

THE
HISTORY OF BRITISH INDIA

PART VII (1858-1911)

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

(WRITTEN IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SYLLABUS)

BY

V. RAGHAVACHARIAR, M.A., L.T.



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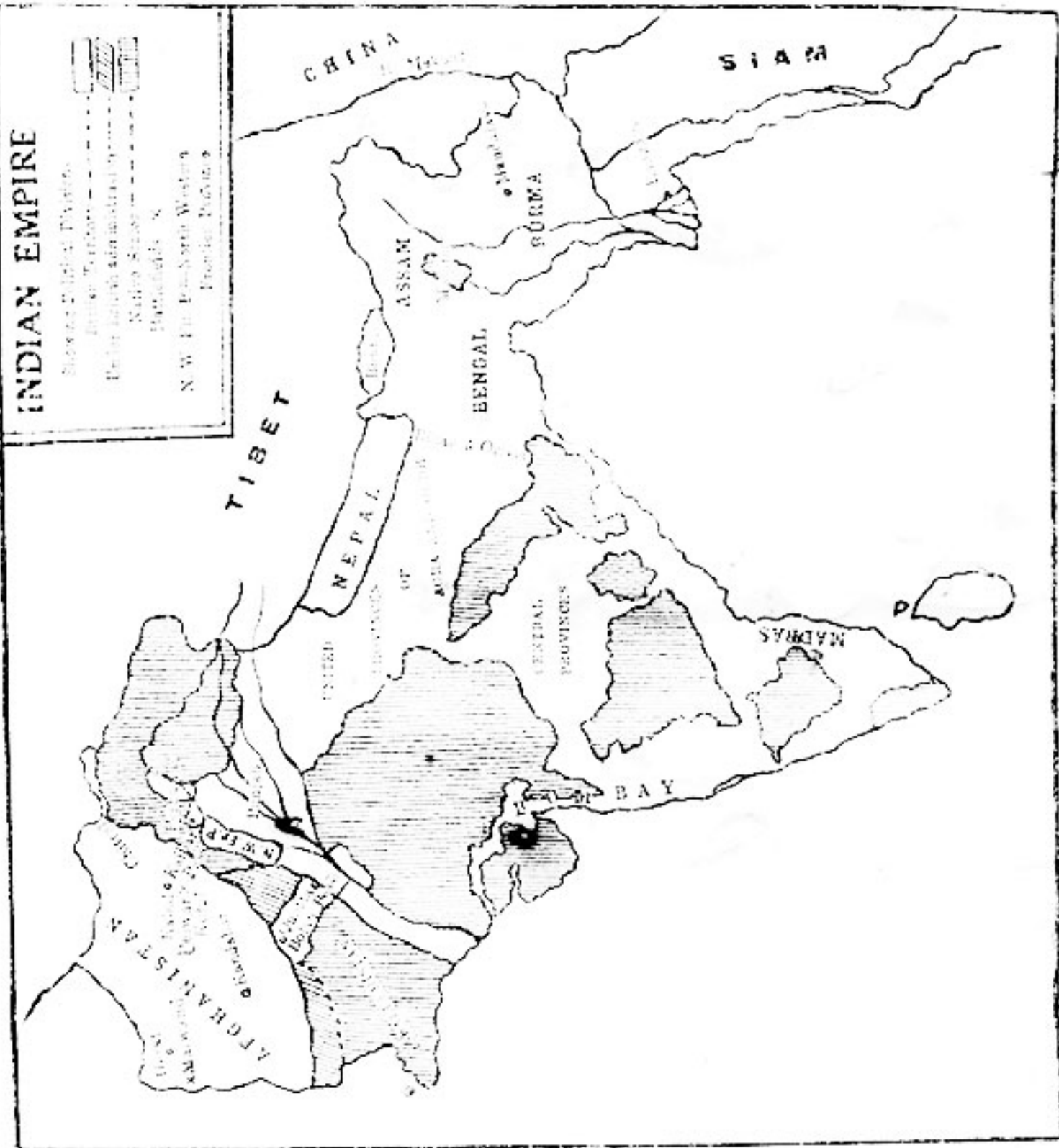
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INTRODUCTION

We have seen how the East India Company developed gradually from a trading corporation into a ruling body. At the beginning of the 18th century, India was in a state of absolute confusion. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Mahratta powers, the Muhammadan princes, and the Hindu rulers were eagerly competing for those territories which had once been included under the rule of the great Mughal. The security of the Company's trade therefore was in danger and it became impossible for it to cease from interference in Indian politics. In the meantime, France also competed with England for trade and dominion in India. In the struggle between the two nations the English came out successful. At the end of struggle, the Company found itself forced to accept political responsibilities both in Bengal and Southern India. In 1765, Clive accepted in the name of the Company the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Emperor at Delhi. From the time of Warren Hastings' administration down to Lord Amherst, the Company acquired one territory after another and consolidated its dominion. Lord William Bentinck spent all his time in improving and reforming the administration of the country.

He was succeeded by Lord Auckland in 1836. From this date commences a new era of war and conquest, which may be said to have lasted for twenty years. In his time war broke out with Afghanistan and this led to wars with Sind and the Panjab, which ended in the annexation

of both these countries. Afghanistan had been ruled by its own Amirs since the time of Ahmed Shah (1747). Soon after Lord Auckland came out in 1836, two chiefs claimed the throne—Shahshuja and Dost Muhammad. The latter prevailed and Shah Shuja fled to the English and asked for their aid. Dost Muhammad made a treaty with the Russians and the British feared he would help them to invade India. Lord Auckland resolved upon placing Shah Shuja upon the throne as an ally of the English. An English army marched up into Afghanistan and took Jalalabad, Kandahar and Ghazni. Shah Shuja was led in triumph to Kabul and was placed on the throne, while Dost Muhammad surrendered and was sent to Calcutta as a state prisoner. The main British army had gone back to India, leaving only a small force to guard the British Resident. The Afghans rose in 1841, killed the Resident and attacked the British force. The General made a treaty with them who promised not to molest the troops if they would leave the country. The British army set off in the depth of winter and the passes were filled with snow. When the force got into the narrow pass of Kord Kabul, the faithless Afghans fired down upon them from the heights above. Only one Dr. Brydon out of the whole force survived and reached Jallalabad. Shah Shuja was dethroned and killed by the Afghans.

Lord Auckland was recalled and his place was taken by Lord Ellenborough. He took prompt measures to retrieve the disaster. General Nott at Kandahar and Sir Robert Sale at Jallalabad held out stoutly against the Afghans. A strong force under General Pollock

was sent up which relieved Jallahbad and went on to Kabul. Meanwhile Nott advanced from Kandahar and joined his troops to Pollock's. The fort of Kabul was taken and the Generals returned to India. Dost Muham-mad was permitted to return to Afghanistan and rule the country.

A war with Sindh followed close upon the Afghan war. Two battles were fought, one at Miani and the other at Hyderabad in 1843. The Amirs were defeated. Sindh was annexed and the Amirs were pensioned.

In the same year there was an outbreak in Gwalior which required armed intervention. The Rajah died in 1843 and the widow Tara Bai made her favourite, the Regent, against the wishes of the British Government. The army was unruly and would not obey the Regent. Sir Hugh Gough, the Commander-in-chief marched down with a strong force and defeated the troops in two great battles at Maharajpur and Punniar. The Rani submitted; the army was reduced to one-third of its former strength; and the Government should be carried on by a council of Regency, acting under the advice of the British Resident, until the heir to the throne came of age.

Shortly afterwards Ellenborough was recalled by the Board of Directors.

As soon as Sir Henry Hardinge came to India as Governor-General, he had to fight a great war with the Sikhs. After Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, a period of anarchy followed in the Punjab. The Khalsa, the Sikh army, be-

Sir Henry
Hardinge
1844-48.

came uncontrollable and at last in 1844, led by Tej Singh it moved across the Sutlej and attacked the territories of the Company. Sir Hugh Gough, The Commander-in-chief hurried up to meet them. Within three weeks, four pitched battles were fought, at Mudki, Ferozeshah, Aliwal and Sobraon. Their loss was heavy, but the Sikhs were defeated, driven back across the Sutlej, and Lahore given up. The chiefs then yielded and peace was made. It was settled that the British boundary should be brought forward to the Beas: an indemnity of one and a half crores was to be paid; the Sikh army was to be reduced. Dulep Singh, the infant son of Ranjit Singh, was made Raja with his mother as Regent, at the head of a council, assisted by Major Henry Lawrence as British Resident.

Hardinge then returned to England and was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie in 1848. Lord Dalhousie reached India broken down in health. Notwithstanding his physical disability, he worked hard and performed an amount of work which very few would perform. The first four years of his government were largely occupied by the second Sikh and the second Burmese wars.

The Khalsa army would not obey the council. The disbanded soldiers were longing to rejoin the army and have another battle. Mulraj, the governor of Multan, suddenly raised a revolt and two young British officers were murdered. The whole Sikh army then rose under the command of their general. A strong British force once more took the field under Sir Hugh Gough. The

first battle was at Chillianwalla, which ended in a victory for neither side. The Sikhs fought 'very well and the British loss was very heavy. But in the next battle, at Guzerat, the Sikh army was completely defeated and destroyed, and the Afghans, who had come to their aid, were routed and chased back to their own country.

Western Punjab was then annexed and Sir John Lawrence was made ruler of the new province.

