contains a lucid summary of the political aspects of the episode, and of the policy of the Governor-General.)



GLOSSARY

OF INDIAN TERMS, AND PHRASES LIKELY TO BE MET WITH, EITHER
IN THIS VOLUME OR IN WORKS USED FOR REFERENCE

(Where the modern spelling is given, and the reader may be doubtful as to pronunciation, the vowels are marked long or short—ā, ā.)

ADĀLAT or ADAWLUT: court of justice. *Sadr Adalat* or *Sudder Adawlut* = supreme court.

AFGHĀNS: (1) present inhabitants of Afghanistan; (2) Indian Mussulmans of Afghan descent.

AGENT: title of the British representative at the protected or semi-independent courts: except the most important, where the official is termed a Resident.

AMIL or AWMIL: one of the titles for Revenue collectors under the Native rulers.

AMĪR: lord, chief; a Mohammedan title; also appearing as *Emir* and *Mir*. Appropriated in particular by the rulers of Sindh, and by Dost Mohammed and his successors at Kabul.

ANA, ANNA: a small coin = $\frac{1}{16}$ of a rupee; formerly reckoned as equivalent to $1\frac{1}{2}$ d.

BABOO: originally a title of respect, very much like Master or Mr. Being particularly affected by the class of clerks in Lower Bengal, it is now used in common parlance to denote a member of that class.

BADMASH, BUDMASH: a rogue.

BAHĀDUR: champion. A title implying distinction in battle.

BATTA: extra allowances beyond the pay originally fixed for

military officers, granted on a regular scale. The *batta* came to be regarded as an actual right; and reduction to "half-batta" was a serious grievance.

BAZAAR: the market, the streets in which the natives buy and sell. "Bazaar rumours," the common talk in the streets.

BEGUM: princess, especially the daughter, wife or widow of a monarch.

CANARESE: a pre-Aryan dialect spoken in parts of the N.W. Dekhan.

CHAUTH or CHOUT: the tribute demanded by the Marathas, amounting to one fourth of the revenues of the district in which it was levied.

CHUPATTY: a sort of flat cake, the common food in Hindostan.

COLLECTOR: the District head of the Revenue department.

COMMISSIONER: governor of a province. *Chief Commissioner*, governor of the greater provinces which have not been raised to Lt. Governorships.

COOLY: labourer. Probably derived from the race-name *Koli* of tribes in the N.W. Ghats.

CRORE: 10,000,000; used as the equivalent of a "million sterling" in the old calculations which



reckoned to rupees to the sovereign. So a *lac* or *lakh* = 100,000 rupees = £10,000; or $\frac{1}{10}$ of a crore.

CUTCHA: not genuine—the opposite of *pukka*; the nearest general equivalent would be “shoddy.”

CUTCERRY: administrative office, or court-house.

DACOIT or DAKAIT: member of a gang of professional robbers.

DAK or DAWK: post or transport, by means of relays of carriers established at definite points. Hence *Dak-bungalow*, the equivalent of a posting inn.

DARBĀR or DURBAR: (1) the court and council of a monarch. (2) A Court function.

DAROGA: local head-constable or Chief of Police.

DECCAN or DEKHAN: (1) India south of the Nerbadda; (2) in a more restricted sense, the Nizam's dominions.

DEEN or DĪN: the Faith, *i.e.* Islam; the slogan of Moslem fanaticism.

DEWĀN or DIWĀN: head of the exchequer. So DIWANI = revenue administration.

DŌĀB: the land between two rivers above their confluence, “Mesopotamia.” “The Doab” *par excellence* is that between the Ganges and the Jamna.

DURBAR: *see* DARBAR.

FACTORY: a trading establishment of the East India Company.

FAKEER or FAKIR: a Mohammedan devotee or fanatic.

FERINGHI: a European—the name being derived from the Arab form of the term “Frank” applied especially to the Portuguese, but also to the British when a certain measure of hostility or contempt is intended to be conveyed.

FIRMAN: an imperial decree.

FIVE RIVERS: land of the; the Panjab, between the Indus and the Satlej.

GENTILE or GENTOO: the old terms for the Hindus, as distinguished from the Mohammedans who were spoken of as “Moors” or “Moormen” and sometimes as “Moguls.”

GHAZIS: Mohammedan fanatics.

GRANTH or GRUNTH: the Scriptures of the Sikh sect.

GURU: prophet, religious leader. A term of special prominence among the Sikhs. The first Guru was the founder of the sect, Nanuk; the tenth in succession, and the last, was Govind Singh, who gave the Sikh institutions their final authoritative form.

HAVILDĀR: a non-commissioned officer in a native regiment.

HINDI: the purest of the dialects descended from Sanskrit.

HINDOSTAN: (1) All India. (2) India north of the Nerbadda, as opposed to the Dekhan (*q.v.*) or India south of the Nerbadda. (3) Hindostan proper, *i.e.* Northern India exclusive of the Panjab and of Behar and Bengal.

HINDOSTANI: (1) an inhabitant of Hindostan proper (*v.s.*). (2) a dialect, otherwise called Urdu, of which the chief components are Hindi and Persian; which grew up in the mixed camps of the Mogul armies, becoming a sort of *lingua franca* or general medium of communication.

HOOKAM: an order.

IKBAL: luck, “star.”

INTERLOPER: the name applied to unlicensed traders in the days of the East India Company's monopoly.

JAGHIR or JAGEER: an estate



granted rent-free on condition of military service; usually but not necessarily continued to the successors of the grantee on payment of fines or fees. Hence JAGHIRDAR, the holder of a *jaghir*.

JEMMADĀR: a native officer in a sepoy regiment.

KHALSA: the Sikh body in its aspect as a military brotherhood; the Sikh regiments of the army of the Panjab state.

KHĀN: chief, lord; a Mohammedan title, commonly borne by commanders. When a *Khan* possessed himself of a crown, he took the title of Shah instead: e.g. Ahmed Khan Durani became Ahmed Shah, and Nadir Khan became Nadir Shah.

LAC or LAKH=100,000: hence usually for a *lakh of rupees*=
₹10,000.

LAT-SAHIB or LORD-SAHIB: native title for the Governor-General.

MAHARĀJA: a Hindu title=great king, or king of kings: later, the high title of honour granted to Hindu princes by the Emperor or the British.

MASNAD or MUSNUD: the royal cushion or throne.

MIR: see AMIR.

MISL: the great Sikh body was a combination of smaller groups or confederacies called *Misls*.

MOFUSSIL: the country districts, as distinguished from the cities.

MOGUL: (1) title of the emperors of the house of Baber; (2) Mussulmans other than Hindu converts or those of Afghan descent; (3) the MUGHAL division of the Tartar race; the origin of both the other applications of the term.

MOHĀRRAM: an annual period of fasting among the Mohammedans,

accompanied by great religious excitement.

MOHUR: the standard gold coin of India, of the approximate value of 15 rupees.

MONSOON: the periodical south-west wind blowing generally from May onwards; also used for the N.E. trade wind, blowing in October and November.

MOONSHEE: secretary, or tutor.

MOOR or MOORMEN: the name used by old writers for the Indian Mussulmans.

MOULVIE: a Mohammedan doctor or professor of the Law.

MUG: the name used by the British for the people of Arakan.

MULLAH or MOLLAH: the same as MOULVIE.

MUSNUD: see MASNAD.

MUSSULMAN: Mohammedan. Apparently corrupted from *Musliman* the plural of *Moslem* or *Muslim*.

NABOB: a corruption, (1) formerly used for *Nawab* (q.v.) as equivalent to Potentate; (2) hence applied to Europeans who returned from India with long purses and Oriental habits.

NĀWĀB or NUWAB: a Deputy, or nominally subordinate governor of a Province of the Mogul Empire, e.g. Oudh, Bengal, the Carnatic. It seems in fact to have been originally a plural of NAIB=deputy in the same way that *Omrak* came to be used as=chief or lord, from being originally a plural of *Amir*.

NAIK: chief, not a title of the first rank. Haidar Ali was known as Haidar *Naik* before he made himself Sultan of Mysore.

NULLAH: the bed of a stream, whether dry or running.

NUZZUR: a gift, fine, or benevolence from a feudal inferior.

OMRAH: chief or lord. Properly,



the plural of Amir, *q.v.* A Mohammedan title.

PADDY field : rice field.

PADISHAH, or PADSHAH : the great King. A title reserved to the Mogul, but bestowed latterly by the British on the king of Oudh.

PAGODA : (1) a Hindu Buddhist temple ; (2) more rarely, an idol ; (3) a coin, generally but not always gold.

PANCHAYET or PUNCHAYET : a committee or council primarily consisting of five members (from *panch*, five), which controlled the affairs of the village communities, with the *Patel* or head-man as its president. Hence applied to other committees, notably those elected by the *Khalsa* (*q.v.*) regiments formed on the same analogy.

PANDIT or PUNDIT : a man of learning, the Hindu equivalent of the Mohammedan Moulvie.

PANDY : the name commonly applied to the Mutiny sepoys. *Pāndē* is the name of a Brahmin caste which supplied a large proportion of the recruits from the Upper Provinces in the Bengal army : hence applied generally to the Hindostani sepoys.

PANJAB, PUNJAB, or PUNJAUB : (1) the country lying in the triangle formed by the Indus, the Satlej, and the Kashmir mountains ; literally *Panch-ab*, the Five Waters (*cf.* Doab, the land between two waters), watered in fact by six rivers—Indus, Jhilum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas, Satlej ; authorities differing as to which of the six is excluded, whether on account of size or of position. The Panjab was organised as a State by Ranjit Singh. (2) For administrative purposes, the name is extended to embrace a province of the British System which includes Delhi on the E. and Peshawar

on the W. (3) A portion of this province (trans-Indus) has in 1901 been incorporated in a new "frontier" province and is no longer part of the official Panjab.

PARSEE : Persian sun-worshippers who formed and maintain a separate community.

PATĒL : the headman of a village community. Madhava Rao Sindhia with mock humility called himself—and was generally called—the *Patel*. The pronunciation is shown by the common spelling, *Potail*, of pre-mutiny writers.

PĀTHĀN : (1) name of the N.W. frontier tribesmen ; (2) equivalent to *Afghan*, an Indian Mussulman of the stock deriving from Afghanistan ; (3) specifically, of the Mussulman robber companies associated with the Pindaris, whose most famous chief was Amir Khan.

