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HISTORY OF INDIA 1707 - 1857 C.E

Unit - I

Disintegration of Mughal Empire – Later Moghuls- Sayyid Brothers-
Invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahamad Shah Abdali- Third Battle of Panipat

Unit - II

Eighteenth Century India - The rise of regional powers- Bengal, Oudh,
Hyderabad, Mysore and Carnatic.- European Trading Companies-
Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes and French

Unit - III

English expansion in India- Carnatic Wars- Conquest of Bengal- Subsidiary
Alliance- Maratha wars-Mysore wars- Sikh wars- Doctrine of Lapse

Unit - IV

Colonial Construction of India- Administrative structure- Land Revenue
settlements, Zamindari, Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems- Introduction
of Western Education and its impact- Religious Reform- Brahmo Samaj-
Social Legislation- Abolition of Sati, Widow Remarriage Act

Unit - V

The Great Revolt of 1857- Causes, Nature, Course and Consequences

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TABLE OF CONTENTS			
UNIT	LESSON	TITLE`	PAGE NO.
I	1.1	Disintegration of Mughal Empire	1
II	2.1	Eighteenth Century India	29
III	3.1	English Expansion in India	61
IV	4.1	Colonial Construction of India	115
V	5.1	The Great Revolt of 1857	151

UNIT - I

Lesson 1.1 - Disintegration of Mughal Empire

Structure

- 1.1 Learning Objectives
- 1.2 Introduction
- 1.3 Disintegration of the Mughal empire
- 1.4 Later Mughals
- 1.5 Invasion of Nadir Shah 1738-39
 - 1.5.1 Battle of Karnal 24 February 1739
- 1.6 Invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali
 - 1.6.1 The Battle of Panipat 14 January 1761
 - 1.6.2 Causes for the defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat
 - 1.6.3 Significance of the Battle of Panipat
- 1.7 Causes for the disintegration of the Mughal Empire
 - 1.7.1 Role of Aurangzeb
 - 1.7.2 Weak Successors of Aurangzeb
 - 1.7.3 Decline of the Mughal nobility
 - 1.7.4 Challenge posed by the Marathas
 - 1.7.5 Military weakness
 - 1.7.6 Economic Bankruptcy
 - 1.7.7 Coming of the Europeans
- 1.8 Let us Sum up
- 1.9 Keywords
- 1.10 Self Assessment
- 1.11 References

1.1 learning objectives

- To enable the learners understand the factors that transpired leading to the disintegration of the Mughal Empire.
- To help learners comprehend the impact of the power vacuum that followed owing to the collapse of Mughal authority and the resultant ramifications.

1.2 Introduction

Welcome to the learning of a very interesting and volatile phase in Indian history. 1707 to 1857 was a period that witnessed far reaching changes in the politico-economic milieu transforming the country from what it had been in the preceding centuries. The period 1707-1857 has commanded a great deal of attention among historians. It features grand events like the death of Aurangzeb, Battle of Plassey and the Revolt of 1857- all events which have had profound consequences on the historical development of the subcontinent. The great Mughal empire was on its last leg. Its days of glory and splendour a fading memory and what remained in authority a sad remnant of a bygone era. 1707 witnessed the demise of Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughals, his reign is considered the swan song of the Mughal era. With his death in 1707, was let loose forces that tore the fabric of a once mighty empire. Unit 1 deals with six important topics, namely the disintegration of the Mughal empire, later Moghuls, Sayyid Brothers, Invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali and the Third Battle of Panipat. The unit also explains in length about the varied causes that led to the fall of the Mughal empire which during its zenith had been one of the most powerful empires of the world.

The period 1707-1857 opened up a new phase of historical experience that historians associate with the idea of 'modern'. The features of an early colonial rule resulted in a new order, a new orientation and it prepared Indians for an anti-colonial struggle and finally the creation of a modern nation state. A new class of elite were created who were committed to social reform, rule of law, liberal education and representative institutions.

1.3 Disintegration of the Mughal Empire

The Mughal empire was one of the largest centralized states known in pre-modern world history. By the end of the 17th century it held political authority over a population between 100 to 150 million and control of territories covering almost the entire subcontinent. At the height of its

power the Mughal empire, with its extensive territory, military strength and cultural achievements had dazzled the world. It remained a strong and centralized organization for almost two centuries even though its economic structure occasionally displayed signs of strain and pressure. However by the 18th century the signs of decay and decline were clear. In the very first quarter of the century between 1707 to 1739, the empire was radically transformed. The rulers watched as a rapid fragmentation set in. Aurangzeb, the last of the great Mughal emperors, with his religious fanaticism alienated a large majority of his non Muslim subjects and this precipitated the disintegration.

The decline of the empire was dramatically manifested in the wracking and bitter wars of succession. This eroded the centralized structure and strained its military resources. India was exposed to a series of terrible invasions from the North West that increased the insecurity and encouraged the tendencies to secede. Invasions from the north-west for the easy loot and plunder added to the chaos.

The huge empire began to crumble as adventurers and ambitious rulers and nobles carved out independent principalities for themselves. The governors of Bengal, Hyderabad and Avadh declared their independence. The Marathas formed a confederate power structure. Smaller independent states emerged in the Deccan and Peninsula like Mysore, Arcot and Travancore. Afghan principalities were set up in Farukhabad and Rohilkhand. The Sikhs carved an independence niche in Punjab.

European trading companies seeing advantages in the fluid political crisis dabbled in Indian politics as well. Despite the crumbling super structure, so great had been the prestige of the Mughals that it took a century and a half to dissolve. The last emperor Bahadur Shah II died in ignominy in a prison in Rangoon.

1.4 Later Mughals

Aurangzeb died in March 1707 at the age of 89. As was to be expected a war of succession ensued among his three surviving sons, Prince Muazzam, Muhammad Azam and Kam Bakhsh. Prince Muazzam, the eldest emerged victorious after defeating and killing his younger brothers. Muhammad Azam was killed at Jajau on 18 June 1707 and Kam Bakhsh met his end on 13 January 1709 near Hyderabad. The victorious prince ascended the throne titled Bahadur Shah I. He was however an elderly man of 63, not

inclined towards an active leadership. He followed a pacifist policy and released the Maratha prince Shahu, who had been held captive since 1689. Peace was also extended to various Rajput chiefs and their states were returned to them.

Banda, a Sikh leader, who was terrorizing Muslims in Punjab, was dealt with severely. Banda was defeated at Lohgarh and the Mughal troops occupied Sirhind in January 1711. Bahadur Shah I died on 27 February 1712. To quote Sidney Owen, "He was the last Emperor of whom anything favourable can be said. Henceforth, the rapid and complete abasement and practical dissolution of the Empire was typified in the incapacity and political insignificance of its sovereigns."

It has been recorded that the sons of Bahadur Shah were in such indecent haste to decide the question of succession that the corpse of their father remained unburied for a month. There were four sons, Jahandar Shah, Azim-us-Shan, Rafi-us-Shan and Jahan Shah. The eldest Jahandar emerged victorious as he was able to get the support of a prominent leader of the Irani faction, Zulfikar Khan. Jahandar Shah was the emperor from March 1712 to February 1713 with Zulfikar Khan as his prime minister. His position was contested by Farrukhsiyar, son of Azim-us-Shan. With the help of the Sayyid brothers, Farrukhsiyar defeated and killed Jahandar Shah.

The Sayyid brothers - Abdulla Khan and Hussain Ali dominated the Mughal court for almost a decade and revelled in their role as king makers. The grateful emperor Farrukhsiyar appointed Abdulla Khan as his wazir and Hussain Ali as Mir Bakshi. They wielded a lot of power in court and the Emperor was to soon find their overbearing domination unbearable and he conspired against them. The wily brothers however proved much too smart and had the Farrukhsiyar strangled to death with the help of the Maratha troops on 28 April 1719. It was during Farrukhsiyar's reign that the Sikh leader Banda Bahadur was taken prisoner and later executed. Farrukhsiyar also heedlessly granted the English Trading Company several trading privileges including exemption from customs duties in Bengal. The grant was hugely beneficial for the English and greatly helped their ascendancy.

Having got rid of Farrukhsiyar, the Sayyid brothers continued to play king makers. They raised to the throne Rafi-ud-Darajat (28 February - 4 June 1719), Rafi-ud-Daula (6 June - 17 September 1719) and Muhammad Shah

(September 1719-1748). The power and authority of the Sayyid brothers had excited the jealousy of rival factions and Hussain Ali was murdered on 9 October 1720 and Abdulla Khan imprisoned on 15 November 1720, thus the chapter on Sayyid brother domination in the Mughal court was closed. It was during the reign of Mohhamad Shah that important parts of the empire were lost to the Mughals. Nizam ul Mulk Asaf Jha set up deccan as an independent state. Saadat Khan established an independent state in Avadh and Murshid Quli Khan became virtually independent in Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The raid of the Marathas under Baji Rao I in March 1737 caused much damage and the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 completely devastated the tottering Mughal establishment.

The Mughal empire was in shambles and there was very little the next two emperors could do to check the downslide. Ahmad Shah (1748-54) and Alamgir II (1754-59) watched helplessly as Ahmad Shah Abdali from Afghanistan raided India multiple times in 1748, 1749, 1752, 1756-57 and 1759. Each raid left the empire prostrate and terrorized. Punjab was taken over by the Afghans. The Marathas occupied Malwa and Bundelkhand.

By the time of Shah Jahan III (1759-1760), Shah Alam II (1759-1806), Akbar Shah II (1806-1837) and Bahadur Shah II (1837-1857) the Mughal throne had become a complete farce, the rulers mere puppets. In 1803 the English captured Delhi and the fiction of the Mughal empire was kept up till the Revolt of 1857, during the last Emperor Bahadur Shah II was accused of sedition and exiled to Rangoon.

As Mughal power declined, control and authority passed from the hands of the rulers to that of the nobility who became the virtual kingmakers. While wars of succession existed even during the heyday of the Mughal empire, it was the royal princes who were directly involved in the contest. During the period of the later Mughals, the princes were mere pawns and real contention for power was amongst different factions of nobility. Depending on which faction had the upper-hand at a particular point of time, they raised the princes to the throne. Zulfikar Khan the leader of the Irani faction placed Jahandar Shah on the throne. Farrukhsiyar was placed on the throne in 1713 thanks to the efforts of the Sayyid brothers and when he lost their favour he was displaced in 1719. Sayyid brothers were also responsible for placing other puppet emperors on the throne. Intrigue and deception were the order of the day and the Sayyid brothers were themselves thrown out of power by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Muhammad Amin Khan of the rival Turani faction.

There were several factions of nobles in the Mughal court. Of these, there were four that were prominent and exercised much clout – the Turanis, the Iranis, the Afghans and the Hindustanis. As the names indicate the first three groups were descendants from foreigners originating from Central Asia, Iran and Afghanistan. These nobles held important military and civil offices in the Mughal court. The Turanis and Afghans were mostly Sunnis while the Iranis were Shia. The Hindustanis were Muslims born in India, whose ancestors though originally from foreign countries had settled in India for generations. This group enjoyed the support of the Rajput and Jat chiefs as well as powerful Hindu landlords. However it would be incorrect to assume that these political factions were purely drawn on religious and ethnic lines, very often actual groupings cut across religious and ethnic divide.

Abdulla Khan and Hussain Ali or the Sayyid brothers dominated the Mughal court from 1713 to 1720. They were the leaders of the Hindustani faction. The Sayyids were descendants of Prophet Mohammad and had settled in India for centuries mainly in the Doab and district of Muzaffarnagar. Sayyids were also enlisted in Akbar's army and fought in many wars. The Sayyid brothers were the descendants of Abul Farrah, a Sayyid adventurer from Mesopotamia who had near Patiala in Punjab. Sayyid Miyan, their father had served as Subahdar of Bijapur and Ajmer. He later joined Prince Muazzam. In the war of succession after Aurangzeb's death, the Sayyid brothers fought in Muazzam's army. The grateful Emperor rewarded their services, raised their rank to 4000 and also awarded the elder brother Hussain Ali the title of Abdulla Khan. In 1708, Hussain Ali was given an important assignment in Bihar through the offices of Prince Azim-us-Shan. In 1711 the same Prince appointed Abdulla Khan as his deputy in Allahabad. When Prince Azim-us-Shan was killed in the war of succession the Sayyid brothers helped his son Farrukhsiyar ascend the throne. They fought and killed Jahandar Shah and offered the throne to Farrukhsiyar.

As a mark of gratitude the newly crowned Emperor appointed Abdulla Khan as Wazir or Chief Minister and Hussain Ali Khan as Mir Bakshi or Commander-in-Chief. The appointment of the Sayyids to such elevated positions incited the jealousy of rival factions, who spared no efforts to trying to disgrace them and get them removed from power. The most active person in the anti-Sayyid faction intriguing against the two brothers, was Mir Jumla. He had the support of the Turani nobles and he also enjoyed

the trust and friendship of the emperor. Farrukhsiyar was a timid ruler, lacking in judgement and character. He became a pawn in the game of intrigue. He granted Mir Jumla undue authority which brought him into direct clash with the Sayyid brothers. Mir Jumla was also responsible for the widening gap between the emperor and the brothers.

Matters came to a head when Hussain Ali requested for appointment as Subahdar of Deccan, proposing to exercise it through a deputy. He was aware of the court intrigues and did not want to leave his brother alone to deal with it. Prompted by Mir Jumla, the Emperor refused to comply and insisted that Hussain Ali take up the position directly. Relationship between the brothers and the emperor continued to deteriorate, the former stopped attending court and began to make elaborate arrangements for their defence. The queen mother intervened and it was decided that Hussain Ali would personally take up the charge in Deccan and Mir Jumla would also be sent to Patna in a similar capacity.

The emperor was not completely reconciled and he sent messages to Daud Khan, the Subahdar of Gujrat, to assassinate Hussain Ali. The plot was discovered and Daud Khan was killed by Hussain Ali. However the intrigues against Hussain Ali continued. He instigated the zamindars in the Carnatic to disobey the Subahdar. Hussain Ali once again proved smarter. Instead of establishing Mughal authority in the Deccan, he entered into an alliance with Prince Shahu of the Marathas through the Treaty of 1719, conceding great concessions to the Marathas in return for their assistance in the Delhi power struggle.

In the meantime Farrukhsiyar fell under the influence of a Kashmiri called Muhammad Murad(also called Itikad Khan) and there were rumours that he wanted him as wazir. He also prepared a large army of about 70,000 soldiers. Abdulla Khan the wazir fearing a coup also geared up for battle. News of the tensions in Delhi reached the Deccan and Hussain Ali with the Marathas reached the capital. Abdulla khan cunningly had won over the grandees in the court Ajit Singh, Sarbuland Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulk to his side with promises of rewards. The Sayyids confronted the emperor and pressed their demands which the latter had no choice but to give in. The crown patronage was granted to the Sayyids and control of all forts to people chosen by Sayyids. Muhammad Murad was dismissed. The Sayyids were still suspicious of the emperor's loyalty so they put him to death on 28 April 1719.

The Sayyid brothers were once again in their pre-eminent position and they raised to the throne Rafi-ud-Darajat and after his death due to illness they raised to the throne Rafi-ud-Daula. The latter also died of sickness. The son of Jahan Shah, Muhhamad Shah who was a prince of 18 years of age was placed on the throne. The young prince was a puppet in the hands of the Sayyids, who had complete sway over state matters. The Sayyids enjoyed great support from the Hindus. Two Rajput princes, Jai Singh of Amber and Ajit Singh of Jodhpur were his allies. He also received much support from the Marathas. After the death of Farrukhsiyar, Jizya was once again abolished and Ajit Singh as Subahdar of Ahmadnagar forbade the slaughter of cows there.

The Sayyids had crushed the rival factions like the Turanis and Iranis in the Mughal court. These groups were waiting for an opportunity to strike back. A counter revolution led by Chin Kilich Khan popularly called Nizam-ul-Mulk began in the Deccan. Nizam-ul-Mulk captured the forts of Burhanpur and Asirgarh. He also defeated and killed Ali Khan, Hussain Ali's adopted son and Deputy Subahdar of the Deccan.

Meanwhile in Delhi a conspiracy was underfoot against the Sayyid brothers involving the emperor's mother, Itimad-ud-Daula, Saadat Khan and Haider Khan. Hussain Khan was murdered. Abdulla Khan was imprisoned when he tried to avenge the death of his brother and he was later poisoned to death on 11 October 1722.

The Sayyids took pride in being Hindustani Muslims and refused to accept the superiority of foreign origin factions like the Turanis and Iranis. They were not willing to be treated as a conquered, inferior and non privileged race. It was the intrigues of the court that turned them against Farrukhsiyar so in this regard they were more sinned against than sinning. For their own safety and survival they had to turn against the ruler. Had Farrukhsiyar not conspired against them, they might have remained his loyal supporters. The Sayyids followed a tolerant religious policy. Under their influence Jezia was abolished in 1713 and after its reimposition again abolished in 1719.

The Sayyids enjoyed the confidence of the Hindus and elevated them to high positions. Rattan Chand was elevated as diwan. They also won over the Rajputs as allies. Raja Ajit Singh who had earlier been a rebel and made as an ally. Ajit Singh's daughter was given in marriage to Emperor Farrukhsiyar. Similarly consideration was shown towards the Jats. It was on the intervention of the Sayyids that the siege on the fort of Thuri was

raised. It was also because of the Sayyids that the Chatrapati became a deputy of the Mughal emperor. Contemporary historians have described the Sayyid brothers as being generous, liberal and kind to the learned as well as the poor. It has been stated that had the Sayyid brothers continued in power, they would have established a strong government in a tolerant manner, with the support of the Indian Muslims and the Hindu princes.

1.5 Invasion of Nadir Shah 1738-39

Most historians agree that the reality of Mughal disintegration was hastened by the invasion of Nadir Shah . Until then the process of decay was largely a sordid story of intrigues and politicking, repression and resistance, commercial decline and breakdown of law and governance. But Nadir Shah publicly humiliated the emperor and his nobles a setback from which there was no turning back. For nine hours the Persians massacred thousands of people in Delhi, the city was pillaged and in ruins. This marked a date of no return as far as Mughal authority was concerned.

As the Mughal administration grew weaker, deterioration on all fronts was visible. Defense of the North West frontier had been a matter of grave importance. The provinces in the region were well administered. The people in the region pacified through subsidies and kept well under control. Political intelligence was alert and communication with Delhi constant. However after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, Prince Muazzam departed and the administration of Kabul and Ghazni became slack. That the defenses of the north western region was being neglected became obvious, the garrisons were not maintained and corrupt viceroys were appointed. Tribal subsidies also went into the coffers of the corrupt officials. The abject state of the region excited the ambitions of Nadir Shah of Persia.

Nadir Quli was born in 1688 into a Turkoman family. He was largely responsible for saving Persia from the Afghans. The Afghans under Mahmud had captured Kandhar and in 1722 also occupied Isfahan, the capital. In 1727 the Afghans were chased out of the region and Nadir Quli became the commander-in-chief of Shah Tahmasp and helped rid the Persian empire of the Afghans. The grateful ruler shared his empire and granted Nadir Quli sovereign rights over half of Persia including the right to issue coins in his name. In 1736 after the demise of the last ruler of the Safawid dynasty, Nadir Quli became the ruler of the whole Persian empire and assumed the title of Nadir Shah.

Nadir Shah was ambitious and sought to extend his dominion. He wanted to reconquer Khandar and he entered into understanding with the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah that Afghan fugitives would not be allowed to take refuge in Kabul. Despite his assurances, the Mughal Emperor breached his promises and Afghans were allowed refuge in Kabul and Ghazni after Nadir Shah captured Khandar in March 1738. Nadir's emissary to Delhi was also attacked. The Mughal ruler had also insulted Nadir Shah by not exchanging ambassadors when the latter ascended the throne. Feeling affronted by the indifferent attitude of the Mughal Emperor, Nadir Shah decided to attack Delhi. The real reason for his invasion was his ambition, greed and the knowledge that Mughal power was sapped through internal divisions.

Nadir Shah captured Ghazni on 11 June 1738 and Kabul on 29 June 1738. Nasir Shah, the Mughal governor of Kabul surrendered without much of a fight. He was granted the viceroyalty of Kabul and Peshawar on the condition of loyalty. Nadir Shah also defeated the governor of Lahore, who also was treated with kindness on the condition of loyalty. The governor of Lahore joined Nadir Shah's forces on its march on Delhi.

1.5.1 Battle of Karnal 24 February 1739

Alarmed by Nadir Shah's rapid advance towards Delhi, the Mughal Emperor decided to confront him. Accompanied by Nizam-ul-Mulk and Saadat Khan, the Mughal troops marched towards the army of Nadir Shah. The Battle of Karnal lasted for only three hours, with the Mughals losing most of their commanders and Saadat Khan being taken prisoner. Nizam-ul-Mulk began negotiations with Nadir Shah. A sum of Rs. 50 lakhs was to be paid by the Mughals to the Persian.

The Mughal emperor pleased with the efforts of Nizam-ul-Mulk conferred on him the office of Mir Bakshi. Saadat Khan, who had been coveting the post of Mir Bakshi, secretly met Nadir Shah and told him he could easily get 20 crores by marching on to Delhi. Nadir Shah reached Delhi on 20 March 1739. The Khutba was read and coins were struck in his name heralding the start of the Persian rule in Delhi.

On 22 March 1739 a rumour of Nadir Shah's sudden death resulted in the killing of 700 of his troops. In retaliation the Persians began to massacre the population of Delhi. It is estimated that about 30,000 people were killed before Muhammad Shah intervened and requested Nadir Shah to stop the massacre.

Nadir Shah remained in Delhi for about two months amassing a large booty. Every noble and even the general population was forced to contribute. Saadat Khan was threatened with death if he did not collect 20 crores. In desperation, Saadat Khan committed suicide by consuming poison. His successor Safdar Jang paid 2 crores as his contribution. It is estimated that the booty amounted to 30 crores in cash, apart from jewels, gold and silver. Besides this 100 elephants, 7000 horses, 10000 camels, 100 eunuchs, 130 writers, 200 smiths, 300 masons and builders, 100 stone cutters and 200 carpenters also formed the booty. The famed peacock throne of Shah Jahan, which in itself was worth a crore, was also taken. The Mughal Emperor was also forced to give a royal princess in marriage to Nadir's son, Nasir Allah Mirza.

Muhhamad Shah also surrendered provinces west of river Indus including Kashmir and Sind. The Governor of Punjab was asked to pay 20 lakhs per annum to Nadir. In return Nadir Shah declared that Muhammad Shah was the emperor with the right to issue coins and read the Khutba in his name. The invasion had left the Mughal empire emaciated and hastened the collapse.

1.6 Invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali

Ahmad Shah Abdali was a young Afghan officer of noble lineage. When Nadir Shah was assassinated in 1747, he took advantage of the ensuing chaos to declare himself as the ruler of Kandhar. He later captured Kabul and founded the modern kingdom of Afghanistan. As the rightful successor of Nadir Shah, he laid claim to Western Punjab.

The causes of the third Battle of Panipat can be traced to the decades preceding the battle. A power vacuum existed in North India as the Mughal empire had significantly deteriorated. Ahmad Shah Abdali who had succeeded Nadir Shah, hoped to repeat the raids of his predecessor in India. The Marathas who had risen in power were keen to extend their control over North India. They posed as defenders of the empire thus bringing them into direct clash with Abdali.

Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India for the first time in 1748. The first attempt was unsuccessful. He tried again in 1749 and this time he defeated Muni-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Punjab. He however returned back to Afghanistan, as the defeated governor promised him an annual payment of 14 thousand rupees. After the death of Main-ul-Mulk in, Punjab

slipped into anarchy. In 1752 the Nawab Wazir Safdar Jang concluded an agreement with the Marathas. Among other concessions, the Marathas were allowed to collect Chauth(taxes) from Punjab, Sindh and Doab in return for defending the Mughal empire. Abdali invaded India for the third time in 1752. The Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah appeased him by surrendering Punjab and Sindh.

Abdali invaded India for the fourth time in 1756. In January 1757 he reached Delhi and plundered the region right up to Mathura and Agra. Before his return he recognized Alamgir II as the Mughal Emperor and the Rohilla chief Najib-ud-Daula was his personal agent and Mir Bakshi. Najib-ud-Daula was entrusted with the task of protecting the Mughal emperor against the excesses of the wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. Alamgir II however found the control of Najib-ud-Daula worse than that of the wazir. The wazir Imad-ul-Mulk sought the help Rohilla of the Marathas against Najib.

Raghunath Rao, the Maratha ruler, entered Delhi in May 1757. He restored the emperor to his position, expelled Najib-ud-Daula from Delhi forcing him to retire to his estate in Najibabad. In March 1758 Raghunath Rao entered Punjab. Prince Timur, Ahmad Shah Abdali's son and agent was driven out and Adina Beg was appointed as governor of Punjab and he was asked to pay an annual tribute of 75 lakh rupees. The Marathas also extended their control upto Attock. On Adina Beg's death, Sabaji Sindhia was appointed as governor of Punjab. The capture of Punjab was a direct challenge to Abdali. The Bangash pathans also encouraged Abdali to attack. Najib-ud-Daula promised the support of other Rohilla chiefs if Abdali attacked Punjab. In the light of what followed, it was a mistake on the part of Raghunath Rao of advancing into Punjab without crushing Najib-ud-Daula and without befriending Shuja-ud-Daula of Avadh and the Jats and Rajputs, who could have been useful allies against the Afghans. On the other hand Najib-ud-Daula began to actively get allies for the Afghans. He befriended Shuja-ud-Daula of Avadh and Rohilla chiefs namely Hafiz Rehmat Khan, Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan and Malla Khan.

1.6.1 The Battle of Panipat 14 January 1761

Towards the closing months of 1759 Abdali crossed the Indus and invaded Punjab. Sabaji Sindhia and his army were unable to hold back the Afghans and were forced to retreat. In another encounter on 9 January

1760 at Barari Ghat some 10 miles north of Delhi, the Marathas were again worsted and failed to check the Afghan advance.