In 1852, the Burmese seized and imprisoned the British subjects and the king would grant no redress, nor even reply to letters of the Governor-General.

War with Burma was declared. An army was despatched and Rangoon and Prome were taken (1852). Lower Burma was annexed by proclamation.

Besides the conquest of the Punjab and Lower Burma, several Indian territories were added to British India. The additions were made either by lapse or by annexation. Lord Dalhousie laid down that when the ruler of a state died without leaving a natural heir, the state should 'lapse' to the supreme Government and be ruled by it for the welfare of the people. Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi and four more petty states were lapsed to the British Government. Oudh was so badly misgoverned that Dalhousie annexed it in 1856.

Under him, rapid progress was made in the internal administration of the country. The Public Works Department was formed, the Ganges canal was completed; railways were begun; telegraphs and cheap half-anna postages were introduced; a great many roads were constructed, and numbers of schools opened under a new Department of Public Instruction.

Lord Canning who succeeded Lord Dalhousie was the last Governor-General. No sooner had he come than he was confronted with the Indian Mutiny. The proportion of British troops was small. The discipline of the native army was lax and certain innovations introduced in the army were unpopular. The introduction of greased cartridges inflamed the soldiers. Reports were circulated that the object of the Government was to convert them all into Christians. In addition to this, there was deep discontent among the Civil population also owing to the rapid and sudden changes introduced by Dalhousie by his reforms and annexations. The Mutiny broke out at Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Rohilkhand and Central India with Bundelkhand and lasted for nearly two years. These two years of disturbance were marked by many deeds of horror and suffering and heroism. The Mutiny gave the deathblow to the Company and by an Act of Parliament the Government of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown.

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

When the Great Indian Mutiny came to an end, the Parliament decided that the government should pass from the East India Company to the crown i.e., to the Queen of England and her ministry. The transfer of the government to the crown was proclaimed in Nov. 1858. The system of Double Government—the court of Directors and the Board of Control—was brought to an end. The Company ceased to exist after a life of 250 years.

The Act of Parliament of 1858, created a new form of Government. The Board of Control was replaced by a Council, in whom was vested the patronage of the more important posts. *The New Constitution.* *The first Viceroy Lord Canning* Lord Canning, the last of the Governors-General, was continued in office as the first of Her Britannic Majesty's Viceroy.

For about one hundred years, from the middle of the eighteenth century, the English had been occupied in subduing the native rulers, in restoring peace and order in the provinces brought under their rule. The sovereignty of the English had been established completely over the whole of India—its limits extending up to the skirts of the Afghan mountains in the north-west, the Himalayas in the north, and Burma in the

The external frontiers of British India in 1858

North-East. The death of the company brought to an end the long series of wars and it has been followed by fifty years of internal peace.

The Queen's proclamation announced that the administration of India had been transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. It confirmed all treaties and engagements with the native princes. It strictly prohibited interference with the religious beliefs of Her Majesty's Indian subjects. It also declared that, as far as possible, all her subjects would be freely admitted to offices in her service. Under such auspices, the work of pacification and reform went on rapidly. Oudh which was annexed in 1856, was 'settled' on terms satisfactory to the great landlords. In the Panjab, Sir John Lawrence's wise and tactful administration had reconciled all classes to the new rulership. Bahadur Shah, the aged titular emperor had scarcely disappeared from his palace at Delhi when a new monarchy was inaugurated. Thenceforward the political reconstruction of the fragments of the Moghal Empire was consolidated by a series of edicts and statutes. For British India, the territory under the immediate government of the British, an era of peace followed. The period records internal affairs and administrative progress. But an account of external affairs must be given; first, in regard to the relations between the Crown and the Protected states, and secondly, in regard to the relations between the British and the adjacent countries outside the external limits of British India.

The Queen's
Proclamation
[Vide Appendix
for full text]

I.—External Politics

A.—Relations between the Crown and the Protected States

The policy of subsidiary treaties laid down by Lord Wellesley was continued by his successors. It brought all the native states under the control of the British. Under this system, the supreme government had undertaken their protection and defence. It arbitrated in any disputes among them. It determined questions of succession. It maintained the chief's legitimate authority against revolt. It also interfered with their internal affairs in cases of serious abuse of power or grave disorder. Lord Dalhousie firmly believed that the administration of any British District must be necessarily superior to that of any Native state and laid down the Doctrine of Lapse. So annexation or absorption of the Native state could not fail to be beneficial to the population concerned. He applied this principle to most of the native states and annexed them when their rulers died without leaving natural heirs. In 1859 Lord Canning announced the withdrawal of the doctrine of lapse and informed all concerned that in future the adopted son of a chief would be allowed to succeed to the state as well as to the private property of his adoptive father.

The Queen's Proclamation marks a new era in the relations between the Paramount power and the Protected States. The Proclamation sharply distinguishes between the people of the states and Her Majesty's subjects. The passages relating to it are:

“We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or

Relations between the Paramount Power and the Protected States.

under the authority of the East India Company are by us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government."

The policy of the Indian Government in regard to Native states.

The position of the chiefs of the Protected States as allies of the Paramount Power is clearly maintained. It does not convert either them or their people into subjects of the Crown. The Act of 1876 changed their legal relation. It brought them inside the boundary of the Indian Empire. Henceforward when there was disorder in a native state or when it was badly administered, the supreme government interfered. But it did not make that the pretext for annexing and absorbing it into British India. English statesmen felt that though progress might be slow in a native state yet when reforms came from the hand of an Indian ruler, they were more acceptable than when they were thrust upon them by a British administrator. So they thought that it was better to train an Indian prince to govern well than to set him aside and do the work well in his stead.

Moreover, the Native states offered a clear field for the use by Indians of their administrative abilities.

During the half-century following the Mutiny, there have been very few occasions for interference in the internal affairs of the Native states. In general, their administration is well conducted, the administrative machinery of the best governed states being adapted from the British model. A feeling of strong personal loyalty now binds the leading chiefs to their sovereign, who looks upon them as welcome "colleagues and partners in the task of administration."

The Alwar state in Rajaputana was seriously mis-governed by the vicious young Maharaja. The Alwar state. Lord Mayo disposed of it by transferring the powers of the Maharaja to a council.

The only remarkable incident that marked the relations between Lord Northbrook and the Protected States was the strange case of of Malhar Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda.

Intervention in Baroda.

Malhar Rao became Maharaja in 1870. He grossly mis-governed the country and behaved with folly, extravagance and cruelty. Colonel Phayre, the British resident in Baroda, exposed all his abuses. The result was the Government of India ordered an enquiry which ended unfavourably to the Gaekwar. An attempt had been made to poison the Resident by the administration of diamond dust in his food. The Gaekwar was suspected as being the author of it and arrested in 1875. A commission composed of six members under the presidency of the Chief Justice of Bengal was appointed by the Government of India to try the case and report. The

three Indian members found a verdict of 'not proven'; while the three English members held that he was guilty of the offence. Though the Government of India did not make any definite pronouncement as to his guilt on this charge, yet, with the sanction of the Secretary of State, it deposed him as the penalty for 'his notorious misconduct, his gross misgovernment of the state, and his evident incapacity to carry into effect necessary reforms.' The deposed Maharaja ended his days at Madras in 1893. A boy named Sayaji Rao, a distant relative of the family, was placed on the throne and carefully educated. During his minority the state was ably administered by Sir T. Madhava Rao. The Baroda Government to-day is one of the progressive and enlightened Native states.

In 1831, owing to the misgovernment of the Raja of Mysore, the Indian Government had been obliged to assume the administration of Mysore and retained it for fifty years. In 1867, during the Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence, the Secretary of State and the Government of India had decided to restore the young Maharaja of Mysore to power when he should come of age. In 1881, Lord Ripon handed over the country to the young prince. Since then, Mysore has been admirably governed.

Manipur is a small hill principality situated on the border of Assam to the east of Kachar. In 1891, the Maharaja took refuge in British India from a revolt headed by his brothers. Mr. Quinton, the chief Commissioner of Assam was sent by the Government of India to make an enquiry into the disorder and to take measures for suppressing the disorder.

The senapathi or commander-in-chief of the local force, who was a brother of the Raja, not only refused to obey the summons of the Viceroy's representative, but offered armed resistance. Fighting went on until sunset on March 1891. Mr Quinton was enticed to a conference and treacherously murdered, with some of his officers, within the town of Manipur. A British force was despatched, which occupied the state for a time and the Senapathi and some of his accomplices were hanged. A boy was appointed Raja. During his minority the state was administered by the Political Agent who introduced many reforms. The young Raja who had been educated at the Mayo college was invested with powers in 1907.

In 1864, the Government was involved in a little war with Bhutan. Bhutan is a small and backward state on the hill frontier of Bengal, and more or less dependent on Tibet. There were many complaints about the raids which the Bhutanese made upon the districts lying near to their hills. Mr Ashley Eden, the British envoy, was sent by the Government of Bengal to treat with their chief. He was insulted and coerced into signing a treaty which was immediately repudiated by the Government. An expedition was despatched into the country. In 1865, a peace was made by which Bhutan ceded a strip of territory about a hundred miles long and twenty or thirty broad, along the base of the Himalayas. —

**B.—Relations between the British and the adjacent countries
outside the limits of British India**

Since 1853, when the lower provinces of Burmah

8 *Dufferin*
Burmese intrigues
with France

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had been conquered and annexed, the attitude of the Burmese rulers toward the British Government had been resentful and vindictive. In 1885, Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy, discovered that Theebaw, the King of Burma was secretly negotiating a treaty with France under which certain peculiar commercial privileges were given to it. About the same time King Theebaw showed his dislike and contempt for the British by imposing an enormous fine upon the Bombay and Burma Trading Company and ordering the arrest of the employees of the company. His action was believed to have been suggested by the French agent.