PEISHWA or PESHWA : primarily, the title of a minister of the Maratha heirs of Sivaji. The office became hereditary in the family of the Brahmin Balaji Wiswanath, the Peshwas absorbing the supremacy in the Maratha confederacy, while the representative of Sivaji became a *roi fainéant*.

PEON : chiefly in use in S. India ; (sometimes) for a foot-soldier ; an orderly, or a member of the police.

PERGUNNAH : sub-division of a District or *Zillah*.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENT : the *zemindari* land settlement of Bengal made by Lord Cornwallis, fixing in perpetuity the amount of the rent or land-tax payable by the *zemindaris*.

PERWANNA or PURWANNA : an official order.

PESHCUSH : fee, fine, or quit-rent.

PINDĀRI : a class of free-booters, mainly Maratha, who developed into an army of marauders, in



conjunction with the organized bands of Pathans. The most celebrated chiefs of the two bodies were Amir Khan, and Chitu. Their head-quarters were in Central India, N. of the Nerbadda.

POLIGAR: title of estate-holders in the Madras Presidency.

POLITICAL: applied only to "foreign" affairs. The "Political" Department is the Department for foreign affairs, and "politicals" the officers engaged thereon.

POTAIL: see PATEL.

PUCKA: genuine, hall-marked, the opposite of *cutchu*.

PUNDIT: see PANDIT.

PUNJAB: see PANJAB.

PURDAH: the curtain, secluding the women of the household.

RAJA: a Hindu title, originally equivalent to "king," with Maharaja as a sort of superlative. The head of any Rajput clan was a Raja. The Moguls granted the title to sufficiently important Hindu zemindars or chiefs. "Prince" is perhaps the nearest equivalent. RAIS and RANA are variants: so is the RAO common among Maratha names.

RANA: the form of *Raja* appropriated by the chief of Udaipur, in Rajputana.

RANI: Queen or Princess: feminine of Raja.

RAYAT or **RYOT**: an actual cultivator of the soil. Hence **RYOTWARI SETTLEMENT**, a revenue settlement under which the collector levies the government rent or land-tax from the cultivator, direct, without intervention of a superior land-holder.

RESIDENCY: the quarters of the Resident (*q.v.*).

RESIDENT: the accredited representative of the British at the greater protected or semi-independent courts.

RUPEE: a silver coin, reckoned as worth two shillings or one-tenth of a pound sterling, until the depreciation of recent years. A *lakh* = 100,000 R ₹ = £10,000. A *Crore* = 10,000,000 R ₹ = £1,000,000.

RYOT: see RAYAT.

SADR or **SUDDER**: supreme: esp. the *Sadr Adalat* or Supreme Court.

SAHIB: title of respect, gentleman: applied generally to the British.

SATI: dedicated; specifically, a widow dedicated to self-immolation, on her husband's funeral-pyre. The custom was peculiar to Hindus. More commonly written *Suttee*.

SEIAD: a Mohammedan of a family claiming descent from the Prophet.

SEFOY: a native soldier in the British service. Also written *SIPAHI*.

SHAH: Mohammedan equivalent of king.

SHAHZADA: heir-apparent.

SHASTER: the Hindu sacred writings. **SHASTRI**, a professor of the Hindu Law.

SHIA: name of one of the two great sects of the Mohammedan body. The Persian "Sofy," and the Mussulman kings of the Dekhan were Shias. The Moguls belonged to the opposition sect of **SUNNIS**.

SHIKARI: hunter.

SIKHS: originally a religious sect of "reformed" Hindus, founded by Nanak: who gradually became formed into a semi-religious semi-military community, and acquired the control of the Panjab and Sirhind. *Sikh* = disciple.

SINGH: lion. A common name among Rajputs, adopted universally by all **SIKHS**; who in the literature of the Panjab wars are often referred to as the "*Singhs*."



GLOSSARY

353 **CSL**

SAPAH: *see* SEPOY.

SADAR: officer, chief, lord.

SIRKAR or **SIRCAR**: (1) the supreme Government; (2) the Eastern districts of the Dekhan; also spelt *Circar* and *Surkar*.

SOFY: the European corruption of *Safavi*, the name of a Persian dynasty.

SUBAH: (1) a province; (2) used for SUBADAR, the governor of a province. Thus the Nizam was also called *Subadar* of the Dekhan. In regimental language, the *Subadar* is the highest grade of native officer.

SUDDER: *see* SADR.

SUNNI: *see* SHIA.

SUNNUD or **SANNAD**: a patent from Government.

SUTTEE: *see* SATI.

TALUKDAR: a landed proprietor; a term in use in Hindostan. Hence, **TALUKDARI SETTLEMENT**; a revenue settlement under which the land-tax or government rent is levied from the *talukdars* without intervention of a superior *zemindar*.

TAMIL: a pre-Aryan language, spoken in parts of the Dekhan.

TELUGU: a pre-Aryan language, spoken in parts of the Dekhan.

THUGGEE or **THAGI**: the occupation of the THUGS, or THAGS, tribes of professional hereditary murderers.

URDU: the language of the camp, *i.e.* *Hindustani* (*q.v.*).

VAKIL or **VAKEEL**: secretary; or member of a minor embassy or deputation.

VEDAS: the sacred books of the Hindus.

VIZIER or **WAZIR**: chief minister.

WRITER: junior clerk in the service of the H.E.I.C.

ZEMINDAR: landed proprietor; **ZEMINDARI**: the office or the estate of a *zemindar*. Hence, **ZEMINDARI SETTLEMENT**; a revenue settlement under which the land-tax or government rent is levied from the *zemindars*.

ZENANA: the women's apartments; hence the women of the household.

ZILLAH: a revenue district.



INDEX TO MAPS

THE numbers are those of the maps on which the entries are to be found. Places marked on the general map (I.) have also letters showing their position on that map.

Places which the student is likely to find mentioned in other works, with a spelling materially differing from that in the text or on the map, are entered in both forms in the index.

Afghanistan	1Aa, 2.	Bandelkhand (Bun-}	1Ed, 5, 7.
Agra	1Dc, 2, 5, 7.	delcund)	
Ahmedabad	1Cd, 5.	Bangalur	1Dh, 3.
Ahmednagar	1Cf, 5.	Bannu (Bunnoo)	1Ca, 6.
Ajmir	1Ce, 5, 7.	Bardwan (Burdwan)	1Cd, 4.
Aligarh	1Dc, 5, 7.	Barech	7.
Aliwal	1Db, 6.	Bareilly	7.
Allahabad	1Ed, 4, 7.	Baroch (Broach)	1Ce, 5.
Almora	7.	Baroda	1Ce, 5.
Amballa (Umballa)	1Dh, 6, 7.	Basherat-Ganj (Bush-}	7.
Ambur	3.	erut Gunge)	
Amirkot (Ummercote)	1Bd.	Bassein	1Cf, 5.
Amrawati	5.	Beas R.	6.
Amritsar (Umritsar)	1Db, 6.	Beejapore (Bijapur)	1Df.
Arakan	1He, 2.	Behar	1Fd, 2, 4.
Aravali Hills	2.	Bellary (Ballari)	1Dg.
Arcot	1Eh, 3.	Benares	1Fd, 4, 7.
Argaon	1De, 5.	Bengal	1Gd, 2, 4.
Arni	1Eh, 3.	Berar	1De, 2, 5.
Arrah	7.	Bhartpur (Burtpore)	1Dc, 5, 7.
Arras	1Ce, 5.	Bhawalpore (Baha-}	1Cc, 6.
Asirgarh	5.	walpur)	
Assam	1Hc, 2, 4.	Bhopal	1Dd, 5, 7.
Assaye	1De, 5.	Bhotan	1Gc, 4.
Attok	1Ca.	Bijapur (Beejapore)	1Df.
Aurangabad	1Df, 5.	Bikanir	1Cc.
Ava	1Ic.	Biluchistan	1Ac, 2, 6.
Azingarh	7.	Bithur	7.
		Boad	1Fe.
Bahawalpur (Bhawal-}	1Cc, 6.	Bolan Pass	6.
pore)		Bombay	1Cf, 2, 5.
Baj Baj (Budge Budge)	4.	Boondie (Bundi)	5.
Baksar (Buxar)	1Fd, 4.	Brahmaputra R. (Bur-}	1Hc, 2, 4.
Ballari (Bellari)	1Dg, 3.	rampooter)	
Bamian	1Ba, 6.	Broach (Baroch)	1Ce, 5.



INDEX TO MAPS

355

CSL

Budge Budge (Baj Baj) . . . 4.
 Bundelcund (Bandel-
 khand) } 1Ed, 5, 7.
 Bundi (Boondée) . . . 5.
 Bannoo (Bannu) . . . 1Ca, 6.
 Buranpur (Burham-
 pore) } 1De, 5.
 Burdwan (Bardwan) . . . 1Gd, 4.
 Burrumpooter R. } 1Hc, 2, 4.
 (Brahmaputra)
 Burma . . . 1Ie, 2.
 Burtপুর (Bhartpur) . . . 1De, 5, 7.
 Busherat Gunge (Bas-
 herat Ganj) } 7.
 Buxar (Baksar) . . . 1Fd, 4.
 Cabul (Kabul) . . . 1Ba, 2, 6.
 Cachar (Kachar) . . . 1Hd.
 Calcutta . . . 1Ge, 2, 4.
 Calicut (Kalikat) . . . 1Dh, 3.
 Calpee (Kalpi) . . . 1Ed, 7.
 Candahar (Kandahar) . . . 1Ab, 2, 6.
 Candeish (Kandesh) . . . 1Ce, 5.
 Canouj (Kanauj) . . . 1Ec.
 Carikal (Karikal) . . . 1Eh, 3.
 Carnatic . . . 1Dh, 2, 3.
 Cashmere (Kashmir) . . . 1Da, 2.
 Cauvery R. (Kaveri) . . . 1Dh, 2, 3.
 Cauveripack (Kaveri-
 pak) } 1Eh, 3.
 Cawnpore (Kahnpur) . . . 1Ec, 4, 7.
 Ceylon . . . 1Ei, 2, 3.
 Chambal R. (Chum-
 bul) } 1Dd, 2, 5, 7.
 Chandairi (Chundey-
 ree) } 7.
 Chandernagar (Chun-
 dernagore) } 1Ge, 4.
 Chenab R. . . . 1Cb, 6.
 Chengalpat (Chingle-
 put) } 3.
 Chillianwalla . . . 1Cb, 6.
 Chinsura . . . 1Gd, 4.
 Chitaldrag . . . 1Dg, 3.
 Chittagong . . . 4.
 Chumbul R. (Cham-
 bal) } 1Dd, 2, 5, 7.
 Chunar . . . 4.
 Chundernagore (Chan-
 dernagar) } 1Ge, 4.
 Chundeyree (Chan-
 dairi) } 7.