The Maratha Peshwa sent Sadashiv Rao Bhau to Delhi. Sadashiv Bhau captured Delhi on 22 August 1760 and then captured Kunjpura on 7 October. He then turned to meet the Afghan army in the battlefield of Panipat. Both sides were short on supplies and decided to negotiate but since no agreement was reached they decided to continue the fight. The third battle of Panipat was fought on 14 January 1761. The Marathas were routed with heavy casualties. It is estimated that about 75,000 Marathas (both combatants and non combatants) were killed.

Before his return, Abdali named Shah Alam II as emperor, Imad-ul-Mulk as Wazir and Najib-ud-Daula as Mir Bakshi. Abdali invaded India for the last time in 1767.

The repeated invasions of Abdali exposed the abject state of affairs in Delhi. The Mughals were in no position to provide any resistance. The emperor's position had become so weak that for 12 years Shah Alam II was not able to enter Delhi, which was controlled by the Rohilla leaders like Najib-ud-Daula. Only in 1772 with the help of the Marathas was Shah Alam II escorted to his throne. Shah Alam was later deposed and blinded in August 1788. The Marathas recovered Delhi for the Mughal emperor in October 1788. In 1803 the English captured Delhi and Shah Alam II became a pensioner of the East India Company.

1.6.2 Causes for the defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat

Several factors were responsible for the defeat of Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat. The Afghan forces were larger. Based on contemporary records Abdali's troops were 60,000 while actual fighting forces of the Marathas was less than 45,000. The road to Delhi was cut by the Afghans leading to a famine like situation at the Maratha camp. Food and fodder was unavailable. Men and cattle began to die of starvation at the Maratha camp.

The over bearing attitude of the Marathas and their policy of plundering captured regions had alienated both Muslim and Hindu powers. While the Muslim powers rallied on the side of Abdali, none of the Hindu powers supported the Marathas. Even the Sikhs who were staunch enemies of the Afghans did not support the Marathas. They stood alone against the Afghans.

There was a lot of mutual jealousy among the Maratha commanders and this weakened their side. A lot of responsibility for the defeat is placed on Bhau. His arrogance and over-bearing attitude alienated the other commanders. He refused to accept any advice or counsel from the others. Suraj Mal, the Jat ruler also tried to advise Bhau on matters of strategy. He advised Bhau to relocate the multitude of women and children and others accompanying the troops from the Panipat camp to Jhansi or Gwalior but the Maratha leader chose to pay no heed.

Team spirit and discipline in the ranks was missing. In sharp contrast the Afghan army functioned as a cohesive force under strict discipline. Not only were the Afghans better organized, they also had better ammunition. Ahmad Shah Abdali was an experienced general and his superior tactics and war strategy won the day.

1.6.3 Significance of the Battle of Panipat

Historians have held divergent views on the significance of Panipat. Some claim it had no lasting effect, for the Afghans eventually left India and the Marathas eventually recovered. But other historians claim that the defeat destroyed the Maratha dream of an empire extending all over India. There was no attempt made to recover Punjab or Multan and be the custodians of the North West frontier.

The Maratha losses in manpower were appalling. There were about a lakh occupying the Maratha camp, of these only a few thousands escaped alive. The great Maratha captains of war and statesmen were killed in battle. The casualties were so high that it took several months to get the proper records of the deaths. The disaster of Panipat lowered Maratha prestige in India.

1.7 Causes for the Disintegration of the Mughal Empire

The question of fragmentation or disintegration of the Mughal empire has attracted a lot of historical interest and historians are divided on the issue. If we take the health of the Mughal empire as the central point then the age can be described as one of decline. On the other hand if we consider regionalism as a potent and positive force then the century was one of opportunities.

1.7.1 Role of Aurangzeb

The Mughal empire had expanded beyond effective control. The vastness weakened the centre. Given the limited means of communication in that age, it was not possible for Alamgir Aurangzeb to assert effective control over the entire empire. A religious bigot by nature, he felt the pure Islamic character of the state had been vitiated by Akbar and his successors. His religious bigotry resulted in discontent in the empire. Wanton destruction of temples, reimposition of the Jeziya(1679) and other social and political indignities were imposed on Non Muslims. The Mughal empire was faced with rebellions from all sides-the Sikhs, the Rajputs, the Marathas the Jats and Bundelas. The Rajputs, who had been loyal supporters of the Mughals turned into bitter enemies.

Aurangzeb's military campaigns of expansion into western India against two autonomous states of Bijapur and Golkonda and against the Marathas is said to have sapped the vitality of the Empire. Being a fanatical Sunni, Aurangzeb waged a continuous war of 27 years in the Deccan to destroy the Shia sultanates of Bijapur and Golkonda. This proved to be a huge financial drain on the treasury. Moreover in the long run this proved to be counter productive. With the local check on them removed, the Marathas grew stronger and were free to challenge Mughal imperialism. The 'Deccan Ulcer' proved fatal for the Mughals.

1.7.2 Weak Successors of Aurangzeb

The Mughal system of government was despotic, so much depended on the ability of the king to control and administer. The un-visionary rule of Aurangzeb had let loose many problems for the empire and the weak successors lacked the power and authority to stop the downfall. Not only were they puppets in the hands of ambitious nobles but lacked the ability to hold together a huge empire.

Bahadur Shah I, was an old man of 63 when he ascended the throne, he tried to appease all parties by huge grants and rewards. Jahandar Shah, the next in line was a fool, Farrukhsiyar was a coward, Muhammad Shah was indifferent towards administration and was interested only in wine and women, Ahmad Shah spent all his time in the harem. Instead of focusing on stemming the tide of disintegration, the incapable rulers just hastened the collapse.

Since there was no law of primogeniture, war of succession was a common aspect. While in earlier times it had ensured that the most capable son ascended the throne, during the later Mughals the nobles became the king makers placing weak rulers on the throne who would serve their purpose.

1.7.3 Decline of the Mughal Nobility

The Mughal empire had reached its zenith not only because of its powerful rulers but also because of its committed nobles, who were seasoned warriors and administrators. The services of great nobles like Bairam Khan, Muzzafar Khan, Abdur Rahim, Saidulla Khan had helped raise the power and prestige of the Mughals, making them the richest and most powerful empire. The new breed of nobles like the later Mughals were degenerate and worthless. Rather than to serve and fight for the country their only ambition was to fill their harems and spend time in gambling and drinking.

The Mughal empire basically rested on a system of co-sharers of power with the emperor at the zenith. The aristocracy was made up of military men from Central Asia and Persia and also from within India. Aristocracy was organized around the system of military service. They were given land grants or jagirs. Every aristocrat was called a mansabdar with a dual numerical rank- the zat and sawar which indicated a personal rank and the number of troops he was expected to maintain. The mansabdars were paid in jagirs. The revenue from these land grants covered their pay and was to be used for the maintenance of the troops. The mansabdars could be and were transferred by the will of the emperor.

What united the aristocrats was a sense of loyalty to the emperor. By the end of the 18th century loyalty was non-existent and factionalism in court became the order of the day. A degree of competition had always existed between different factions but by 18th century it became a crisis. Satish Chandra calls it a jagirdari crisis. There was a mismatch between the availability of jagirs and the number of jagirdars. Actual revenue collection from certain jagirs was also less placing strain on the resources of the aristocrats. The perception of a crisis resulted in tensions and antagonism among the nobles.

Towards the fag end of Aurangzeb's reign several political factions emerged in the court. These groups created political unrest within the state. The Turani's were the Central Asian group consisting of nobles from

Trans-Oxiana. The Irani's were mainly Persians. The Turani's and Irani's were referred to as the 'Mughal or foreign party' and were pitched against the Hindustani faction. The Hindustani faction had Indian Muslims and Hindus. The Muslims of the Hindustani group were descendants of Muslims who had settled in India generations ago. Each political faction tried to win the goodwill and support of the emperor at the expense of the others. National interest was replaced with a greedy power struggle exposing the empire to threats from within and without.

Satish Chandra has produced a classic work on the parties and politics at the Mughal court in the 18th century and he argued how after 1707, a divided nobility failed to keep the system in working condition. They put their narrow self interest above everything else.

During the regimes of Jahandar Shah (1712-13), Farukhsiyar (1713-19) and Mohammad Shah (1719-48) the politics in the imperial court included a fight over the position of wazir and falling military standards. As crown lands were exhausted, the economy which already showed signs of having reached its limits showed signs of collapse. Revenue collections fell as peasant and zamindari revolts increased.

Earlier historians like Jadunath Sarkar called it a crisis of personality with weak emperors and incompetent commanders who together were responsible for the decline. However historians like T.G Spear have pointed out that there was no dearth of capable commanders. The Sayyid brothers, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Zakaria Khan, Saadat Khan, Abdus Samad Khan, Murshid Quli Khan, Safdar Jung, Sawai Jai Singh were all capable leaders but they were all preoccupied in self-aggrandizement and paid little heed to the decline.

1.7.4 Challenge Posed by the Marathas

The biggest threat from within the country was posed by the Marathas. Maratha power in western India was consolidated by the Peshwas. The Marathas expanded into North India taking away a lot of Mughal territory. They even played a role in defending Indian territory against the foreign onslaught of Abdali. Infact they even played the role of Mughal king makers at times. The rise of Maratha power led to the fall of the Mughals.

1.7.5 Military Weakness

Several historians believe that rather than specific persons like Aurangzeb or specific policies the decline of the Mughals was because of its defunct institutions and systems.

The Mughal empire has been described as a “war-state.” Its vitality depended on its military power. As the military power diminished so did the empire. The military system of the Mughals had inherent weaknesses. The organization of the army was feudal and the common soldier was loyal to the Mansabdar rather than the emperor. Under the later Mughals the inefficiency of the system reached alarming levels. The degeneration that was witnessed among the rulers and nobles was visible also among the army. Lacking a proper military training the army was like an armed rabble, ineffective against any planned or strategic attack. The artillery was also crude and ineffective. The weakness of the army was exposed during the attack of the Marathas and the raids by Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. The integrity and strength of the army was undermined by factionalism, succession disputes and obsolete technology.

There was a lamentable dearth of capable and committed military commanders who could bring in new technology and much needed reforms.

1.7.6 Economic Bankruptcy

Economic and financial situation of the Mughal empire was in dire straits by the end of Aurangzeb's reign. The long wars in the Deccan resulted in the drain of the treasury. Trade and industry were in a state of ruin due to neglect. The marches of the royal army damaged the crops in the Deccan. The beasts of burden ate the standing crops and greenery. Many peasants in despair gave up agriculture and took to plunder and robbery to survive. As the power in the centre weakened, the outlying provinces stopped paying the annual tributes thus adding to the financial woes.

Irfan Habib in his classic work, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India* has drawn attention to the exploitative nature of agrarian taxation. He explains the three way contradictions, exploitation and contest among the ruling class (jagirdars) the hereditary landholding class (zamindars) and the cultivators (Khud Khas and Pahi Khas). It created a crisis that damaged productivity. The peasant revolts kept recurring and weakened the structure of the empire. The peasants were often supported by zamindars.

The zamindars were strongly oriented to the locality and were deeply familiar with the agrarian structure. This enabled them to assume leadership against state power. So when the jagirdars became more greedy for revenue, the zamindars staged rebellions. They withheld revenue payments and resisted the forcible collection of revenue. It was stated that when mansabdars put immense pressure on cultivators they often ran away and settled on the lands of rebellious zamindars. Agrarian uprisings weakened the basis of the Mughal state. The agricultural prosperity in some regions helped zamindars become strong enough to challenge Mughal authority.

Karen Leonard in her assessment of decline of Mughal empire states the loss of confidence in Mughal authority forced bankers to migrate to provincial courts. In the aftermath of the Maratha raids, bankers lost confidence in the Mughals and shifted their loyalty to provincial and regional rulers. One of the important beneficiaries was the English East India Company. J. F Richards however has contested this claim saying bankers were not the financial backbone of the Mughals and the movement of bankers to provincial towns takes place later.

The implications of the decline of Mughal as far as overseas and internal trade was concerned was largely in terms of reduced security and infrastructure arrangements. There was a decline in Indian exports for the markets of West Asia . The competition of European private traders ate into the profits of Indian businessmen. The premier port cities of Mughal India namely Surat and Hugli witnessed a sharp fall in their trade and shipping and were overtaken by Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Muslim ship-owners were forced out by private European traders. Merchants and bankers impacted by the growing economic crisis faced by Mughals moved to provincial towns. Several of them attached themselves to the European trading companies whose settlements offered a safe asylum.

1.7.7 Coming of the Europeans

The European trading Companies realizing the advantages to be reaped from the confused times, entered the game of intrigue and war. From mere traders the English East India Company became the paramount power and finally displaced the Mughal emperor making him a pensioner and subservient to their will.

1.8 Let us Sum up

Unit 1 has analysed the causes of the disintegration of the Mughal empire. It has evaluated the role of the Mughal nobility and its changing moorings.

The chapter has assessed the role played by the Sayyid brothers, their rise to eminence, the jealousy they incurred and conspiracies they exited leading to their eventual fall. The power vacuum at Delhi was a temptation for Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali. These invasions were a death blow to the tottering Mughal empire which was laid prostrate and incapable of recovery. The Marathas who had shown promise as the successors to the Mughals were cut down to size in the third battle of Panipat.

1.9 Keywords

Mughal empire, Mughal nobility, Later Mughals, Sayyid Brothers, Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali, Marathas, Farrukhsiyar, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Hussain Ali, Abdulla Khan, Panipat

1.10 Self Assessment Questions

Fill in the blanks I

1. ----- Mughal emperor died in Rangoon.
2. Prince Muazzam ascended the throne with the title-----
3. Abdulla Khan and Hussain Ali were otherwise called -----
4. Kilich Khan, who eventually carved out an independent kingdom in the Deccan was popularly called-----
5. ----- ruler elevated the Sayyid brothers to positions of eminence.

Match the following II

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Sayyid Brothers | a. Third Battle of Panipat |
| 2. Nadir Shah | b. Hindustani Muslims |
| 3. Ahmad Shah Abdali | c. Reimposition of Jeziya |
| 4. Aurangzeb | d. Maratha |
| 5. Raghunath Rao | e. Battle of Karnal |

Choose the correct answer III

1. Find the odd one out

a. Khud Khast	c. Pahi Khast
b. Biswedar	d. Ryot

2. Find the odd one out

- | | |
|------------------|-----------------|
| a. Bairam Khan | c. Farrukhsiyar |
| b. Jahandar Shah | d. Ahmad Shah |

3. In May 1757 Raghunath Rao the Maratha ruler expelled ----- from Delhi

- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| a. Sabaji Sindhia | c. Ahmad Shah Abdali |
| b. Najib-ud-Daula | d. Shuja -ud-Daula |

4. -----committed suicide when demanded 20 crores from Nadir Shah.

- | | |
|----------------------|------------------|
| a. Muhammad Shah | c. Nizam-ul-Mulk |
| b. Nasir Allah Mirza | d. Saadat Khan |

5. To which faction did the Sayyid Brothers belong

- | | |
|-----------|---------------|
| a. Turani | c. Hindustani |
| b. Irani | d. Birani |

Answer the following questions in about 750 words- IV

1. Evaluate causes for the defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat.
2. Analyse reasons for the disintegration of the Mughal empire.
3. Critically evaluate the role of the Sayyid brothers. Had their power sustained could they have impacted/delayed the fall of the Mughals?
4. To what extent can the blame of Mughal collapse be placed on Aurangzeb.
5. What were the challenges faced by the later Mughals in the administration of the empire?

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UNIT - II**Lesson 2.2 - Eighteenth Century India****Structure**

- 2.1 Learning Objectives
- 2.2 Introduction
- 2.3 Eighteenth Century India
 - 2.3.1 Social Stratification
 - 2.3.2 Position of Women in Society
 - 2.3.3 Slavery
 - 2.3.4 Education
 - 2.3.5 Art and Literature
 - 2.3.6 Economic Conditions
- 2.4 The Rise of Regional Powers
 - 2.4.1 Hyderabad
 - 2.4.2 Bengal
 - 2.4.3 Avadh
 - 2.4.4 Ruhelas and Bangash Pathans
- 2.4.5 The Rajputs
 - 2.4.6 The Jats
 - 2.4.7 The Sikhs
 - 2.4.8 The Marathas
 - 2.4.9 The Carnatic
 - 2.4.10 Mysore
- 2.5 European trading companies
 - 2.5.1 Portuguese
 - 2.5.2 Dutch
 - 2.5.3 English
 - 2.5.4 Danes
 - 2.5.5 French
- 2.6 Let us sum up
- 2.7 Keywords

2.8 Self Assessment

2.9 References

2.1 Learning Objectives

- To create an understanding of 18th century India.
- To enable learners understand circumstances leading to the rise of regional powers.

2.2 Introduction

The second unit highlights the momentous changes witnessed in 18th century India. As the authority of the Mughals dissipated new centres of power emerged. Ambitious nawabs and nizams taking advantage of the fluid political situation carved out their own kingdoms and established their sovereignty. The weak Mughal rulers had no choice but to watch helplessly as region after region was lost to them. Pawn in the hands of power hungry nobles they had to play the game of survival and they lacked both will and resources to stop the tide of disintegration. The chapter looks at the rise of regional powers and the establishment of trading centres by European trading companies. The Unit examines society and economy in 18th century India. It explores the circumstances leading to the rise of regional powers namely Bengal, Avadh, Hyderabad, Mysore and Carnatic. The unit also evaluates the coming of the Europeans to India for trade, their mutual rivalries and the nature of their trade activities.

2.3 Eighteenth Century India

Eighteenth century occupies an interesting position in the history of India. In recent years it has emerged as a major area of debate and deliberations, the reasons for which are many. The century witnessed the passing away of one empire and its replacement by another. For historians who have chronicled the fall of the Mughals, the age represented political and cultural loss. For the new kings who were building smaller regional states the age represented opportunities that permitted redistribution of resources. For the English East India Company that was looking for opportunities to expand the age represented decay and instability and provided them the moral justification for conquest. So one must understand that there are multiple narratives which make the history of this period complex.

As discussed in the previous chapter with the decline of the Mughal power the empire began to crumble and ambitious local chiefs and rulers began to assert their power. Politically 18th century India was a picture of instability and unrest.

2.3.1 Social Stratification

Stratification of the society was the order of the day. The ruler and the nobility occupied the highest social order. Though the times were difficult for common people, the rulers and nobles lived a life of luxury and moral laxity spending extravagantly on women, wine and entertainment. In the middle were small merchants, shop keepers, town artisans etc. At the lowest rung were the artisans and the peasants who lived a life of subsistence. The caste system was rigidly followed in matters of marriage, diet, dress and professions.

2.3.2 Position of Women in Society

The Hindu society being largely patriarchal, women were not given a position of equality but they were treated with respect. They were expected to follow the what was said by the male head of the family. While most women did not play a role in public life, examples can be cited of a few Hindu and Muslim women who have contributed significantly to political and scholastic fields.

Purdha system was a common practice among both Hindu and Muslim women. Only women belonging to poor families who had to work for a livelihood did not practice it. Child marriage was the practiced norm among both boys and girls, though the marriage was consummated after both reached maturity. Dowry system prevailed. Polygamy was common among rulers, nobles, zamindars and richer people. Among the *Kulin* brahmin community in Uttar Pradesh and Bengal polygamy was extensively followed. Remarriage of widows was looked down upon though it existed in some places. The Peshwas imposed a tax called *patdam* on remarriage of widows. The practice of women burning on the funeral pyre of their husband or Sati was common in Bengal, Central India and Rajputana.

2.3.3 Slavery

The evil of slavery was prevalent. Slaves were essentially of two types- domestic slaves and serfs. Serfs were slaves tied to the land. When land

was sold serfs were also transferred to the new owner. Famines, natural calamities and extreme poverty resulted in children being sold as slaves. Certain communities like the Rajputs, Khattris and Kayasthas kept slave women as domestic servants. Slaves were treated as hereditary servants of the family rather than as menials. They were allowed to marry among themselves and the children were regarded as free citizens. Slave trade increased in proportion with the coming of the Europeans. There are records of slaves being purchased from the markets of Bengal, Assam and Bihar and then carried to European and American markets for sale. There are also reports of Abyssians being sold in the markets of Surat, Calcutta and Madras. A proclamation to abolish slavery was issued in 1789 but the practice continued.

2.3.4 Education

In India education was more about culture rather than literacy but love for learning was an important aspect of the society. Vocational education in accordance with one's varna or family tradition was practiced. Learning was linked to religion in both Hindu and Muslim education. There existed centres of higher education in Sanskrit literature. These establishments were called Chatuspathis or Tols in Bengal and Bihar. Places like Kasi, Nadia, Tirhut and Utkala were considered as reputed centres of Sanskrit education. French Traveller Bernier in his writings has described Kasi as 'the Athens of India.' There also existed institutions for higher education in Persian and Arabic called Madrasahs. Persian being the court language was learnt by both Muslims and Hindus. Azimabad in Patna was a well known centre for Persian language. Study of Arabic was pursued by those wanting to study the Quran and Muslim theology.

Elementary education was widespread, pathshalas for the Hindus and Maqtabas for the Muslims were usually attached to temples and mosques. Reading, writing, Arithmetic and instruction on moral values formed the curriculum. Though education was mainly popular among the higher castes, there were cases of children of lower castes also attending school. Female education was ignored.

2.3.5 Art and Literature

Herman Goetz in an article spoke of the cultural vitality of the 18th century that seemed to be at variance with the political and economic

decline. Recent researchers have reflected on the fluidity of social conditions that characterized the 18th century as the relatively stable structures made way for regional formations. As far as cultural development like art and music is concerned the period witnessed innovation and creativity. Even as patronage moved from Delhi to other regional centres, the age saw the emergence of eminent composers and artists. Enormous creative expression and improvisation with new forms was seen.

As patronage towards fine arts and literature began to peter out in Delhi, owing to the decline, artists and scholars settled in the new centres of power in Hyderabad, Lucknow, Murshidabad and Jaipur.

Neamat Khan Sadarang developed the khyal which was a dominant idiom for classical music. In South India patronage at the Maratha court at Tanjore led to theoretical and practical advance in music composition and production. The trinity of composers- Tyagaraja, Dikshitar and Shyama Shastri created a rich repertoire of compositions developing a distinct classical tradition.

Architecture and culture began to blossom in these new state capitals. A massive Imambara was built in Lucknow in 1784 under the patronage of Asaf-ud-Daula. To Sawai Jai Singh (1686-1743) is given the credit of constructing the pink city at Jaipur. He also built five astronomical observatories in India, one of which is located at Jaipur. Maharaja Ranjit Singh renovated the Sikh shrine at Amritsar, decorating the lower half with marble and the domes inlaid with copper and a thin sheet of gold. Hence it came to be called Golden Temple. The palace of Suraj Mal located at Dig, the Capital of Bharatpur in Rajasthan was built to replicate the imperial palaces at Agra.

The 18th century also saw impressive advances in poetry and art. Miniature art was replicated in regional styles. The development of Urdu and Punjabi poetry reflected new expressions. Religion played a major role in the articulation of local and regional sensibilities. One of the influential figures of the Muslims during this age was Shah Waliullah (1703-62). He set new standards of fidelity to the sayings of the Prophet. Skepticism and doubt became a part of the world view. Music became not just a medium of entertainment but a means of integrating complex social realities. The Khyal was one just genre that reflected the changing times.

There was visible development in various vernacular languages like Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Assamese, Punjabi, Marathi, Telegu and Tamil. While the first printing press was brought to India by the Portuguese in the 16th century, it was during the 18th century that Christian missionaries set up printing presses in various towns and vernacular editions of the Bible were printed. A Danish missionary called Bartholomeo Zeigenbalg composed a book on Tamil grammar and published the Tamil version of the Bible. In Bengal, three Baptist missionaries, Carey, Ward and Marshman were responsible for setting up a printing press in Serampore and published the Bengali version of the Bible.

2.3.6 Economic Conditions

The basic unit of the economy was the self-sufficient and self-governing Indian village. It has been remarked by European travelers that while nothing less seemed to last the Indian villages continued unchanged. Though the village economy contributed to economic and social stability, it was also responsible for stagnation. Hardly any innovation had been introduced into the methods of production and outdated agricultural practices continued.

Indian handicrafts had reached a high degree of finesse and creativity and attracted world-wide markets. Cloth manufactured in India was highly sought after. Muslins and silks were globally renowned and the weavers of Dacca, Ahmedabad, Masulipatinam, Murshidabad, Benares were much in demand. Apart from cloth, fine woollen shawls and carpets of Kashmir, Lahore and Agra were also much in demand. Gold and silver ornament, metal work, metal utensils, arms, shields were the other products which had markets both in India and abroad.

With the significant growth of domestic as well as foreign trade, merchant capital came into existence and a banking system also evolved. The use of Hundis and other banking practices became common. Even the European traders began to use the Hundi system to finance their trade. In North India the local bankers were called Nagar Seths and Jagat Seths. In South India it was the Chettis who were the first bankers.

By the 18th century European trading companies had established several trading centres. Taking advantage of the political chaos they increased their political clout leading to deepening economic crisis in India.

2.4 The Rise of Regional Powers

The emergence of regional powers marks a major turning point in the political landscape of eighteenth century India. The newly formed states were diverse in both their orientation as well as their power base. Since the regional states were competing with one another for resources there was a perpetual military conflict.

By the eighteenth century the military strength of the Mughals had eroded and administrative superstructure was on the verge of collapse. This created a power vacuum that tempted ambitious regional chiefs and subahdars to break free from the centre's control and establish a semi-independent or independent state. India's wealth had always been a temptation for foreign rulers and realizing that India had become an easy target they repeatedly invaded and raided the country thus hastening the collapse of Mughal authority. The Mughal empire began to crumble and break into new states.

The foremost among the new states that were formed were the successor states of Bengal, Avadh and Hyderabad. They are called the successor states because they were part of the older Mughal set up. They were founded by people who had been erstwhile Mughal governors. Taking advantage of the decline they gradually severed their links and set themselves up as independent monarchs. In all the three places the ruling class established close links with local power holders like zamindars, merchant bankers and administrators. They developed strong integrated administration and extracted the surplus revenue effectively. Hindu scribes from the community of Kayasths became the mainstay of the administration. They contributed to its professionalism and in articulating an Indo-Islamic culture.