Lord Dufferin then, with the sanction of the Home Government, sent an ultimatum to the Burmese king demanding reparation of injuries to British subjects. The king sent an evasive reply whereupon in November 1885 the troops were ordered to advance on Mandalay. The Burmese army made no serious resistance. The capital was occupied. The king was captured and deported to India.

Upper Burma was annexed by Proclamation on January, 1, 1886. This was the last large addition that was made to the Indian Empire. The absorption of the whole Burmese Empire had thus been effected in sixty years beginning with the annexation of Arakan and Tenasserim in 1826. Pegu had followed in 1852. This expansion of British dominion by the incorporation of upper Burma has brought them in contact with the Chinese. The British

The third Bur-
mese War.

Annexation of
Upper Burma.

policy has been to maintain friendly relations with China and to exclude foreign influence in the tracts lying between the two empires. The external frontier of the Empire has been considerably widened on the north-east and south-east.

The most notable incident in Lord Curzon's foreign policy was the Tibetan expedition of 1903-4. The friendly relations which existed between the two Governments had come to an end long before Curzon entered upon his office. A Russian agent was received at Lhasa and the Tibetans showed an attitude of hostility to the English. The policy of the English having been to allow no encroachment of another European power upon the vast tracts of mountains and deserts that stretch from the Himalayas northward to the confines of Mongolia, Lord Curzon despatched an army to Lhasa which was occupied in 1904. Tibet had to pay a small indemnity and the suzerainty of China over Tibet was confirmed.

Beyond the external frontiers of India, the course of affairs has been complicated by important events and their consequences. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 had extended the dominion up to the skirts of the Afghan mountains. This had brought them into immediate contact with the highlands inhabited by wild warlike tribes. For ages, they have been in the habit of making plundering raids upon the plains below. In order to keep them off from such raids and to punish them, many expeditions into these highlands had been made.

In 1863, the Wahabis, a settlement of fanatic

The Wahabi
Muhammadans.
 Muhammadans, on the north-west frontier had been keeping the whole border-side in alarm by their plundering raids. The neighbouring tribes also were encouraged by their example to join them in those raids. It, therefore, became necessary to despatch a strong force against them. The force met with strenuous resistance and at one time was in danger of destruction. After some hard fighting, the stronghold of the fanatics was reached and destroyed. The leaders came to terms and the campaign, known as the 'Umbeyla campaign', was brought to a satisfactory conclusion before the close of 1863.

Policy of 'Mas-
terly inactivity.'
Troubles in
Afghanistan.
 Sir John Lawrence's Viceroyalty was notable for the marked display of the principle of 'masterly inactivity' beyond the borders of India. He rigorously acted on the principle that the English should abstain from interference in any degree with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The Amir, Dost Muhammad, died in 1863 and his favourite son, Sher Ali, ascended the throne. The succession was disputed by his two elder brothers, Afzalkhan and Azimkhan. They drove Sher Ali from Kabul to Kandahar and Azil Khan was proclaimed emperor (1866). Sher Ali sought for help from the Indian Government. Lawrence steadily refused to intervene in these struggles. He told them that the Indian Government could only recognise the actual or *de facto* ruler at Kabul. This was far from pleasing Sher Ali to whom it naturally appeared to be cold and selfishly calculating.

In those days the Russian power was making rapid

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

Russian advance in Central Asia.

advances across central Asia. The approach of Russia in the direction of the Oxus river and the northwestern provinces of the Afghan kingdom threatened the safety and independence of Afghanistan. When, in 1868, Sher Ali after a hard struggle mastered the whole of Afghanistan, the situation of his state between two powerful European Governments filled him with anxiety. He turned to India for help and support. In 1869 he paid a visit to Lord Mayo, then Viceroy, at Umballa. He was received with much ceremony, with large presents of arms and money and with many friendly assurances. But the Amir desired a formal treaty and a fixed subsidy which Mayo thought was farther than he was prepared to go and the two separated without any formal agreement being concluded.

Lord Mayo and the Amir Sher Ali.

Lord Northbrook's Afghan policy.

In 1873, Sher Ali who was in dread about the Russian movement tried to obtain closer terms of alliance with the Indian Government. Lord Northbrook who was then the Viceroy acted on Lawrence's policy of 'masterly inactivity' and was not disposed to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Amir. The result was that the Amir developed feelings of hostility to the English and turned to Russia for support. In 1874, the conservative government came into power and advocated 'the forward policy.' The Secretary of State urged Lord Northbrook to induce the Amir to accept a British Resident at Herat and at Kandahar. The Home government dreaded Russian aggression ; suspected that

Sher Ali was allowing himself to be drawn into intrigues with Russia. Northbrook, supported by his council, was strongly opposed to the plan, being convinced not only that the Amir would refuse, but that the proposal would rouse his suspicions of designs against his independence. He resigned, finding himself entirely out of harmony with the government; and in April 1876 Lord Lytton arrived in India as Viceroy.

In 1876, when Lord Lytton became Viceroy, the hostility of the Amir to England became manifest. The English ministry felt it necessary to secure closer and more definite relations with the Amir and Lytton was sent with instructions to carry out this policy.

Baluchistan, the country of the Beluch clans, lies along the western border of the Panjab and the Sindh, extending down to the Arabian sea. It is under the nominal authority of a chief whose headquarters are at Kbelat. But he was not powerful enough to keep the leaders of the rival clans under his control. They were in constant rebellion against him and the British border was continually troubled by their raids. In 1876, Major Sandeman was deputed by Lytton to mediate between the khan and the chiefs and to arrange for the freedom of trade and the general pacification of the border. He succeeded in negotiating a treaty by which the khan acknowledged the influence and overlordship of the British Government in Baluchistan in exchange for protection and support. Quetta was occupied and a garrison of British

Occupation of
Quetta; its strate-
gic importance.

troops was posted there. This occupation is of strategic importance because it dominated the road to Kandahar and gave the Government of India full control over the Bolan Pass. Quetta, with the surrounding territory, now forms a prosperous British district, with much trade. The large cantonment is connected with India by a Railway.

Russian envoy
at Kabul, Lytton soon after his arrival opened communications with Sher Ali in order to induce the Amir to receive a mission. The Amir objected to that course. Conferences were then held in February 1877 for discussing matters but nothing came of them. During 1877 the war between Russia and Turkey was in progress. In 1878, when the Russian army was before Constantinople, the British Government prepared for armed intervention by sending Indian troops to Malta. The Russians replied by a counter-move. They pushed forward a detachment from their army in central Asia forwards the Afghan frontier. In the summer of 1878, a Russian envoy was received at Kabul who proceeded to draw up a treaty of alliance with the Amir.

The British en-
voy enforced.

Lord Lytton sent a mission with General Sir Neville Chamberlain at its head, demanding its immediate admission to Kabul. Though Sher Ali protested against the coming of the mission, it went up to Peshawar where it was turned back by the Afghans. Whereupon an ultimatum was sent to the Amir demanding the acceptance of a permanent mission. As no reply was received, war was declared

The Afghan War 1878-1880 A. D. in November 1878. The British advanced in three columns, Sir Donald Stewart made his way by the Bolan Pass to Kandahar; General Browne moving by the Kaibar Pass secured Jalalabad and Gandamak and General Roberts cleared the Kurram Valley after dispersing the Afghan troops at Peiwar Kotul.

Sher Ali fled into Russian territory from which he never returned. He died in February 1879, having failed to obtain the expected Russian help. His son Yakub Khan was accepted by the Afghans. In May, he came

The Treaty of Gandamak 1879 A. D.

to terms with the British at the Treaty of Gandamak. There was to be a British Resident at Kabul; the British were to have entire control of the foreign relations of Afghanistan; they were to be given possession of the passes, and the control over the neighbouring tribes, and they were to continue the subsidy which of old had been given to Sher Ali. The Amir was to be responsible for the safety of the Resident. General Stewart was to remain temporarily at Kandahar. The remainder of the British troops withdrew behind the new frontier.

Then the old story was repeated. On 3rd September the Kabul mob rose and the Amir's soldiers mutinied. The Resident, Sir Louis Cavagnari, with his escort was cut to pieces after a desperate defence. The Indian Government, however, acted with promptitude. In the first period of the war the English had to fight against the Amir but now they had to fight against the Afghan people which was a more arduous task.

The Kabul rising—Massacre.

General Roberts marched upon the capital. Yakub Khan surrendered and was deported to India. After a time Roberts was obliged to withdraw to the entrenched camp at Sherpur, which was defended successfully against vigorous attacks. Kabul

The march of General Roberts to Kabul. Ayubkhan and Maiwand.

was then reoccupied. Next year in July a British brigade was defeated at Maiwand by Ayubkhan, another son of Sher Ali, who had advanced upon Kandahar from Herat. Roberts marched from Kabul to the relief of Kandahar and reached the city in twenty days. On the day after entering Kandahar, General Roberts shattered Ayub's forces in the decisive battle of Kandahar.