Circars (Sarkars) . . . 1Ff, 2.
 Cochin . . . 3.
 Coimbatore (Koim-
 batur) } 3.
 Comorin, Cape . . . 1Di, 3.
 Concans (Konkans) . . . 1Cf, 5.
 Conjeveram . . . 3.
 Coorg (Kurg) . . . 1Dh, 3.
 Coromandel Coast . . . 3.
 Cotah (Kotah) . . . 1Dd, 5.
 Coveripak (Kaveri-
 pak) } 1Eh.
 Cuddalore (Gudalur) . . . 1Eh, 3.
 Currachee (Karachi) . . . 1Ad.
 Cutch (Katch) . . . 1Bd.
 Cutwah (Katwah) . . . 4.
 Dadar . . . 1Bb, 6.
 Dakka . . . 1Hd, 4.
 Delhi . . . { 1Dc, 2, 5, 6, 7.
 Derajat . . . 1Bb, 6.
 Devikota . . . 1Eh, 3.
 Dholpur . . . 5.
 Dindigul . . . 3.
 Dinapur . . . 7.
 Doab, The . . . 7.
 Emamgur (Imamgarh) . . . 1Bc.
 Faizabad (Fyzabad) . . . 7.
 Fatehpur (Futteypore) . . . 7.
 Ferozepore (Firozpur) . . . 1Cb, 6.
 Ferozeshah (Firoz-
 shah) } 1Cb, 6.
 Ferruckabad (Firk-
 abad) } 5.
 Fort St David . . . 1Eh, 3.
 Fulta . . . 4.
 Futteypore (Fatchpur) . . . 7.
 Fyzabad (Faizabad) . . . 7.
 Gandak R. . . . 7.
 Gandamak (Gunda-
 muck) } 1Ba, 6.
 Ganges R. . . . { 1Gd, 2, 5, 7.
 Gantur (Guntoor) . . . 1Eg, 3.
 Gawilgarh . . . 5.
 Ghats, E. . . . 2.
 Ghats, W. . . . 2.



Ghazipur	7.	Jelum R. (Jhelum)	1 <i>Da</i> , 6.
Ghazni (Guznee)	1 <i>Ba</i> , 6.	Jessalmir (Jeysalmeer)	1 <i>Bc</i> .
Gheriah	1 <i>Cg</i> .	Jhansi	1 <i>Dd</i> , 5, 7.
Gorakhpur	1 <i>Fc</i> , 7.	Jhelum (Jelum)	1 <i>Ca</i> , 6.
Gingee (Jinji)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 3.	Jinji (Gingee)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 3.
Goa	1 <i>Cg</i> .	Jodhpur	1 <i>Cc</i> , 5.
Godaveri R.	1 <i>Ef</i> , 2, 5.	Jubbulpore (Jabalpur)	1 <i>Ee</i> , 4, 5, 7.
Gogari R. (Gogra)	1 <i>Fc</i> , 7.	Juggernaut (Jaganath)	1 <i>Fe</i> .
Golconda	1 <i>Df</i> , 3.	Jummoo (Jamnu)	1 <i>Da</i> , 6.
Goomtee R. (Gumti)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 4, 7.	Jumna R. (Jamna)	{ 1 <i>Ed</i> , 2, 4, 5, 7.
Goona (Guna)	7.		
Gooty (Guti)	1 <i>Dg</i> , 3.	Kabul (Cabul)	1 <i>Ba</i> , 2, 6.
Gorakota	7.	Kachar (Cachar)	1 <i>Hd</i> .
Gudalur (Cuddalore)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 3.	Kahnpur (Cawnpore)	1 <i>Ec</i> , 4, 7.
Gujerat (Goojerat)	1 <i>Cb</i> , 6.	Kalikot (Calicut)	1 <i>Dh</i> , 3.
—	1 <i>Cd</i> , 2, 6.	Kalpi (Calpee)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 7.
Gumti R. (Goomtee)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 4, 7.	Kananur	3.
Guna (Goona)	7.	Kanauj (Canouj)	1 <i>Ec</i> .
Gundamuck (Ganda- mak)	1 <i>Ba</i> .	Kandahar (Candahar)	1 <i>Ab</i> , 2, 6.
Guntoor (Gantur)	1 <i>Eg</i> , 3.	Kandesh (Candeish)	1 <i>Ce</i> , 5.
Guti (Gooty)	1 <i>Dg</i> , 3.	Karachi (Currachee)	1 <i>Ad</i> .
Guznee (Ghazni)	1 <i>Ba</i> , 6.	Karikal (Carical)	1 <i>Ed</i> , 3.
Gwalior	1 <i>Dd</i> , 2, 5, 7.	Kashmir (Cashmere)	1 <i>Da</i> , 2, 6.
		Katch (Cutch)	1 <i>Bd</i> .
Haidarabad (Hydera- bad)	{ 1 <i>Df</i> , 2, 3.	Katmandhu	1 <i>Fc</i> , 4.
—	1 <i>Bd</i> .	Kathiawar	1 <i>Bc</i> .
Hazara	1 <i>Ca</i> .	Katwa (Cutwah)	4.
Herat	1 <i>Aa</i> .	Kaveri R. (Cauvery)	1 <i>Dh</i> , 2, 3.
Hindur	1 <i>Dh</i> , 6.	Kaveripak (Coveri- pack)	{ 1 <i>Ed</i> , 3.
Hissar	7.	Kelat	1 <i>Ab</i> , 2, 6.
Hugli	4.	Kelat-i-Ghilzai	1 <i>Bb</i> .
Hugli R. (Hooghley)	1 <i>Gd</i> , 4.	Kerauli	1 <i>Dc</i> , 5, 6, 7.
Hugri R.	3.	Khaibar Pass (Khyber)	6.
Hyderabad, <i>see</i> Haidarabad		Khairpur (Kyrpore)	1 <i>Bc</i> .
		Khatmandu	1 <i>Fc</i> , 4.
Imamgarh (Emamgur)	1 <i>Bc</i> .	Khistna R. (Krishna)	1 <i>Dg</i> , 2, 3.
Indore (Indur)	1 <i>Dc</i> , 5, 7.	Khyber Pass (Khaibar)	6.
Indus R.	1 <i>Bc</i> , 2, 6.	Kohat	6.
Irawadi R.	2.	Koimbatur	3.
		Kojak Pass	6.
Jabalpur (Jubbulpore)	1 <i>Ee</i> , 4, 5, 7.	Konkans (Concans)	1 <i>Cf</i> , 5.
Jaganath (Juggernaut)	1 <i>Fe</i> .	Kotah (Cotah)	1 <i>Dd</i> , 5.
Jalandar (Jullunder)	1 <i>Dh</i> , 6.	Krishna R. (Khistna)	1 <i>Dg</i> , 2, 3.
Jammu (Jummoo)	1 <i>Da</i> , 6.	Kumaon	1 <i>Ed</i> .
Jamna (Jumna)	{ 1 <i>Ed</i> , 2, 4, 5, 7.	Kurg (Coorg)	1 <i>Dh</i> , 3.
Jaunpur	7.	Kurnal	7.
Jeipur (Jeypur)	1 <i>Dc</i> , 5, 7.	Kyrpore (Kairpur)	1 <i>Bc</i> .
Jellalabad	1 <i>Ba</i> , 6.		
		Lahore	1 <i>Cb</i> , 2, 6.
		Laswari	1 <i>Dc</i> , 5.



INDEX TO MAPS

357

CSL

Lucknow	1Ec, 2, 4, 7.	Painganga R. (Pain- gunga)	5.
Ludhiana	1Db, 6.	Panipat	1Db, 6.
Madras	1Eh, 2, 3.	Panjab	1Cb, 2, 6.
Mahanadi R.	1Ec, 2.	Patiala	1Db, 6, 7.
Maharajpur	1Dc, 5.	Patna	1Fd, 2, 4, 7.
Mahé	1Ch, 3.	Pegu	1If, 2.
Mahi R.	5.	Pengunga R. (Pain- gunga)	5.
Maisur (Mysore)	{ 1Dg, 2, 3; 1Dh, 3.	Peshawar	1Ca, 2.
Malabar Coast	3.	Phillibit	7.
Malwa	1Dd, 2, 5.	Plassey	1Gd, 4.
Mandalay	1Ie.	Pollilur	3.
Mangalur	1Ch, 3.	Pondichery	1Eh, 2, 3.
Mangarwar (Mungar- war)	7.	Poonah (Puna)	1Cf, 5.
Manipur (Munnypore)	1Hd.	Porto Novo	3.
Masulipatam	1Eg, 2, 3.	Prome	1If.
Meeanee (Miani)	1Bc.	Puna (Poonah)	1Cf, 5.
Meerut (Mirat)	1Dc, 5, 6, 7.	Puniar	1Dd, 5.
Mhow (Mhao)	7.	Puttiala (Patiala)	1Db, 6, 7.
Midnapur	1Ge, 4.	Quetta	1Bb, 2, 6.
Miani (Meeanee)	1Bc.	Raigarh	1Cf, 5.
Mirat (Meerut)	1Dc, 5, 6, 7.	Rajputana	{ 1Cc, 2, 5, 6, 7.
Mirpur	1Bd.	Ramnagar	1Cb, 6.
Moodkee (Mudki)	1Db, 6.	Rampura	1Dd, 5.
Mooltan (Multan)	1Cb, 6.	Rangoon	1If.
Moorshedabad (Mur- shedabad)	1Gd, 2, 4.	Rassul (Rusool)	1Ca, 6.
Mudki (Moodkee)	1Db, 6.	Ravi R.	1Cb, 6.
Multan (Mooltan)	1Cb, 6.	Rewa (Riwa)	1Ed, 4, 7.
Mungarwar (Mangar- war)	7.	Rohilkhand	{ 1Ee, 2, 4, 5, 7.
Munnypore (Manipur)	1Hd.	Rusool (Rassul)	1Ca, 6.
Murshedabad (Moor- shedabad)	1Gd, 2, 4.	Sadulapur	1Cb, 6.
Mysore (Maisur)	{ 1Dg, 2, 3; 1Dh, 3.	Sagar (Saugur)	1Dd, 5, 7.
Nagpur	1Ee, 2, 5.	Sakhar (Sukkar)	1Bc, 6.
Nasirabad (Nusseera- bad)	7.	Salsette	1Cf, 5.
Negapatam	1Eh, 3.	Sarkars (Cirkars)	1If, 2.
Nepal	1Fe, 2, 4, 7.	Satara (Sattara)	1Cf, 5.
Nerbadda R.	1De, 2, 5, 7.	Satlej (Sutledge)	1Cb, 2, 6.
Nimach (Neemuch)	7.	Saugur (Sagar)	1Dd, 5, 7.
Nusseerabad (Nasira- bad)	7.	Scinde (Sindh)	1Bc, 2, 6.
Oodeypore (Udaipur)	1Cd, 2, 5.	Seetapore (Sitapur)	7.
Orissa	1Fe, 2, 4.	Seringapatam	1Dh, 2, 3.
Oudh	1Ec, 2, 4, 7.	Shikarpur	1Bc, 6.
		Sikkim	1Gc, 4.
		Simla	1Db, 6.
		Sindh R.	5.