The emergence of regional states of varying size and power in the beginning of 18th century was an inevitable consequence of the political weakness of the Mughals along with agrarian consolidation that had matured and developed within the Mughal system. By the second half of the 18th century the political trajectory changed again due to the rise of the English East India Company as a paramount power. The greedy politics of the Company eroded the fragile base of the new states and many of them were unable to retain power.

By 1761 the Mughal empire was empire only in name, yet the Mughal emperor remained as a symbolic authority and was considered a source of political legitimacy. The new states often did not challenge the authority of

the Mughal emperor and sometimes sought his sanction to legitimize their rule. Sekhar Bandhyopadhyay says the creation of new states signified a decentralization of power and not a power vacuum or political chaos.

2.4.1 Hyderabad

One of the earliest regions to proclaim its independence and break free of the Mughals was Hyderabad. Chin Kilich Khan a Mughal mansabdar and a favourite of Emperor Aurangzeb, gradually broke his ties with the centre. He assumed the viceroyalty of Deccan and the title Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jha. He was the founder of the Asafjahia house of Hyderabad. It was his frustration with the internal rot of the Mughal court that made him break away. On several occasions Nizam-ul-Mulk had defended the Mughal empire, he had fought the Marathas and had accompanied the Emperor to Karnal in the fight against Nadir Shah. Before leaving Delhi, Nadir Shah cautioned the emperor against the Nizam, whom he felt was too cunning and ambitious.

It was Zulfikar Khan who had first conceived the idea of creating an independent state in the Deccan region. In 1708, through Bahadur Shah he had been made the viceroy of the Deccan. In 1713 Zulfikar Khan died with his dream unfulfilled. In 1713 Kilich Khan was made viceroy of Deccan by the Sayyid brothers. By this time intrigues against the Sayyid brothers was coming to boil. Hussain Ali the younger Sayyid brother replaced Kilich Khan in 1715. However after Hussain Ali was assassinated in 1720, Kilich Khan was reinstated in the Deccan.

In 1722 Nizam-ul-Mulk Kilich Khan was appointed as wazir in Delhi. He tried to put things in order in the court but the pleasure seeking emperor Muhammad Shah and his coterie thwarted his efforts. As a strict disciplinarian he incited the dislike of the courtiers and he was very unhappy during his stint as wazir and had his heart set on the Deccan. He used the power of the office of wazir to include Malwa and Gujrat into the subahdari of the Deccan. He wanted to escape from Delhi and on a pretext of a hunting expedition in 1723 he left.

The emperor was furious. He appointed Mubariz Khan as the viceroy of Deccan and instructed him to send the Nizam to Delhi dead or alive. Mubariz Khan was not strong enough to deal with Nizam-ul-Mulk and he was killed in the Battle of Shahr-Kheda on 11 October 1724. The disappointed Mughal emperor had no choice but to confirm the Nizam as the Viceroy of Deccan in 1725. He also conferred on him the title of Asaf

Jha. However it was in 1740 that the Nizam finally gave up his imperial ambitions to settle for provincial autonomy.

One of the Nizam's biggest challenges had been dealing with Marathas raids, he cleverly suggested to the Peshwa Baji Rao I that they should expand to the North. Having diverted Maratha attention from the Deccan the Nizam consolidated his position. He established peace and order and paid attention to the development of industry and agriculture. As a diplomatic and benevolent ruler he was much admired by the people of the Deccan.

Historian Sidney Owen has described the Nizam as an opportunist who realizing that the Mughal empire was beyond repair, escaped to the Deccan and created his own niche there.

From 1762 to 1803 the state of Hyderabad came into its own during the rule of Nizam Ali Khan Asaf Jha II. The city of Aurangabad served as administrative and cultural capital along with the older capital of Hyderabad. Right from the start and throughout its existence Hyderabad had to deal with the rivalry of Marathas and local power holders. Asaf Jha invested in the creation of a large army and a loyal ruling class with sound resources. The military character of the state was seen in the administration. The collection of land revenue and its use for military buildup was a priority. Within decades the offices of finance and revenue were well established and families associated with it included in the nobility. Hindu Kayasths emerged as scribes and dominated civil administration. Military was also decentralized. It was placed under the control of old and leading families, even here Kayasths were prominent as serishtadars. Serishtadars kept the records and disbursed the pay while jamadars commanded the unit in the field. Even in the Nizam's household there were Kayasth record keepers. Karen Leonard in her work on Hyderabad states that Hindus, North Indians and Deccanis enjoyed high visibility in the administration by the 1780's.

The Hyderabad state was not consistently stable. The hostility of the Marathas, Mysore and the Nawab of Carnatic was a constraint. After the third battle of Panipat in 1761, the Maratha threat reduced to an extent. In 1759 the Treaty of Hyderabad was signed. Territorial concessions were given to the East India Company. The Company's presence in the state was established and finally the subsidiary alliance was signed. Between 1762 and 1803 the state enjoyed peace and stability. Nizam Ali Khan was able to consolidate his power. His close association with the Kayasth power

holders and mercantile interests indicates the strength and importance of the ruling alliance of politics and commerce. It was only in 1799 that Nizam Ali Khan agreed to finance the Russell brigade of the Company. By this the British Resident at the court enjoyed power and influence.

2.4.2 Bengal

Murshid Quli Khan is given the credit of establishing an independent state in Bengal. Emperor Aurangzeb sent him as subahdar or provincial governor to Bengal. He was given instructions to augment revenue collection in the region for the imperial treasury. Murshid Quli Khan overhauled the entire administrative setup that increased not only the state's revenue but also created new social coalitions. This was achieved through three sets of reforms. He transferred a substantial portion of land as khalsa or land held directly by the crown. Second, he streamlined collection procedures and finally he invested the responsibility of revenue collection to big zamindars who were capable of paying the increased revenue demand. Those who could not lost their land. Thus two-fifths of Bengal's revenue was paid by about thirty influential zamindari families. These families worked with financiers and took up the important task of remitting revenues from Bengal to Delhi. The best known among these families was that of Jagat Seth. The banking house of Jagat Seth became the treasurer of the provincial government in Bengal and they had strategic control of the mint.

After the death of Aurangzeb Murshid Quli he held the office of diwan and deputy governor of Bengal first under Prince Azim-us-Shan and then Prince Farrukhsiyar. In 1713 Murshid Quli Khan was made governor of Bengal with the added charge of Orissa in 1719.

Murshid Quli's administration enjoyed vertical control over the society and was closely aligned to the interests of the local elite and merchant groups. His administration also had a preponderance of Hindu scribal groups who took care of administration and became important members of the literati well versed in Persian. This arrangement worked well for over four decades until it was destabilized through dissensions in the court due to the intrigues of the East India Company.

The policies of Murshid Quli had strengthened some landed zamindars to the forefront. They assumed responsibility for revenue collection. The house of Jagat Seth was responsible for remitting the revenue from

Bengal to Delhi. They also advanced money in anticipation of post harvest revenues. The pressure on zamindars to pay dues on time was high so it led to the emergence of bankers and financiers. They provided securities at each stage of transaction. Much prestige was accorded to them in the court of Murshidabad.

Murshid Quli died in 1727 and was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ud-Din. The Governorship of Bihar was added to his charge in 1733 by emperor Mohammad Shah. In 1739 Sarfaraz Khan succeeded his father as Governor of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The policies initiated by Murshid Quli were continued by his successors but by this time the power balance lay in the hands of the elite groups rather than the governor. The shift in power became evident when in 1740 Alivardi Khan the deputy governor of Bihar rebelled with the help of the banking house of Jagat Seth. He defeated and killed Sarfaraz Khan in the Battle of Gheria on 10 April 1740. To obtain the approval of the Mughal emperor send a gift of two crores to Delhi. In 1746 the emperor asked him for more money but the request was ignored.

It was during the time of Alivardi Khan that the break with the Mughal empire was achieved. He governed the region virtually free of any Mughal control. Major appointments were made without any sanction from the emperor. Tribute to the Mughal court was stopped all together.

It was during the time of Alivardi Khan that Maratha incursions into Bengal began. Dealing with it proved to be a financial burden and temporarily disrupted the trade and commerce. This was partially offset by the expansion of European trade in Bengal which brought in silver into the region but also increasing instability in the system.

The case of Bengal in the first half of 18th century highlights two things- The first that it was not a dark declining period for Bengal. The political system that evolved in Bengal reflected the vitality of social change. Opportunities for mobility and consolidation of landed magnate power was witnessed. Bengal emerged stronger rather than weaker as the Mughals declined. Agriculture and trade showed a substantial increase.

2.4.3 Avadh

The development of Avadh as an autonomous region also reflected a similar alliance of landed magnate and merchant power.

Saadat Khan popularly called Burhan-ul-Mulk was the founder of the independent kingdom at Avadh. In 1720 he was promoted as faujdar of

Biyana. As one of the conspirators against the Sayyid brothers he won the favour of the emperor and was granted a mansab of 5000, which was later increased to 7000 and also awarded the title of Burhan-ul-Mulk. From 1720 to 1722 he was governor of Agra. Court conspiracies led to his dismissal from Delhi and he was sent away to Avadh as governor. The Wily Saadat Khan used the opportunity to convert Avadh into an independent kingdom for himself. He realized that regional politics was the only viable option when political insecurity loomed large in the Mughal court.

Saadat Khan displayed exemplary initiative in dealing with rebellious chiefs of Sambhal and Badaon and increased his power base. The task was far from easy as he had to deal with the rebellions of power zamindars. He also expanded the region under the subahdari of Avadh. His ambitions were however constantly thwarted and in a desperate bid to retain control he entered into an unholy pact with Nadir Shah which however rebounded on him.

With the threat of Nadir Shah looming large he was asked to help save the empire. After the Mughals were defeated, Saadat Khan played a treacherous role by inducing the invader to attack Delhi for greater gains. When Nadir Shah demanded the 20 crores that Saadat Khan had witlessly promised. The humiliation and hopelessness of the situation drove Saadat Khan to suicide.

Saadat Khan was succeeded by his son-in-law Safdar Jang in Avadh. The succession was confirmed on the payment of 2 crores to Nadir Shah. Later Emperor Muhammad Shah issued a firman which confirmed Safdar Jang as the Nawab of Oudh. He continued the pragmatic alliance with magnates and merchants and they became the bulwarks of the new revenue system. Safdar Jang's reign saw the advent of Marathas in the region for he had invited their support against the Bangash Afghan of Farukhabad.

Safdar Jang pursued his imperial ambitions and became a powerful Mughal noble. In 1743 he was appointed as mir atish or chief of artillery and subahdar of Kashmir. In 1748 he was appointed as the wazir by Emperor Ahmad Shah and subahdar of Allahabad. He and his successors came to be referred to as the Nawab-Wazirs.

In 1750 however the situation in the centre began to turn against him and powerful factions began to work against him. Safdar Jang was succeeded by his son Shuja-ud-Daula. This was a turning point. He allied with Mir Qasim in the battle of Buxor and was defeated by the Company. It was during his reign that the English East India Company began to increase its

influence in Avadh by the subsidiary treaties. The subsidiary alliance left Avadh financially bankrupt and politically impotent. During the reign of Shuja-ud-Daula feudatory zamindars asserted their independence and set up small fiefdoms such as the Raja of Benares . In 1819 the seventh ruler of the house of Saadat Khan assumed the title of King of Avadh.

2.4.4 Ruhelas and Bangash Pathans

The Ruhelas and Bangash Pathans carved out independent principalities in the Gangetic valley . Daud, an Afghan soldier and his son Ali Mohammad Khan who had a small estate in Bareilly began to enlarge their estate. An independent state of Rohilkhand was created extending from the Kumaon hills in the north till Ganges in the south. Further east another Afghan adventurer called Mohammad Khan Bangash declared himself the ruler of Farukhabad. He later extended his domination over Allahabad and Bundelkhand as well.

The establishment of the smaller Afghan principalities of Rohilkhand and Farukhabad completed the mosaic of small states in north India. C.A Bayly referred to these kingdoms as Muslim conquest states that embodied the spirit of military entrepreneurship which was a well established feature of the Afghans. In the aftermath of the Persian and Afghan invasion the conditions were right for them to carve out their own principalities. These became significant urban centres as well.

These two states did not rely on the older forms of land control rather they functioned on effective military action . They defeated local Rajput lineages and converted them into Muslim towns. They however knew the importance of local co-operation and they enlisted Rajput soldiers and brought in large numbers of cultivating castes to set up a cohesive and viable state.

2.4.5 The Rajputs

The imprudent attitude of Aurangzeb alienated the Rajputs and they tried to establish their independence as the Mughal empire deteriorated. In 1708 in the light of the worsening relation with the Rajputs, Bahadur Shah marched towards Jodhpur and forced the ruler Ajit Singh to submit. An anti Mughal league was formed. In 1714 Ajit Singh was once again forced to sue for peace and had to give in daughter in marriage to Emperor Farukhsiyar.

In the struggle for power between the emperor and the Sayyid brothers, the Rajputs began to take sides to suit their cause. The Sayyids rewarded Ajit Singh with the governorship of Ajmer and Gujrat. He held this position till 1721. The anti Sayyid faction appointed Jay Singh II of Jaipur as governor of Agra in 1721. He was also given the sarkar of Surat during the time of Muhhamad Shah.

However the internal divisions among the Rajputs prevented them from consolidating against the Marathas.

2.4.6 The Jats

The Jats were essentially agricultural and pastoral communities settled in areas around Delhi, Mathura and Agra. They rebelled against the oppressive policies of Aurangzeb. The first rebellion took place in 1699 and the emperor had to proceed in person to suppress it. The rebellions however continued over time and while the rebellions were suppressed the region remained disturbed. One of the Jat leaders Churaman Jat (1660-1721) emerged as a formidable military leader and got the support of the peasantry. He launched guerilla raids on the Mughals and they had to yield to his demands. He built a strong fort at Thun and challenged the authority of the Mughals. Jay Singh II, governor of Agra was assigned the task of dealing with the Jats. In 1721, Churaman's fort was captured and the Jat leader committed suicide. The leadership was assumed by Badan Singh(1685-1756) Churaman's nephew.

Taking advantage of the annihilation caused to the Mughal forces after the invasion of Nadir Shah, Badan Singh stabilized his local power base and extended his control over the districts of Agra and Mathura and he established the Bharatpur kingdom. He strengthened the army and built formidable forts at places like Dig, Kumber, Ver and Bharatpur. Ahmad Shah Abdali conferred on him the title of King. Suraj Mal(1707-1763) the next in line continued to extend the domination of the Bharatpur kingdom. Under him Jat power assumed greater proportions and he made a bid for mainstream politics. He was given the faujdari of Mathura. All the contemporary powers of that age namely the Marathas, the Rohillas and the English have acknowledged the military prowess of the Jats. Suraj Mal for his political acumen and intellect is remembered as the 'Plato of the Jat tribe' and 'the Jat Ulysses'. However his efforts at centralization proved unsuccessful. After the death of Suraj Mal in 1763 the kingdom declined and virtually disappeared.

2.4.7 The Sikhs

Sikhism emerged as a typical Hindu revival movement with a strong social and egalitarian message. It was a peace loving religious community established by Guru Nanak. The line of gurus developed community based institutions and practices such as the sangat and langar. The movement assumed a distinct political and militant character in the wake of state pressure. After suffering oppression under the Mughals, it was transformed into a militant sect by the last Sikh guru, Guru Gobind Singh. In 1699 Guru Gobind Singh in response to the increased persecution being experienced by the community of believers as well as because of dissensions among leaders, took the decision of establishing the Khalsa brotherhood. The idea behind creating the brotherhood was to remove power from the local leaders and assume real power in the Khalsa which was to be the representative of the Guru. All joining the brotherhood had to maintain 5 obligatory signs.

The call for the Khalsa resonated far and wide and thousands flocked to take their pledge into the new brotherhood. All males joining the brotherhood were called 'Singh' and females 'Kaur'. Creation of the Khalsa sent waves of apprehension for the Mughal authorities and hill chiefs of the Shivaliks.

After the death of Guru Gobind Singh in 1708, the leadership was assumed by Banda Bahadur. He began an uprising and collected revenue for Hissar. He captured Samana in 1709 and Sarhind in 1710. He established a rudimentary government, appointing his officers, minting his own coins etc. He waged a struggle against the Mughals for eight years but was eventually routed. Banda Bahadur was executed by the Mughal in 1716. The Sikhs continued to rebel. They faced persecution at the hands of the Mughals, Afghans and Persians. Amritsar emerged as a nodal centre for the roving militant bands of Sikhs.

After the invasions of Nadir Shah and Abdali had demolished Mughal authority and taking advantage of the chaos the Sikhs settled around a more definite territorial space. Local leaders like Jai Singh Kanhaiya and Jassa Singh Aluwalia occupied territory in the Bari Doab and by 1765 Sikh rule was a reality. In 1765 the Singhs formally declared their sovereignty by striking coins at Lahore. Sikh misls or kinship combinations were established and gradually they brought large parts of Punjab under their control. The Misls were not a confederacy like that of the Marathas but

functioned as a unit controlling a specific area. The combination of a large number of misls came to be called a dal khalsa. Each misl was led by a chief and it is believed that there were about 60 chiefs .

Ranjith Singh, who was the son of the chief of the Sukarchakia misl, began to unite all the misls into an empire during the period 1765-1799. What is remarkable in the Sikh political assertion is the capability of local leaders who were able to mobilize the peasants and presented a united stand against the Mughals based on the ideology of a personal faith. The chiefs of the misls were successful in building armies and mobilizing resources to meet the needs of those dependent on them. It shows social dynamism and military entrepreneurship.

2.4.8 The Marathas

According to Stewart Gordon the term Maratha by the 17th century came to represent a category of service elite drawn from diverse castes who in return for the military service to the sultanates in the Deccan began to enjoy both status and rights in land. All this occurred at more or less the same time as the Bhakti movement which convulsed society in Maharashtra. It provided a fillip to ordinary peasant cultivators aspiring to a new status that military service promised. Village headmen who also had the responsibility of supplying troops came to be called as Deshmukhs.

Shivaji Bhonsle who belonged to an influential deshmukh family took advantage of the social turbulence and rebelled against the authority of the Bijapur Sultans. Shivaji established an independent kingdom with the help of deshmukh families. Aurangzeb tried in vain to subjugate Maratha territory but was frustrated by the guerilla tactics. After 1705 Aurangzeb abandoned the Deccan and the Maratha bands remained untamed. The Marathas continued to expand . Maratha regent Shahu was released in 1707. Around him a powerful alignment of Maratha leaders and the powerful Brahmin family of Peshwa Balaji Viswanath assembled. Maratha politics took on a definite direction. Between 1713 to 1761 was a period of Maratha expansion.

It was the Marathas who raised the most formidable challenge to the Mughals in the Deccan and later in North India. Under the able leadership of the Peshwas, the Marathas succeeded in uprooting Mughals from Malwa and Gujrat. They also extended their control over Rajputana in the 1730's.

Under Baji Rao I (1720-40) the Marathas began to expand northwards. His aim was to establish a Hindupadpadshahi or a Hindu empire that would replace the rotting Mughal edifice. The Mughal empire by this time had scarcely any control over its peripheries. Bengal, Deccan, Rajputana, Avadh and Farukhabad were already slipping out of its control. Baji Rao's plan was to strike at the declining Mughal power in Gujrat and Malwa and push the Maratha frontier to the northern heartland. During each military season the attacking one or two more fronts. Dabhade-Gaekwad against Gujrat, Holkars in Kandesh, Bhonsles in Nagpur led the charge and more and more territory was gained. What was impressive was the energy and commitment of the young commanders and even teenage soldiers. The Marathas also made inroads into the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad. By the Treaty of Bhopal in 1739 the Nizam agreed to cede the whole suba of Malwa to the Peshwa and also gave control over all lands between the Narmada and Chambal.

The Maratha power kept increasing and they looked ready to stake claim as inheritors of the Mughal dominion. The power of the Maratha confederacy as a major contender for paramountcy was evident. Baji Rao died in 1740 the year Delhi was sacked by the armies of Nadir Shah. After Baji Rao's death the focus was on settlement and consolidation of all the territories conquered. The Maratha rulers closely associated with bankers for the administration and remission of revenue. Between 1740 and 1760 distinct Maratha regional politics emerged in the areas that had been conquered.

Maratha expansion was checked during the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 when they were worsted in the fight against Ahmad Shah Abdali. Decades later when the East India Company rose as a paramount power in the country, the Marathas offered a formidable challenge.

2.4.9 The Carnatic

Political evolution in the peninsula during the 18th century was characterized by the formation of strong centralized states that took keen interest in developing their maritime power. One such was the state of Arcot. The Nizamat of Arcot emerged out of the larger Mughal province of the Carnatic and was a successor state. The founders of the Nawayat dynasty were Daud Khan Panni and Saadatullah Khan whose ancestors had served in the Bijapur court. Daud Khan shifted to the service of the Mughals and in 1700 assisted Zulfikar Khan in the campaign of Deccan. For his contribution Daud Khan was given a mansab of 6000 in 1704.

Daud Khan used his presence on the Coromandel coast to control the activities of the European trading companies. He patronized various trading companies including that of Pathan merchants at Sao Tome. He was succeeded by Saadatullah khan . One of his pet projects was building a fortified town similar to that of the English company.

From the 1740's Arcot became the site for the protracted power struggle between the English and French trading companies. Succession disputes coincided with hostilities in Europe . Three Carnatic wars were fought between 1745 and 1763 with the English establishing their supremacy. Carnatic came under the stranglehold of the English Company and the debt-ridden Nawab was scarcely able to maintain his authority.

2.4.10 Mysore

Mysore originated as a vice royalty under the Vijayanagar empire in the 16th century. It was transformed into an autonomous state under the Wodeyar chiefs in the 17th century. A junior officer in the army Hyder Ali rose up the ranks. He assumed power by eliminating the prime minister of the Wodeyar state and also reduced the Wodeyar ruler to a titular head. Hyder Ali ruled his state with a tight fist adopting a policy of military modernization. He consolidated his power by subduing refractory chiefs like the deshmukhs and poligars and build a European type army that he hoped to use against the English whom he recognized as his biggest adversaries. To achieve his ends he required an efficient revenue base and a system of direct taxation.

The chief characteristic of the state of Mysore was its centralized military operations and meticulous control over the fiscal resources. A detailed system of classification of land based on survey determining the nature of soil and productivity was carried out. Under Tipu Sultan was added attempts to modernize agriculture by introducing irrigation schemes also centralized control over trade and commerce as well. In 1793 he launched a state corporation with plans to monopolise trade and manufacture. There are documents that indicate Tipu's correspondence with the ruler of Muscat, who also had commercial aspirations.

The state of Mysore under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan rose as a major challenge to the English power in India. It took several wars and concerted effort of the part of the English to eliminate the threat they posed.

2.5 European Trading Companies

India was central in the trading structures of the Indian Ocean. India's advanced textile production and manufacture supported an extensive network of trade relations. Between the 15th and 17th centuries there was a phenomenal expansion of overseas trade. Spices, textiles, indigo, grain and sugar were the main Indian products circulating in markets in the West and south East Asia. According to Ashin Dasgupta the main reason for this expansion was political security and expansion of markets by the Mughal, Ottoman and Safavid empires. Merchants sourced a wide array of staple exports from the hinterland of the sub-continent for the markets of the Indian Ocean. Large quantities of bullion and silver entered the imperial mint and found its way into the commercial transactions of the empire. Shipping was by and large in the hands of Muslim merchants, who were either local, domiciled or foreign and brokerage and banking was largely in the hands of Hindu commercial castes. Though there were regional variations it was largely a 'Muslim sea and Hindu shore'.

Indian trade relations with Europe date back to the ancient days of the Greeks. During the medieval times trade between Europe and India was carried on along several routes. The Asian part of the trade was carried on mostly by Arab merchants while the Italians monopolized the Mediterranean and European part.

After the capture of the port of Constantinople in 1453 and conquest of Asia Minor by the Ottoman Turks the search for new trading routes became imperative. For centuries Constantinople had served as the route for trade with Asia and the Far East and its loss was not a trifling matter. The West European states and merchants began to earnestly search for new and safer routes to India and the Spice Islands.

The first European powers to emerge as the main contenders in maritime exploration leading to the discovery of new trading routes were the Portuguese and Spanish. They were well equipped to do so owing to the advances in ship building and the science of navigation.

Located on the Iberian peninsula and with rulers keen on exploring the possibilities of sea trade much patronage was given to navigators and sailors to intensively explore leading to a great era of geographical discoveries. These maritime journeys of the 15th and 16th centuries were mapped and chronicled resulting in this age being titled as the Age of Discovery.

The advent of the Europeans did not alter the broad outlines of the trading structures, rather they fitted into it. One aspect that did change was in the domain of maritime protection. They assumed the responsibility for convoying global trade in the Indian Ocean. This was a significant aspect as it provided the European trading companies a space from where they could aspire for greater autonomy and control.

2.5.1 Portuguese

Spurred by religious fervour the Portuguese took on their role as the guardians of Christendom against the Moors of Africa with crusading zeal. The Portuguese had a profound belief in their mission, when Vasco da Gama reached Calicut, he told the Tunisian merchants that they had 'come to India to seek Christians and spices.'

Prince Henry the navigator is credited with the real beginning of maritime explorations in Portugal. With his appointment as governor of the Order of Christ in 1420 till his death in 1460 he was responsible for sponsoring several explorations along the North African coast. Within two decades of explorations, Portuguese ships had gone beyond the Sahara.

One of the greatest navigational discoveries was that of Vasco da Gama in 1498 when he sailed around the Cape of Good Hope and reached Calicut. He returned to Portugal with a cargo worth 60 times the cost of the voyage. This momentous journey opened a new chapter in the history of the world as it heralded the direct trade between the countries of Western Europe and India.