Meanwhile the conservative ministry of Lord Beaconsfield came to an end. The Liberals came into power and they were entirely hostile to the policy which had been adopted towards Afghanistan by Lord Beaconsfield and Lytton. Their views were those advocated by Lawrence. Lytton was recalled and his place was taken by Lord Ripon with instructions to drop the policy of imposing a Resident upon the ruler of Afghanistan. Abdur Rahman, a nephew of Sher Ali was recognised as Amir of Afghanistan. The Government of India undertook to support and defend the Amir against foreign enemies. Kandahar was finally evacuated in 1881. This left Abdur Rahman free to enforce his authority in the southern province. In a few years, all Afghanistan was, for the first time, amalgamated into a strong, independent kingdom under a ruler of singular ability and merciless severity.

Abdur Rahman

After the conclusion of the Afghan war, the ad-

Panjdeh incident: Boundary Commission.

vance of Russian armies in Central Asia continued rapidly and without serious check. In the beginning of 1885, while a Boundary commission of Russian and English officers was engaged in drawing a boundary line between Afghanistan and Asiatic Russia, the Russian force came into collision with the Afghan outposts at Panjdeh. It almost led to a war between England and Russia; but the Amir consented to waive his claim to the territory in dispute and peace was preserved.

In 1893, Sir H. Mortimer Durand was sent by Lord Lansdowne on a temporary mission. A new agreement was made with the Amir. The annual subsidy to the Amir was raised to eighteen lakhs. Arrangements were made to demarcate the southern and eastern frontiers of Afghanistan by a boundary since known as 'the Durand line.'

The Frontier policy.

Lansdowne paid special attention to the defence of the North west frontier. The occupation of Quetta in 1876 and the Durand agreement advanced the Indian frontier to the mountains. The advocates of 'the forward policy' argued that it was folly for the Indian government to draw its boundary line upon the plains at the base of the hills because it cannot know what takes place on the other side. It must hold not only the crest of the mountains but also their western slopes, these being the ramparts built by Nature for the protection of India. In other words, a scientific frontier must be established. Thus the frontier was further strengthened by pushing forward

a line of military posts among the tribes lying to the north and the centre.

The frontier tribesmen naturally looked with suspicion upon the building of fortifications, roads and railways in their midst. The state of Chitral lying among the mountains to the west of Gilgit and south of the Hindu Kush, was brought completely within the sphere of British influence by the Durand agreement. In 1895, the succession to the state was disputed by various rivals and in the course of it the British Agent underwent a siege and a detachment of a hundred Sikhs was destroyed. In due course the fort was relieved and the leaders of the opposition were deported. It was ultimately decided to make Chitral the most northerly outpost of the Empire. Since then Chitral has been quiet.

Two years later, in 1897, a more serious frontier operation was rendered necessary by the rising of the Afridi clans, who closed the Kyber Pass. The valleys south of the pass were penetrated, and the active resistance of the clans was broken. The campaign was on an unusually large scale, 40,000 troops or more being employed.

Lord Curzon created in 1901 the North-West Frontier Province, administered by a chief commissioner and directly responsible to the Government of India. Previously the dealings with the tribes to the north of Sind had been in the hands of the Punjab Government. The results had been unsatisfactory and

Lord Curzon's Policy. North-West Frontier Province constituted.

scores of punitive expeditions had failed to produce any permanent effect.

In his transactions with the frontier tribes on the Panjab border Lord Curzon sought to apply the system of cultivating more friendly relations with them. He withdrew the British forces from advanced positions and employed tribal forces in the defence of tribal country. He concentrated British forces behind them as a safeguard and a support and improved communications in the rear. This policy involved the organisation of a considerable British force in the Frontier. It has been justified by its success. There was only one little frontier war, against the Mahsuds, during Lord Curzon's time.

The most notable incident in Lord Curzon's foreign policy was the Tibetan expedition of 1903-4. The Tibetans received a Russian agent and showed an attitude of hostility to the English. The expedition was successful and a treaty was made. By the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907, Tibet was recognised outside the sphere of Russian influence.

II. Internal Administration

The Queen's proclamation offered an amnesty to all rebels except those who had been guilty of murder. It laid down the broad principles upon which the future internal administration of India will be based. It declared: "Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions

Lord Canning's
Viceroyalty.

on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge."

When order had at last been restored in 1860, the permanent reconstruction of the Government on a scientific plan became necessary. The administrative machinery was organised by important measures during the remaining years of Canning's term of office. In 1861, the India Councils Act modified the constitution of the Governor-General's executive council in India and remodelled the legislature by **establishing** a council, presided over by the Governor-General, to make laws for the whole of India, with subordinate legislative councils at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. In 1860 the Penal Code was enacted. Since then it has undergone little substantial change. The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure were brought into operation in 1859 and 1861. These codes gave India a simple, uniform system of criminal law, universal and impartial in its incidence. Another statute instituted High Courts of Judicature under royal charter which

Reforms of Lord
Canning—Legal
and Judicial.

replaced the old supreme courts and the Adalat Courts of the company. By these measures the executive and judicial administration was systematically rearranged. When Lord Canning left India, he made over to his successor a government very **different** in organisation and character from that which had been transmitted to him by Lord Dalhousie six year earlier.

The long continued military operations during the Indian Mutiny had produced an enormous deficit. Lord Canning applied for Financial Reforms. and obtained the services as Finance Minister of Mr. James Wilson, an experienced English official who had been financial secretary to the treasury. He filled up the deficit by introducing an income-tax and other new taxes and by enforcing large economies in military expenditure. The system of financial administration also was much improved. Mr. Laing who succeeded Mr. Wilson as Finance Minister came to the conclusion that 'the revenue of India is really buoyant and elastic in an extraordinary degree'. This opinion was confirmed by later experience. In railways, canals and public works, India possesses assets of enormous capital value.

With the abolition of the company the naval and military forces were transferred to the Imperial service. The army was reorganised and the proportion of British to native troops was maintained at one half in Bengal and the Punjab and at one third in Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

The public works Department occupies a very prominent place in the history of Indian administration.

Public Works:
roads, railways,
canals and tele-
graphs.

It was during the time of Lord Dalhousie that a Department was formed for each province to look after roads, railways and canals. A start was made in the building of roads and the first railway between Bombay and Thana was opened in 1853. Irrigation, buildings and roads are in the hands of the Provincial Governments. Irrigation works serve the double purpose of conserving the water and of providing an easy means of transit. The various types of irrigation works are wells, tanks and canals. The administration of the railways was placed under a Railway Board in 1905. A commission was appointed last year to examine the railway policy and to make suggestions for their better administration. The introduction of telegraphs has made quick communication easy. The telegraph is not only of immense help to traders, and of enormous use to people in their private affairs; it makes good rule easy. The profits on the telegraphs are kept in India and are a part of the funds of the state.

In 1859 Lord Canning announced the withdrawal of the Doctrine of Lapse and informed all princes that in future the adopted son of a chief would be allowed to succeed to the state as well as to the private property of his father.

Canning revised the settlement of Oudh and granted terms which were much more favourable to the Talukdars than those originally contemplated. But adequate arrangements for the protection of under-proprietors and tenants were left to a later date. An act (Act XXVI of 1860)

Doctrine of
Lapse withdrawn

Land settle-
ment in Oudh.

was passed for the protection of under-proprietors and tenants in Oudh.

The Central Provinces was formed out of portions of North-Western Provinces and certain lapsed territories and they were placed under a Chief Commissioner in 1861.

In 1866, a terrible famine broke out in Orissa owing to the failure of rains. There was no railway communication with the province and grain could not be landed in sufficient quantities upon the coast. Nearly a million of persons died. The miseries of the people were increased by floods from the rivers which overwhelmed a thousand square miles of low-lying country and submerged for many days the homes and fields of a million and a quarter of people.

Sound famine policy dictates absolute non-interference with private trade in grain where the famine-affected region is connected by means of communication with more favoured countries. But when communications are lacking and private trade is unable to work at a profit, the policy of non-interference is no longer applicable. The Bengal Government failed to realise the fact that in Orissa 'the people were shut up in a narrow province between pathless jungles and an impracticable sea and that therefore interference was quite necessary.' Sir John Lawrence also failed to meet the emergency in Orissa. This failure stimulated him to increased exertion in the construction of public works of various kinds in other provinces. After his time the famine policy was greatly enlarged and improved. Lord

Northbrook saw clearly that famines must be expected from time to time and that it was the duty of Government to frame a famine policy. Accordingly a commission was appointed by Lord Lytton with Sir Richard Strachey as chairman, to make enquiries and see by what steps Government could help the sufferers. It drew up a large programme for the construction of protective railways by means of which food might be carried to all parts, and of irrigation works. The railway part of the programme was completed by 1900. In subsequent years two other commissions were at work, one under James Lyall and the other under Sir Anthony M'Donnell. They have prepared or improved the Famine codes which instruct District officers when and how to act in times of scarcity, and contain lists of works that may be usefully undertaken as soon as famine conditions are established in any area. A sum of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores is set apart every year for famine relief and insurance known as the Famine Insurance Fund. In times of famine, relief works usually connected with railway construction or irrigation are started and the able-bodied are provided with work. For the prevention of famine the construction of railways and irrigation works is undertaken. The wonderful improvement in the organisation for giving relief was shown by the comparatively small loss of life.