INDEX TO MAPS

CSL

Sindh (Scinde)	1Bc, 2, 6.	Trincomali	1Ei, 3.
Sirhind	1Db, 7.	Tumbudra R. (Tan- } 1Dg, 2, 3.	ghabadra)
Sirsa	7.		
Sirur	5.		
Sitapur (Seetapore)	7.	Udaipur (Oodeypore)	1Cd, 2, 5.
Sobraon	6.	Umballa (Amballa)	1Db, 6, 7.
Sukkur (Sakhar)	1Bc, 6.	Ummercote (Amirkot)	1Bd.
Suleiman M.	2.	Umritsur (Amritsir)	1Db, 6.
Sultanpur	4, 7.		
Surat	1Ce, 2, 5.	Vellur	1Eh, 3.
Sutledge R. (Satiej)	1Cb, 2, 6.	Vindhya Hills	2.
		Vizagapatam	1Ff.
Tanghabadra R. } 1Dg, 2, 3.		Vizierabad (Wazira- } 1Cb, 6.	bad)
(Tumbudra)			
Tanjore	1Eh, 3.	Wainganga R.	5.
Tapti R.	1Ce, 2, 5.	Wandewash	1Eh, 3.
Terai, the	1Ec.	Warda R.	1De, 2, 5.
Thatta	1Bd.	Wargam	1Cf, 5.
Tonk	5.	Wazirabad	1Cb, 6.
Travancore	1Di, 2, 3.		
Trichinopoli	1Dh, 3.		



INDEX

- ABBOTT, J., 264, 269.
Abdalis, 76, 83, 84.
Abercrombie, Gen. Robert, 130, 133.
Adam, Mr. 179.
Adoption, 280, 304, 331.
Afghanistan, 222-224, 227-233; *see* Kabul.
Afghans, 13, 14.
Agitators, 306.
Agnew, Vans, 266, 267.
Agra, 55, 151, 253, 309, 311, 315, 321.
Ahalya Bai, 147.
Ahmed Shah, 76, 83, 85.
Ahmedabad, 100.
Ahmednagar, 14, 20, 21, 28, 150, 151.
Aix-la-chapelle, 62, 65.
Ajmir, 311.
Akbar, 17-20, 51.
Akbar (Prince), 27, 32.
Akbar Khan, 241, 243, 245.
Ala-ud-din, 14.
Alam Bagh, 319, 320, 321.
Albuquerque, 39.
Alexander the Great, 6.
Aligarh, 151.
Ali Murad, 248, 249.
Ali Vardi Khan, 30, 62, 76.
Aliwal, 262.
Allahabad, 88, 90, 95, 96, 97, 134, 309, 310, 311, 313, 317.
Almora, 166.
Alptegin, 13.
Amar Singh, 165-167.
Amballa, 259, 306, 310, 311, 314.
Ambur, 66.
American war, 94, 99, 102.
Amherst, Lord, 179-185, 211.
Amils, 197.
Amin Chand, *see* Omichund.
Amir (Kabul), 229; *see* Dost Mohammed.
Amirs of Sindh, *see* Sindh.
Amir Khan, 147, 158, 162, 163, 166, 169-174.
Amirkot, 250.
Amrawati, 171.
Angria, 71.
Anderson, 267.
Annexations and Cessions—
Allahabad, 134.
Arakan, 182.
Assam, 182.
Bandelkhand, 161.
Baramahal, 131.
Benares, 106, 109, 114.
Carnatic, 141.
Jalandar, 262.
Jhansi, 282.
Kachar, 186.
Maratha districts, 151, 174.
Mysore districts, 131, 140.
Nagpur, 283.
N. W. Provinces, 143.
Panjab, 272, 277.
Pegu, 276, 277.
Sagar, 174.
Sambalpur, 285.
Sarkars, 90.
Sattara, 281.
Sindh, 250.
Surat, 141.
Tanjur, 141.
Tenasserim, 182.
Annexation policy, 277 ff.
Anson, Gen., 314.
Anwar-ud-din, 62, 65, 66.
Apa Sahib, 169-175.
Appeal Courts, 192.
Arabs, 12, 172.
Arakan, 179, 180, 182, 276, 294.



- Arcot, 68, 100, 142, 279, 286; *see* Carnatic.
Argaon, 151.
Army, 89, 134, 193, 250, 258, 266, 292, 301, 302, 305, 309, 332, 339, 340.
Arni, 69.
Arrah, 318.
Arras, 98.
Aryans, 6.
Asaf Jah, *see* Nizam.
Asaf-ud-daulah, 109, 116.
Asirgarh, 174.
Assam, 179, 182.
Assaye, 150.
Assessment, 112, 132, 197, 202.
Attok, 227, 269, 270.
Auckland, Lord, 186, 234-242, 245, 248, 255.
Aurangabad, 29, 150.
Aurangzib, 18, 22, 24-33, 43, 51.
Ava, 179, 182, 274.
Avitabile, 226, 230.
Azim (Barakzai), 227, 228, 229.
Azim Jah, 286.
Azimgarh, 313.

BABER, 13-17, 19.
Bahadur Shah, 30, 34.
Bahawalpur, 237, 268.
Baillie, Col., 103.
Baily Guard, 312.
Bairam, 18.
Baird, David, 144.
Baj-Baj, 77.
Baji Rao, *see* Marathas, Peshwa.
Baksar, *see* Buxar.
Bala Hissar, 239, 240, 245.
Balaji Rao, *see* Marathas, Peshwa.
Balaji Wiswanath, *see* Marathas, Peshwa.
Balban, 13.
Bamian, 245.
Bandula, 180-182.
Bandelkhand, 161.
Bangalur, 130.
Bannu, 269.
Barakzais, 222, 224, 227, 232.
Baramahal, 131, 201.
Barlow, Sir G., 155, 157-161, 203.
Barnard, Gen., 314.
Baroch, 151.
Baroda, *see* Marathas, Gailwar.
Barrackpur, 183, 307.
Barwell, 93, 98, 110.
Basharat Ganj, 317, 318.
Bassein, 98.
Batta, 89.
Battles—
 Aliwal, 262.
 Ambur, 66.
 Argaon, 151.
 Arni, 69.
 Arras, 98.
 Assaye, 150.
 Basherat Ganj, 317, 318.
 Budhowal, 262.
 Buxar, 88.
 Chillianwalla, 270.
 Chinhat, 312.
 Daba, 249.
 Dig, 153.
 Firozshah, 260, 261.
 Gujerat, 271.
 Kaveripak, 69.
 Kiniri, 268.
 Kirki, 172.
 Laswari, 151.
 Maharajpur, 254.
 Miani, 249.
 Mudki, 260.
 Naval battles, 94, 105, 112, 137, 156.
 Panipat, 16, 18, 83, 84.
 Plassey, 80.
 Pollilur, 104.
 Porto Novo, 104.
 Puniar, 254.
 Ramnagar, 269.
 Saddusam, 268.
 Sadulapur, 270.
 Sikri, 17.
 Sitabaldi, 172.
 Sobraon, 262.
 Solingarh, 104.
 Tezin, 245.
 Wandewash, 73.
Beejanuggur, 14.
Beejapore, *see* Bijapur.
Begum of Oudh (a) 109, 116; (b) 310, 313.
 Mani B., 108, 110.
Benares, 106, 109, 114, 309, 313, 317.



- Bengal, 5, 41, 44, 71, 75 ff., 87 ff., 198, 292.
Bengal sepoys, *see* Hindostanis.
Benthamism, 203.
Beatinck, Lord W., 159, 179, 185, 186, 203, 211, 213, 215, 237, 289.
Berar, 151, 285; *see* Marathas, Bhonsla.
Bernier, F., 51, 55, 56.
Bhairawal, 263.
Bhamani dynasty, 14.
Bhartpur, 153, 183-185.
Bhawalpore, *see* Bahawalpur.
Bhils, 214.
Bhonsla, *see* Marathas, Bhonsla.
Bhopal, 100, 168, 170.
Bhyrowal, 263.
Bijanagar, 14.
Bijapur, 14, 20, 21, 28-33.
Biluchis, 264.
Biluchistan, 222, 229, 237, 248.
Bird, R. M., 203.
Bithur, 306.
Black Hole, the, 76.
Board of Control, 124, 189, 331.
Bod, 290.
Bolan Pass, 222, 237.
Bombay, 42, 98, 99, 103, 106, 201.
Boondee, *see* Bundi.
Boscawen, Adm., 64.
Boughton, 41.
Bourquin, 151.
Boyle, Vicars, 318.
Brahmaputra, 179.
Brahmins, 8, 27, 194, 252, 301.
Broach, *see* Baroch.
Brasyer, 311.
Brathwaite, 104.
Broadfoot, 243, 259.
Bruce, 103, 106.
Buddhism, 9.
Budge Budge, *see* Baj Baj.
Budhowal, 262.
Buffer-state, 234.
Buildings, 23, 55.
Bundelcund, *see* Bandelkhand.
Bundi, 158.
Bunnoo, *see* Bannu.
Burhampur, 100.
Burke, E., 92, 117, 337.
Burma, 179-182, 274-276, 305.
Burnes, A., 234, 235, 239, 240.
Burtpore, *see* Bhartpur.
Busherut Gunj, *see* Basherat Ganj.
Bussy, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 79, 84, 105.
Bute, Lord, 91.
Buxar, 88, 144.
CABUL, *see* Kabul.
Cachar, *see* Kachar.
Calcutta, 43, 327.
Calliaud, 87.
Calpee, *see* Kalpi.
Campbell, Sir A., 181.
Campbell, Sir Colin, Lord Clyde, 320, 321.
Canals, 216, 288, 294.
Canara, 201.
Cananore, *see* Kananur.
Candahar, *see* Kandahar.
Candeish, *see* Kandesh.
Canning, George, 168, 177, 179.
Canning, Lord, 299, 304, 322, 326-328, 340-342.
Canouj, *see* Kanauij.
Cape Route, 39.
Carnac, 88.
Carnatic, Nawabs of, 62-74, 100, 141, 142, 279, 286.
Cartridge Incident, 306, 324, 325.
Cashmere, *see* Kashmir.
Caste, 8, 181, 194, 251, 275, 303, 305, 306.
Castlereagh, 179.
Cawnpore, 309, 311, 312, 313, 316-321, 323, 326.
Ceylon, 104, 144.
Chambal R., 151, 158, 311.
Chamberlain, N., 310.
Chanda, 254.
Chanda Sahib, 65 ff.
Chandairi, 322.
Chandernagar, 46, 71, 77.
Charter Acts, 40, 44; *see* Parliament.
Chatham, Lord, 62, 71, 91, 92.
Chattar Singh, 268, 269, 274.
Chauth, 31, 35, 90.
Chenab R., 269, 270, 271.
Cheyt Singh, 115.
Chillianwalla, 270.
Chinhat, 312.
Chinsura, 82.
Chitaldrug, 140.