It was on 20 May 1498 that Vasco da Gama anchored off beach of Kappad in Calicut and invited native fishermen on board to purchase some items. On the advice of a Tunisian merchant at the port, he went to Ponnani the seat of the Zamorin to seek permission for trade. The Arab merchants at Calicut were annoyed at the appearance of the Portuguese and objected to their being granted permission for trade. Despite the objections Vasco da Gama was able to obtain a letter of concession for trading rights. The Portuguese however were not able to pay the customs duty and price of commodities in gold. The Calicut officials detained some of the Portuguese agents as security leading to an altercation with Vasco da Gama. Though the first Portuguese venture to establish a trade base in India ended on a rather troubled note, the trade proved to be hugely profitable, with cargo that brought in 60 times the value of the expedition and it was no surprise

that the Portuguese wanted to reap maximum benefits from this lucrative trade. A decree of Pope Alexander VI in 1492 granted the monopoly of the eastern trade to the Portuguese, The decree was repeated by Pope Julius II in 1506 and Pope Louis X in 1514.

Pedro Alvares Cabral sailed to India officially discovering Brazil on the way, to trade for pepper and spices. He negotiated and established a factory at Calicut. He arrived at Calicut on 13 September 1500. Cabral had been instructed to inform the king of Calicut about the ancient enmity between Christians and the Muslims and declare that if they encountered any Moors they would capture their ships and merchandise. To prove his point he presented an Arab vessel he had captured to the Zamorin. Attacks on Muslim ships became the norm and using their superior naval power the Portuguese established strategic naval bases and dissipated rival Arab shipping.

The Portuguese presence at Calicut was not liked by the Arab merchants and on their instigation the Portuguese factory was attacked resulting in the death of about 50 Portuguese. Outraged by this incident and blaming the administration for violation of the treaty, Pedro Alvarez Cabral seized the Arab merchant ships anchored in the harbour, killed about 600 of their crew, confiscated their cargo before burning the ships. He bombarded Calicut for an entire day before leaving for Portugal in 1501. Out of the 13 ships he had arrived with only 4 remained. Despite the losses the journey was profitable. Since it had become clear that the Zamorin of Calicut would not co-operate in expelling the Muslim traders from Malabar Cabral turned to Calicut's traditional enemy, the Raja of Cochin. The Raja proved to be more pliable and readily agreed to trade concessions. The first Portuguese fort was built in Cochin in 1503. Cabral had also managed to get trade concessions from the local ruler of Cannanore.

Vasco Da Gama returned back to the Malabar coast for the second time on 30 October 1502 with 15 ships and a crew of 800 men. He met the Zamorin and suggested that all Arabs be expelled from Calicut. The preposterous suggestion was vehemently turned down. In retaliation Vasco da Gama bombarded Calicut, captured several rice vessels in the harbour, barbarously cutting off the hands, nose and ears of the crew. He then proceeded to conduct trade with Cochin and Cannanore and returned to Portugal in September 1503.

On 25 March 1505 Francisco de Almeida was appointed viceroy of India on the condition that he would set up forts on the south western

Indian coast, which he did at Anjediva island, Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon. He had a fleet of 22 ships and 1500 men.

In September 1505 he began the construction of Fort Anjediva. On 23 October, with the permission of Kolattiri, the friendly ruler of Cannannore, he commenced the building of Fort St Angelo. Leaving an agent Lorenzo de Brito in-charge with 150 men and two ships, Almeida proceeded to Cochin. While at Cochin he received the distressing news that Portuguese traders at Quilon had been killed. He immediately despatched his son, Lourenco de Almeida, with six ships to avenge this attack. Lourenco de Almeida destroyed 27 Calicut vessels stationed in the harbour at Quilon. Francisco de Almeida took up residence at Cochin where Fort Manuel was constructed. A settlement was also made at Thangassery in Quilon, where Fort St Thomas was erected.

In 1506 spice trade was made a crown monopoly. It was during the time of Francisco de Almeida that the Portuguese evolved what came to be called the blue water policy. By control of strategic locations the Portuguese controlled trade in the Indian Ocean waters. Later the Portuguese introduced the Cartaze system, all non Portuguese ships involved in coastal trade had to purchase a pass. Every Indian ship sailing to a destination reserved by the Portuguese for their own trade had to buy a pass from the Viceroy of Goa or their merchandise would be captured. Therefore by the end of the 16th century very few Indian ships could venture to East Africa, Japan or China unless they entered into indirect partnership with Portugal.

The Zamorin at Calicut realizing the eminent threat Portuguese presence in the Malabar region posed decided to oust them from the region and he began preparations for a major encounter, sprucing up his 200 ship strong naval fleet. However in the Battle of Cannanore fought in March 1506, the much smaller fleet of the Portuguese led by Lorenzo de Almeida was successful. It was a big set back for the Zamorin. In the meantime a new ruler in Cannanore hostile to the Portuguese joined forces with the Zamorin and attacked the Portuguese garrison, leading to the Siege of Cannanore in 1507 in which the Indian rulers were yet again worsted.

Felling the rising opposition to their presence in the Malabar coast a new squadron led by Tristao da Cunha was sent out in 1507 to strengthen the forces of Lorenzo de Almeida.

In March 1508 the Portuguese squadron under the command of Lorenzo de Almeida was attacked by a combined fleet of Mamluk Egyptian,

Turkey and Gujrat Sultanate at Chaul and Dabul. Lorenzo lost his life in this battle but the Portuguese decisively defeated the Indian allies in the Battle of Diu in 1509. Goa was established as an administrative seat.

In 1509 Alphonso de Albuquerque was appointed as the second governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East and he remained in power till 1529. A new fleet under Marshall Fernao Countinho arrived with specific instructions to destroy the power of the Zamorin of Calicut. A major attack was launched by the Portuguese, the Zamorin palace was captured and destroyed and the city was set on fire. In the counter attack by the king's forces, Marshall Countinho was killed and Albuquerque wounded. Finding himself at a disadvantage Albuquerque decided to patch up his differences with the Zamorin. A treaty was signed and the Zamorin agreed to protect Portuguese interests in Malabar.

With help from the Vijaynagar empire Albuquerque was able to defeat Adil Shah, Sultan of Bijapur leading to the acquisition of Goa, which became the head quarters of the Portuguese in 1510 and the seat of the Portuguese viceroy. It can be stated that the true foundation of the Portuguese maritime empire was laid after the capture of Goa. In 1511 Malacca was captured, this was of great significance as it was the main sea route to the Far East. In 1515 with the conquest of Ormuz in the Persian Gulf the Portuguese plan of control of eastern seas was complete.

Nuno da Cunha was the governor of the Portuguese from 1529 to 1538. The main highlights of his career were the capture of Diu from the Sultan of Gujrat, the capture of Mombasa on the African coast and the establishment of factories at Santhome and Hugli. Joa de Castro (1545-48) was the last important governor of the Portuguese. His successors made no further conquests.

The Portuguese had established trading settlements in Santhome, Mylapore, Salsette, Daman, Diu, Bombay and Satgaon, Chittagong and Hugli in Bengal. Macao in China and Columbo in Ceylon. The maritime empire of Portugal came to be called Estado da India. The Portuguese monopoly over the Indian Ocean continued till 1595. Their main strongholds were Goa, Daman, Diu, Salsette, Bassein, Chaul and Bombay on the western coast, Hugli and Santhome on the eastern coast. As far as Asian trade was concerned, it was a rare phenomenon, with complete state monopoly over commerce. For Indian merchants and rulers it was a novel experience to encounter an imperial scheme controlled by a centre of power 1000's of miles away. However

being a small country with limited resources to maintain a far flung empire, Portuguese were eventually displaced by others. In 1629 Mughal took away Hugli from them, in 1639 Marathas took away Salsette and Bassein. Bombay was given as dowry to the English. By mid 17th century the Portuguese were largely restricted to Goa and its hinterland till they were forced to leave in 1962. Thus the Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to India and the last to leave.

2.5.2 Dutch

During the 16th century the spice trade was dominated by the Portuguese. They sometimes used the ports of Lisbon or Hamburg to resell spices. Dutch merchants were often not able to lay their hands on the spices and they were desperate to enter the International spice trade and discover the trade routes used by Portuguese. For almost a century protected by decrees passed by the Pope, trade in the Indian Ocean remained a Portuguese monopoly. With the waning power of the Popedom other European powers entered the fray. During the 17th century the monopoly of spice trade in the east was inherited by the Dutch.

In 1595 an exploratory expedition was sent to Bantam, the main pepper port of West Java. At Bantam, Dutch merchants clashed with Portuguese as well as the indigenous Indonesians but managed to return back with considerable profits. By 1598 an increasing number of fleets were venturing out sponsored by different merchant groups. Some fleets were lost but most returned successful. The fleet led by Jacob Van Neck which landed in Malacca was one of the most profitable journeys.

In 1602 different Dutch companies trading with the East merged under one organization, the United East India Company of Netherlands with monopoly granted over the Asian trade. The charter that was granted empowered the trading company to build forts, maintain armies, wage wars and conclude treaties with Asian rulers. It provided for a venture that would continue for 21 years with financial accounting at the end of each decade. The VOC as the Dutch Company came to be called were determined to control exclusive trade in finer spices and pepper, which they did for several decades.

In 1603 the first permanent trading post was established in Bantam. The Dutch came to India in 1605 and began to uproot the Portuguese from their settlements. They began with attacks on Portuguese ships and later

on their land settlements. The Dutch established their first permanent factory at Masulipatinam in 1605. After getting permission from the King of Chandragiri they established a factory at Pulicat. It became their head quarters and the fort they built there was called Fort Geldria. From 1617 the chief at Pulicat came to be called as Dutch governor in India. The first Dutch factory established in Bengal was at Pipli. It was later abandoned. They wrested Ceylon in 1656 and took over several of the Portuguese forts in Malabar. Between 1636 to 1646 Goa was blockaded every trading season. They were able to break the Portuguese monopoly over the Cinnamon trade. The Dutch fleets were soon able to establish their superiority over the slower and bulkier Portuguese ships. The Spice Islands (Indonesia, Java, Sumatra) became their main purchase centre. Since it was too expensive to pay for in cash, they bartered a wide variety of Indian handlooms for the finer spices of cloves, nutmeg, mace, cardamom and cinnamon.

By 1669 the Dutch East India Company became the richest private company in the world with over 150 merchant ships, 40 warships and 50,000 employees. The main Dutch factories in India were at Surat, Cochin, Pulicat, Nagapatinam, Devanampatinam, Porto Novo, Sadraspatinam, Masulipatinam, Hugli, Kasimbazar, Patna and Chinsura. However after the 1670's their profits in India began to decline as a result of growing competition with the English, they also lost popularity with Indian rulers because of their political intriguing and indulgence in slave trade, the highly centralized authority and lack of proper head quarters in India, with everything being controlled from Batavia (Indonesia) proved a disadvantage. In 1741 the Dutch were decisively defeated by the Travancore ruler in the Battle of Colachel. By the Anglo-Dutch treaty of 1824 they sold their possessions to the British and left India.

2.5.3 English

About the time Queen Elizabeth's reign was drawing to a close, the merchants of England became interested in voyages to the east as the prospects of wealth were great. They were also aware of the exploratory expeditions being sent by the Dutch.

While for most European countries, the crown was directly involved in the formation of the trade companies, this was not the case with England. It was largely the efforts of the merchants who formed joint stock companies, raised the funds and took the risk of trade with the orient. The English fleet had defeated the Spanish Armada in 1588 and

had grown significantly enough for them to feel they could challenge Spain and Portugal trade dominations. The first English company to trade with India was established under the title The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies. The Company was granted a charter by the Queen on 31 December 1600 for a period of 15 years. Initially the Company was active in spice and pepper trade only without making any attempts to establish settlements in India. Early attempts to gain footholds in trade were not very successful. Missions were sent to the court of Emperor Jehangir to gain trade concessions and it took several years for the English to establish settlements.

In 1607 during the third voyage Captain Keeling and William Hawking were sent to obtain concessions. William Hawkings presented Jehangir with a letter from James I and stayed in his court from 1608-1611. Captain Middleton obtained the permission to trade for the first time at Surat in 1611 and a permanent factory was established there in 1613. During the tenth voyage in 1612 Thomas Best obtained an imperial verdict with formal trading rights. Sir James Thomas Roe who was sent as an official ambassador of James I to the Mughal court in 1615 obtained rights to trade in Gujarat from Jehangir. The factory at Surat became very profitable thanks to the efforts put in by Downton, Best, Aldworth and Thomas Roe. During the early years the main concerns were dealing with naval and political opposition from the Portuguese and Dutch. In 1622 the Portuguese threat was overcome with the capture of Ormuz a strategic port located off the Iranian coast, in a joint Anglo-Persian offensive. Madras was founded by the English in 1639.

In 1633, the Mughal Governor of Orissa gave the English permission to establish factories at Hariharpur, Balasore and Pipli. In 1667 the English received a firman to trade in Bengal from Emperor Aurangzeb. A very significant diplomatic mission led by John Surman to the court of Farrukhsiyar in 1715 resulted in three firmans for Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad. In October 1717 Emperor Farukhsiyar issued a firman which granted the English East India Company free trade in Bengal in lieu of Rs 3000 per annum. The firman allowed the British wherever they pleased and they could also rent 38 villages in the vicinity of Calcutta.

In 1708 all the rival English companies were amalgamated into one organisation named 'The United Company of Merchants of England Trading with the East Indies.'

2.5.4 Danes

The Danish East India Company was formed in 1616 and Danish mission was sent to India during the reign of King Christian IV in 1620. A factory was established at Tranquebar and it became their main centre in India. There were essentially two companies that operated Danish trade in India, the first one from 1616 to 1650 and the second one from 1670 to 1729. In 1729 the company was refounded as the Asiatic Company. The new company was granted monopoly of trade east of Cape of Good Hope for a period of forty years. In 1755 another factory was begun at Serampore in Bengal. In 1779 Danish India became a crown colony. Owing to their limited resources the Danish presence in India remained small. In the wake of the Napoleonic wars, the Danes faced hostility from the English and their trade was badly impacted. In 1845 the Danes sold their settlements in India to the English and returned to Denmark.

2.5.5 French

France was the last of the major European maritime powers of the 17th century to enter East India trade in a significant way. Six decades after the foundations of the English and Dutch trading companies, while European factories were multiplying on the shores of India, the French still did not have a viable trading company. There were several reasons for this, the in-land position of the capital, size of the country, numerous internal customs barriers and also because the merchant communities were not united enough to undertake the challenges of an overseas trading empire.

The first French expedition to India is believed to have taken place in the first half of the 16th century. Two ships set sail but were never heard of again. In 1604 a company was formed but failed. The French East India Company (Compagnie des Indes Orientales) was formed under the auspices of Cardinal Richelieu in 1642 and reconstructed under Jean Baptist Colbert in 1664, during the reign of Louis XIV. The main officer selected was Officer Francois Caron ex-official of the Dutch VOC. He had worked for the VOC for 26 years. In 1667 an expedition was sent to India and under the guidance of Francois Caron the first French factory was established at Surat.

In 1669 a factory was established at Masulipatinam. In 1672 Santhome was captured but they were driven out by the Dutch. The site of Pondicherry was obtained from Sher Khan Lodi, the Governor of Valikondapuram by Francois Martin. Chandernagore in Bengal was obtained from Mughal

NawabShaista Khan in 1690. They also had settlements in Balasore and Kasimbazar. Fort Louis was erected at Pondicherry . In 1719 the United CampagnieIndes was formed for the purpose of saving the various French factories from decline.

Between 1720 and 1741 the objectives of the French were purely commercial. The French occupied Yanam, Mahe and Karaikal. After Joseph Francois Dupleix became the Governor political motives began to overshadow the desire for commercial gain. All the factories were fortified for defense. His political ambitions clashed with the British interests in India and a period of political intrigues and military encounters began. There were three rounds of war called the Carnatic wars in which the English emerged victorious.

2.6 Let us sum up

Unit 2 provided details of 18th century India, the changes that took place politically following the decline of the Mughal power. The chapter highlighted the social and economic conditions, the rise of new towns, existence of slavery and the position of women in society. New regional powers emerged at Hyderabad, Bengal, Avadh , Mysore and Carnatic. The unit also looks at the establishment of the European trading companies, the products they traded in, the places they established their factories and the mutual rivalries owing to the competition.

While 18th century symbolized the age of regionalism in India, regionalism proved short-lived. Most of the regional powers lost the contest with the English East India Company which by 1818 developed a full -fledged empire using a variety of strategies to gain paramountcy.

2.7 Keywords

East India Company, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Danes, French, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Bengal, Avadh, Hyderabad, Mysore, Carnatic, spices, mercantile, Murshidabad, Kasimbazar, factories, Zamorin, agents, printing press

2.8 Self Assessment Questions

I. Match the Following (Regional Powers)

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Murshid Quli Khan | a. Gangetic valley |
|----------------------|--------------------|

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 2. Saadat Khan | b. Churaman |
| 3. Ruhelas | c. Murshidabad |
| 4. Jats | d. Misl |
| 5. Ranjith Singh | e. Burhan-ul-Mulk |

II. Questions to be answered in about 750 words (Regional Powers)

1. Discuss features of the Indian society in the 18th century
2. What were the economic conditions in India during the 18th century?
3. Critically analyse the rise of regional powers in India.
4. Highlight aspects of art and culture in the 18th century India.
5. Critically evaluate the factors that led to the creation of an independent state in Hyderabad.

III. Complete the word puzzle (Advent of European trading Companies)

1. B A R - - - - M - - D - - Z
2. Prince Henry the - - - - -
3. - - - - O - - - - M A
4. P - - - O A - - - - Z C A B - - -
5. - - A - - - C O D E A - - - - A

IV. Match the following (Advent of European trading Companies)

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Dutch | a. Tranquebar |
| 2. Danes | b. Hugli |
| 3. French | c. Anjadiva |
| 4. English | d. Pulicat |
| 5. Portuguese | e. Mahe |

V Fill in the Blanks (Advent of European trading Companies)

1. Goa became the HQ of the Portuguese under the governorship of _____.
2. Vasco da Gama landed at _____ in 1498.
3. Fort Geldria belonged to the _____ East India Company.

4. The ----- sold their settlements to the English in 1845 and left India.
5. Governor Godeheu belonged to the ----- East India Company.

VI Answer the following in about 100 words

1. List the names of at least 5 Europeans who came as part of the Portuguese trading company.
2. Make a list of the forts built by the Portuguese in India.
3. What was the Blue Water Policy?
4. What was the fort built by Dutch at Pulicat called?
5. List out the locations of the Dutch factories in India.
6. What was the French settlement in Bengal called and discuss its rise as a trading centre.
7. Prepare a list of the French factories in India.

VII Complete the word puzzle

1. The first Portuguese to come to India was V- S--- DA -AM--.
2. Goa was established as headquarters during the governorship of ---LF-----SO DE ---BUR-----
3. The Nawab defeated in the battle of Buxor was M----- QA-----
--
4. This Nawab is called Robert Clive's Jackal M----- ----FF----
5. Tranquebar was the main settlement of the D-----H.
6. The English fort at Calcutta was called F-----T -----LLI-----.

VIII Answer the following in about 750 words

1. Discuss the establishment of Portuguese trade in India.
2. Elucidate with examples various European settlements in India.
3. What were the circumstances that helped the European trading companies expand their power and authority in India

2.9 References

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UNIT - III**Lesson 3.1 - English Expansion in India****Structure**

- 3.1 Learning Objectives
- 3.2 Introduction
- 3.3 English expansion in India
- 3.4 Carnatic wars
 - 3.4.1 The First Carnatic War (1746-48)
 - 3.4.2 The Second Carnatic War(1749-54)
 - 3.4.3 Third Carnatic war (1758-63)
 - 3.4.4 Causes for the failure of the French
 - 3.4.5 Career and achievements of Joseph Francoise Dupleix
 - 3.4.6 Dupleix as Administrator
 - 3.4.7 Dupleix as a diplomat
 - 3.4.8 Recall of Dupleix
- 3.5 Conquest of Bengal
 - 3.5.1 Siraj-ud-Daula and the Company
 - 3.5.2 Black Hole Tragedy
 - 3.5.3 Battle of Plassey
 - 3.5.4 Battle of Buxor
 - 3.5.5 Treaty of Allahabad
- 3.6 Subsidiary Alliance
 - 3.6.1 Lord Wellesley(1798-1805)
 - 3.6.2 Origin and evolution of the Subsidiary Alliance System
 - 3.6.3 Terms and Conditions of Subsidiary Alliance
 - 3.6.4 Advantages to the English
 - 3.6.5 Disadvantages to the Indian States
 - 3.6.6 States that Accepted Subsidiary Alliance
 - 3.6.7 Estimate of the Subsidiary Alliance System
- 3.7 Maratha wars
 - 3.7.1 The First Anglo Maratha War (1775-82)

- 3.7.2 The Second Maratha War (1803-1806)
- 3.7.3 Provisions of the Treaty of Bassein 31 December 1802
- 3.7.4 The Third Anglo Maratha war 1817-18
- 3.7.5 Causes for the Defeat of the Marathas
- 3.8 Mysore wars
 - 3.8.1 Mysore under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan
 - 3.8.2 The First Anglo-Mysore war (1767-69)
 - 3.8.3 The Second Anglo- Mysore war (1780-84)
 - 3.8.4 The Third Anglo- Mysore war (1790-92)
 - 3.8.5 The Fourth Anglo Mysore War (1799)
 - 3.8.6 Assessment of the Administration of Tipu Sultan
- 3.9 Sikh wars
 - 3.9.1 Rise of Ranjit Singh in Punjab
 - 3.9.2 Ranjit Singh's Relations with the English
 - 3.9.3 Administration under Ranjit Singh
 - 3.9.4 Estimate of Ranjit Singh
 - 3.9.5 Punjab after Ranjit Singh
 - 3.9.6 The First Anglo-Sikh war 1845-46
 - 3.9.7 Treaty of Lahore 9 March 1846
 - 3.9.8 The Second Anglo Sikh war 1848-49
- 3.10 Doctrine of Lapse
 - 3.10.1 Lord Dalhousie and the Doctrine of Lapse
 - 3.10.2 Annexations by war
 - 3.10.3 Annexations by Peace- Doctrine of Lapse
 - 3.10.4 Abolition of Titles and Pensions
 - 3.10.5 Estimate of the Doctrine of Lapse
 - 3.10.6 Reforms introduced by Lord Dalhousie
- 3.11 Let us sum up
- 3.12 Key words
- 3.13 Time to Self Assess
- 3.14 References

3.1 Learning Objectives

- To help learners comprehend the policies and strategies of the Company that enabled its ascendancy.
- To aid learners in understanding the factors that led to the colonization of India.

3.2 Introduction

The focus of unit 3 is to help learners understand how the English prevailed over the other competing European trading companies and eventually became a paramount power in India. In the beginning the English East India Company was on the same footing as the other European companies, it had limited resources and had to compete to gain a foothold in trade. The English however had the advantage of gaining control over the very rich province of Bengal. With that financial advantage they were able to oust their main competitors namely the French. Through a series of wars and strategies such as the subsidiary alliance and Doctrine of Lapse the British gained political clout enough to challenge India's most powerful rulers. According to their imperial design they wanted to replace the Mughal emperor. Unit three has eight lessons namely- English expansion in India, Carnatic wars, Conquest of Bengal, Subsidiary Alliance, Maratha Wars, Mysore Wars, Sikh Wars and the Doctrine of Lapse. These conquests and strategies of the English East India Company made it the paramount power in India.

3.3 English Expansion in India

How did the English succeed in winning India? Was the conquest of India a pre-meditated move or did it happen by accident? Was it the superior military strength that succeeded in capturing India or was it the fact that English were modern and Indians were steeped in the traditions of medieval times? There are no simple straightforward answers to these questions.

The English East India Company was founded by a royal charter on 31 December 1600. It was a joint stock company of London merchants originally intended to combine against the competition of the Dutch for the acquisition of spices that could bring in tidy profits. The Company started tentatively in 1613 and gradually expanded its presence. Technically the Company was a distinct organization but since it owed its trading rights and privileges to the Crown there was an influence.

The affairs of the Company were directly under the East India House in London consisting of 24 directors and several clerical staff. The Company established trading posts in India called factories and these were headed by a Governor and his Council. During the initial years it faced the problem of interlopers and by late 17th century there was a rival company from England operating as well. In 1708 the two companies were merged to form the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, popularly called the Honorable East India Company.

For the larger part of the 17th century the position of the Company was rather fragile competing for trading concessions from the Mughals and regional powers. However they were determined to establish power bases from where they could operate with some degree of autonomy. By mid seventeenth century they had many factories and three major coastal ones at Madras(1640),Bombay(1668) and Calcutta (1690). The early development of these coastal cities was because of important networks that were established for procurement of supplies and credit facilities. The expansionist policies of the English Company have been explained in the context of mercantilism that prompted the states in Europe to encourage merchants and corporations to gain economic concessions even with the use of force if required.

3.4 Carnatic Wars

The English and the French trading companies began their functioning in India in a very humble manner. They had to struggle to gain trading concessions and permissions. By the eighteenth century the Mughal authority declined. The Mughal viceroy of Deccan was not able to protect the trade interests of the European traders against the raids of the Marathas. In order to protect their trade interests they began to wage wars and intrigued with local powers. Driven by a mercantilist attitude and hungry for maximum profits, they tried to eliminate all competition and establish monopolistic controls, thus wars between the rival companies became common adding to the political confusion of the times.

During the eighteenth century in all European conflicts England and France took opposing stands. The rivalry that existed in Europe soon extended to Indian soil as well. Though the French were late comers in the trade enterprise in India, due to the initiative of some of their leaders mainly Dupleix they became the main competitors for the English. Beginning with the Austrian war of succession right up to the seven yearswar, India

became one of the theatres of war. The conflict between the two powers were called Carnatic wars.

The Carnatic region provided a convenient site for the Anglo-French rivalry as authority was shared between the Nawab Dost Ali and Nizam of Hyderabad who was the de-facto sovereign. The fragmented nature of political authority provided the right opportunity to the Europeans Companies to play their games of intrigues.