Lord Mayo who succeeded Sir John Lawrence as Viceroy, worked hard at all the problems of internal administration. The finances of India were then in a serious condition. Four out of the five years of Lawrence's term had produced heavy deficits, and the normal expenditure was

Financial Re-
forms under Lord
Mayo.

larger than the income. Lord Mayo was firmly resolved to adjust the finances of the Indian Empire so that the expenditure in normal years should be within the income. By imposing certain additional taxes and enforcing rigid economy, he was able to bring the expenditure within the income. He reorganised the Public Works Department and paid the closest personal attention to the working of every department in order to secure efficiency without waste. He introduced the system of state railways.

His most memorable financial reform was the introduction of the Provincial Contract System. Up to this time the local Governments had been accustomed to ask the Supreme Government each year for whatever sum they wanted. There was no limit set upon their demands. The provincial administrations had no interest in economy; obtained as much grant as possible and spent all that it got, for any balances left over had to be returned to the Imperial Treasury. Nor was the Government of India able to make accurate estimates or to exercise effective control over imperial finance. The new arrangement introduced by Mayo was a measure of decentralization which made every provincial government responsible for its own finance within certain defined limits. Under it the revenues allotted to the Provincial Governments were fixed for a term of five years; and they were to be allowed to keep and dispose of, as they pleased, any surpluses which they accumulated. By this plan the Local Governments were encouraged to practise thrift in the management of their revenues and the supreme

government was set free from an uncertain and variable demand.

Mayo abolished some foreign export duties and the inland customs which still hampered inland trade. He also created a Department of Agriculture. His career came to a sad close on the 8th of Feb., 1872, when he was stabbed by a convict while inspecting convict settlements of the Andaman Islands.

Murder of Lord Mayo.

Assam, annexed in 1826, was added to Bengal. It was again severed from it and placed under a Chief Commissioner in 1874. In 1905, the partition of Bengal converted the eastern half of the province together with Assam into one lieutenant-governorship under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam. But this arrangement was modified in 1912; Assam once more became a Chief Commissionership.

During Lord Northbrook's administration a famine broke out in Bihar and part of Bengal (1873-74). It was averted by timely relief operations on a large scale. Another important event was the visit of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, during the cold weather of 1875-6 and it produced an outburst of cordial loyalty.

Famine in Bengal, 1874.

Lord Lytton succeeded Lord Northbrook in 1876.

By an Act of Parliament, introduced by the Premier, Disraeli in 1876, the Queen assumed the title of Empress of India. On Jan. 1, 1877, the proclamation of Her Majesty's assumption of the new dignity was made with due solemnity in an Imperial assemblage at Delhi.

Queen Victoria proclaimed Empress.

The rejoicings of the solemn assembly were marred by the development of an exceptionally severe famine due to the failure of the rains of 1876 in Mysore, the Deccan and large areas of the Bombay and Madras Presidencies. Over 5 millions of people perished. Again there was the absence of rapid communications as had hampered Lawrence in dealing with the Orissa famine.

Famine in the South, 1876—78.

The Government spent vast sums of money on relief works and supplies of grain. The famine lasted for two years extending in the second year to parts of the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. Lord Lytton explained the sound principles of famine relief in an address to the Legislative council in 1877 and obtained sanction for the appointment of the first Famine commission in 1878. It submitted its Report in 1880 and it is the foundation of the existing provincial Famine codes.

In 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was passed for the purpose of preventing the publication in Vernacular newspapers of seditious articles. Lord Lytton was criticised for having curtailed the freedom of the Press. It was repealed under Lord Ripon's Government in 1882.

The Vernacular Press Act passed, 1878.

The action of Lord Ripon's Government concerning Afghanistan has been noticed elsewhere. His name is chiefly remembered for a series of Acts passed in 1883—5 introducing a scheme of Local Self-Government by which District Boards and Municipal Councils were established. He avowed that 'it is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure

Lord Ripon. Establishment of Local-self Government.

is put forward and supported. It is chiefly desirable as a measure of political and popular education. His Excellency in council has himself no doubt that, 'in the course of time, as local knowledge and local interest are brought to bear more freely on local administration improved efficiency will, in fact, follow.' Thus the object of the measure was to give the people a share in the management of their local affairs through their elected representatives, and to train them in Self-Government. A large discretion was left to local Governments concerning the manner in which they should be worked.

In 1883, the Legal Member of the Viceroy's council, Mr. Ilbert introduced a bill known as the Ilbert Bill. It proposed to remove from the Code of Criminal Procedure at once and completely every judicial disqualification based merely on race distinctions. It therefore extended the jurisdiction of Indian-born magistrates over Europeans resident in the country. Up to this time Europeans could be tried in these courts only when presided over by their own countrymen. It roused a storm of opposition among the European planters of Assam and the non-official Europeans in other parts of India. A strong counter agitation was started among the educated Indians. The result was an outbreak of bitter racial feeling. A compromise was arranged by which a European might claim the privilege of being tried before Indian magistrates by jury.

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin three important Rent or Tenancy Acts were passed. The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 was passed. It was based on the principles of

Ilbert Bill,
1883.

Land legislation.

fixity of tenure and judicial rents. It protected the tenants against tyrannical eviction and arbitrary enhancement of the rents by the landed proprietors. In Oudh, the majority of the peasantry are tenants-at-will. By the Act of 1886, their position was strengthened by granting them a statutory holding for seven years, with a right to compensation for improvements. In the Panjab, the land is largely cultivated by the owners. The Act of 1877 gave the protected tenants a guarantee against eviction and enhancement of rent.

The peasant proprietors in the Panjab were in the grip of the trading and money-lending classes on account of their indebtedness. Owing to this, transfers of ownership to the money-lending classes became numerous. In order to prevent such alienations, the Government of Lord Curzon passed the Land Alienation Act (XIII of 1900). The broad effect is described as being that 'money-lenders, shopkeepers, and professional men cannot buy land from hereditary cultivators, or hold such land on mortgage for more than twenty years without the consent of the state'. The sale of land to them without the consent of court is also forbidden.

The people had neither any share, nor any voice in the administration of the country. There was deep discontent among the educated people. A national organisation was felt an absolute necessity for the purpose of agitating by constitutional methods for a larger share in the administration and for pointing out to Government in what respects it was defective and how it could be improved. Such an organisation was formed in 1885 under the lead

The Indian National Congress.

of Mr. Hume and it was called the National Congress. Lord Dufferin also took great interest in this and suggested that it would be very desirable in the interest of the rulers and the ruled that Indian politicians should meet yearly and make constructive criticism. The first session of the National Congress was held on the 27th, 28th and 29th Dec. of 1885 at Bombay. Representatives from all parts of India assembled. The subjects discussed were: (1) enquiry into the working of the Indian administration by a Royal Commission; (2) the abolition of the Secretary of State as at present constituted; (3) the reform and expansion of the Imperial and local legislative councils; (4) the simultaneous examination of the civil service; (5) the reduction of the military expenditure and so on. It continues to hold meetings in December of each year.

It was Lord Dalhousie that urged the importance of a speedy and wide introduction of railway communications throughout India. In order to attract companies to undertake the construction of railways, the Government guaranteed a minimum return of 5 per cent. and also free grant of lands needed. In return, the companies were to share the surplus profits yearly with the Government after the guaranteed interest for the half-year had been met. They should sell their railways to the Government after 25 years, at a rate specified. They should also permit the Government to exercise the closest control over all expenditure and over the management and the working of the line. But owing to the heavy outlay in construction and the general rise in prices, the whole

State Control
of Railways.

system of guarantee was found to be inconvenient and the Government made proposals in 1867 for the introduction of a State railway scheme which would be cheap and economical. But this too had practical difficulties. Native States and District Boards were encouraged to construct railways within their jurisdictions. Under the contract system, the control of the government was necessary. In 1902, a Railway Board was established for the administration and control of railways. It is the policy of the Government to purchase the railways at the expiry of the contract. *W*

✓ In India the standard of value for several centuries had been silver, that is to say, all debts, public or private, had to be paid in silver rupees. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the rupee had been worth about one-eighth of an English gold sovereign. About 1870, the rupee was worth one-tenth of a sovereign or two shillings in silver. A sum of 16 millions sterling had to be remitted annually from India to England in order to pay for home charges, such as interest on debt and railway, military charges and pensions etc. The whole of this is raised in India in silver rupees and paid in England in gold. About 1873-4, the value of silver in relation to gold fell down. That is to say, the rupee was worth only 1 shilling or one-twentieth part of a sovereign. On account of this fall in the value of the rupee, the Government of India had to send twice the amount to England which it had been hitherto sending in order to meet the Home charges. Therefore the loss in exchange became enormous. This threw the Indian finance into

Currency problems.

confusion. Proposals to remedy this state of affairs were discussed for many years without result. At last in 1893, an effort was made to stay the falling value of the rupee. The Indian mints were closed against the free coinage of silver into rupees by the public. The Government then resolved to accept gold at the Government treasuries at the rate of one sovereign for fifteen rupees. The result of this legislation has been to steady the rate of exchange which long remained at about 1sh. 4d. to the rupee. The great war has again disturbed the exchange.