- Chittagong, 179, 180, 181.
Chitu, 167, 171, 172.
Cholera, 171, 317.
Chout, *see* Chaouth.
Chumbul R., *see* Chambal R.
Chunar, 115.
Chundernagore, *see* Chandernagar.
Chundeyree, *see* Chandairi.
Circars, *see* Sarkars.
Cis-Satlaj Sikhs, 162, 193, 311, 324.
Clavering, Gen., 98, 99, 107, 112.
Civil Service, 190, 331.
Clerk, Sir G., 242, 282.
Climate, 5, 183.
Clive, Robert—
 First appearance, 68; at Arcot, 68, 69; at Trichinopoli, 69; returns to England, 71; destroys Angria, 71; recovers Calcutta, 77; Omichund intrigue, 78; the two treaties, 79; advance to Plassey, 79; the battle, 80; conduct as victor, 81; sends Forde to Sarkars, 73, 81; foils invasion, 81; his jaghir, 82; Dutch episode, 82; goes home, 82; return (in '65), 85, 88; reforms, 89; suppresses mutiny, 89; policy to Delhi and Oudh, 90; accepts Diwani, 90; final retirement, 90; character and work, 91; miscellaneous, 92, 93, 95, 117, 284.
Clive, Lord (Madras), 142.
Clyde, Lord, *see* Campbell, Sir C.
Coalition Ministry, 122.
Codification of Laws, 132.
Coimbatore, *see* Koimbatour.
Coke, 273, 291.
Colbert, 42.
Collectors, 132, 191.
Colleges, 146, 215.
Communication, 57, 288, 293, 294, 329.
Company, the Hon. East India, 40 ff., 49, 70, 92, 189, 329, 330, 331.
 — Dutch E. I., 40, 45.
 — French E. I., 42, 45-47, 70.
Concans, *see* Konkans.
Control, Board of, 124, 189, 331.
Coorg, *see* Kurg.
Coote, Sir Eyre, 73, 79, 80, 88, 104, 105, 112.
Corbett, 310.
Cornwallis, Lord, 124, 127—
 Character, 128, 132; the Nizam, 128; letter, 129; independence of action, 129; takes command, 130; retreats, 131; decisive campaign, 131; policy and administration, 132, 137; retirement, 132; refuses reappointment, 135; settlement, 198; return to India, 153, 155, 157; miscellaneous, 137, 188.
Cotah, *see* Kotah.
Cotton, Sir W., 237, 239.
Council (Calcutta), 93, 98, 107 ff., 188, 190.
Courts, 110, 113, 191, 192.
Coveripack, *see* Kaveripak.
Cowley, Lord, *see* Wellesley, H.
Crimean War, 302.
Cromwell, Oliver, 42, 44.
Cuddalore, *see* Gudalur.
Currie, Sir F., 265, 267, 268.
Cutwah, *see* Katwa.
DABA, 249.
D'Aché, 72.
Dacoity, 209, 211, 213, 288.
Dada, the, 251-253.
Dadar, 237.
Dakka, 294.
Dalhousie, Lord—
 Arrival in India, 265; second Sikh war, 267; annexation of Panjab, 272 ff.; attitude to Sirdars, 272, to Henry Lawrence, 273; Burmese war, 275; views on annexation, 276-279; Sattara Minute, 277; theory of adoption, 280; Sattara, 281; Jhansi, 282; Kerauli, 282; Nagpur, 283, 286; Oudh, 284, 285; treatment of Nizam, 285; Arcot, 286; Nana Sahib, 287; system in Panjab, 291; education, 292; railways, 293; telegraph, 294; public works department, 294; roads, 294; post, 294; retirement, 295; character, 295; miscellaneous, 304, 325.



- Daoudpootras, *see* Bahawalpur.
Daulat Rao, *see* Marathas, Sindhia.
Davi, 208.
Dekhan, 4 ff., 50.
De Boigne, 137, 150.
Delhi, 13, 35, 37, 55, 90, 151, 153,
184, 308, 311, 314, 315, 317, 319,
320, 326.
Deogaon, 251.
Derajat, 227, 264, 267.
Derby, Lord, 331.
Devikota, 66.
Dhian Singh, 257.
Dholpur, 253.
Dhulip Singh, 257, 264, 272.
Dig, 153.
Dinapur, 309, 313, 317, 318.
Dinkar Rao, 311, 324.
Directors, 49, 81, 92, 99, 146, 211,
281.
Disaffection, causes of, 300 ff.
Diwani, 90, 108.
Dixon, 214.
Doab, the, 143, 151.
Dost Ali, 65.
Dost Mohammed, 228, 229, 230,
234, 235, 238, 239, 246, 274, 305,
325, 326.
Drake, 76.
Dumas, 46, 65.
Dumdum, 306.
Dundas, 117, 123, 124.
Dundu Panth, *see* Nana Sahib.
Dupleix—
Rise of, 37, 62; views of British
rivalry, 62; schemes, 63; attacks
Madras, 63; tricks Anwar-ud-
din, 64; supports Native pre-
tenders, 66; thwarted by Clive,
69; his resistance, 70; retirement
and disgrace, 70; miscellaneous,
118.
Dupleix-Fatehabad, 68.
Durand, 321.
Duranis, 83, 84, 222, 243.
Durjan Sal, 184.
Dutch, 40, 42-45, 82, 104.
EAST India Company, *see* Company.
Education, 215, 288, 292, 303.
Edwardes, Herbert, 264, 267, 268,
305, 310, 325.
Egypt, 137, 144.
Elizabeth, Queen, 40.
Ellenborough, Lord, 242-246, 248,
251-255, 288, 293.
Ellis (Patna), 88.
Elphinstone, Mountstuart, 161, 169,
172, 176, 201, 202, 223, 237.
Elphinstone, Gen., 239, 240.
Emamgur, *see* Imamgarh.
Enlistment, General Service, 305,
324, 326.
England, Gen., 243.
Eyre, Vincent, 318.
FAIZABAD, 116.
Famines, 95, 288.
Fanatics, 306.
Farokshir, 34, 35, 44.
Fateh Khan, 222, 224, 227, 228.
Feroze—, *see* Firoz—.
Feudalism, 204, 278.
Firakabad, 318.
Firozpur, 237, 246, 259, 260, 266,
310.
Firozshah, 260, 270.
Fitch, 40.
Flint, 102.
Forde, 73, 81, 82.
Fort St David, 47, 64, 72.
Fort William, 43, 47, 76.
Fox, C. J., 122.
Franks, 321.
Frontier-men, 263, 273, 304.
Francis, Philip, 98, 113, 117.
Fraser, 153.
Fujdar Khan, 268.
Fullerton, 105.
Fulta, 77.
Futley—, *see* Fateh—.
Fyzabad, *see* Faizabad.
GAIKWAR, *see* Marathas, Gaikwar.
Gandamak, 240.
Ganges, 4, 317, 320.
Garrakota, 322.
Gawilgarh, 151.
General Service Enlistment Act,
305, 324, 326.
Geography, 3.
George III., 91, 122, 123.
George IV., 128.
Geriah, 71.