3.4.1 The First Carnatic War (1746-48)

As discussed in the previous paragraph the First Carnatic War was an extension of the Anglo-French conflict in Europe. In March 1740 the Austrian war of Succession broke out. The immediate cause of the war was the demise of Charles VI, the Holy Roman Emperor, who was also the ruler of the Hapsburg monarchy in Austria. His eldest daughter Maria Theresa ascended the throne but her succession was challenged by France, Prussia, Bavaria and Spain. England was pitched against France in this conflict. The home authorities did not want the hostilities to extend to India as it would be detrimental to the trade but in 1746 the conflict in India began. The English navy under Officer Barnett sparked off hostilities when it captured some French ships. Dupleix, who had been the French Governor General since 1741 was angry and send an appeal to the French Governor of Mauritius La Bourdonnais. With a squadron of over 3000 men La Bourdonnais made his way towards the Coromandel coast. He defeated an English fleet on the way. Dupleix also proceeded with his army towards Madras. The English at Madras found themselves besieged by both land and sea. In the ensuing war, Madras was captured by the French on 21 September 1746. La Bourdonnais wanted to ransom the town to the English for a cash payment but Dupleix opposed the suggestion. La Bourdonnais was bribed by the English and on the sly he restored Madras back to the English. His rash act was condemned by Dupleix who recaptured the town.

The French also tried to capture Fort St David, which was a small English factory 18 miles south of Pondicherry, but they were unsuccessful. The English attempt to capture Pondicherry in October 1748 was also unsuccessful.

The First Carnatic War is remembered for the Battle of Santhome which was fought between the Nawab of Carnatic Anwar-ud-Din and the French. When hostilities between the English and French had begun, the Nawab had warned both the trading companies to desist from fighting in

his territory. Dupleix had pacified the Nawab by promising to give Madras after defeating the English. Later, when Dupleix showed no signs of giving Madras to the Nawab, a large army was sent to enforce the demand. The Nawab had a huge army of 10,000 led by Mahfuz Khan however it was decisively defeated by a much smaller French army of 230 European soldiers and 700 Indian soldiers led by Capt. Paradise.

The First Carnatic war proved the upper hand of the French diplomacy and military skill. The war was concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Aix La Chappelle. One of the treaty provisions was the return of Madras to the English much to the disgust of Dupleix.

3.4.2 The Second Carnatic War(1749-54)

The French had enjoyed the upper hand during the First Carnatic War and the victory had whetted the political appetite of Dupleix. He had begun interfering in dynastic disputes to further the interests of the French. The mutual rivalry between the two companies was at a peak. Dupleix was looking out for an opportunity to begin another round of conflict with the English. The disputed succession to the thrones at Carnatic and Hyderabad provided the much needed opportunity.

Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jha died on 21 May 1748. Nasir Jang (1748-50) his second son was the successor to the throne. However Nasir Jang's claim was challenged by his nephew Muzzafar Jang, the late Nizam's grandson. In the Carnatic, the former Nawab Dost Ali was succeeded by Anwar-ud-Din but the throne was contested by Chanda Sahib, Dost Ali's son-in-law. Dupleix saw in this situation the opportunity to advance his political influence. He decided to support the claims of Chanda Sahib and Muzzafar Jang. As was to be expected the English found themselves ranged on the other side with Anwar-ud-Din and Nasir Jang.

Initially the French met with great success. Their army along with the armies of Chanda Sahib and Muzzafar Jang defeated and killed Nawab Anwar-ud-Din in the Battle of Ambur (near Vellore) in August 1749. In December 1750, Nasir Jang also lost his life in an encounter with the French. So with the help of the French Anwar-ud-Din became the Nawab of Carnatic and Muzzafar Jang was appointed as the Subahdar of the Deccan. Dupleix was amply rewarded for his services. He was appointed as governor for all the Mughal territories south of the river Krishna. Some of the districts in the Northern Circars were also ceded to the French. A

French army under the command of Bussy was stationed at Hyderabad thus ensuring French dominion in the Capital. In the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib was made Nawab in 1751. Dupleix seemed to have achieved all his goals and was at the height of his political power.

Everything seemed to have gone in favour of Dupleix's plans. However the situation soon unraveled and chaos began when Mohammad Ali, Anwar-Ud-Din's son revolted and took refuge in Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib along with the French army made several attempts to capture the fort at Trichinopoly but failed. Dupleix's tide of fortune however began to change.

The English in the meantime were busy making preparations to regain lost ground. Robert Clive suggested a brilliant countermove to General Saunders. His plan was to launch a surprise attack on Arcot, the capital of Chanda Sahib to divert the attention from Trichinopoly. He knew that Chanda Sahib would undoubtedly return to save his capital. Robert Clive with an army of just 210 soldiers captured Arcot in August 1751. On hearing of the capture of his capital, Chanda Sahib leading a force of 4000 soldiers tried unsuccessfully to recapture Arcot. The famous siege of Arcot lasted for 53 days from 23 September to 14 November. In 1752 Stringer Lawrence led an English army into Trichinopoly. The exhausted and demoralized French army had option but to surrender in June 1752. Chanda Sahib was treacherously killed by the Raja of Tanjore. Mohammad Ali was placed on the throne of Carnatic. The second Carnatic war which had begun so favourably for the French ended disastrously for Dupleix.

The defeat of the French sealed the fate of Dupleix. He was accused by the Directors of the French Company of over arching and ruinous ambition. He was ordered to return to France. In 1754 Godeheu was appointed as Governor General of French possessions in India with instructions to patch up differences with the British. In January 1755 a peace treaty called the Treaty of Pondicherry concluded peace with the English.

During the second round of conflict the English clearly had the upper hand. Mohammad Ali was installed on the Throne of Carnatic. In Hyderabad the French control continued. Muzzafar Jang had died in 1751 and had been replaced by Salabat Jang through French intervention.

3.4.3 Third Carnatic War (1758-63)

Just like the first war the hostilities began in Europe. With the outbreak of the Seven years war the short peace between the two companies came to

an end. In April 1757, Count De Lally was sent by the French government to India to lead the offensive against the English. In the meantime the English had defeated the Nawab of Bengal Siraj-Ud-Daula and had their stooge Mir Jaffer placed on the throne. The capture of Bengal gave them a huge financial advantage over the French.

Count De Lally reached India in April 1758 and captured Fort St David. He then launched an attack on the Kingdom of Tanjore and demanded a payment of Rs. 56 lakhs from the ruler. The French were however embarrassed because they failed to defeat the ruler of Tanjore. Count De Lally then attempted to capture Madras. On seeing a huge English naval force appearing to protect Madras, he hastily abandoned his attack. He also made the tactical error of summoning Bussy from Hyderabad. The French control over Hyderabad was compromised. The English navy defeated the French in three encounters. A final staggering blow to the French was delivered at the Battle of Wandiwash in 1760. The English army was commandeered by Sir Eyre Coote. Officer Bussy was taken prisoner.

The French retreated to Pondicherry and finally surrendered after being blockaded by the British for eight months. The French also lost Mahe and Jinji to the English. By the Treaty of Paris concluded in 1763, Pondicherry and other French settlements were returned to them on the condition that they would not be fortified except Chandernagore. The balance of power had definitely changed in favour of the English. They were now the de facto rulers of the Carnatic. The Nawab was restrained in a relationship of financial and military dependency. The Nawab lost real political authority and was finally disposed in 1810.

3.4.4 Causes for the Failure of the French

Several reasons have been identified for the failure of the French in the Anglo- French Conflict. The French monarchs at the time were preoccupied with trying to extend their boundaries by acquiring new territory. The country's attention as well as resources were stretched. She was unable to balance both the tasks simultaneously. For France the acquisition of more territory in Europe was more important than in India or North America.

Another reason was the system of governance in France. It was inferior to that of the English system, in that it was despotic and dependent on the personality of the ruler. The extensive wars waged by Louis XIV had exhausted the treasury and his weak and incapable successors compounded

the crisis. England on the other hand was well on its way towards a constitutional monarchy. Another aspect that proved detrimental to the French cause in India was the fact that the French Company was owned by the State and largely controlled by it. The English Company was a joint stock enterprise largely free of government control. It was also financially sound unlike the French company. The English Company earned enough money to finance its wars. Estimations show that during the period 1736-1756 the sales of the Company fetched revenue of over 41,200,000 pounds. In comparison the French Company's sales were rather poor standing at about 11,450,000 pounds.

Rise of English power in Bengal and access to the provinces immense wealth was a huge advantage. The French had to make do with their limited resources. Also a comparison of the leadership styles indicates that the English had excellent military commanders who were ably backed by enthusiastic subordinates. The superiority of the English navy was another factor. Dupleix despite being a brilliant diplomat was to an extent to blame for the defeat of the French in India. His absorption in the political intrigues led to a decline in the French trading interests and profits thereby adversely impacting the French cause. He has also been accused of being so egoistic and not informing superior authorities of military and naval reverses. Had he kept them informed as he rightly should have, the French authorities might have sent reinforcements in time and the military outcome would have been different. The temperaments of French officers like Bussy and Lally was not suitable for a prolonged and protracted struggle.

3.4.5 Career and Achievements of Joseph Franchoise Dupleix

Joseph Franchoise Dupleix was born in 1697 into a wealthy family. His father held an influential post as Director General of the Company of the Indies. Thanks to his father's influence Dupleix was chosen for a high post at Pondicherry. He made a fortune in private trade. There were misunderstandings with other officials at Pondicherry which led to Dupleix being suspended and dismissed from service in 1726.

Dupleix appealed to the home authorities, who reconsidered the case and to compensate Dupleix for the supposed injustice, they appointed him as the Governor General at Chandernagore in 1730. In 1741 he was elevated to the position of Director General of French possessions in India succeeding Dumas. In the same year the Mughal Emperor conferred on him the title of Nawab. This was an honour that significantly increased the prestige of Dupleix in India. In

1750, Muzzafar Jang invested Dupleix with the title of Nawab of all the territory between Krishna river and Cape Comorin.

During his tenure as administrator at Chandernagore, Dupleix was able to significantly develop the trade. He even invested in personal fortunes in trade, advanced loans to his companions. He was able to convince many Indian traders to settle in Chandernagore and establish a vast network with the interior regions for the procurement of products. He was able to forge trade connections with the Persian Gulf, China and Tibet.

Dupleix's contribution in making Chandernagore a flourishing trade centre attracted the authorities in France and he was elevated to the position of Governor General of Pondicherry in 1741. Pondicherry at that point was still reeling from the Maratha invasion. The fortifications were in a state of ruin. Famine prevailed and there was chaos in the Carnatic over disputed claims of nawabship. With the French having interests in North America as well, Dupleix was instructed to curtail expenses and with-hold the building of forts and buildings. Dupleix was successfully able to curtail expenditure. He however went ahead with fortifying Pondicherry largely spending from his personal funds. He took all possible steps to develop the trade in Pondicherry.

3.4.7 Dupleix as a Diplomat

A skilled and insightful person Dupleix was a master diplomat. The Anglo French wars in the Carnatic are ample evidence of his diplomacy. He had successfully won over the former English allies namely the Marathas, the Raja of Tanjore and the ruler of Mysore. In the first war the French clearly had the lead. He skillfully used the political situation in the Carnatic to his advantage. When the conflict initially began he feared a blockade of Pondicherry by the English navy led by Barnett. Dupleix immediately appealed to Nawab Anwar-ud-Din to forbid the English from waging war on his territory. The Nawab seeing the logic in his appeal sternly warned the English from furthering the hostilities. It can certainly be regarded as a diplomatic victory for Dupleix. Later when Dupleix besieged Madras along with La Bourdonnais, he pacified the Nawab by promising to hand over Madras after it was captured by the British. When he failed to deliver on his promise the Nawab attacked but was decisively defeated by the French in the Battle of Santhome.

The course of the First Carnatic war amply displayed the shrewd and cunning of Dupleix. He continued to enhance his political influence by

supporting the claims of rivals in the disputed successions in Hyderabad and Carnatic. Dupleix's plan was met with great success because he managed to achieve his objective of placing Chanda Sahib on the throne of Carnatic and Muzaffar Jang on the throne of Hyderabad. By 1751 Dupleix had reached the zenith of his political career. He was proclaimed Nawab of the entire territory south of the river Krishna. A French army was stationed at Hyderabad and parts of the Northern Circars were given to the French. Thus the second Carnatic war had also begun favourably for the French but later after the revolt of Anwar-ud-Din's son the tide changed against them.

Despite all his well laid out strategy Dupleix was ousted in the game of diplomacy by the English. One of his weaknesses was that he was not a soldier and while he could plan a campaign, he could not lead it and had to depend on subordinates who failed to translate in grandiose schemes into action. Dupleix was greatly admired by his subordinates who respected his judgement so when the orders came for his recall from India many senior French officers tendered their resignation in protest.

3.4.8 Recall of Dupleix

It has been recorded that the English ambassador at Paris was instructed to inform the Foreign minister of France that Dupleix's policies were ruining the trade of both the companies. When Dupleix failed to capture Trichinopoly the French directors also felt it was Dupleix's ambition was the main reason for the tensions with English traders. The recall of Dupleix was rather short sighted and ended the French cause in India. Dupleix had successfully managed to detach powerful allies like the Marathas, The Raja of Tanjore and the ruler of Mysore but his early recall damaged the French political cause. Godeheu was hardly a worthy successor and was not able to protect French interests in India.

Dupleix deserves to be remembered for not only did he raise the prestige of the French to levels not experienced in India but he was the first to introduce methods in India which guided the English in their conquest of India. He was the first to make extensive use of disciplined troops. He was the first to station European troops at native courts at the expense of the Indian ruler. He was the first to lend troops to Indian rulers for a cost which eventually evolved into the Subsidiary Alliance System. He was also the first to interfere in local politics to advance the influence of the Europeans. According to Lord Macaulay, the man who first saw possible to found an European empire on the ruins of the Mughal monarchy was Dupleix.

3.5 Conquest of Bengal

An analysis of the conquest of Bengal need to take account of the structure of the Company , private trading in Bengal and the impact this had on the internal power structure.

The earliest English factory in Bengal was established in 1651 during the viceroyalty of Shuja, the second son of Emperor Shahjahan. The main items of trade were silk, saltpeter and sugar which were the chief export commodities of Bengal. The severe restrictions imposed during the reign of Aurangzeb by Mir Jumla, the then Subedar of Bengal led to a decline in English trade.

With the appointment of Shaista Khan as governor of Bengal in 1663, English trade began to prosper and factories sprang up at Hugli, Balasore and Kasim Bazar with minor factories at Patna, Dacca and Raj Mahal. In 1698, Subahdar Azim-us-Shan (who later sat on the throne as Shah Alam I) gave the zamindari of the villages of Govindpur, Kalikata and Sutanuti to the British for the payment of Rs.1200/-.

The Mughals lost control over Bengal after the death of Aurangzeb and it became completely independent under the control of Murshid Quli Khan. In September 1717 Emperor Farrukhsiyar made him full Subahdar of Bengal. Murshid Quli Khan was instrumental in transferring the capital of Bengal from Dacca to Murshidabad, a town which was named after him. Murshidabad became the seat of power for the later Nawabs of Bengal.

The Company in its official capacity enjoyed a monopoly of trade between England and Asia. Company servants were also allowed private trade. The private trade activities of Company servants became a source of embarrassment as they began to demand all sorts of exemptions and privileges from the local authorities. The Nawabs of Bengal recognized the audacity and illegality of demands and resisted the claims whenever possible.

In October 1717, Emperor Farukhsiyar issued a firman which granted the English East India Company free trade in Bengal in lieu of Rs. 3000 per annum. The firman allowed the British to trade wherever they pleased and they could also rent 38 villages in the vicinity of Calcutta. The Nawab was also to allow the Company to use the royal mint for minting coins out of the bullion it imported. According to the firman , 'all goods and necessities which their factors bring or carry away either by land or

water were to be free from customs duty.' The firman gave the English huge advantages in trade. However the fights over the interpretation of the firman became a long standing disagreement between the Nawabs of Bengal and the English.

The English traders rampantly misused the dastaks or trade passes and the duty free trade that they demanded meant a huge loss of valuable revenue for the Nawabs. It was a source of great irritation for the rulers. During the 1720s and 1730s there was significant increase in the trade and the English often put pressure on the administration by blockading the port of Hugli thereby hindering the trade of local merchants and Armenians. The English were quite successful in drawing the freight traffic of the local merchants into their vessels.

In 1741, during the reign of Mohammad Shah Rangila, Alivardi Khan the deputy Governor of Bihar revolted, he killed the Nawab of Bengal Sarfaraz Khan and declared his independence as the new Subahdar of Bengal. He confirmed his position by paying a large sum of money to the Mughal emperor. Realising the importance of commerce to the state Alivardi Khan allowed the English traders to continue their activities without much interference because he was preoccupied dealing with the menace of Maratha raids. Though he was unhappy about the misuse of dastaks, he allowed the English to continue provided they gave him enough contribution. He however described the Europeans as bees making money when left in peace but capable of stinging intruders to death. His words turned out to be prophetic. Under his successor the situation with the English reached a breaking point. The English East India Company eventually destroyed the power of the Nawabs of Bengal and reduced them to the position of puppets.

3.5.1 Siraj-ud-Daula and the Company

Alivardi Khan died on 10th April 1756 and was succeeded by his sister's son Siraj-ud-Daulah, who happened to be his favourite grandson. The 23 year old Siraj-ud Daulah found his nawabship challenged by several contestants, Shaukat Jang, The Nawab of Purnea, his maternal aunt Ghasiti Begum and Mir Jafar Ali Khan, the commander-in-chief of his army, who was the most formidable among his enemies. To safeguard his claims Siraj-ud-Daulah seized Ghasiti Begum's immense wealth and attacked Shaukat Jang, who was defeated in October 1756.

Relationship with the English also soured and the Nawab had several grievances against them. On his accession in 1756 Siraj-ud-Daula ordered the English to remove the fortifications at Fort William and to release the fugitive Krishna Ballabh who had been charged with fraud. The English expecting trouble from the French at Chandernagore, had dug a large ditch and strengthened fortifications at Fort William contrary to instructions from the Nawab. The English were also giving asylum to political offenders and had insulted and expelled Siraj-ud-Daula's messenger Narayan Das.

Finding his authority flouted Siraj-ud-Daula felt compelled to attack the British. On 4th June 1756, the English factory at Kasim Bazaar was stormed and looted and on 20th June Fort William was besieged. After a feeble resistance the English surrendered the fort. Governor Roger Drake and other important officials escaped down the Hugli, however some Englishmen under J Z Holwell were taken prisoners by the Nawab's army. Placing the fort under the charge of his officer Manik Chand, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula returned back to Murshidabad. Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula was facing an internal crisis with notable members of his administration namely the state banker, Jagat Seth, high ranking officials like Mir Jaffar and merchant chiefs like Amir Chand and Kwaja Wajid.

3.5.2 Black Hole Tragedy

In the meantime Manik Chand at Fort William took 146 English men, women and children as prisoners and locked them into a tiny prison room which was 18 feet long, with a breadth of 14 feet and width of 10 inches. The room had only one window. It was the height of summer and the next morning out of the 146 only 23 had survived, the rest having died of thirst and suffocation. The veracity of this English claim has been questioned as the prime author of this story was Holwell and the details were rather sketchy with no mention of the victims of the tragedy.

The Black Hole incident as it came to be called became a tool of propaganda by the English East India Company, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula was painted as a monster responsible for the death of innocents. In all probability the numbers of those who died were much smaller and the incident was considered insignificant, for the contemporary historian Ghulam Hussain, the author of Siyar-ui-Mutakherin has not mentioned it in his writings. The Black Hole tragedy is remembered for the reprisals that would follow and the eventual sack of Bengal.

The British authorities in Madras decided to take prompt action when the capitulation of Calcutta was heard of. Robert Clive, who had just returned from England, was sent along with Admiral Watson to recapture Calcutta. The expedition sailed on 16th October 1756 and reached Bengal on the 14th of December. Manik Chand, bribed by the English, made a show of resistance and Fort William was in the possession of the English by January 1757. Calcutta and Hugli were sacked by the English as an act of reprisal. The act was to show the Nawab the superiority of the English force and to warn him. Siraj-ud-Daula, in the dark about the secret transactions between his officials and British, and also anxious about a possible Afghan attack, had no choice but to sign a peace treaty called Treaty of Alinagar on 9 February 1757. (Siraj-ud-Daula had renamed the town after his grandfather Alivardi Khan.) The treaty restored the trade rights and factories of the English, they were granted permission to fortify the settlement and were to be paid compensation for the damages caused by the Nawab's attack.

Robert Clive set in motion a major conspiracy to dethrone the Nawab. The conspirators were Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-Chief, Manik Chand, Nanda Kumar, the faujdar of Chandernagore, Rai Durlabh a courtier, Kwaja Wajid and Jagat Seth. Amir Chand played the role as intermediary. Mir Jafar, who was a favourite of Jagat Seth, was selected as the replacement for the Nawab. By May 1757 the conspiracy was in place and all that was required was an excuse to start a war, which Robert Clive did by attacking the French settlement at Chandernagore. Though preoccupied because of the threat of an Afghan invasion, Siraj-ud-Daula sent his troops to counter the English.

Historians have given different views on the reasons why the Nawab was facing an internal crisis. Rajat Ray has suggested that the traitorous courtiers opted for the intervention of the Company as mercenaries to settle an internal score, they had no idea about the consequences of their actions. Brijen Gupta suggested that there had been a growing proximity between the local merchants and bankers and Company officials for mutual gains.

3.5.3 Battle of Plassey

On 22nd June Robert Clive, leading an army of 950 European Infantry, 100 European artillery, 50 English sailors and 2100 Indian sepoy marched towards Mushidabad. They were met by the Nawab's 50,000 strong troops on 23rd June at a mango grave called Plassey, 22 miles south of Murshidabad. The advance guard led by Mir Mudan and Mohan Lal repulsed the forces

of Robert Clive and forced them to retreat. However, MirMudan was killed by a stray bullet. The traitorous Mir Jaffar claimed that the English were winning and playing on the fears of the Nawab advised him to retreat to Murshidabad. The Nawab's forces were asked to stop fighting and a minor skirmish continued between the English troops and the French. The French were too few in number to offer much resistance.

Siraj-ud-Daula returned back with a small troop of 2000 soldiers. On his return to Murshidabad, he was arrested and brutally murdered by Muhammad Beg on the orders of Miran, the son of Mir Jaffar. On 25th June Mir Jaffar reached the palace and declared himself as the Nawab. Immediately after the war, the English army and navy received a hefty sum of 275,000 pounds for distribution among their members. In the following years the Company received 22.5 million rupees from Mir Jafar. Robert Clive received a personal jagir worth 34,567 pounds.

What is more significant is that the trading prospects of the Company servants and private traders. They enjoyed virtual freedom in flouting all rules and regulations. Plassey thus opened the gates for unlimited gains and personal fortunes. The Company gained the right to mint coins in their own mint.

With the new Nawab being their puppet, the financial bleeding of Bengal began. Mir Jaffar was a weak and incompetent ruler and was soon in financial dire straits unable to meet the never ending demands of the English. Finding his position untenable he conspired with the Dutch to rid himself off the English, the latter however managed to get rid of him. Mir Jaffar finding his palace surrounded by English soldiers had no choice but to give up his claims and he chose to live out the rest of his days as a pensioner in Calcutta.

The English found in Mir Qasim, the Nawab's son-in-law an appropriate replacement. A secret treaty was signed with Mir Qasim on 27 September 1760, which assigned to the Company three districts of Burdwan, Midnapur and Chittagong. The Company would get half the share of the limestone trade in Sylhet. Mir Qasim promised a sum of rupees five lakhs to finance the Company's war in South India against the French and it was agreed that Mir Qasim's enemies would be treated as the Company's enemies and his friends as the Company's friends and *vice versa*.

The English needed a puppet ruler who would fall in line with their wishes but Mir Qasim proved to be quite an efficient ruler, historians

describe him as the most worthy successor of Ali Vardi Khan. Realising that Murshidabad had become a hotbed of conspiracies and constant interference from the English at Calcutta, he shifted his capital to Mongyr in Bihar in 1763, as he was intent on creating his separate sphere of influence. To build up the state treasury he raised the rates of land revenue and adopted stringent measures to regulate revenue collections. Old officers who had misappropriated funds were fined. New taxes were introduced and the zamindars were kept under strict control. He reorganized his army based on the European model. It was placed under the command of an Armenian called Gurgin Khan. European adventurers like Reinhard (popularly called Sumru), Marcat Gentil and Aratoon were part of the revamped army. At Mongyr a factory for production of arms and ammunition was begun. The Company viewed the changes being introduced by Mir Qasim with some apprehension but the real bone of contention was misuse of dastaks.

3.5.4 Battle of Buxor

The clash between Nawab Mir Qasim and the English East India came over the question of Inland trade. The English traders had enjoyed several trade privileges; they were issued pass chits called dastaks which allowed them free trade. There was however rampant misuse of these chits. English wanted to completely monopolize the trade in salt, saltpetre, opium and tobacco. The Nawab sent several messages to the Calcutta council requesting them to intervene and control the merchants. Receiving no satisfactory response from the English, the Nawab in October 1762 intercepted British shipping and asked the merchants to pay uniform duties, when this was met with resistance he took the extreme step of abolishing customs duties for all traders thereby negating the English advantage. The English retaliated by replacing him with old Mir Jafar and both sides got ready for a fight.

A hot headed chief in Patna called Mr. Ellis provoked hostilities by attacking Patna town which was successfully repulsed by Mir Qasim's army. This was followed by several more encounters in which Mir Qasim was defeated. These encounters were at Katwa in the Burdwan district on 9 July 1763, Gheria in Murshidabad district on 2 August 1763 and Udhuanala in Raj Mahal district on 4-5 September 1763.

Realising that his forces were not adequate, Mir Qasim forged an alliance with Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Avadh and Shah Alam II, the Mughal emperor. The alliance was rather shaky. Shuja-ud-Daula agreed to the alliance only after he was promised Bihar and a payment of Rupees 30

million on the completion of the mission. The allies with a 60,000 strong army faced the English army at Buxor on 22 October 1764. The Company's army was estimated between 35,000 to 50,000 and was commanded by Major Hector Munro. The battle of Buxor was a well contested fight and the English troops proved to be superior in organization and command. The coalition army suffered from lack of cohesion and the English were able to exploit that. Beni Bahadur, the prime minister of Avadh played a double game. Shah Alam II surrendered. Shuja-ud-Daula fled to the Rohilla country and his kingdom was overrun. He eventually was reduced to a grateful pensioner of the Company. Mir Qasim having lost his kingdom became a fugitive and died in extreme poverty as a homeless wanderer.