During the last three years of Lord Elgin's rule, India was passing through a period of severe trial. In addition to a serious and costly frontier war, the country had to bear the burden of famine and plague. Owing to the failure of the monsoon in 1895 and 1896, there was a severe famine which affected almost every province of the Empire. It was especially intense in the United Provinces, Bihar and the Punjab. Sir James Athony Mac Donnell mitigated the horrors of the famine by giving relief to the affected people. In other provinces also, the calamity was fought as effectively as possible. A commission under Sir James Lyall reported in 1898 on the results and discussed the principles of famine relief.

The Bubonic plague, the same dreadful disease which had ravaged London and other parts of England in 1663-65, broke out at Bombay in 1896 and has remained endemic in India ever since. It spread by degrees into nearly every province. The mortality caused by it has been very great. In the early stages many of the methods taken by

the British Government to prevent the spread of the disease created a panic amongst the native population and riots broke out in Bombay and other places. To allay the panic, the Government modified the early regulations.

The finances began to improve after a long period of deficit caused by unstable exchange. The years after 1899 showed surpluses. It fell to Lord Curzon in his first year of office to pass the Act which made the British sovereign legal tender in India and practically fixed the value of the rupee at 1sh. 4d. In 1903 the salt tax was reduced by eight annas per maund, "*the first serious reduction of taxation that has been made in India for twenty years.*"

Other important measures of Lord Curzon's administration were the Punjab Land Alienation Act; educational and police reforms; army reform; the partition of Bengal; and an Act for the preservation of Ancient Monuments. In nearly every case they were undertaken after exhaustive preliminary enquiry in the form of a commission.

The Punjab Land Alienation Act was designed to free the peasant land-owners from the clutches of money lenders. Agricultural banks or co-operative credit societies were founded in 1904 to encourage self-reliance and thrift. In the same year a new department of commerce and industry was inaugurated. It is presided over by the sixth ordinary member of the council.

A great conference of educational officers was held

Educational reform.

ties.

at Simla in 1901 and in 1904 and an Act was passed reorganising the senates or governing bodies of the Indian Universities.

An Act was passed for the systematic conservation and restoration of ancient monuments.

Army reform.

The efficiency of the army was increased by rearmament of the native regiments, the strengthening of the artillery, and the reorganisation of the transport service. In the burden of Imperial defence India bore an honourable part : Indian troops fought in Natal against the Boers in South Africa.

Police reformed.

Many abuses existed in the police service and charges of oppression and corruption were too many. In 1905, the numbers of the force were increased, the rate of pay was raised, and improvements in training and personnel were introduced.

Partition of Bengal 1905.

Bengal had become unwieldy for purposes of administration. Lord Curzon, after paying a visit to eastern Bengal, recognised the necessity of reducing the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant Governor. In 1905, the Divisions of Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi were separated from Bengal and were linked to Assam and a new province, called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' under a Lieutenant Governor with his capital at Dacca was formed. This arrangement provoked intense and passionate hostility in Bengal. The agitation continued until this arrangement was reversed in 1911 when His Majesty the Emperor

held his Durbar at Delhi. The chief commissionership of Assam was restored and the new province of Bihar and Orissa including Chutia-Nagpur, with its capital at Patna-Bankipore was created. Bengal proper thus remained undivided under the Calcutta Government.

In conjunction with Lord Kitchener, commander-in-chief since 1902, Lord Curzon had carried out many important reforms in army reorganisation. But, in 1905, a controversy arose between them about the representation of the army in the Supreme Council. As Lord Kitchener's proposals found acceptance with the Secretary of State, Lord Curzon resigned and was succeeded by Lord Minto.

As a result of long discussions carried on for nearly three years between the Government of India under Lord Minto and Lord Morley, the Secretary of State, certain constitutional changes were effected. The reforms concerned both the executive and the legislative councils of the Governor-General and the Provincial Governments and were designed as a continuation of the Councils Acts of 1861 and 1892.

The Act empowered an increase in the number of members of each of the Madras and Bombay Executive Councils from two to four. A seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council was thrown open to an Indian. Indians have been given seats in the Council of India which advised the Secretary of State.

The membership of the Imperial Legislative Council has been raised from twenty-one to a maximum of sixty. Similarly, the Provincial Legislative Councils also were

enlarged, the membership being more than doubled. A large proportion of the councillors is elected by Chambers of Commerce and other recognised public bodies. Provision has also been made for the representation of the minorities and special interests, such as the Muhammadan population, the tea and jute industries, and the communities of European planters. Liberty for the discussion of the annual budget and other matters of public interest has been accorded to the Legislative Councils.

The Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge will be for ever memorable by reason of the visit of Their
Delhi Durbar
1911. Majesties the King-Emperor and his consort at the close of 1911 and the declaration of the Great War in August 1914. A grand Durbar was held at Delhi and the Coronation of Their Majesties took place. His Majesty made two important announcements. One was the reversal of the partition of Bengal and the other was the transference of the official capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

APPENDIX A

The Queen's Proclamation

The transfer of the Government to the Crown was announced on Nov. 1, 1858, to the princes and peoples of India by a proclamation read at Allahabad and other important stations. The text is as follows :

Victoria, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the colonies and dependencies thereof in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, and Australasia, Queen, Defender of the Faith.

Whereas, for divers weighty reasons, we have resolved, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India, heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company.

Now, therefore, we do by these presents notify and declare that by advice and consent aforesaid, we have taken upon ourselves the said government ; and we hereby call upon all our subjects within the said territories to be faithful, and to bear true allegiance to us, our heirs and successors, and to submit themselves to the authority of those whom we may hereafter, from time to time, see fit to appoint to administer the government of our said territories, in our name and on our behalf.

And we, reposing especial trust and confidence in the loyalty, ability, and judgement of our right trusty and well-beloved cousin Charles John, Viscount Canning, do

hereby constitute and appoint him the said Viscount Canning to be our first Viceroy and Governor-General in and over our said territories, and to administer the government thereof in our name, and generally to act in our name and on our behalf, subject to such orders and regulations as he shall, from time to time, receive through one of our Principal Secretaries of State.

And we do hereby confirm in their several offices, civil and military, all persons now employed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, subject to our future pleasure, and to such laws and regulations as may hereafter be enacted.

We hereby announce to the native princes of India, that all treaties and engagements made with them by or under the authority of the East India Company, are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained, and we look for the like observance on their part.

We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and, while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others.

We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.

We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the

blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fill.

Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

We know, and respect, the feelings of attachment with which the natives of India regard the lands inherited by them from their ancestors, and we desire to protect them in all rights connected therewith, subject to the equitable demands of the State; and we will that generally, in framing and administering the law, due regard be paid to the ancient rights, usages and customs of India.

We deeply lament the evils and misery which have been brought upon India by the acts of ambitious men, who have deceived their countrymen by false reports, and led them into open rebellion. Our power has been shown

by the suppression of that rebellion in the field ; we desire to show our mercy by pardoning the offences of those who have been misled, but who desire to return to the path of duty.

Already, in one province, with a desire to stop the further effusion of blood, and to hasten the pacification of our Indian dominions, our Viceroy and Governor-General has held out the expectation of pardon, on certain terms, to the great majority of those who, in the late unhappy disturbances, have been guilty of offences against our government, and has declared the punishment which will be inflicted on those whose crimes place them beyond the reach of forgiveness. We approve and confirm the said act of our Viceroy and Governor-General, and do further announce and proclaim as follows :

Our clemency will be extended to all offenders, save and except those who have been, or shall be, convicted of having directly taken part in the murder of British subjects. With regard to such the demands of justice forbid the exercise of mercy.

To those who have willingly given asylum to murderers, knowing them to be such, or who may have acted as leaders or instigators of revolt, their lives alone can be guaranteed ; but in apportioning the penalty due to such persons, full consideration will be given to the circumstances under which they have been induced to throw off their allegiance ; and large indulgence will be shown to those whose crimes may appear to have originated in too credulous acceptance of the false reports circulated by designing men.

To all others in arms against the Government we hereby promise unconditional pardon, amnesty, and oblivion of all offences against ourselves, our crown and dignity, on their return to their homes and peaceful pursuits.

It is our royal pleasure that these terms of grace and amnesty should be extended to all those who comply with these conditions before the 1st day of January next.

When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.

APPENDIX B

The Viceroys and important events of their administration

Lord Canning 1858-1862. On Nov. 1, 1858, at a grand Darbar held at Allahabad, Canning announced the Queen's Proclamation. He made a tour through northern India, received the homage of native chiefs, and assured them that the right of adoption had been conceded. He introduced financial and legal reforms. The Penal Code was enacted in 1860. The Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure were made into law in 1859 and 1861 respectively. The India Councils Act was passed in 1861.

Lord Elgin 1862-63. He died after he had been a year and a half in office. The only noticeable event of his time was the campaign against the Wahabi fanatics on the North West frontier.

Sir John Lawrence 1864-69. He was appointed viceroy in recognition of his past services in the Panjab. His viceroyalty was not in general distinguished by great events within India; but beyond the borders it was notable for the marked display of the principle of 'masterly inactivity' or non-intervention. After the death of Dost Mohamad, his third son, Sher Ali became Amir. He, however, was involved in severe struggles with his brothers before his dominion was finally established. Lawrence steadily refused to interfere in these struggles.

There was a terrible famine in Orissa in 1866. The only other event was a petty war with Bhutan in 1864.