- Chat Mts., 4.
Ghazni, 222, 227, 228, 241, 243, 245.
Ghilzais, 36, 239.
Gholab Singh, 257, 263, 324, 326.
Ghori dynasty, 13.
Ghurkas, 165-167, 321, 323, 324.
Gilbert, Sir W., 272.
Gillespie, 149, 163, 166.
Gingee, *see* Jinji.
Goa, 40.
Godaveri, 4.
Goddard, 100, 103, 106.
Godwin, Gen., 276.
Gohud, 100.
Golconda, 14, 20, 21, 30, 32, 33.
Gorakpur, 165.
Gough, Lord, 254, 256, 259-263, 267-271.
Governor-General, powers of, 93, 188, 190, 331.
Govind Singh, 221.
Grenville, 91.
Grey, Gen., 254.
Griffin, 64.
Gudalur (Cuddalore), 105.
Gujerat (Hindustan), 13, 32.
— (Panjab), 271.
Gumsur, 289, 290.
Gunah, 322.
Gundamuk, *see* Gandamak.
Guntur Sarkar, 128.
Gurkhas, 165-167, 321, 323, 324.
Gurus, 220.
Guti, 69, 140.
Gwalior, 103, 185, 251-255, 283, 311, 322, 324.
— Contingent, 254, 310, 311, 318, 321, 323, 324.
HAIDAR ALI—
Rise, 83, 84; progress, 85, 101; quarrels with Madras, 86, 102; invades Carnatic, 100, 102; contest with Coote, 104; death, 105; character, 101; miscellaneous, 128, 140, 200.
Haiderabad (Dekhan), 35.
— Contingent, 160, 176, 285.
Haiderabad (Sindh), 247, 249.
Hall, 213.
Hamilton, Dr, 44.
Harbours, 5, 48, 65.
Hardinge, Lord, 254, 256, 259-263, 265, 284, 288.
Hansi, 311.
Hari Pant, 131.
Harlan, 230.
Harris, Gen., 139.
Hartley, 99, 103, 130.
Hastings, Lord, 163—
Arrival in India, 164; situation, 164; Gurka war, 165-167; Pindari troubles, 167; attitude of Marathas, 168, 170; alliances of Hastings, 169, 170; strategic dispositions, 171; Pindari war, 170-174; subsequent treaties, 174, 175; Palmer & Co., 176; character and treatment, 177; miscellaneous, 180, 188, 279.
Hastings, Warren—
Early career, 87, 96, 107; governor of Bengal, 96; Rohilla war, 97; governor-general, 93; struggle with council, 98, 108-112; the Oudh Begums, 109, 116, 338; Maratha complications, 98 ff.; Diwani, 108, 112, 198; Nuncomar, 110; letter of resignation, 111; contest for Governor-Generalship, 112; contest with High Court, 113; judicial arrangements, 108, 111; Oudh subsidiary alliance, 112; action against Haidar, 104; conduct of foreign affairs, 106; Cheyt Singh, 114, 338; administration, 112; character, 106, 116; impeachment, 116, 337-339; death, 178; miscellaneous, 127, 190, 209.
Havelock, Sir H., 243, 306, 312, 316-319, 321.
Havelock-Allen, 322.
Hazara, 264, 268, 269.
Herat, 222, 228, 232, 236, 238, 305.
High Court, the, 110, 113.
Himalayas, 3.
Hindi, 6.
Hindustan, 4 ff., 22, 203.
Hindustani, 6.
Hindustanis, 194, 304, 305, 310, 313, 323, 325, 326.



Hirakush, 238, 245.
Hindusm, 6, 8, 181, 252, 280, 303.
Hira Singh, 257, 258.
Hissar, 311.
Hobart, Lord, 137.
Hobhouse, Sir J., 237.
Hodson, 273.
Holkar, *see* Marathas, Holkar.
Holland, 40, 43-45, 104.
Home, 315.
Hornby, 98, 103.
Hughes, 105.
Hugli, 42.
Human sacrifice, 289, 290.
Humayun, 17.
Hyder—, *see* Haidar.
IMAMGARH, 249.
Impey, 109, 112, 113, 114, 132.
India Acts, *see* Parliament.
India House, 93, 146, 152, 153.
Indur, 150, 320, 321.
Indus R., 230, 234.
Infanticide, 211, 213, 288, 289, 292.
Interlopers, 43.
Invasions of India—
 Ahmed Shah, 76, 83, 85.
 Alexander, 6.
 Arabs, 12.
 Aryan, 6.
 Baber, 14.
 Ghori, 13, 14.
 Mahmud of Ghazni, 13.
 Nadir Shah, 36.
 Scythian, 6.
 Tamerlane, 14, 15.
Iravadi R., 179, 181, 275.
Irrigation, 216, 288, 294.
JACOB, 306.
Jacobitism, 61.
Jagbhidars, 197, 278.
Jalandar, 262, 266.
Jammu, 257.
Jamna R. (Jumna), 3, 311, 313, 321.
Jamrud, 230.
Jang Bahadur, 321.
Jats, 9, 220.
Java, 163.
Jehandar Shah, 34.

Jehangir, 20, 41.
Jeipur, 25, 158, 185.
Jellalabad, 240-244.
Jelum R., *see* Jhilum R.
Jenghis Khan, 15.
Jenkins, R., 172, 173, 174, 176, 283.
Jeswant Rao, *see* Marathas, Holkar.
Jeswant Singh, 27, 29, 30.
Jey Singh, 29, 30.
Jhansi, 254, 280, 282, 310, 311, 322, 326.
—, the Rani of, 282, 310, 313, 322, 323, 324.
Jhats, 9, 183.
Jhilum R., 270.
Jindan, the Rani, 257, 258, 264, 266.
Jinji (Gingee), 33, 67.
Jodpur, 25, 166.
Jones, Sir Harford, 160.
Judicial System, 110, 113, 191, 192.
Jugdespur, 318.
Jummoo, *see* Jammu.
Jumna R., *see* Jamna.
Justice, Courts of, 108, 110, 111, 113.
KABUL, 16, 161, 222, 227, 228, 238, 240, 241, 245.
Kachar, 186.
Kahnpur, *see* Cawnpore.
Kali R., 167.
Kalpi, 313, 318, 321, 322.
Kamran, 228, 232.
Kananur, 139.
Kanauj, 13.
Kandahar, 222, 227, 229, 238, 240, 241, 243.
Kandesh, 214.
Karim, 171, 172.
Kashmir, 227, 262, 263, 324, 326.
Katmandhu, 165.
Kattak, 37, 151.
Katwa, 79.
Kaveripak, 69.
Keane, Sir J., 237, 238.
Keating, Col., 98.
Kelat, 229, 237, 238, 239, 248.
Kelat-i-Ghilzai, 243, 244.



- Kerauli, 280, 282.
Khaibar Pass, *see* Khyber Pass.
Khairpur, 247, 249.
Khalsa, the, 221, 226, 252, 257.
Kharak Singh, 256, 257.
Kharram, *see* Shah Jehan.
Khilji dynasty, 13.
Khistna R., *see* Krishna R.
Khojak Pass, 222, 237.
Khonds, 215, 289, 290.
Khyber Pass, 222, 237, 238, 244.
Kiniri, 268.
Kirki, 172.
Kirkpatrick, 138.
Knox, 87.
Kohinur, 227.
Koimbatour, 130.
Konkans, 32, 103.
Kotah, 152.
Krishna R., 4, 141.
Kshatryas, 8.
Kumaon, 166.
Kunwar Singh, 318.
Kurg, 186.
Kurnal, 314.

LA BOURDONNAIS, 63, 118.
Lahore, 262, 264, 266, 268, 292;
 see Sikhs.
Lake, Lord, 151, 152, 153, 157, 158.
Lal Singh, 257, 260, 264.
Lally, 71-74, 118.
Lambert, 274, 275.
Land-holders, 108, 198 *ff.*, 278, 301,
 313.
Land-settlements, 132, 196-205.
Languages, 6, 215.
Lapse, *see* Adoption.
Laswari, 151.
Law of Laureston, 69.
Lawrence, George, 241, 269, 304,
 324.
 — Henry, 263-265, 272, 273,
 274, 277, 291, 295, 302, 304,
 310, 312, 315, 324, 325.
 — John, 264, 269, 273, 291, 302,
 304, 310, 314, 325.
 — Richard, 310.
 — Stringer, 64, 67, 69, 72.
Leadenhall Street, 93, 146.
Lenoir, 46.
Littler, Sir J., 260, 261.

Lodi dynasty, 14, 16.
Lucknow, 109, 302, 310, 312, 315-
 317, 319, 321.
Ludhiana, 228, 259.
Lumsden, 273, 291.
Lushai, 179.

MACARTNEY, Lord, 104, 124, 137.
Macaulay, Lord, 97, 109, 153, 185,
 215.
Machi Bhaun, 312.
M'Leod, D., 310.
Macnaghten, 237, 239-241.
M'Neill, Sir J., 235, 236.
Macpherson, Sir J., 124, 127.
Macpherson, J. D., 310, 314.
Macpherson, S. C., 289, 290, 311.
Madagascar, 45.
Madhava Rao, *see* Marathas, Sindhia.
Madoji, *see* Marathas, Sindhia.
Madras—
 Established, 42; captured by La
 Bourdonnais, 64; restored, 65;
 feeble policy, 66; Governor
 Saunders, 68; relations with
 Salabat Jang, 85; relations with
 Haidar, 86; general mismanage-
 ment, 102, 105, 106; land settle-
 ment, 201.
Madras sepoy, 181, 194, 251, 305,
 323, 324.
Magistrates, 132.
Mahanadi R., 4, 289.
Maharajpur, 254, 258.
Mahé, 46, 102.
Mahmud of Ghazni, 13, 246.
 — Ghilzai, 36.
 — Sudozai, 227.
Maisur, *see* Mysore.
Malaun, 166.
Malcolm, Sir J., 138, 145, 156, 160,
 171, 173, 176, 201, 287.
Malik Amber, 21.
Mama, the, 251, 252.
Manchus, 12.
Mangalur, 129.
Mangarwar, 317, 319.
Manipur, 179, 182.
Mansel, 273.
Marathas—
 First appearances, 21, 27; rise
 under Sivaji, 28-31; under Sivaji's

Marathas—*continued.*

Successors, 32-34; development under Peshwas, 37; in Carnatic, 46, 69, 73; expansion in Hindostan, 84; checked at Panipat, 83, 84; Ragoba, 84, 94, 98-100; war with Bombay, 98 ff.; Mysore war, 131; the Pentarchy, struggles for ascendancy, 133, 138, 147; wars with Wellesley, 150-154; cessions, 151; the Pindari war, 170-174; Gwalior intrigues, 251-253; Maharajpur, 254; in the Mutiny, 320, 323; miscellaneous, 56. Baroda, *see* Gaikwar.

Bhonsla—

Pantaji, 34.

Ragoji I., 37, 46, 76, 84.

Janoji, 84.

Mudaji, 98, 100, 103.

Ragoji II., 149-151, 163, 168, 169.

Apa Sahib, 169-175.

Later, 283, 286.

Gaikwar, 34, 98, 103, 150, 168.

Gwalior, *see* Sindhia.

Holkar—

Mulhar Rao, 34.

Takoji, 95, 98, 103, 133, 147.

Jeswant Rao, 147-150, 152, 153, 157, 158, 162.

Mulhar Rao II., 169.

Takoji II., 320.

Indur, *see* Holkar.

Nagpur, *see* Bhonsla.

Peshwa—

Balaji Wiswanath, 34.

Baji Rao I., 36.

Balaji Rao, 37, 38, 84.

Madhu Rao, 84, 95, 98.

Narnian Rao, 98.

Baji Rao II., 133, 147, 166, 168-175, 279, 287.

Puna, *see* Peshwa.

Sindhia—

Madhava Rao (Madoji), 95, 98, 99, 103, 116, 125-127, 133, 137, 208.

Daulat Rao, 133, 147-151, 157, 158, 166, 168-175, 185.

Jankoji, 251.