The significance of this victory for the English was substantial. The victory at Buxor completed the process of domination begun at Plassey for the Company. Victory at Buxor made them unchallenged masters of Bengal. The subsequent nawabs placed on the throne were total puppets and under the complete control of the English.

Robert Clive was again sent back as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possessions in Bengal. With the objective of consolidating the gains of the Company he wanted to create Awadh as a buffer state between the Company and the Marathas. This led to the treaty of Allahabad in two phases.

3.5.5 Treaty of Allahabad

The Treaty of Allahabad was signed on 16 August 1765. The Mughal emperor Shah Alam II granted the Company the right to collect diwani from Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. They were allowed to maintain a British Resident at Murshidabad. By the Treaty of Allahabad Nawab Shuja-Ud-Daula of Awadh was brought under the subsidiary treaty. Awadh was asked to pay Rs 5 million to the Company. The Nawab's territories were restored to him with the exception of Allahabad and Kara. Chunar was retained by the English. The Zamindari of Benares was given to the family of Balwant Singh, formally subordinate to Awadh but under English protection.

A period of diarchy followed the battle of Buxor. The British enjoyed power without responsibility. Robert Clive devised the dual government, under which the Company servants did not undertake duties as diwan or nazim in their own person, it was held by the naib or nawab responsible for it. The puppet nawab had virtually no authority. In 1765 Mohammed Reza

Khan was appointed as naib diwan and naib nazim but he was constrained in every way possible by Company interference. The population in Bengal faced extreme pressure with the huge revenue demands. In 1770 Bengal witnessed drought conditions leading to a major famine.

3.6 Subsidiary Alliance

The eventual victory of the English in the Anglo French rivalry in the Carnatic and the capture of Bengal firmly set the English trading company on the path of ascendancy. Once they were firmly entrenched they began to challenge the authority of the bigger Indians rulers and gradually established themselves as a paramount power. The first major step towards becoming a paramount power was the Subsidiary Alliance system. It was a political strategy brilliantly executed by Lord Wellesley to substantially increase the power of the English in India. As described by Percival Spear “In the hands of Clive and Warren Hastings, the Subsidiary System was a defensive system to safeguard the Company’s Possessions; in the hands of Wellesley, it was an offensive device, with which to subject independent State to British control.”

Lord Wellesley’s tenure as Governor General, 1798 to 1805, is regarded as a major and formative period of the expansion of the Company. He was an explicit and self confessed imperialist. His tenure coincided with the gradual decay of the Marathas and scattered French warlords. The latter was an excuse for him to project an anti-French stance.

3.6.1 Lord Wellesley (1798-1805)

Richard Colley Wellesley was also known as Marquess Wellesley. He succeeded Sir John Shore as the Governor General of India in 1798. He had previously served as the Lord of the British Treasury and Commissioner of the Board of Control. Wellesley was just thirty seven at the time of his appointment and he took up his role in India with much enthusiasm. Convinced of the moral superiority of the British, he was determined that the English Company should become a supreme political entity in India. He wanted to acquire more territory and reduce Indian rulers to a state of dependency. He gave up the policy of peace and non intervention and inaugurated an age of wars and aggression. He was egoistical, holding his own views and opinions in high esteem and adopted an offensive attitude towards Indian rulers, treating them as subordinates. He held a very low opinion of the Indian governing styles considering it inefficient and perverse.

3.6.2 Origin and Evolution of the Subsidiary Alliance System

Lord Wellesley used the Subsidiary Alliance System to bring many Indian states under the British control. The system benefitted the English in two ways, it protected India from the menace of Napoleon Bonaparte and at the same time asserted British authority. There was a significant increase in the territory under the British.

While the policy Subsidiary Alliance is associated with Wellesley he did not invent the system. Dupleix is believed to be the first to lend European troops to Indian rulers for a price. The English also adopted the system. Robert Clive was the first English governor to use the system. To begin with a subsidiary treaty involved helping a native ally by lending troops that the ally paid for. Under Wellesley the system was elaborated and extensively used. A large number of Indian states came under its ambit.

The English East India Company negotiated its first subsidiary treaty with the Nawab of Avadh in 1765. The Company took on the task of defending the frontiers of the Nawab's territory. The Nawab of Avadh had a military obligation to maintain a subsidiary force at his expense. A British resident was stationed at Lucknow and he began to exert undue interference in the administration. It was during the subsidiary treaty signed with the Nawab of Carnatic in 1787 that the Company introduced the clause that the subsidiary state should not pursue foreign relations. The treaty was amended in 1798 and the Company insisted that the Nawab should not communicate with or take into his service any foreign nationals. As has been discussed in this paragraph the concept of subsidiary treaties had evolved to an extent before the coming of Lord Wellesley.

There were four stages in the participation of the Company in Indian wars. During the first stage the Company lend its troops to a friendly Indian ruler to help him in his wars. An example of this is the treaty with the Nizam in 1768. In the second stage the English Troops went to war on their own accord with the assistance of an Indian ally. The third stage was when the Indian ally did not supply troops but only money. The Company took the charge to raise, train and equip an army. The army would be commanded by English officers and would maintain a fixed number of troops. The cost of maintaining the troops would be borne by the Indian ruler. Example the treaty with Hyderabad in 1798. The fourth and final stage was the next logical step. The Company would defend the territory of its ally and would station an army within the territory of the ruler. The

ally would not pay money but would surrender territory and the revenue from it would meet the expenditure of the troops. Example the treaty with the Nizam in 1800.

3.6.3 Terms and Conditions of Subsidiary Alliance

- a) The Indian state was required to surrender foreign relations to the Company. All negotiations with other states was done via the Company.
- b) A larger state was expected to maintain an army commanded by British officers within its territory. The ruler had to give the Company territory in full sovereignty and revenue from such territory was used for the maintenance of the army. A smaller state had to pay tribute in cash to the Company.
- c) A subsidiary ally was to accept a British Resident at its head quarters.
- d) The state was not to employ Europeans without consulting the Company.
- e) The Company would not interfere in the internal affairs of the state and finally
- f) The Company took the responsibility of protecting the state for all enemies.

3.6.4 Advantages to the English

The Subsidiary Alliance System proved to be of great advantage to the English Company. It has been aptly described as the Trojan horse tactics in empire building for its disarmed the Indian state without them fully realizing the implications. The Indian states lost control of their army since it was recruited, trained and commanded by the English.

By surrendering their foreign affairs the Indian states were completely at the mercy of the British. They could not form any alliance or confederacy against the British.

The Company could maintain a large standing army at several strategic locations at the expense of the Indian rulers. An efficient army, maintained in a state of active service and latest equipment meant that the Company would be ready for any war without much increase to its own military expenses. Considering the fact that earlier wars had greatly ruined the Company's finances, this was a masterstroke of a policy.

The Company's troops were stationed in the capitals of the Indian rulers who signed the alliance. Thus the English gained control of key locations in the country and could easily deal with any threat from a European power. In case of an actual war the theatre of war would be away from the Company's territory thus saving it from any war related destruction.

The Subsidiary Alliance effectively counteracted any French threat. Frenchmen were dismissed from service in states that joined the alliance.

The Company assumed the role of arbiter in inter-state conflicts. Direct contact between Indian states and foreign powers was not permitted.

The English officers commanding the army were highly paid. The British Resident also wielded considerable influence in state matters.

There was a considerable increase in territory under the Company as the states ceded territory in lieu of payment. In 1800 the Nizam of Hyderabad ceded to the Company all territory they had previously acquired from Mysore. In 1801 the Nawab of Avadh surrendered half of his dominions comprising Lower Doab and Rohilkhand.

3.6.5 Disadvantages to the Indian States

All the advantages in the system were for the Company the Indian states that signed the alliance suffered much but had no recourse of leaving the alliance.

An Indian state by surrendering foreign affairs and control of their army accepted a subordinate position and they lost their independence. As Thomas Monroe stated "a state purchased security by the sacrifice of independence, of national character and of whatever that renders a people respectable."

The British Resident interfered in the day to day working of the government thus making administration virtually impossible.

Under the Subsidiary System weak and oppressive rulers were supported. The people had no remedy against misrule. The presence English troops prevented any revolution or over throw of an incompetent ruler.

States that signed the Subsidiary Alliance became bankrupt. The subsidy demanded by the Company was fixed at 1/3 of the state's revenue. It was very high and the state's treasury was emptied. The states in turn increased the taxes thus impoverishing the populace.

3.6.6 States that Accepted Subsidiary Alliance

Several Indian states were misled into joining the Subsidiary Alliance.

- Nizam of Hyderabad (September 1798-1800)
- Ruler of Mysore (1799)
- Raja of Tanjore (October 1799)
- Nawab of Avadh (November 1801)
- Peshwa (December 1801)
- Bhonsle Raja of Berar (December 1803)
- Sindhia (February 1804)
- Rajput states of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Macheri, Bundi and Bharatpur

In 1797 the year that Wellesley sailed for India was a dark year for the English. The First Coalition of the Europeans against Napoleon Bonaparte had been decisively defeated. Napoleon had conquered Egypt and Syria and was contemplating the capture of India. It was a threat that loomed large in the mind of the new governor to be.

By extending the clauses and reach of the subsidiary system Lord Wellesley effectively crushed the French threat. Frenchmen were removed from service thereby cutting off any influence. The surrender of foreign affairs ensured complete control of the Indian states and minimized threats to the English. As has been stated by Sidney J Owen, Wellesley converted British Empire in India to British Empire of India.

3.7 Maratha Wars

The Marathas built their empire capitalizing on the decline of the Mughals. They extended their sphere of influence to North India and were for a few years the custodians of the North West Frontier until their hapless defeat in the third battle of Panipat. The Marathas grew stronger than other Indian princes. In the eighteenth century when the Company sought to increase their political clout they viewed the Marathas as a threat and focused on annihilating them. In the conflict with the Company the Marathas were worsted and their power waned.

Anglo- Maratha relations became an important theme in the period after battle of Panipat in 1761, when Maratha expansion was checked by the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah Abdali. The second Maratha revival was inspired by the capable Madhav Rao, which was noticed by the Company.

Till 1761 the Maratha confederacy had controlled large swathes of land in northern and central India and right to collect revenue from Deccan. Historical research have revealed that the consolidation of Maratha rule resulted in an increase in agricultural production in some areas like Malwa owing to the support and co-operation of local landed communities. By the 1750's revenue from regions like Malwa and Kandesh was very high. Trade links were also good. The English were aware of Maratha strength and created buffer states like Avadh and alliances with Hyderabad. The defeat of Marathas at Panipat changed the situation.

After their disastrous defeat in 1761 against the Afghans, the Maratha took more than a decade to retrieve and revive their power and prestige. The confederacy was weak. Young Peshwa Madhav Rao revived the state but had to deal with internal dissensions. Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's uncle was a key figure of the dissenting group.

The political ascendancy of the Company in the Gangetic plain and the peninsula brought them into direct conflict with the Marathas. By the 1770's the Company authorities in Bombay expressed their political ambition of taking advantage of the confusion among the Marathas following the demise of Peshwa Madhav Rao.

3.7.1 The First Anglo Maratha War (1775-82)

Once the ambition of the English was aroused, there was no stopping them and they were constantly on the lookout for political opportunities to exploit. When internal dissensions began to rock the Maratha court, the British at Bombay were hopeful that a dual government similar to that in Bengal could be established.

In 1772 the fourth Maratha Peshwa Madhav Rao died. The fifth Peshwa Narayan Rao was plagued by the intrigues of his uncle Raghunath Rao and he was eventually killed. However a son was born posthumously to Narayan Rao thereby spoiling the plans of Raghunath Rao of occupying the throne. In desperation Raghunath Rao sought the help of the Company. He signed the Treaty of Surat with them in 1775. Raghunath Rao with the help of the subsidiary troops of the Company waged war against the Maratha army. It was a well contested war and both sides had a taste of the others strength. They decided to negotiate and by the Treaty of Salbai (1782) there was a mutual restitution of each other's territories. There was mutual respect and peace between the two powers for the next two decades. The treaty also committed the Marathas to help the British against Haider Ali of Mysore.

The First Anglo Maratha war did not produce any decisive results much to the disappointment of the Company.

3.7.2 The Second Maratha War (1803-1806)

The second round of conflict with the Marathas was a result of the Anglo French rivalry. Wellesley who became the Governor General in 1798 was convinced that the only way to mitigate the French threat in India was to reduce the Indian states to a position of dependency on the Company. He tried to get all states within the ambit of the Subsidiary Alliance. There was also a growing influence of the French among the Marathas which worried Wellesley. He reached out with the subsidiary alliance. The Marathas refused all offers to join but internal differences and mutual rivalries pushed them into the trap.

Nana Fadnavis, Chief Minister of Bajji Rao, had been a wise and moderate man and he had rejected all overtures of Wellesley to be part of the Subsidiary Alliance. After his death in 1800 the situation in Poona changed. Bajji Rao in a vain attempt to strengthen his own position played the Marathas chiefs against each other. Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar wanted a position of eminence in Poona.

Bajji Rao II became a victim of his own intrigues. He came virtually under the control of Daulat Rao Sindhia. In 1800, the Resident at Poona tried his best to convince Bajji Rao II to sign a secret treaty to oust Sindhia from the Deccan but the Peshwa refused to comply.

In 1801 matters got worse at Poona when on the orders of the Peshwa, Vithuji, the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar was murdered. The Holkar arrived with a large army and defeated the combined armies of the Peshwa and Sindhia on 25 October. The Holkar placed Vinayak Rao on the throne of Poona. Peshwa Bajji Rao II had to flee from his kingdom and approached the Company for help. He sought refuge at Bassein and on 31 December 1802 forged an alliance with the Company through the Treaty of Bassein. He was installed as Peshwa under the protection of the Company.

3.7.3 Provisions of the Treaty of Bassein 31 December 1802

- a) The Peshwa agreed to the stationing of a subsidiary force in his territory.
- b) The Peshwa agreed to cede in perpetuity several territories with good annual yields. Territories surrendered were in Gujarat, South

of The Tapti river, region between Tapti and Narmada and territory near Tungabhadra

- c) The city of Surat was ceded to the Company.
- d) The Peshwa agreed to give up claims on chaut from Nizam's dominions and not wage war against Gaekwar.
- e) The Peshwa was not to employ Europeans from nations at war with the English.
- f) The Peshwa had to give up control over foreign relations. All negotiations were to be in consultation and with the approval of the Company.

As can be gauged the Treaty of Bassein placed the Company in a very favourable situation. The Maratha Confederacy received a severe blow with this treaty.

The Second Maratha war broke out in 1803 with only the Sindhia and Raja of Berar challenging the English. The war took place on two fronts . The forces of Sindhia were defeated at Assaye by Arthur Wellesley. Sindhia's forces were also defeated at Koil in August 1803. The final clash was at Laswari, both Sindhia and Bhonsle were forced to accept British resident at their courts and cede territory to the Company. Rich cotton producing tracts in South Gujarat and Broach was obtained by the English.

3.7.4 The Third Anglo Maratha war 1817-18

The third and final phase of the conflict between the English and the Maratha began when Lord Hastings took over as the Governor General in 1813. The aggressive policy which had been abandoned in 1805 after the term of Lord Wellesley was over was taken up again. Lord Hastings was determined to establish the Company as the paramount power. The Marathas had failed to consolidate themselves after the recall of Wellesley but continued with their debilitating mutual rivalries. Lord Hastings wanted to kill two birds with one stone and he prepared a huge army to simultaneously deal with the Pindaris and the Marathas. Humiliating treaties were forced upon the Raja of Nagpur on 27 May 1816, the Peshwa on 13 June 1817 and Sindhia on 5 November 1817. Peshwa tried to get rid of the British but was decisively defeated at Khirki. The other Maratha rulers also rose up in defiance but were defeated. The superior troops of the Company routed Bhonsle at Sitabaldi and Holkar at Mahidpur. Poona and its surrounding districts became a part of the Bombay Presidency.

The other Maratha rulers also lost a lot of territory and had to accept subordinate positions to the Company.

Dismantling of the Maratha confederacy in 1818 was connected to the elimination of the Pindaris as well. The Pindaries were a tribe of marauders, that had been raiding Company territory in central India. The Company to deal with the menace forced Sindhia and Holkar to cooperate. With the conclusion of the Maratha wars the English effectively destroyed an arch rival. Maratha power was replaced with a ring of small states easily controlled by the subsidiary alliance.

3.7.5 Causes for the Defeat of the Marathas

The Marathas were the strongest of the Indian powers that rose after the decline of the Mughal empire. They however proved no match for the Company in terms of material resources, diplomacy, military resources and leadership.

Lack of effective Leadership - The character of the Maratha state being despotic a lot depended on the personality and the competence of the ruler. Peshwa Baji Rao II was inept and incapable, indulging in intrigues to hang on to power. Through the Treaty of Bassein he signed the subsidiary alliance to regain power but was not wholly successful. Daulat Rao Sindhia was also not a worthy successor, he was lazy and addicted to luxury and spent his time indulging his own passions. Misrule brought in oppression, plunder and devastation for the hapless populace. Jaswant Rao Holkar was more enterprising compared to the other two rulers but he is also described as being of an unsound mind bordering on insanity. The clueless Maratha leaders were no match for the astute English leaders who were constantly looking for ways in which to promote the cause of the Company.

Defects of the Maratha state- According to Jadunath Sarkar there were inherent defects in the Maratha state. Either under Shivaji or the later Peshwas no attempt was made to spread education or unify the people. The Maratha empire had grown on a religio-national movement but nothing much had been done to unify the people under Maratha rule, by the 19th century the defects had become glaring. The mutual jealousies amongst the Maratha rulers and the internecine wars wrecked havoc and destabilized the political set up.

Inferior Military system-While the Marathas did not lack in valour or military prowess, when in contest with well organized and disciplined forces they were no match. This is evident from the several wars against

the English and the third Battle of Panipat against the Afghans. The centrifugal tendencies of divided command and improper organization accounted for a majority of the Maratha failures. Treachery among the ranks was another major problem. Several of the European commanders employed by the Marathas were mercenaries at best not in the least loyal to the higher command. It has been stated that the mercenary soldiers of the Marathas had no higher motive than of personal interest, loss of a battle meant at worst a temporary loss of employment to them. The Marathas had been very successful against the Mughals because of the use of guerilla warfare. English writers feel abandonment of the guerilla strategy was a cardinal mistake. The Marathas also failed to adequately adopt modern systems of warfare. Mahadaji Sindhia deserves credit for manufacturing modern weapons and training but the military departments were entirely handled by foreigners whose loyalty in times of war was questionable.

Superior English Diplomacy and Espionage- The English Diplomacy was superior to the Marathas in the game of diplomacy. Before launching actual operations the Company would take care to win allies and isolate the enemy diplomatically. The absence of unity among the Maratha chiefs made the task much easier for the English.

The Marathas were careless about military intelligence, while the English invested a lot of time and attention to it. The main task of the Residents in various courts was to supply information of the strengths and weaknesses of a potential foe, their military preparedness and strategies. This information was effectively used for diplomatic missions.

It can be stated that the Maratha empire that the Company contended with was past its prime. The vigour and vitality that characterized the Marathas in the heydays of its power was a thing of the past. The Maratha empire was already a cracked and crumbling block and the attack of the English only hastened the final collapse.

3.8 Mysore Wars

The Anglo Mysore wars refer to a series of four major confrontations between the English East India Company and the rulers of Mysore, namely Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan. Mysore's alliance with the French and the rich trade it controlled in the Malabar coast were thorns in the flesh of the English. Added to this, Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan were powerful and ambitious rulers which went against the grain of the

English policy in India which was to tolerate only weak and subservient political entities.

3.8.1 Mysore Under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan

The fluid political conditions of eighteenth century India allowed the rise of ambitious and capable adventurers to positions of eminence. One such person was Haider Ali, who rose from the position of a horseman to that of ruler of Mysore. The Wodeyar ruler Chik Krishnaraj found his royal authority waning during the period 1731-34, and real power was being controlled by two brothers Devaraj, who was the commander-in-chief and Nanjaraj, the controller of revenue and finance. There was a tussle for supremacy in the Deccan among four powers- Marathas, the Nizam, The English and the French. Mysore was dragged into the tumultuous politics. There were repeated attacks on the territories of Mysore by the Marathas and the Nizam. The heavy financial demands on Mysore bankrupted the state, Devaraj and Nanjaraj were unable to deal with the crisis and made way for the rise of Haider Ali, a military leader and able diplomat. By 1761 Haider Ali was the de facto ruler of Mysore.

Deeply aware of the challenges of the times Haider Ali raised an excellent army to deal with threats to the state. He took help from the French to develop manufacture on arsenal on western lines. By 1761 he had captured several regions and subjugated the poligars of South India. The Marathas who had recovered from the debacle of Panipat under the leadership of Peshwa Madhav Rao raided Mysore territory and defeated Haider Ali thrice in 1764, in 1766 and 1771. Haider Ali was forced to sue for peace by ceding territory. In 1772, taking advantage of the political confusion in the wake of Madhav Rao's death, Haider Ali attacked the Marathas and not only managed to recapture the lost Mysorean territory but also captured Cuddapah, Bellary, Gooty, Kurnool and other places in the Krishna Tungabhadra Doab.

The expansion of Mysore under Haider Ali was seen as a threat by the English in Madras and it was only a matter of time before a collision between the two would materialize. Haider Ali's conquests along the Canara coast and inland meant that he would soon have authority from the Krishna river in the north to Malabar in the west. Haider Ali's quick success sent tremors down the spine of both Hyderabad and the Company in Madras, so they formed an alliance to counter Haider Ali.

3.8.2 The First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)

The easy success gained by the Company in the capture of Bengal spurred them to try expanding their influence in other regions. In 1766 they signed a treaty with the Nizam and promised to help him in his war against Haider Ali. Haider Ali already had territorial disputes with the Nawab of Carnatic and the Marathas. Now the Nizam joined the fray along with the English. Haider Ali, an astute diplomat, won over the Marathas and promised the Nizam territorial gains if he allied forces with Mysore against the Carnatic. Haider Ali in 1767 took the offensive and attacked Arcot. The fight continued for over a year and the English suffered heavy losses.

Without warning, Haider Ali also appeared at the gates of Madras. The completely unprepared English were forced to sign a humiliating treaty on 4 April 1769. Both sides were to restore each other's territory and a defensive alliance requiring the English to help Haider Ali if he was attacked by another power. Both sides understood that this was just a truce as their interests were irreconcilable. Mysore's control over the pepper yielding regions of Malabar was unacceptable to the English as was Haider Ali's open friendship with the French.

3.8.3 The Second Anglo - Mysore War (1780-84)

The English had signed the Treaty of 1769 only to buy time. They had no intention of honouring its terms. Haider Ali accused the Company of not helping him when the Marathas attacked Mysore in 1771. Haider Ali also found the French more forthcoming and helpful in developing his military. The French had helped him in acquiring guns, lead and saltpetre. French military supplies were also entering Mysore through the port of Mahe.

The American war of Independence had begun and the French were helping the American colonists. This made Warren Hastings extremely suspicious of the relations between French and Haider Ali. The English attempt to capture Mahe in 1780, which Haider considered as being under his protection increased the tension between the two sides. Haider intercepted the English and arranged a joint front with the Nizam and Marathas.

Haider Ali prepared a joint front with the Nizam and Marathas on his side to wage war against the Company. In July 1780 Haider Ali invaded Arcot with at least 80,000 men and 100 guns and devastated the countryside.

He captured Arcot and defeated the English army under the command of Colonel William Bailey at Kanchipuram in September 1780. The English led by Warren Hastings succeeded in detaching the Nizam and Marathas from the side of Haider Ali. Sir Eyre Coote was entrusted with the task of defeating Haider. Haider remained undaunted and continued to fight the English, he was however defeated in July 1781 at Porto Novo, Pollilore in September and Solingar in October 1781. The following year Haider Ali inflicted a crushing defeat on the English under Colonel Braithwaite. Haider died on 7 December 1782, and the unfinished task of dealing with the English was inherited by his son Tipu Sultan. Tipu continued the war for another year. Both sides were exhausted and decided to negotiate for peace. The Treaty of Mangalore signed on 11 March 1784 brought about restitution of each other's territories and exchange of war prisoners. The second round of hostilities between the two sides proved inconclusive.

3.8.4 The Third Anglo - Mysore War (1790-92)

The British were determined to crush Tipu Sultan as they viewed him a threat. The peace treaty was regarded as only breathing time before launching another offensive. The Pitt's India Act of 1784 had proclaimed the policy of peace and non intervention so the Company was essentially in violation of the spirit of the document. Lord Cornwallis played on the anti-Tipu feelings of the Nizam and Marathas and formed an alliance with them. Like his father, Tipu put pressure on his neighbours- the Nizam and kingdoms in Malabar. His attack on the Company's trade interests in southern India made his intentions clear. In 1785 he declared an embargo on the export of pepper, sandal and cardamom through the ports of his kingdom and three years later forbade any commercial transactions with the English.

Tipu in the meantime realizing that war with the English was inevitable tried to get help from the turks and also send an appeal to the French king in 1787.

The conflict began when the Raja of Travancore purchased Jaikottai and Cranganore from the Dutch. The regions were part of the Cochin state which Tipu Sultan considered as his tributary state. In April 1790 Tipu attacked Travancore as he felt his sovereign right had been violated. The English who were looking for an opportunity to attack Tipu Sultan sided with the ruler of Travancore. Lord Cornwallis led a large army into Bangalore which was captured in March 1791. The English then turned towards Seringapatam. The English captured Coimbatore but lost it later. Supported by the Nizam and Marathas, a second attempt was made to capture Seringapatam. Tipu Sultan put up a stiff

resistance but was outnumbered. He sued for peace. In March 1792 the Treaty of Seringapatam was signed and Tipu Sultan lost almost half of his territory. Tipu also had to pay a war indemnity of over 3 crores of rupees.