Lord Mayo 1869-72. Lord Mayo succeeded to the Viceroyship in 1869 and Sher Ali came to Umballa for making an alliance with the English. But he went away disappointed. Lord Mayo improved the finances of the country by introducing economy in expenditure and enhancing the income and salt taxes. The most beneficial of his reforms was the introduction of the Provincial Contract System. He abolished the inland customs duties which hampered internal trade. In 1872 he went on tour to Burma and from there proceeded to the Andamans. There, as he was returning to his ship, he was murdered by a convict.

Lord Northbrook 1872-76. The Prince of Wales visited India in 1875-76. Another event was the trial

and deposition of the Gaekwar of Baroda in 1875. He had to face the Russian problem. He assured the Amir of Afghanistan that the Russians had no intention of invading or annexing his territory and that he would support him in case of necessity. But he strongly opposed the plan of Lord Salisbury, the then Secretary of State for India, of sending a British Resident to Kabul. So he resigned.

Lord Lytton 1876-80. By an Act of Parliament, introduced by the Premier Disraeli, in 1877, the Queen took the title of Empress of India. A terrible famine broke out in the South in 1876 and lasted throughout 1877. Relief operations were conducted on a large scale.

Lord Lytton, under instructions from the Home Government, forced Sher Ali to receive a British Resident at Kabul. On his refusal, war with Afghanistan was declared. For the details of the war, refer to pp. 13-15, of the book.

Another event worthy of notice was the Panjdeh incident.

Lord Ripon 1880-84. Lord Ripon is chiefly remembered for his reforms in the internal administration of the country. He abolished the import duties, specially those on cotton goods. In 1882, the Local Self-government Act was passed, which established the Municipal and District councils. It gave the people a share in the management of local affairs through elected representatives. He repealed the Vernacular Press Act passed by Lord Lytton. He extended the criminal jurisdiction of native District magistrates.

The native state of Mysore, which had been administered by the British on behalf of the Hindu reigning family since 1831, was replaced under its hereditary dynasty on March 25, 1881.

In 1884, a Boundary Commission was appointed, with the consent of the Amir, to settle, in conjunction with Russian Commissioners, the north-western frontier of Afghanistan.

Lord Dufferin 1884-88. Lord Ripon was succeeded at the end of 1884 by the Earl of Dufferin. In 1885, the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed. In the same year, the Burmese war led to the annexation and conquest of Upper Burma.

Lord Lansdowne 1888-91. Under his rule, the defences of the north-western frontier were strengthened, and the passes from Afghanistan secured against any possible invaders. A minor affair of Lansdowne's time was the Manipur expedition (1891). In 1892, the Parliament passed the India Councils Act.

The Earl of Elgin 1894-99. His term of office was clouded by famine and expensive frontier wars. In 1897, there was a widespread famine and plague in India. Moreover, on account of the fall in exchange, he was confronted with a deficit in the revenue. In the domain of foreign policy, the Durand agreement was concluded with Russia by which the frontier line was delimited. In the years 1895—97, a series of outbreaks occurred along the north-west frontier. Two campaigns were successfully undertaken, the one against Chitral and the other against Tirah.

Lord Curzon 1899-1905. In 1899, Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon. His period of office was one of unusual activity in the direction of internal reforms. His policy towards the North-west frontier may be described as a compromise between the Lawrence and Forward schools of thought. In 1901, he created the North-West Frontier Province under a chief commissioner. Other important measures of Lord Curzon's administration were educational and police reforms; army reform; the partition of Bengal; the Land Alienation Act; and an Act for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments.

Queen Victoria died on Jan. 22, 1901 and on Jan. 1, 1903, Lord Curzon proclaimed King Edward VII Emperor of India at the great Coronation Durbar at Delhi. He resigned office in 1905 as he could not accept the arrangement of Lord Kitchener about the representation of the army in the Supreme Council which was adopted by the Secretary of State.

Lord Minto 1905-10. The India Councils Act of 1909 was passed and it enlarged the councils and gave increased powers to them. He had to deal with a lawless and seditious movement. A new Press Act was passed. The outstanding event of his term of office was the death of King Emperor Edward VII on May 7, 1910. He was succeeded by Lord Hardinge. The Coronation of George V took place at a Durbar at Delhi when he made two important announcements, the one being the reversal of the partition of Bengal and the other being the transference of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi.

APPENDIX C

A comparative table showing the Viceroys and the ministries

<i>Governors-General</i>	<i>Ministries</i>
Lord Auckland 1836-42.	Melbourne's 2nd administration 1836-1841.
The First Afghan War 1839-42.	Palmerston—Foreign Secretary, 1837. Victoria ascends the throne.
Lord Ellenborough 1842-44.	Sir Robert Peel 1841-46.
Sir Henry Hardinge 1844-48.	Russel and Derby 1846-52. Palmerston — Foreign Secretary till 1851.
Lord Dalhousie 1848-56.	The Aberdeen ministry 1852-55. (The Coalition).
Lord Canning 1856-58.	Palmerston's first administration 1855-58. Crimean War 1856-58.

Viceroys

Lord Canning 1858-62.	Lord Derby's ministry 1858-59.
Lord Elgin 1862-63.	India Bill passed 1858.
Sir John Lawrence 1864-69.	Palmerston's 2nd administration 1859-65.
	Russel and Gladstone ministry 1865-66.
	The third Derby administration 1866-68.
	Disraeli, Prime minister, 1868-69.



Lord Mayo 1869-72.	The first Gladstone administration 1869-74.
Lord Lytton 1876-80.	Disraeli's 2nd administration 1874-1880.
Lord Ripon 1880-84.	The 'Eighty Parliament' Gladstone 1880-82.
Lord Dufferin 1884-88.	Gladstone and Salisbury 1883-85.
	Lord Salisbury's ministry 1886-92.
Lord Lansdowne 1888-94.	Gladstone's last cabinet 1892-95.
Lord Elgin 1894-99.	Lord Salisbury's Unionist administration 1895-1902.
Lord Curzon 1899-1905.	Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain 1902-05.
Lord Minto 1905-10.	The Liberal ministry 1906-10.
	Mr. Asquith, Prime minister 1908-10.
Lord Hardinge 1910-1916.	The General Election 1911. Liberal majority.

APPENDIX D

The frontier policy of the Indian Government and the limits of the scientific frontier

It will be seen that, in the political growth of the East India Company in India, the policy of interposing a zone of protected land between the company's actual possessions and the possessions of a formidable neighbour

was adopted. That is, to prevent a clash between the company and the powerful neighbour beyond, the English brought the weak neighbour adjoining the frontier under its influence. It was on this principle that Oudh, the Rajput states and the cis-Sutlej principalities were maintained and strengthened by them as outworks and barricaded against the formidable powers of the Mahrattas and the Sikhs.

In all these protected states, the rulers were debarred from making war and peace though they were given perfect freedom in the internal administration of their states. Thus they served as buffers and prevented collisions. When the territorial possessions under the actual administration of the English in India reached the slopes of the Himalayas, it may be thought that the protectorates which are artificial fortifications of the exposed border would be no longer needed. On the contrary, they seemed to be more necessary than ever. On the north-west, the mountain wall is not a sufficient protection against the foreigner.

From the west of Kashmir, the mountain ranges, running south for 200 miles to Karachi, are held to the northward by fierce, fanatic Pathans, to the southward by the Baluchians. From Peshawar, the Kaibar Pass is open towards Kabul; from the plains of Sindh, the Bolan Pass leads to Quetta and Kandahar.

Looking over the mountain wall and beyond it to the Oxus, Russia was advancing across the central Asian steppes. The oxus divides Bhokara from Afghanistan, the Russian from the English protectorate. Russia is a powerful neighbour and consequently in order

to prevent a collision with it, it was necessary to interpose protectorates between the Russian border line and the actual possessions under the British administration. Baluchistan and Afghanistan, by their broad extent and physical conformations are admirably adapted to form strong natural outworks. Thus the true frontier beyond the north-west of India includes not only the land that is administered by the English but also the lands that are protected. On the north-west, there is not only a belt of free tribal lands under our protection but the road leading from Central Asia into India are barricaded by two huge blocks of independent territory, Afghanistan and Baluchistan. The route from the Kaibar Pass was secured by fortifications at Peshawar; through the efforts of the diplomatist, Sir Robert Sandemann, Quetta was got from the Khan of Khelat in 1876 and certain districts now known as British Baluchistan were secured by treaty from the Khan in 1887. The boundary line which separates Afghanistan and Baluchistan from Persia and Russia has been secured by treaty or agreement; on the North-east also, the real frontier has been thrown forward up to the Mekong river enclosing a line of semi-independent chieftainships which serve as buffers between Burma and China and France.

Thus the Indian Empire and its allies now virtually occupy the whole area of southern Asia that lies between Russia and China, on the line drawn from the Oxus in the north-west down to the Mekong river in the south-east. On the north west, the line of advance into India from central Asia is fortified by protectorates, Baluchistan, Afghanistan, Kashmir and the petty states beyond Kashmir

up to the skirts of the Hindu Kush. Along the main northern line of the Himalayas, there is no need of protectorates. The triple chain of mountains forms a strong natural barrier. On the north-east, the real frontier extends to the Mekong river.

APPENDIX E

Rival Schools of policy

Sir John Lawrence advocated the policy of Masterly inactivity with reference to Afghanistan.

The Policy of
'masterly inacti-
vity.'