Jyaji, 251, 254, 311, 322.

Marathas—Sindhia—*continued.*

Ranoji, 34.

Sivaji, 21, 26, 28-31.

Marley, Gen., 166.

Marriage, 212, 289.

Martin, F., 42, 45.

Masulipatam, 73, 81, 160.

Mauritius, the, 45, 63, 102, 144, 163.

Medows, Gen., 130.

Meenah, *see* Miani.

Meerut, *see* Mirat.

Mercenaries, 56.

Merwara, 212, 213.

Metcalf, Lord, 162, 176, 177, 184, 186, 223, 237.

Mhow, 320.

Miani, 249, 252.

Military Board, 288, 294.

Mines at Lucknow, 316.

Minto, Lord, 155, 159-163, 188.

Mir Cassim, 87, 88.

Mir Jafar, 78 ff., 87, 88.

Mirat, 259, 292, 306, 307, 309, 310, 311.

Mirpur, 247, 249.

Misls, 221, 222, 224.

Missionaries, 303.

Moazzin, *see* Bahadur Shah.

Mogul Dominion—

Political theory, 52; Diwani, 19, 26, 52, 196; justice, 53, 55; merits and demerits, 53 ff.; magnificence, 22, 55; aristocracy, 54.

Mogul party, 306-308, 313, 323, 324, 325.

Mohammed (Mahomet), 6, 12.

— Ali, 66-70, 100.

— Ghori, 13, 14.

— Reza Khan, 107, 108, 111.

— Shah (Mogul), 35, 37.

— — (Persia), 232, 236.

Mohammedanism, 6, 13, 15, 26, 306.

Mohammedans, 6, 252, 306-308, 313, 320, 323, 324, 325.

Mohan Persad, 110.

Moir, *see* Hastings, Lord.

Monopolies, 43, 146, 189.

Monson, 99, 112.

Monson, Col., 152.

Monsoons, 5 ff., 65.



Montgomery, 273, 310.
Moodkee, *see* Mudki.
Mooltan, *see* Multan.
Moorshedabad, *see* Murshidabad.
Morari Rao, 69, 70.
Morrington, *see* Wellesley, Lord.
Morrison, Gen., 182.
Morse, 63.
Moti Masjid, 23.
Mudki, 259, 260.
Mughals, 12.
Mulraj, 266-269.
Multan, 227, 228, 266, 268-271.
Mungurwar, *see* Mangarwar.
Munnipore, *see* Manipur.
Munro, H., 88, 102, 201.
Munro, T., 174, 176, 181.
Murray, Gen., 152.
Murshidabad, 76.
Mussulmans, *see* Mohammedans.
Mutinies—
 British : under Clive, 89.
 — — — Shore, 134.
 — — — Barlow, 159.
 Sepoy : Vellur, 159, 303.
 — — Barrackpur, 183, 307.
 — — Trans-Indus, 250.
 — — Murshidabad, 307.
 — — Mirat, 307.
 — — The revolt, 308 *ff.*
 — — Series of mutinies, 311 *ff.*
Muzaffar Jang, 66, 67.
Mysore, 69, 70, 131, 140, 157, 185 ;
 see Haidar Ali and Tippu.

NABOBS, 92, 123.
Nadir Shah, 35, 36, 62, 83.
Nagpur, 37, 280, 283, 286.
Nana Farnavis, 96, 98, 100, 125,
 147.
Nana Sahib, 286, 287, 306, 307,
 310-313, 317, 320, 321, 323, 324.
Nanda Kumar, *see* Nuncomar.
Nanuk, 220, 292.
Nao Nehal Singh, 257.
Napier, Sir C., 248-250, 271, 291,
 295.
Napoleon, 73, 122, 136, 144, 156,
 160, 163, 222.
Nasir Jang, 66, 67.
Nasir Mohammed, 170.
Nasirabad, 311.

Nationality, 9.
Naval influence, 48, 62, 71, 137,
 156.
Nawab Wazir, *see* Oudh.
Neemuch, *see* Nimach.
Negapatam, 104.
Neill, 311, 317.
Nepal, 164-167.
Nerbadda R., 4, 167, 310, 320.
Nicholls, Gen., 242, 244.
Nicholson, J., 264, 273, 305, 310,
 314, 315, 325, 326.
Nile, battle of, 137, 156.
Nimach, 311.
Nizam—
 Asaf Jah, 35, 55, 66.
 Nadir Jang, 66, 67.
 Muzaffar Jang, 66, 67.
 Salabat Jang, 67, 70, 73.
 Ali, 101, 103, 125, 128, 133, 138,
 140, 151.
 Later Nizams, 158, 169, 176, 285,
 320, 324.
Non-regulation Provinces, 193, 291.
North, Lord, 92, 93, 107, 113, 122.
North-west Provinces, 143, 186,
 188, 203, 216, 288, 292.
Nott, Gen., 239, 240, 243, 244,
 245.
Nuncomar, 108, 110.
Nur Jehan, 20, 21.
Nusseerabad, *see* Nasirabad.

OCHTERLONY, Gen., 153, 166, 167,
 176, 184.
Omdal-ul-Omrah, 142.
Omichund, 78, 79, 80.
Oodeypore, *see* Udaipur.
Orientalism, 9, 10, 225, 278.
Orissa, 37, 90, 167.
Oudh, 36, 76, 88, 90, 109, 112,
 116, 127, 134, 143, 167, 176,
 185, 280, 284, 285, 303, 313,
 315-319, 321-324, 326.
Ouseley, Sir G., 161.
Outram, 214, 248, 249, 284, 285,
 303, 317, 319, 321.

PALMER, 243.
Palmer & Co., 176, 243.
Palmerston, Lord, 330.
Panchayets, 257.

Panipat, 16, 18, 84.
 Panjals (District), 3, 50, 84, 219.
 — (Province) in the Mutiny, 310,
 314, 320, 325; governing board,
 273, 291; administration, 291;
 army in, 292, 302, 310.
 — (State), *see* Sikhs.
 Paris, Peace of, 73.
 Parliament—
 Relations to the H.E.I.C., 92.
 Parties in, 91.
 North's Act, 93, 107.
 Coalition ministry, 122.
 Fox's Bill, 122.
 Pitt's Act, 123, 188.
 Declaratory Act, 123.
 All-the-talents ministry, 155.
 Charter Act (1793), 189.
 — (1813), 189.
 — (1833), 187, 189.
 Transfer to Crown (1858), 331.
 Miscellaneous, 121.
 Passes, 1, 222, 237, 238, 244.
 Patel, 126, 208.
 Pathans, 147, 162, 167-172, 264,
 268.
 Patiala, 222, 324.
 Patna, 81, 87, 88, 308.
 Peasantry, *see* Ryots.
 Peninsular and Oriental Co., 288.
 Pegu, 179, 276.
 Perron, 150, 151.
 Persia, 145, 156, 160, 231-237, 239,
 246, 274, 305.
 Persian Gulf, 236.
 Peshawar, 222, 227, 229, 235, 243
 268, 269, 272, 326.
 Peshwas, *see* Marathas.
 Peyton, Commodore, 63.
 Phillur, 310.
 Pigot, Lord, 101.
 Pilgrimages, 43.
 Pindaris, 163, 167-174.
 Pitt, W. (1) *see* Chatham; (2) 117,
 123, 338.
 Plassey, 80.
 Poligars, 197.
 Politicals, 190.
 Pollilur, 104.
 Pollock, Gen., 242, 244, 245.
 Pondichery, 42, 45, 64, 73.
 Poonah, *see* Puna.

Popham, 100, 103, 106, 115.
 Porto Novo, 104.
 Portuguese, 39-41.
 Post, 294.
 Pottinger, Eldred, 234, 236, 241,
 245.
 Presidencies, 187.
 Prome, 182, 276.
 Proprietors, Court of, 49, 92, 146.
 Public works, 216, 288.
 Puna, 38, *see* Marathas, Peshwas.
 Puniar, 254.
 Purandar, 99.

 QUEBEC, 62.
 Quetta, 222, 237, 243, 248.
 Quiberon, 62.

 RACES, 6.
 Ragoba, 84, 94, 98-100, 106.
 Ragoji, *see* Marathas, Bhonsla.
 Ragonath Rao, *see* Ragoba.
 Raighar, 29, 33.
 Railways, 293.
 Rainier, Admiral, 144.
 Rains, 5.
 Raj Singh, 27.
 Raja Ram, 33.
 Raja Sahib, 69.
 Rajputana, 3, 36, 50, 163, 176, 185,
 273, 282, 304, 324.
 Rajputs, 8, 12, 17, 19, 25, 26, 27,
 150, 158, 170, 174, 194, 252, 278,
 301, 303.
 Ramnagar, 269.
 Rampura, 150, 152.
 Rangoon, 181, 274-276.
 Ranjit Singh, *see* Sikhs.
 Rassul, 270, 271.
 Rawlinson, 243, 244.
 Raymond, 133, 137, 138.
 Reed, Gen., 314.
 Regulation Provinces, 193.
 Religions, 7-10.
 Renaud, 317.
 Residency (Lucknow), 312, 315-
 317, 319, 321.
 Residents, 190.
 Revenue, 196-205, 216.
 Revolt, the, 308-323.
 Ridge, the, 314.
 Roads, 216.

Rockinghams, 91.
Rodney, 94, 112.
Roe, Sir T., 41, 55.
Rohilkhand, 85, 96, 97, 322.
Rohillas, 85, 86, 96, 97, 318.
Rose, Sir H., 321-323.
Rumbold, 101.
Russia, 144, 156, 160, 162, 231,
232, 234, 236, 239.
Rustam (Rais), 248, 249.
Ryots, 108, 200 *ff.*, 301, 332.
Ryotwari, 202.