By the Treaty of Seringapatam the Company acquired Dindigul, Baramahal, Salem and Malabar. The Marathas acquired territory in Tungabhadra and the Nizam was given territory from Krishna to the Pennar. The Treaty crippled Tipu Sultan. His revenue and resources were now much reduced.

3.8.5 The Fourth Anglo Mysore War (1799)

With Lord Wellesley being obsessed with the French menace and Tipu Sultan being a known French supporter the conflict between the two was just a matter of time. Wellesley was determined to tame Tipu Sultan and force him to sign the Subsidiary Alliance or wipe off his existence altogether. There were several charges against Tipu. He had been sending emissaries to Arabia, Afganistan, Constantinople and the French in Mauritius in a bid to get support against the English. Tipu had also been intriguing with the Nizam and the Marathas. The English attacked the Mysore kingdom in April 1799. Seringapatnam was captured on 4 May 1799. Tipu Sultan was killed in battle. The rest of his family were taken prisoners and kept at the Vellore fort. The entire sea coast of Mysore along with Kanara, Wynad, Dharpuram and Coimbatore were annexed. Some territories were given to the Nizam. A prince of the Wodeyar dynasty was placed on the throne of Mysore and Subsidiary Alliance was imposed. Thus the state of Mysore lost its independence.

After the death of Tipu Sultan, Mysore was divided into three parts. The former Hindu dynasty was re-established in the central region as a vassal state of the Company. The coastal territories of Canara were annexed by the Company. The territories to the north were ceded to the Nizam of Hyderabad. These arrangements were altered some years later when Hyderabad lost control over the regions offered.

3.8.6 Assessment of the Administration of Tipu Sultan

As was the norm of the age Tipu Sultan ruled like a despot, with all power concentrated in his hands. However he was a benevolent despot with a high sense of duty. He was devoted to working for the welfare of his subjects.

Tipu Sultan was zealous about improvement and innovation. He brought about a number of changes in the administration that he inherited

from his father. According to H.H Dodwell Tipu Sultan was the first Indian king to tried to apply western methods to his administration. Each department was placed under the charge of a chief assisted by a board of subordinate officers. Decisions were taken based on majority vote after discussion and each member had the right to dissent. The minutes of the meeting were recorded. The final decision on important matters lay with the king.

In Tipu's administration there was no position of a Wazir or Prime Minister. There were seven important departments, each headed by a Mir Asif, who was directly responsible to the king. The seven major departments were Revenue and Finance, Military Department, Commerce, Marine and the Treasury and Mint. There were several minor departments, some of them were Public Buildings Department, Post and Intelligence and Cattle Department. All these departments were under the central administration.

For effective provincial and local administration. Tipu initially divided his kingdom into seven provinces called AsafiTukri. The number of provinces was increased to 17. Each province had two important officials, the Asaf who was the civil governor and the Faujdar, who was the military governor. Each was meant to check the power of the other. Provinces were further divided into districts and then into villages. Local administration was in the hands of the Panchayat.

Tipu followed a similar land revenue system as Haider Ali, but he brought in more efficiency into the system. He discouraged the jagirdari system and wanted to establish a direct contact between the Government and the cultivator . Efforts were made to bring more land under cultivation. Loans were granted to peasants for purchasing ploughs and extending cultivation.

Tipu Sultan also took steps to develop foreign and inland trade and imposed tight government control. Realising the importance of trade with the Persian Gulf and Red Sea regions, he established commercial factors and stationed agents at Muscat, Ormuz, Jeddah, Aden and a few other places. He had plans of extending trade relations with Burma and China. A Commercial Board was inaugurated. Government declared monopoly on the trade of Betelnut, pepper, sandalwood, cardamom, gold and silver bullion, and export of elephants. Government had monopoly rights in purchasing sandalwood and pepper from farmers. Several factories were set up in the state of Mysore which engaged in the production of paper, silk fabrics, tools, sugar and handicrafts.

The circumstances forced Tipu Sultan to pay utmost attention to military administration. He raised and maintained an efficient force that was disciplined on the European model. He employed French officers to train and also had a French corps.

As an administrator and ruler Tipu Sultan earned praise of his adversaries. Sir John Shore commented that the peasantry of his kingdom were well protected and their labours encouraged and rewarded. English writers have commented on the prosperity and flourishing nature of Tipu's kingdoms. Tipu also won the loyalty and confidence of his troops. The discipline and fidelity displayed by Tipu's troops was noticed by the Europeans.

Tipu Sultan's religious fanaticism has been over-played. It is true that he attacked the Hindus in the Coorg and the Nairs but he also attacked the Muslim Moplahs when they defied his authority. The Sringeri letters reveal that in response to a request from the chief priest of Sringeritemple, Tipu provided funds for the repairs of the temple and installation of the image of the goddess destroyed in the Maratha raid of 1791. There is also no evidence to show that he interfered in the worship and devotional practices of several large temples in Seringapatam such as the Sri Ranganatha, the Narasimha and the Ganga-Dhariesvara.

Tipu Sultan was a fascinating personality who refused to kowtow to the English. He refused to accept a subordinate position to the Company and chose instead to stand his ground as an independent Indian ruler. It was his boldness and his resourcefulness that the Company feared and therefore he had to be eliminated. While Tipu did try to persevere against English imperialism the odds were stacked against him and he lost.

3.9 Sikh Wars

The Sikhs and the English engaged in a two phased conflict which led to the loss of independence of the Sikh kingdom carved out by Ranjit Singh. The rich and strategically important region of Punjab fell into the hands of the English on the conclusion of these wars. With the conquest of Punjab the circle of English domination was complete.

3.9.1 Rise of Ranjit Singh in Punjab

In the wake of the Mughal decline and the Afghan invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Punjab region witnessed anarchy and chaotic conditions.

While Abdali claimed dominion over Punjab, his governors apart from collecting revenue paid scant attention to the governance of the region. The weak successors of Abdali were not able to exercise any control over Punjab. The confused political conditions led to the rise of military brotherhoods among the Sikhs called the misls. Extensive territories in Punjab came under the control of the misls. There were 12 important misls and one of the important ones was Sukarchakia which controlled the territory between the rivers Ravi and Chenab.

It was to Mahan Singh the leader of Sukarchakiyamisl that Ranjit Singh was born on 2 November 1780. Ranjit Singh was a mere boy of 12 when his father died and the responsibility of governing the misl fell on him. Like Akbar, Ranjit Singh showed a grasp for politics at a tender age. From 1792 to 1797 he was assisted by a regency consisting of his mother, mother-in-law and Diwan Lakhpat Rai. In 1797 Ranjit Singh took over the reins of government on his own.

When Ranjit Singh assumed leadership most of the important misls were in a state of decline. Afghanistan was also embroiled in a civil war. He exploited the situation to his advantage and followed a policy of 'blood and iron' to extend his territories.

In 1798 when Zaman Shah Abdali had invaded Punjab he had sought the help of Ranjit Singh. In return for the help he authorized Ranjit Singh to occupy Lahore and rule it on behalf of the Afghans. Once in Lahore, Ranjit Singh lost no time in consolidating his position. He removed the powerful Bhangi Sirdars from Lahore and established himself in 1799. Emboldened by his capture of Lahore he turned his attention to Amritsar and captured it in 1805. The control over Lahore, the political capital of Punjab and Amritsar, the religious capital of Punjab greatly enhanced the authority of Ranjit Singh and over the next few years he expended his energy into capturing the entire region between the Sutlej and the Jhelum.

It became Ranjit Singh's ambition to bring the entire Sikh people under one kingdom. To achieve this objective he wanted to bring the Cis-Sutlej region under his control. He organized three expeditions. In 1806 he marched up to Patiala, exacted tribute from the ruler and captured several places. The Sikh chiefs of the Cis Sutlej region sought protection from the Company against Ranjit Singh. Metcalfe was sent to Lahore to urge Ranjit Singh to give up his claims on the region. Ranjit Singh refused to budge and led another invasion across the Sutlej capturing several regions. However by the Treaty of Amritsar

in 1809 Ranjit Singh accepted the East India Company's right over the Cis Sutlej region.

3.9.2 Ranjit Singh's Relations with the English

The creation of a Sikh state in Punjab by Ranjit Singh was viewed with mixed feelings by the English who were rather reluctant to confront him. They preferred to create an indirect alliance with him gaining his cooperation as a buffer state against French aggression through Persia and Afghanistan. Alarmed by the possibility of a joint Franco Russian invasion of India, Lord Minto in 1807 sent Charles Metcalfe to negotiate a friendly treaty with Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh accepted the proposal for an offensive and defensive alliance on the condition that the English would remain neutral in the event of a Sikh- Afghan war and recognize him as the sovereign of the Cis Sutlej region. The negotiations did not materialize because Metcalfe was not authorized to sanction Ranjit Singh's plans for the Cis Sutlej region.

It was Ranjit Singh's ambition to acquire the Cis Sutlej region that brought him into direct conflict with the East India Company. In 1808 a group of small principalities situated on the southern side of Sutlej requested the Company's protection against Ranjit Singh.

The danger of the Napoleonic attack receded with the outbreak of the Spanish revolt and the English were able to adopt a sterner stance against Ranjit Singh. An English army marched into Ludhiana and issued a proclamation that the Cis Sutlej states would be under British protection and any attempt by Ranjit Singh to extend his dominion would be resisted.

Ranjit Singh agreed to sign the Treaty of Amritsar on 25 April 1809 thereby giving up his claims to the Cis Sutlej region. The treaty recognized the protectorate of the Company in the area. Sutlej was fixed as the border between Punjab and the British. Ranjit Singh was not willing to risk the empire he created by waging war against the Company and chose instead to yield to the pressures of the English. In the rising tide of British imperialism he chose to remain inert instead of organizing a coalition against the English.

Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 changed the situation for the Company.

3.9.3 Administration Under Ranjit Singh

Despotism was the only known form of government in India at that age and Ranjit Singh's government was no exception. All political and civil authority was vested in the Maharaja. Ranjit Singh was a benevolent despot and had deep concern for the welfare of his people. He considered himself as the servant of the Sikh Commonwealth popularly called the Khalsa. He described his government as that of the Khalsa. Coins were struck in the name of Guru Nanak and Guru Gobind Singh.

There was a council of ministers who helped the Maharaja in the task of administration. The kingdom was divided into provinces under the charge of a Nazim. Provinces were sub divided into districts placed under the charge of a Kardar. Districts comprised of several villages governed by Panchayats.

Land revenue formed the main source of revenue. It was collected with much strictness. Depending on the fertility and yield of the soil the revenue varied from 33 to 40% of the produce. Ranjit Singh was anxious to safeguard interests of peasants and issued instructions to marching armies not to destroy or damage the crops. Sons of peasants were also given opportunities for employment.

The administration of justice was also rather simplistic. Local officers decided cases according to local custom. An Adalat-i-Ala was established at Lahore which probably listened to appeals from district and provincial courts. Excessive fines were imposed for crimes depending on the means of the offenders. Even for heinous crimes like murder one could get away by paying money.

Maximum care was accorded to military administration. Having carved out a huge empire through military might Ranjit Singh needed to maintain a strong army to guard his frontiers. Realizing that the weakness of Indian armies was irregular pay, poor training and equipment, Ranjit Singh spared no effort in building up a enviable fighting force. He recruited French officers to drill and discipline the troops. The artillery department was well developed, with manufacture of guns, shot and powder undertaken in the workshops at Lahore and Amritsar. The system of monthly payment of Mahadari was introduced. In 1835 estimates indicate that the army stood at 75,000 of which about 35,000 were fully trained and equipped troops.

A model army or Fauj-i-Khas was raised in 1822 by General Ventura and Allard. The brigade had its own emblem and French words of command were used. It had four battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry and an artillery wing headed by Ilahi Baksh. An interesting feature of Ranjit Singh's army was the employment of Europeans. At one point of time there were 39 foreign officers drawn from countries around the world. There were French, Germans, Greeks, Americans, Russians, Spaniards, English and Anglo-Indians. These officers were given many inducements to settle in Punjab and often rose to positions of power and authority. For instance General Ventura served as Governor of Derajat and Mr. Avitable was made Governor of Peshawar.

3.9.4 Estimate of Ranjit Singh

Ranjit Singh was a fascinating personality in Indian History. Though he was physically ugly he had a vibrant and attractive personality. Baron Von Hugel described him as the most ugly and unprepossessing man he saw throughout Punjab. He was blind in one eye and had a face pitted with pockmarks. Ranjit Singh was loved by the people of Punjab, Hindus and Muslims alike. While he was a devout Sikh, he showed respect for learned men of all religions. It is said that he once wiped the dusty feet of a Muslim mendicant with his long beard.

Brave and energetic he led his battles from the front. He was well versed in the arts of warfare and took care to plan his battles in advance. He has been compared to Napoleon Bonaparte. While he used Machiavellian means to achieve his objectives he was never cruel or bloodthirsty and treated the vanquished with kindness.

As a ruler he showed concern for the welfare of his people and took steps to safeguard their interests and protect them from official oppression. A box of for grievances was placed at the entrance to the palace and it is said that he personally looked into the complaints. He made regular visits around his empire to acquaint himself with the state of affairs.

Ranjit Singh however was far from being a far-sighted ruler. Administration was so centralized in his hands that within a year of his untimely death the superstructure began to crumble. He did not train his sons in the art of kingship. Moreover though he was aware of the expansionist policies of the British and that they were surrounding his kingdom he did not attempt to check them. He left the task of fighting the English to his incompetent successors.

Despite his flaws Ranjit Singh still occupies the position of a hero in Punjab. He freed Punjab from the Afghans and united the numerous petty states giving Punjab an independent and prosperous empire.

3.9.5 Punjab after Ranjit Singh

Ranjit Singh no doubt had been a charismatic personality with a lot of achievements to his credit, however he failed to establish a stable empire. There was a complete void after his death and his empire began to crumble. He had established a huge standing army the upkeep of which was expensive. After his death his weak successors were not able to pay the army and it went out of control. The Khalsa army became a powerful presence in the politics of Punjab. They interfered in the politics and bargained with the royal claimants to the throne for salary increase. They formed their own advisory councils which decided whether to fight a campaign or not. The army assumed the role of king makers and overshadowed the civil authority. The incapable sons of Ranjit Singh were in no position to prevent the downslide of the government. It has been stated that the history of Punjab in the years following the death of Ranjit Singh was a history of intrigues and counter intrigues, murders, assassinations, desertions and treachery- all undermining the stability of the state.

In June 1859 Ranjit Singh died of a paralytic stroke. His weak son Kharak Singh ascended the throne. Addicted to opium and an unsavory lifestyle, he was totally incapable of administering a huge empire. Power shifted into the hands of the various factions in court. There were two dominant factions- the Sindanwaliya Sirdars and the Dogras. The tussle for power between these two groups created anarchy and confusion. Murders became a common occurrence. Kharak Singh was imprisoned and his son Naonihal Singh was placed on the throne. He proved quite capable and soon restored law and order. He was able to crush rebels and keep the political groups under control. But in November 1840 while returning from the funeral of his father Kharak Singh, the archway of the Lahore fort fell on the young king and he died.

Once again the contest between the rival factions as king makers began. There were several claimants. The Dogras supported the claim of Sher Singh another son of Ranjit Singh and he was placed on the throne in January 1841. Dogra Dhian Singh became the wazir. The Sindanwaliyas sought help from the English. In a bid to reconcile them, the Sindhanwaliyas were invited to court and favours were bestowed on them. In September

1843 Ajit Singh Sindanwaliya treacherously killed the Maharaja and Dhian Singh the wazir. Dhian Singh's son Hira Singh obtained the support of the army on promises to increase their wages. Sindhanwaliya leaders Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh were put to death.

In September 1843 Dileep Singh a minor son of Ranjit Singh was placed on the throne with his mother Rani Jindan as regent and Hira Singh Dogra was the wazir. Hira Singh also became a victim of intrigue and was murdered in December 1844. Jawahar Singh the brother of Rani Jindan was the new wazir but he soon incurred the anger of the army and was put to death in September 1845. Lal Singh, a lover of Rani Jindan, who enjoyed the support of the army, became the new wazir, with his close friend Teja Singh as the new commander-in-chief of the army.

3.9.6. The First Anglo-Sikh War 1845-46

The anarchy and confusion in Punjab was sweet music to the ears of the Company for they were impatient to cast their greedy net over the fertile plains of the Punjab and the opportunity seemed ripe. The failure of the Afghan adventure had lowered the prestige of the English and they were keen on making a comeback by taming Punjab. Many English leaders considered the annexation of Punjab as just a matter of time.

Lord Hardinge became the Governor General in 1844. A soldier of great repute, he wasted no time in strengthening the Company's military might. The size of the Company's army in Punjab was increased to 32,000 soldiers, with 68 artillery guns. Arrangements were also made for a reserve force of 10,000 soldiers at Meerut. 57 boats were brought from Bombay to make pontoon bridges over the river Sutlej. The Sikh army on the other side of the Sutlej were watching the military preparations and was growing restive.

In 1843 Major Broadfoot was appointed as the Company's agent in Ludhiana. He was ill-tempered and arrogant and his presence made relations between the English and Sikhs worsen. His high handedness and interference caused concern at the royal court in Lahore.

Taking matters into their own hands the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej between Hariki and Kasur on 11 December 1845 and attacked the English troops. The English declared war and led by Sir Hugh Gough the battles began in earnest. Four battles were fought at Mudki, Ferozeshah, Buddewal and Aliwal. Both sides were strong and the battles were indecisive. In the meantime Rani Jindan and Lal Singh, who had been finding it difficult to

control the Khalsa army played the traitors. They assumed a defeat at the hands of the Company would put the army in its place and they would be able to get help from the English to consolidate their own position in Punjab.

The final Battle was fought at Sobroan on 10 February 1846. The traitors Lal Singh and Teja Singh had provided details of the trenches and other battle plans to the English. The Sikh troops were massacred in large numbers. The English army crossed the river Sutlej and occupied Lahore.

The first Sikh war had been a bloody conflict as the Sikhs were formidable warriors. Their army had been composed of about 70,000 regular troops and about 40,000 irregular ones. They displayed courage and valour, it was only because of betrayal that made the task of the English easier.

3.9.7 Treaty of Lahore 9 March 1846

The terms of the treaty were as follows:

- a. Maharaja Dileep Singh renounced all claims to the territories lying south of the river Sutlej.
- b. The Maharaja ceded to the Company in perpetual sovereignty all his forts, territory and rights in the Doab between rivers Beas and Sutlej.
- c. Company demanded a war indemnity of Rs. 1 ½ crores. Since the Lahore durbar was unable to pay the amount demanded, they had to cede in perpetuity hill forts, territories in hill countries situated between Beas and Indus, including the provinces of Kashmir and Hazarah. The remaining Rs. 50 lakhs, the durbar agreed to pay on or before the ratification of the treaty.
- d. The mutinous troops were to be disbanded. The regular army was restricted to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry.
- e. The Maharaja agreed not to employ any European without the consent of the British Government. Free passes were to be given to British troops throughout Lahore.
- f. Minor Dileep Singh was recognized as Maharaja, with Rani Jindan as Regent and Lal Singh as Wazir.
- g. Sir Henry Lawrence was selected as British Resident at Lahore.
- h. The Company would not interfere in the internal administration of the Lahore state.

On 11 March 1846 a supplementary treaty was signed. At the request of Lal Singh and other leaders, a British force was to be stationed at Lahore for the protection of the Maharaja and citizens of Lahore. The expenses for the same would be paid for by the Lahore durbar. This marked the first stage of Punjab's loss of independence. A part of Punjab was incorporated into Company's territory. Kashmir was attached to Jammu as a form of semi-independent state under Raja Gulab Singh as a reward for his allegiance.

3.9.8 The Second Anglo Sikh War 1848-49

Rani Jindan and Lal Singh were soon disillusioned after the Treaty of Lahore. They began to find the control and interference of the Resident galling. When the Resident insisted that Kashmir should be surrendered to Raja Gulab Singh, Lal Singh instigated Imam-ud-Din the Governor to resist. British troops were sent to capture Kashmir. Lal Singh was charged with duplicity and exiled from Punjab. The administration of Punjab was entrusted to a council of Regency comprising of Teja Singh, Sher Singh, Fakir Nur-ud-Din and Dina Nath.

As 1846 was drawing to a close the question of withdrawal of the Company's troops came up. The Resident urged influential members of the court to request for the continuation of the troops as the Maharaja was still a minor. A combination of rewards and threats were used to obtain the consent to enforce the request.

A new treaty was signed on 22 December 1846 at Bhyrowal. The English troops were to be stationed at Lahore and an annual sum of Rs. 22 lakhs was to be paid towards their upkeep. During the minority of the Maharaja which would last till 1854 the administration was to be in the hands of the British Resident assisted by a Council of eight chiefs.

By this treaty the British Resident became the virtual ruler of Punjab with extensive civil and military powers. Rani Jindan angered by the turn of events refused to co-operate with the Resident. Her influence was deemed to be bad for the young Maharaj and she was sent away to a place called Sheikhpora on an annual allowance of 48,000 per annum.

In January 1848 Lord Hardinge was succeeded by Lord Dalhousie as Governor General. A complete imperialist at heart he was determined to use every possible opportunity to capture territories and advance the

power of the Company. Lord Dalhousie got his opportunity to interfere in Punjab, when two governors in Punjab revolted.

The immediate cause of the second round of conflict was the revolt of two Sikh governors, Diwan Mul Raj of Multan and Sardar Chattar Singh Atariwala and his son Raja Sher Singh of Haripur. On the suggestion of the British Resident, the Governor of Multan, Mul Raj was asked to pay Rs. Twenty lakhs as Nazrana to the Lahore court in 1846. He was also ordered to surrender all land north of the river Ravi to the Lahore Durbar. In addition the revenue dues from Multan were raised by $\frac{1}{3}$. Perplexed and dismayed by the unreasonable demands Mulraj tendered his resignation in December 1847. Mulraj was asked to continue till an alternative person could be chosen.

In March 1848 Frederick Currie took over as the new British Resident and he chose Kahan Singh Mann as the new Governor of Multan on a salary of Rs.30,000/- Two British officers Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson accompanied the new governor to help him in the take over. The arrogant and rude behavior of the two officers caused much anger in Multan. The people rallied around Mulraj and compelled him to rise in rebellion. The two British officers were murdered. The rise of the rebellion in Multan ignited the rest of Punjab and the anger against the Company's interference and a desperate attempt was made to get rid of the English from Punjab.

It was just the opportunity Lord Dalhousie needed to wage war against Punjab. A large English army commanded by Lord Gough in November 1848 began to attack the rebelling troops. Initially the Sikhs seemed to have the upperhand. An indecisive battle was fought at Ramnagar (November 1848). Multan was captured in January 1849 and a few weeks later the Sikhs suffered another setback at Chillianwala (January 1849) the British suffered reverses too. The final decisive battle was fought at Gujrat, the Sikh army was totally routed and Punjab lay prostrate at the feet of the Company.

Lord Dalhousie had three options. He could revert to Status Quo with greater British control over the minor Maharaja. He could annex Multan and punish Mul Raj and other rebel leaders or he could annex the whole of Punjab. He was convinced that maintaining a sham royalty would only be a breeding ground for intrigue so he took the decision to outright annex Punjab. On 29 March 1849, Maharaja Dilip Singh signed the doctrine of annexation and Punjab was made a province of the English.

On March 29 1849 the Governor General's proclamation ran thus: "The kingdom of Punjab is at an end and that all the territories of Maharaja Dileep Singh are now, and henceforth, a portion of the British Empire in India." Dileep Singh was given a pension of 50,000 pounds per annum and was sent to England for education. Administration of Punjab was placed under a Board of Commissioners.

Major Evans Bell described the annexation of Punjab as a breach of trust. After the Treaty of Bhyrowal the British Resident exercised all control in the name of the minor Maharaja. It was the Company's duty to crush any rebellion and protect the interests of the Maharaja. Instead, they used the rebellion as an excuse to deprive Dileep Singh of his kingdom.

3.10 Doctrine of Lapse

3.10.1 Lord Dalhousie and the Doctrine of Lapse

Lord Dalhousie also known as the Earl of Dalhousie succeeded Lord Hardinge as the Governor General of India in 1848. Dalhousie had earned a reputation for mastery of details and capacity for work and before his stint as governor general served as President of the Board of Trade in the Ministry. The British regard him as one of the greatest Indian Governor Generals and during his eight year tenure the British empire in India grew to great prominence. By the time he left for England in 1857 the Company Raj appeared unshakeable and extensive. It had annexed 63 percent of the territory in the sub continent and brought under its authority 78 percent of the population.

Lord Dalhousie did not lose a single opportunity to annex more and more kingdoms thereby extending England's empire in India. He used both force and other means to bring kingdoms under his control. His annexations can be categorized as annexations by war and annexations by peace.

3.10.2 Annexations by War

These refer to the places Dalhousie captured through conquest. The places that he conquered through war are Punjab, Pegu and Sikkim.

Second Sikh war and the annexation of Punjab 1849- The problems began when the Governor of Multan Mul Raj was asked to pay Rs. 20 lakhs to the Lahore durbar apart from ceding territory and increased revenue demands. The Governor was replaced. The high handed behavior of the

English officers caused much resentment and the people rallied around Mulraj urging him to rebel. Mul Raj rose in rebellion and it was a trigger for similar uprisings against the Company.

Annexation of Lower Burma or Pegu 1852- Following the Treaty of Yandaboo 1826 a large number of British merchants had settled in the southern coast of Burma and Rangoon. These traders often complained that they were being ill treated by the Governor of Rangoon. Two British officers were charged heavy fines for some allegation against them. The merchants appealed to Dalhousie to intervene. Dalhousie was more than happy to oblige and on the contention that English prestige and dignity had to be protected at all costs. Warships were dispatched to Rangoon to demand the redressal of grievances. Commodore Lambert who was heading the mission captured one of the king's ships. War began and as was to be expected the Company won the day without much effort.