He was of opinion that the actual north-west frontier as it existed was practically impenetrable. Beyond that frontier, friendly relations should be cultivated with the native powers which would serve as an additional barricade against a possible Russian attack. But history had proved that it would make the Afghans hostile to the British if the suspicion of depriving them of their independence was roused. So, the English should step in to protect it when it is threatened with invasion or loss of independence by Russia.

The advocates of the forward policy, also agreed that Afghanistan should be maintained as an independent state, a buffer between the Russian empire in Asia and India.

The 'forward
policy.'

Everyone wanted British influence to prevail in Afghanistan, and Russian influence to be excluded. But the politicians of the forward school, were not satisfied with the cultivation of friendly relations with the Amir.

The problem was to secure the loyalty of Afghanistan against the peculiar methods of Russian diplomacy apart

from the establishment of a scientific frontier. So they held that the British government should have accurate knowledge of what was actually going on beyond the mountains. So it was thought desirable that the Amir should consent to the appointment of a British resident at Kabul. The Amir had the strongest objection to this. It appeared to him that the appointment of a Resident was only a preliminary to deprivation of independence. So, while the advocates of the policy of 'masterly inactivity' were convinced that the presence of a Resident was an idea so repugnant to the Amir that it should not be forced upon him, the 'forward school' of politicians considered that the Amir should be compelled to receive a Resident even at the cost of a war, should there be a necessity.

APPENDIX F

Constitutional changes since 1858

India Bill of 1858. An Act called the India Bill was passed by the Parliament in 1858. Under it the company was wound up and the Government of

India was transferred to the Crown. The Viceroy and the members of all the Indian services became the servants of the Crown. The company's army was incorporated in the British army. The home authority was placed in the hands of a secretary of state, who was to be a member of the cabinet; he was to be assisted by a council of fifteen, appointed by the Crown. It was required that nine of the members of the council must have served for ten years in India. As a member of the cabinet, the secretary of state is responsible to parliament

for his official acts in accordance with constitutional practice.

The internal constitution of India was rearranged by the provisions of the Indian Councils Act of 1861. The Act gave to the Governments of Madras and Bombay the powers of legislation which the Charter Act of 1833 had withdrawn, but with one important restriction. Thenceforth, the previous sanction of the Governor-General was to be obtained for legislation by the local councils in certain cases. For purposes of legislation, the Governor-General's Council was increased by the addition of not less than six and not more than twelve additional members who were to be nominated by the Governor-General and remain on the council for two years. Of these extra members, not more than half were to be non-official, that is to say, men who were not in the service of the Crown.

In the eighties, a section of Indian opinion was dissatisfied with the existing administrative system and demanded an advance. So it was felt that reforms were needed both in order to supply the councils with the local knowledge which was lacking and also to give them more liberty and power. The Act of 1892, therefore, increased the number of additional members and also introduced an elective element by the fact that the non-official member of the Legislative Councils of Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the United Provinces and the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce each selected a representative. Similarly in the legislative councils of the local Government, provision was made for the election of non-official members by re-

cognised public bodies or constituencies, such as the District Boards, the municipalities and so on.

It gave the councils the right of asking questions, and of discussing, though not of voting upon, the budget.

The Act of 1909 went further in the same direction and introduced reforms in both the Executive and the Legislative councils of the Governor-General and the provincial governments. It empowered an increase in the number of members of each of the Madras and Bombay Executive Councils from two to four. An Indian member was appointed to a seat on each of them. An Indian member was also appointed to a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council. Indians have been given seats in the Council of India which advises the Secretary of State.

The membership of the Imperial Legislative Council was raised from 21 to a maximum of 60. Similarly the provincial legislatures were enlarged up to a maximum limit of 50 additional members in the larger provinces and 30 in the smaller. A large proportion of them is elected by Chambers of Commerce and other recognised public bodies. Elaborate arrangements were also made for the representation of minorities and special interests.

The Act empowered the councils to discuss the budget at length before it was finally settled, to propose resolutions on it, and to divide upon them. Not only on the budget but on all matters of public importance also, resolutions might be proposed and divisions taken.

These changes too did not satisfy the advanced section of enlightened Indian opinion. An agitation was

started for the establishment of responsible self-government in India. In response to that, the Secretary of State for India announced in the House of Commons on Aug. 20, 1917, the adoption of a new policy in the administration of India. That was to give Indians an increasing share in every branch of the administration and 'the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.'

In accordance with that announcement, an Act called 'the Government of India Act' was passed in 1919. It provided for an increase in the Indian element in the Governor-General's Executive Council and the provincial Councils. The imperial Legislative Council is replaced by a Council of State and a Legislative Assembly. The term of the former is 5 years and the latter is 3 years. The membership of the Assembly is increased to 100 of whom two-thirds are to be elected and one-third nominated. The Governor-General and the crown retain their powers of assent, reservation or disallowance of Bills.

The Provincial Governments are given the widest independence in legislative, administrative and financial matters. The subjects are divided into reserved and transferred subjects and the governor is to act in conjunction with the Executive council in the administration of the former and with ministers nominated by the Governor from the elected members of the Legislative Council in the administration of the latter. The provincial legislatures are enlarged with a substantial elected majority. The

members are to be elected on a broad franchise. The term of the Legislative council is 3 years. Legislation on all subjects is to be passed in the Legislative council. Budget proposals on transferred subjects are votable by the legislative Council. But in the case of the reserved subjects, the Governor has the power to restore the whole or any part of the allotment on public grounds if the Legislative Council refuses to accept the proposal. Provincial Governments are given certain powers of taxation and of borrowing.

APPENDIX G

Growth of the provincial System

British India is made up of nine major provinces and six lesser charges. The former comprise the three presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal; the four lieutenant-governorships of the United Provinces, the Punjab, Burma, and Bihar and Orissa and the two chief commissionerships of the Central Provinces and Assam. The minor charges are the North-West Frontier Province, British Baluchistan, Coorg, Ajmer, The Andamans, and Delhi. Madras and Bombay grew into governorships out of the original trading settlements. Sind was added to the latter soon after its conquest in 1843. The original Presidency of Bengal was elevated from a governorship to a governor-generalship by the Regulating Act of 1773. When acquisitions to the North-West of Bengal were made later on, the lieutenant governorship of the North-Western Provinces was created in 1836 and the direct administration of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was placed under a lieutenant-governor. The

Punjab was the next province formed. At first, it was placed under a chief commissioner but after the Mutiny it became a lieutenant-governorship. Oudh was annexed in 1856 and placed under a chief commissioner, whose office merged in that of the lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces in 1877. The North-Western Provinces and Oudh were renamed the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in Lord Curzon's time. Lower Burma was formed into a chief commissionership in 1862; Upper Burma was added in 1886 and the province was placed under a lieutenant-governor in 1897. The Central Provinces, formed out of portions of the North-Western Provinces and certain lapsed territories, were placed under a chief commissioner in 1861. In 1903, Berar was taken over on a perpetual lease from the Nizam and linked to the Central Provinces. Assam, annexed in 1826, was added to Bengal, from which it was again severed and made a chief commissionership in 1874. In 1905, the partition of Bengal converted the eastern half of the province together with Assam into one lieutenant-governorship under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and the western half into another lieutenant-governorship under the name of Bengal. This arrangement was modified in 1912; Assam became once more a chief commissionership, Bengal, a presidency, and Bihar and Orissa a lieutenant-governorship. The North-West Frontier Province was created for purposes of political security in 1901 by detaching certain Punjab districts. British Baluchistan was formed into a chief commissionership in 1887. Coorg was annexed in 1834 and is administered by the Resident in Mysore. Ajmeer, ceded in 1818, is similarly administered

by the Agent to the Governor-General in Rajaputana. The superintendent of the penal settlement of Port Blair administers the Andamans and Nicobar islands as chief commissioner. Delhi was created a separate province under a chief commissioner on the occasion of the King-Emperor's Durbar in 1912.

APPENDIX H

Important questions

1. When and under what circumstances was the administration of India transferred from the East India Company to the Crown ?

2. 'The Queen's Proclamation was the Magna Carta of the people of India'—Examine this statement.

3. What were Lord Canning's administrative reforms ?

4. Tell how Lord Canning effected the land settlement in Oudh.

5. Give a short account of the outbreaks of famine during this period and write how the respective Viceroys dealt with them. State the broad principles underlying the famine policy.

6. What were the financial reforms introduced by Lord Mayo. Describe his Provincial Contract System.

7. Why is Lord Ripon loved by the Indians? What reforms did he introduce in the internal administration of the country ?

8. Give a short account of the land legislation during the period and what were the evils which it sought to remove ?

9. Trace the constitutional changes introduced by the Councils Acts of 1861, 1892, & 1909.

10. What was the policy adopted by the Indian Government in its relations with the Native states since the Proclamation. Examine it with reference to the following Native states : Mysore, Baroda, Bhutan and Manipur.

11. What is a scientific frontier ? Describe the frontier policy of the Indian Government in the North-West and the North-East.

12. State the limits of the Indian frontier and draw a map to illustrate it.

13. Describe the foreign policy of Sir John Lawrence.

14. What led to the second Afghan War ? Give a short account of the War.

15. Explain the policy of ' Masterly inactivity ' and the ' Forward policy.'

16. Describe the conquest and annexation of Upper Burma.

17. Write short notes on :—Quetta ; Chitral campaign ; Anglo-Russian convention, 1907 ; Panjdeh incident ; expedition to Lhasa ; Indian National Congress ; State control of railways ; Robert Sandemann.