SAADAT ALI, 134, 143.
Sacrifices, human, 289, 290.
Saddusam, 268.
Sadr (Sudder) Courts, 114, 192.
Sadulapur, 270.
Sadutulla, 65.
Safavis, 36.
Safdar Ali, 65.
Safdat Ali, 76.
Sagar, 168, 174, 311, 322.
Saho, 33, 35, 38.
St Lubin, 99.
Sakhar, 249.
Salabat Jang, 67, 70, 73.
Salar Jang, 320, 324.
Sale, Gen., 240, 243, 244.
Salkeld, 315.
Salsette, 98.
Salt-tax, 89.
Sambaji, 32, 33.
Sambalpur, 285.
Sarkars, 70, 72, 90, 177, 289.
Sati, *see* Suttee.
Satlej, 3, 4, 219, 259, 262, 269.
Sattara, 172, 174, 279, 280, 281.
— Minute, 277.
Saunders, Governor, 68.
Scinde, *see* Sindh.
Scindia, *see* Marathas, Sindhia.
Scythians 6.
Sea-power, 48, 62, 71, 137, 156.
Seiads, 14, 34, 35.
Seringapatam, 130, 139, 141, 160.
Settlements, Land, 132, 196-205, 288.
Shah Alam, 81, 85, 86, 87, 90, 151,
152.
Shah Jehan, 21, 22, 28, 41, 51.
Shah Shuja, 161, 223, 224, 225,
227, 229, 236-244, 247.

Shahab-ud-din, 13, 14.
Shahji Bhonsla, 21, 27, 28.
Shaista Khan, 29.
Shal valley, 248.
Shelton, 240.
Sher Mohammed, 249.
Sher Shah, 17.
Sher Singh, Maharaja, 242, 253,
257.
Sher Singh, Sirdar, 268-271.
Sheridan, R. B., 117, 338.
Shikarpur, 229, 237, 251.
Shore, Sir J., 133-135, 180, 200.
Shuja Daulah, 88, 96, 109.
Sieges, etc.—
Aligarh, 151.
Arcot, 68, 69.
Arrah, 318.
Bangalur, 130.
Bhartpur (1), 155.
— (2), 184.
Cawnpore, 312.
Delhi, 311, 314, 315.
Fort St David, 64, 72.
Gawilgarh, 151.
Ghazni, 238.
Gudalur, 105.
Gwalior, 103.
Herat, 236.
Imamgarh, 249.
Jellalabad, 243.
Jhansi, 322.
Kandahar, 243.
Lucknow Residency, 312, 315-
317, 319-321.
Lucknow city, 321.
Madras, 64, 72.
Masulipatam, 73, 81.
Multan, 268, 269, 271.
Patna, 87.
Pondichery, 64, 73.
Rangoon, 276.
Seringapatam, 131, 139.
Trichinopoly, 69.
Wandewash, 102.

Sikhs—
Ethnology, 220; origin, Nanuk,
220; creed, 220; development,
Govind, 221; Khalsa, 221, 226,
252, 257, 269, 273; Misls, 221,
222, 224; Cis-Satiej Sikhs, 162,
223, 311; Ranjit, 221, 223-230

**Sikhs—continued.**

(*see infra*); subsequent anarchy, 253, 256-258; Khalsa domination, 253, 257, 258, 259; first Sikh war, 256, 259-262; Lahore treaty, 262; under Henry Lawrence, 263-265; Multan outbreak, 266; siege of Multan, 268, 271; second Sikh rising, 269; second Sikh war, 269-272; annexation, 272, 277; government under Dalhousie, 273, 291; miscellaneous, 9, 158, 166, 174, 238, 242, 304, *see* Panjab. Govind Singh, 25, 221. Hira Singh, 257, 258. Nanuk, 25, 220, 292. Rari Jindan, 257, 258, 264, 266. Ranjit Singh—
Metcalf's embassy, 162; rise of Ranjit, 162, 224, 227; character, 224; political insight, 223, 225, 226; absorbs Multan, 228; absorbs Kashmir, 228; absorbs Peshawar, 229; Sindh, 230, 247; attitude to British, 162, 225, 230; organisation of Khalsa, 226, 230; death, 230, 238; miscellaneous, 126, 235, 236, 252, 256, 292, 324. Sher Singh, Maharaja, 242, 253, 257. Sher Singh, Sirdar, 268-271. Sikh sepoy, 274, 310, 317, 318, 323, 324. Sikkim, 165. Sikri, 17. Simla, 292. Sindh, 3, 161, 229, 230, 237, 247-251, 291. Sindhia, *see* Marathas. Sirhind, 162, 219. Sirsa, 311. Sirur, 173. Sitabaldi, 172. Sivaji, 21, 26, 28-31. Slave kings, 13. Sleeman, 208, 284. Smith, Baird, 315. Smith, Sir Harry, 262. Smith, Col., 86. Sobraon, 262. Solingarh, 104.

Somnath, 13, 246. Spain, 39, 61, 94, 102. Spice Islands, 39. State, theory of, 51. Staunton, Capt., 173. Steam-ships, 288, 294. Stewart, Gen., 139. Strathnairn, *see* Rose, Sir H. Subsidiary Alliances, 112, 134, 141, 143, 169, 170, 174, 254. Sudder Courts, *see* Sadr. Sudozais, 222, 227, 229. Sudras, 8. Suffren, B., 105. Sukkur, *see* Sakhar. Suleiman Mts., 3. Sultan Mohammed, 229, 230, 235, 274. Sultanpur, 321. Suraj-ud-daulah, 76-80. Surat, 29, 41, 45, 46, 98, 100, 141. Surji Arjangaon, 151. Sutlej R., *see* Satlej. Suttee, 20, 207, 209-211, 213, 303.

TAJ MAHAL, 23, 216. Takoji, *see* Marathas, Holkar. Talpurs, 247. Talukdars, 203, 301, 303, 304, 316, 318, 322, 323, 326, 332. Tamerlane, 15. Tanghabadra R., 5, 141. Tanjur, 66, 72, 101, 141. Tantia Topi, 321-323. Tara Bai, 251-254. Tartars, 12, 15. Taylor, Alexander, 315. Teheran, 145. Teignmouth, Lord, *see* Shore. Tej Singh, 260, 261. Telegraph, 294. Tenasserim, 179, 182, 276. Terai, 165, 167. Tezin, 245. Thatta, 248. Thomason, 203, 288, 292. Thomson, Major, 238. Thuggee, 207, 211, 213, 291. Timur Sudozai, 237, 238. Timur, 15. Tippu Sahib, 105, 125, 127, 129-131, 137-139.



Todar Mal, 19.
Tonk, 174.
Trafalgar, 156.
Travancore, 129.
Treaties and Conventions of :—
Aix-la-Chapelle, 62, 65.
Bassein, 148, 152.
Bhairowal, 263.
Deogaon, 151.
Lahore, 262.
Mangalur, 106, 129.
Paris, 73.
Purandar, 99.
Salbai, 105.
Surat, 98.
Surji Arjangaon, 151.
Tilsit, 156, 160.
Versailles, 105.
Wargam, 99, 101.
Treaties with :—
Burma, 182.
Bhopal, 170.
France, 62, 65, 73, 105.
Gwalior, 254.
Kabul, 161, 274, 305.
Marathas—
Bhonsla, 151, 169, 174.
Holkar, 158, 174.
Puna, 99, 105, 148, 170.
Sindhia, 151, 158, 171, 174,
254.
Miscellaneous, 98, 105.
Mogul, 85, 90.
Mysore—
Haidar, 86.
Tippu, 106, 129, 131.
Nepal, 167.
Nizams, 128, 141.
Oudh, 90, 134, 142.
Panjab, 161, 223.
Persia, 231.
Sindh, 161, 223, 247.
Trichinopoly, 66, 69.
Trimbakji, 168, 170.
Trincomali, 104, 105.
Troops, *see* Army.
Tughlaks, 14.
Tumbudra R., *see* Tanghabadra.
Turks, 12, 13-16.

UDAIPUR, 19, 27, 32.
Umballa, *see* Amballa.

Ummercote, *see* Amirkot.
Upton, Col., 99.
Urdu, 6.
Usbeks, 245.

VAISYAS, 8.
Vans Agnew, *see* Agnew.
Van Cortlandt, 268.
Vansittart, 87.
Vedas, 8.
Vellur, 303.
Versailles, peace of, 105.
Viceroy, 331.
Village communities, 203.
Vindhya hills, 4.
Vizayanagar, 14.
Vizier—, *see* Wazir—.

WADE, 237, 238.
Walker, Major, 150.
Wandewash, 73, 102.
Warda R., 4, 151.
Wargam, 99, 101.
Wars—

Asiatic—

Afghan, 240-246, 256.
Bengal, 77-80.
Burmese, (1st), 181, 182.
—— (2nd), 175, 176.
Carnatic, 63-73.
China, 306.
Ghurka, 165-167.
Gwalior, 253-255.
Maratha (W. Hastings), 99,
100, 103.
—— (Wellesley), 150-154.
—— (Lord Hastings), 170-174.
Mutiny, 308-323.
Mysore, Haidar, 102-106.
—— Tippu (1st), 130, 131.
—— (2nd), 137-140.
Persian, 305.
Perso-Russian, 231.
Pindari, 170-174.
Sikh (1st), 256, 259-262.
—— (2nd), 267, 269-272.
Sindh, 249, 256.

Extra-Asiatic—

American, 94, 99, 102.
Crimean, 302, 305.
Egyptian, 137, 144.
French (1744), 63.

Wars—Asiatic—*continued.*

- French (1793), 132.
Peninsula, 156.
Seven Years, 70.
Spanish (1739), 61.
Wasil Mohammed, 171, 172.
Watson, Admiral, 71, 77, 79.
Wazir Ali, 134.
Wazir of Oudh, *see* Oudh.
Wazir Mohammed, 168.
Wellesley, Lord, 135—
Previous career, 136; arrival in India, 137; theory of balance of power, 136; Tippu and the French, 137, 138; Mysore war, preparations, 138; Mysore war, campaign, 139; partition of Mysore, 140; Tanjur, 141; Surat, 141; the Carnatic, 141; Oudh, 142; plans to take the Mauritius, 144; Egyptian expedition, 144; Persian mission, 145; disagreements with directors, 146; letter
Wellesley, Lord—*continued.*
of resignation, 147; policy towards Marathas, 148; declaration of war, 150; successes (of 1803), 151, 152; Monson's disaster, 153; recall, 153; policy, 156, 176; miscellaneous, 176, 180, 188, 237, 279, 284.
Wellesley, Sir A., 139, 150, 237.
Wellesley, Henry, 143, 146.
Wheler, 112.
Whish, 268, 269.
Widows, 210; *see* Suttee.
Wilson, Archdale, 314, 315.
Wilson, Captain, 82.
Windham, 321.
Wiswanath, Balaji, *see* Marathas, Peshwa.
Wood, Sir C., 292.
Writers, 48, 68.
Zeman Shah, 137, 222, 223, 233.
Zeman Khan, 245.
Zemindars, 108, 197 ff., 278, 301.



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