Dalhousie had already decided to annex Lower Burma because of the threatening advance of France and America on the Eastern seas. He issued a proclamation on 20 December 1852 annexing Pegu. Dalhousie justified the extreme step on the grounds of an expedient policy.

Annexation of Sikkim- Sikkim was a small state located between Nepal and Bhutan. The Raja of Sikkim was accused of the maltreatment and imprisonment of two English doctors. In 1850 the outlying districts of Sikkim were annexed including Darjeeling.

3.10.3 Annexations by Peace- Doctrine of Lapse

Lord Dalhousie's greatest contribution to the process of consolidating English power in India was the Doctrine of Lapse. Some important Indian states were annexed by enforcing the Doctrine. Dalhousie had declared that his intention was to dispossess Indian rulers who pretended to be descendants of the Mughals. He was also convinced that India should be free of sham royalties for it caused misery to the people. According to Dalhousie there were three categories of Hindu states in India.

- States that were not tributary and had never been subordinate to a paramount power.
- Hindu rulers and chiefs who had become subordinate to the Company in place of the Mughal Emperor or the Peshwa.
- Hindu states that had been created or revived by the sanads or grants of the British Government.

While reviewing his policy in 1854, Dalhousie stated that in the first category of states, the Company has no right to interfere in their adoptions. In the second category rulers require the assent of the British for adoption which could be refused. In the third category of states succession should not be allowed through adoption.

Following the decline of the Mughal power and the defeat of the Marathas the English Company had assumed the status of a supreme authority it was a wise and good policy to acquire more territory whenever the opportunity presented itself. One such opportunity was when there was no natural heir to category two and three states.

Dalhousie recognized the right of the adopted son to succeed to the personal property. He however stated that a distinction had to be drawn between the succession to private property and succession to the throne. For succession to the throne sanction of the paramount power (The Company) was necessary. The paramount power reserved the right of refusal of adoption for states of category 2 and 3. In these cases the state would be passed back or "lapsed" to the paramount power.

The Doctrine of Lapse was not invented by Dalhousie. As early as 1834 the Court of Directors had directed that in cases where linear succession failed, the permission to adopt was to be an exception rather than a rule. Adoption was to be granted only as a favour. In 1841, the home authorities made it clear that whenever the opportunity arose the Doctrine of Lapse was to be pursued. Based on the Doctrine of Lapse Mandavi was annexed in 1839, Kolaba and Jalaun in 1840. The title of Nawab of Surat was abolished in 1842.

Though the Doctrine of Lapse existed before Lord Dalhousie's tenure as Governor General, his name is associated with it because he used every opportunity to increase the territories of the East India Company using the Doctrine of Lapse. His predecessors had acted on the principle of avoiding annexations whenever possible while Dalhousie worked on the principle of annexing wherever he could legitimately do so. The states that were annexed by Dalhousie using the Doctrine of Lapse were Satara in 1848, Jaitpur and Sambhalpur in 1849, Bagat in 1850, Udaipur in 1852, Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854.

Satara- In 1848 the Raja of Satara, Appa Sahib died without having a natural heir. A few days prior to his death he had adopted a son but without the consent of the Company. Lord Hastings in 1818 after having

defeated the Maratha power and given Satara to Pratap Singh, who was an heir to the House of Shivaji. In 1839 Pratap Singh was deposed and replaced by his brother Appa Sahib. As a dependent principality Dalhousie felt justified in annexing the state.

Sambhalpur- The ruler of Sambhalpur, Raja Narayan Singh died without adopting an heir. The state was annexed in 1849.

Jhansi- The ruler of Jhansi was originally a vassal of the Peshwa. After the defeat of Baji Rao II IN 1818, Lord Hastings had conferred Jhansi on Rao Ramchand and his successors on terms of subordinate co-operation. Ramchand died in 1835 and the Company recognized a grand-uncle Raghunath Rao as the successor. After the ruler's death another successor Gangadhar Rao was recognized in 1838. In November 1853 Gangadhar Rao died without an heir. The claims of the adopted son were disregarded and the state was annexed.

Nagpur- In 1817 Lord Hastings had recognized an infant descendant of the Bhonsle family Raghuji III as the ruler. Sir Richard Jenkins, the British Resident had been the Regent till 1830, when the ruler became an adult. The ruler died in 1853 without adopting an heir. The queen had adopted a child but the claims were not accepted. The Company claimed that the personal possessions of the ruler had been purchased through state revenue and were at the disposal of the government. The jewels and furniture of the Bhonsle palace was placed on auction.

3.10.4 Abolition of Titles and Pensions

Dalhousie was also instrumental in the abolition of several titles and pensions. In 1853 the Nawab of Carnatic died. Dalhousie refused to confer the title of successor on anyone and had the title abolished. The decision was reversed in 1867. In 1855 the Raja of Tanjore died and the title was abolished. Dalhousie also had plans of abolishing the title of Mughal emperor after the death of Bahadur Shah II. He had wanted to abolish the pension to the Mughal emperor of 12 million rupees per annum but it was approved by the Court of Directors. Peshwa Baji Rao II had been paid a pension of eight lakh rupees per annum. After his death it was decided that the pension would not be given to his adopted son Nana Sahib.

Berar- The Nizam of Hyderabad was unable to remit payments for the subsidiary force stationed at Hyderabad. He soon fell into arrears and became hugely in debt to the Company. In 1853 after pressure from

the Company to pay up his dues he was forced to cede the territory of Berar and adjoining districts. The region was a cotton producing area and yielded a revenue of about 50 lakh rupees.

Avadh- The contact between the Nawab of Avadh and the British occurred in 1765. The Nawab of Avadh allied with Mir Kasim of Bengal against the Company. The alliance was defeated. Robert Clive decided not to annex Avadh but the Nawab was forced to give Kora and Allahabad. In 1801 Wellesley made the Nawab part with half of his dominions consisting of Rohilkhand and Lower Doab. The Nawab over the years had become totally dependent to the English for defense of his empire and maintenance of law and order. He turned a blind eye to the welfare of his people who were suffering under the combined misrule of his officers and the trade agents of the Company.

William Bentinck who was the most humane among the English Governor Generals send a warning to the Nawab asking him to improve his administration. Even when the Court of Directors instructed him to take over the administration, Bentinck refused to annex Avadh. In 1847 Lord Hardinge had send another warning to the Nawab.

The main excuse for the annexation of Avadh was misrule. The Company completely ignored the fact that the main cause of misrule was because of the interference of the English. Dalhousie skillfully orchestrated the annexation of Avadh. He sent special officers to investigate and based on their reports influenced the Home authorities to push for annexation. Based on the exaggerated reports the Court of Directors also gave their approval for annexation. Nawab Wajid Ali was asked to abdicate but he refused. On February 13, 1856 a proclamation was issued and Avadh was annexed.

3.10.5 Estimate of the Doctrine of Lapse

Even while the British domination in India was growing the Company had repeatedly claimed that the rights and privileges of Indians and their laws, customs and prejudices would be respected. The right of adoption was a time honoured custom in India. Rulers subordinate to the Mughals or Marathas had obtained the right of succession by paying a nazrana or succession duty.

Dalhousie has been criticized for his annexationist tendencies and the Doctrine of Lapse has been described as the lapse of morals. Dalhousie's actions instilled fear in the minds of native rulers and it was one of the reasons for the Revolt of 1857.

3.10.6 Reforms Introduced by Lord Dalhousie

Lord Dalhousie was known for introducing several reforms impacting virtually every branch of administration. He took every conceivable step in consolidating the gains of the East India Company. To ensure that the Governor General had the time to take care of larger responsibilities, a Lieutenant Governor was appointed for Bengal. Newly acquired territories were placed under a Commissioner who directly reported to the Governor General. This was called the Non Regulation system.

Military reforms- The territory under the Company had grown enormously. The dreams of an Asiatic empire had been realized. To control an empire of this size required strategy and planning. The headquarters of the artillery was shifted from Bengal to Meerut. The permanent headquarters of the army was shifted to Shimla. The process was shifting was completed by 1865. Shimla became the seat of governance for a large part of the year.

During the Anglo Sikh war Dalhousie realized that the higher percentage of Indian soldiers in the Company's army was a source of danger. He proposed the reduction of the Indian soldiers. Despite the reduction that was carried out, in 1856 there were 2,23,000 Indian sepoys as against 45,000 European soldiers. He convinced the home authorities that the European element in the army should be increased and three regiments were added to the force. A new force called the "Irregular Force" was created and placed under the direct control of the Punjab administration and new Gorkha regiments were also raised. These regiments were of great help to the British during the revolt of 1857.

Educational Reforms - Lord Dalhousie was also instrumental in introducing reforms for education. For the North Western provinces a system of education called the Thomasonian system was introduced in 1853. Efforts were made to introduce changes in the systems being followed in Bengal, Punjab, Madras and Bombay.

In July 1854, Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control presented his education dispatch to the Government of India. It was a detailed and comprehensive draft envisioning education from the primary level to the University. The Charles Wood's dispatch came to be regarded as the Magna Carta of English education in India and laid the foundations of the modern education system in India. The dispatch recommended the setting up of Anglo-Vernacular schools at the district

level, Government college of a higher grade in important towns and a University in each of the three presidencies in India, namely Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Chairs were to be created for the instruction in Law and civil Engineering. The first three universities in India came into being in 1857. Grants-in-aid were to be given to voluntary efforts in establishing schools and colleges. A Director of Public Instruction was to be appointed in each province. They were to help inspectors in organizing and controlling education at levels lower than that of the university.

Teaching was to be in both vernacular and English. Vernacular medium was to be followed at the lower level and English in colleges and universities. An Engineering college was established at Roorkee.

Development of Railways- Dalhousie planned the establishment of strategically placed railway lines to facilitate internal communication to improve the defence of India. The Railway Minutes of 1853 laid the foundation of future railroad expansion in India. In 1853 a railway line was laid connecting Bombay with Thane. In 1854 Calcutta was connected to the coal fields of Raniganj and Madras was connected to Arcot. By 1856 several routes had been surveyed and constructed.

The railway lines in India were built by private enterprise and not out of the Government Exchequer. The railway project in India provided English capital and enterprise much scope for development. In subsequent years railway lines were constructed mostly by public companies under a system of 'Government guarantee.'

The Telegraph- Dalhousie was also responsible for the introduction of the electric telegraph in India. He appointed O Shanghnessy as the superintendent of the electric telegraph department in 1852. Nearly 4000 miles of telegraph lines were constructed. It connected Calcutta, Peshawar, Bombay, Madras and other parts of the country. The telegraph lines played a crucial role in the suppression of the revolt of 1857.

Postal reforms- The foundations of the modern postal system was laid by Dalhousie. An expert commission was appointed which led to the creation of the Post Office Act in 1854. A Director General was appointed to supervise the work of post offices in the Presidencies. A uniform rate of half an anna per letter was levied irrespective of the distance it was to be sent. Postage stamps were introduced. The post office which had been a drain on the treasury began to earn revenue thanks to the reforms.

Public Works Department- Prior to the time of Dalhousie, public works was part of the responsibility of the Military board. Dalhousie initiated a separate department and funds were allocated on works of public utility. Building of irrigation canals was launched on a massive scale. By April 8, 1854 the Ganges canal was opened. Extensive projects to build bridges and

3.11 Let us Sum Up

Unit three is a rather long lesson as it evaluates how the English trading Company challenged the authority of the regional powers that had emerged in the wake of the fall of the Mughal empire. Using a combination of intrigue and military power the Company was systematically able to defeat and annihilate Indian rulers who posed a threat to their rising power. Through incessant wars and strategies like the Subsidiary alliance and Doctrine of Lapse they reduced Indian states to a position of dependency and subservience. The conquest of Bengal provided the much needed resources to fund its imperial ambitions. The wealth of Bengal was used to equip a large army and wage wars against regional powers. Through the Carnatic Wars the English put an end to the competition and threat they faced from the French. Through the Maratha, Mysore and Sikh wars the English wiped out the threat from India's biggest powers of 18th century.

3.12 Key Words

Subsidiary Alliance, Doctrine of Lapse, Ranjit Singh, Haider Ali, Tipu Sultan, Lord Wellesley, Lord Dalhousie, Pindaris, Plassey, Buxar, Siraj-ud-Daula, Mir Jaffer, Mir Qasim, Robert Clive, Arcot, Murshidabad, Peshwa, Sindhia

3.13 Time to Self Assess

I Choose the correct option

- The immediate cause of the first Carnatic war was

a. Stubbornness of Dupleix	c. Capture of Karaikal by English
b. Austrian War of Succession	d. Seven years war
- The officer who arrived to assist Dupleix during the Anglo French war was

a. Barnett	c. La Bourdonnais
b. Godeheu	d. Marshall Fernao Coutinho

3. ----- was killed during the Battle of Ambur in August 1750.
 - a. Anwar-ud-Din
 - b. Alivardi Khan
 - c. Chanda Sahib
 - d. Nasir Jang
4. In 1750----- was appointed as Governor of all Mughal territory south of the river Krishna.
 - a. Lord Dalhousie
 - b. Robert Clive
 - c. Joseph F Dupleix
 - d. Lord Wellesley
5. The battle that inflicted a crushing defeat and doomed the French cause in India was
 - a. Buxor
 - b. Wandiwash
 - c. Collachal
 - d. Tilsit

II Match the following

- | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. First Carnatic War | a. Treaty of Pondicherry |
| 2. Second Carnatic War | b. Battle of Santhome |
| 3. Third Carnatic War | c. Count de Lally |
| 4. Aix-la-Chappelle | d. Siege of Arcot |
| 5. Godeheu | e. Madras returned to the British |

III Fill in the Blanks (Conquest of Bengal)

1. ----- issued a firman which granted the English East India Company free trade in Bengal for an annual rent of Rs.3000/-
2. In 1756 the troops of Siraj-ud-Daula stormed and captured the fort called-----
3. By the Treaty of ----- in February 1757, the English were restored their trading rights and factories in Bengal.
4. English traders were issued pass chits called ----- -- which allowed them free trade in Bengal.
5. The Treaty of Allahabad in 1765 was signed between the English and Nawab -----

IV State whether True or False

1. The Subsidiary Alliance exposed the British to the menace of Napoleonic wars.

2. Joseph F Dupleix was the first to lend European troops to Indian rulers for a price.
3. According to the Subsidiary Alliance, the Company would not interfere in the internal matters of the state.
4. The state of Bidar was a signatory of the Subsidiary Alliance.
5. The Subsidiary Alliance proved to be an advantage to Indian states as their military needs were taken care of.

V Answer the following in about 100 words.

1. Prepare a list of the English ambassadors to the Mughal court.
2. List out the English factories in India.
3. Explain the Black Hole Tragedy.
4. Write a note on the battle of Plassey.
15. Write a note on the battle of Buxor.

VI Complete the word puzzle

1. The first Portuguese to come to India was V- S--- DA -AM--.
2. Goa was established as headquarters during the governorship of ----LF-----SO DE ---BUR-----
3. The Nawab defeated in the battle of Buxor was M----- QA-----
4. This Nawab is called Robert Clive's Jackal M----- ----FF----
5. Tranquebar was the main settlement of the D-----H.
6. The English fort at Calcutta was called F-----T -----LLI----

VII Choose the correct answer (Conquest of Bengal)

1. Nawab Alivardi Khan was succeeded by his grandson

a. Shaukat Jang	c. Siraj-ud- Daula
b. Mir Jaffar	d. Mir Madan
2. English prisoners dying of suffocation and thirst in a tiny prison room is referred to as

a. Black Night tragedy	c. Bitter Night incident
b. Black hole tragedy	d. Blue Water tragedy

3. The Nawab of Bengal who transferred his capital from Murshidabad to Mongyr was
 - a. Siraj-ud-Daula
 - b. Mir Jaffar
 - c. Mir Madan
 - d. Mir Qasim
4. Who among the following did not participate in the battle of Buxor?
 - a. Mir Qasim
 - b. Shah Alam II
 - c. Shuja-ud-Daula
 - d. Nazm-ud-Daula
5. Which of the following is not an English fort?
 - a. Fort William
 - b. Fort Manuel
 - c. Fort St David
 - d. Fort Angelo

VIII Answer the following Questions in about 750 words

1. Critically analyse the victory of the English in the Carnatic wars.
2. Evaluate the conquest of Bengal by the Company and its impact.
3. Highlight how the Subsidiary Alliance proved to be a great disadvantage for the Indian states that joined.
4. Discuss the Anglo-Maratha wars and its outcome. How was the Maratha confederacy destroyed?
5. How was the Challenge posed by Haider Ali responded to by the Company?
6. Discuss the Sikh wars and the annexation of Punjab.
7. The Doctrine of Lapse was the lapse of all morals. Discuss.

3.14 References

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UNIT - IV**Lesson 4.1 - Colonial Construction of India****Structure**

- 4.1 Learning Objectives
- 4.2 Introduction
- 4.3 Colonial construction of India
- 4.4 Administrative Structure and Policies under the East India Company
 - 4.4.1 The Home Government
 - 4.4.2 The Government of India
 - 4.4.3 Financial and Revenue Administration
 - 4.4.4 An Overview of the Administrative Structure
 - 4.4.5 Changes in Economic Policy
 - 4.4.6 Social Legislation and Educational policy
 - 4.4.7 Changes in Education Policy
- 4.5 Land Revenue settlements
 - 4.5.1 Zamindari System
 - 4.5.2 Ryotwari System
 - 4.5.3 Mahalwari System
 - 4.5.4 Impact of Land Revenue System
- 4.6 Introduction of Western education and its impact
 - 4.6.1 Anglo-Oriental debate
 - 4.6.2 Wood's Despatch of 1854
- 4.7 Religious Reform
 - 4.7.1 Brahmo Samaj
- 4.8 Social Legislations
 - 4.8.1 Abolition of Sati
 - 4.8.2 Widow Remarriage Act
 - 4.8.3 Infanticide, Child Marriage and Women's education
- 4.9 Let us sum up
- 4.10 keywords

4.11 Self assessment

4.12 References

4.1 Learning Objectives

- To help students learn about the administrative and economic experiments carried out by the English East India Company in India.
- To enable students to comprehend the impact of modern education and social reform.

4.2 Introduction

Unit four deals with the structures established by the English in order to govern the territories they acquired in India. As the Company transformed for purely commercial and trading functions to that of political functions many changes were introduced to deal with the shift. The British Parliament from 1773 with the Regulating Act began to regulate the functions of the Company and ensure transparency and honest governance. With the Pitt's India Act and subsequent Charter Acts, Government of India Acts changes were incorporated to improve the functioning of the Indian Governance. From the obtainment of diwani rights in Bengal the political authority of the Company kept evolving and needed to be regulated and checked.

4.3 Colonial Construction of India

The Creation of the Company Raj was the outcome of a long process that involved evolution and experimentation. The Company transformed from a trading entity to a political entity a process that was far from easy. Regulation of Company affairs became a matter of priority for the British Parliament when the Company gained the right to collect taxes or diwani. Though the need was not felt to exert direct control as yet. As the affairs of the Company transpired from only commerce to political sovereignty, they adopted measures to defend, govern and exploit the growing empire.

It had to consider an ideology to rule. It had to devise systems of administration, revenue collection, establish law and order and social management.

4.4 Administrative Structure and Policies Under the East India Company

The history of the Company's development can be classified into three periods- 1. From the beginning of 17th century to 1765- during this time the Company was totally dependent on the Indian powers and had to deal with rivalry with other trading companies. 2. From 1765 to 1858 the Company acquired a lot of territory, became a sovereign power, shared its sovereignty with the British crown and gradually lost its mercantile privileges and powers. 3. During the third phase starting 1858 the remaining powers of the East India Company were transferred to the Crown.

The English East India Company merchants had to come to India for trade. The obvious motive was earning maximum profits. They however faced stiff competition from the Dutch and French East India Companies. They waged wars against the Dutch and French and eventually emerged victorious. The English East India Company acquired virtual monopoly over India's foreign trade. Their next objective was to become a political power so that they could control and direct the economy of India and use it for maximizing their profits.

As the Company transformed from a purely commercial body into a political one, there was a felt need to evolve a suitable system of administration. Since it could not evolve in a vacuum, the Company had to accept the existing Indian administrative structures and gradually introduce changes.

As the British became the paramount power in India, the intellectual currents and administrative structures did impact the administrative system. The ideas of 'Utilitarianism' as propounded by Jeremy Bentham, David Ricardo and J.S Mill had become popular and found acceptance. Utilitarian ideas on how to govern and control India especially in matters dealing with forms of government, taxation, administration of justice were incorporated into the administration of India. Several administrators were also enthused with the evangelical missionary zeal. The interests of the British merchants and manufacturers also impacted the administration. As the Industrial Revolution gathered momentum in England, the British industrialists lobby demanded a market for their industrial products and regarded India as a source of supply for raw materials like cotton and jute. Opium and food products were also exported for profits. The British felt the need to penetrate deeper into the Indian economy and control Indian trade. All this necessitated

drastic changes in the administration and legal matters. Britain continued to make changes to the structure of administration even after 1858 when India came under direct rule of the crown.

From time to time changes in the entire structure of the Company consisting of the Home Government in London, the Government in India, The structure of the civil service, judicial administration, financial and revenue administration were introduced to gain the maximum economic benefits from India.

4.4.1 The Home Government

The Home Government was located in London and it managed the administrative matters of the Company. It was managed by a committee of 24 Directors , who were called the Court of Directors. The directors were elected annually by a body of share-holders popularly known as the Court of Proprietors. From within the Court of Directors several smaller committees were formed which carried out the day to day activities. The powers and privileges of the Company were first confirmed and increased, later with growing allegations of mismanagement and corruption , the powers were supervised and regulated and later curtailed by successive acts of Parliament.

4.4.2 The Government of India

The Company's authority in India was derived partly from the British Crown and Parliament and partly from the Mughals and other Indian rulers. Various charters and legislations ranging from the Regulating Act, the Charter Acts, Indian Councils Act and finally the Act for Better Government of India(1858) were passed, the initial acts confirmed the privileges while the last one ended the Company's rule in India. During the initial years of trade in India, the Company had to appeal for trade concessions from Indian rulers. It took them several years to obtain trade privileges from the Mughals. In 1639, the ruler of Wandiwash granted the Company permission to govern Madras. They were allowed to build a fort and mint money. Later after the Carnatic wars and rise of English power the Nawab of Carnatic surrendered all authority over Madras to the English.

In 1668, King Charles II transferred the port and island of Bombay through a charter to the Company. He had received Bombay as a dowry in 1661 when he married Catherine of Braganza of Portugal. The Company

was to pay an annual rent of ten pounds. In Bengal, the Company received from Azim-us-Shan the Subahdar the zamindari of three villages, namely Kalikata, Sutanuti and Govindpur. Rs.1200/ was paid to the previous proprietors. The firman of 1717 issued by emperor Farruksiya allowed the Company to rent additional territory around Calcutta. As a retaliation against the Black Hole incident the English forces under Robert Clive forced the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula to restore Fort William, they were compensated for losses incurred in the attack of the Nawab's troops and their trading privileges were restored.

By the 17th century the Company had settlements across the country and administration was done at its principal settlements like Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. These came to be called the three Presidencies. Each was administered independently and answerable directly to the Court of Directors in London.

Interference in local politics and waging of wars bankrupted the Company. In 1772 the Company applied to the Bank of England for a loan of a million pounds. Upset over the persistent allegations of corruption and mismanagement the Parliament intervened with the Regulating Act in 1773. The Act limited the influence of the Court of Proprietors. The term of office of the Court of Directors was for four years. Previously it had been for only one year. The directors had to present before British treasury all matters pertaining to revenue and convey all information concerning civil and military administration.

With the Pitt's India Act, the control of the British Parliament over the Company increased. A body called the Commissioners for the Affairs of India was instituted and it exercised greater control over the Company. Members in the Governor General's council was reduced to three. In 1833 a fourth member, who would be a law member was added.

The Charter Act of 1813 abolished the Company's monopoly of trade with India. The Company however retained the monopoly of trade with China and trade in tea. By the Charter Act of 1833 the Company was asked to wind up its commercial engagements in India and instead focus on governing the Indian territories in 'trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors.' Legislative centralization was introduced and the Governments of Madras and Bombay lost a lot of their powers of administration, they were placed under the control of the Government at Calcutta.

4.4.3 Financial and Revenue Administration

Post Plassey and Buxor as the Company emerged as a dominant force in Bengal, its ambition to capture more territory became the focus. The English realized that land revenue was the main source of wealth for the Mughal emperors as well as other Indian rulers therefore obtaining the right to collect revenue became a prerogative and they focused to getting more territory that would yield land revenue. Other sources of Income were customs and excise duty , salt and opium trade, trade monopoly, tributes from Indian states, income from forests, stamps etc.

Policy concerning Land Revenue- When the English realized the potential land revenue had as a major contributor to income of Indian rulers, they wasted no time in acquiring land and getting the permissions from the Mughal Emperor or local rulers in collecting land revenue and maximum attention was paid to it. They made far reaching changes to land revenue tenures. They introduced new land ownerships concepts and the state demand was fixed much higher than it had been earlier. Three land revenue tenures were adopted- Zamindari, Mahalwari and Ryotwari.

During the 19th century the English realized that the Permanent settlement was a detriment as it blocked all future increase in assessments and receipts. This led to the creation of the Mahalwari system under which the state's demand was fixed ranging from 10 to 40 years. The system was enforced in UP, Central Provinces and parts of Punjab. Even greater flexibility was brought into revenue collection with the Ryotwari settlement, in which the deal was made with the 'registered holders of land'. They were recognized as proprietors and made responsible for direct payment of land revenue to the state. All intermediaries like the zamindar were eliminated. Almost 51% of the area under the English came under the Ryotwari system , largely major parts of Bombay and Madras presidencies.

By 1858, land revenue collections accounted for half of the Government's total revenue. By the land revenue tenures the state's share was fixed exceedingly high and the system collapsed in many places leading to impoverishment of the masses. Rural economy was adversely impacted.

Monopoly over Salt- The East India Company established a monopoly over the trade in salt. The Government obtained a sizeable revenue from salt manufactured in company's territory and imposed heavy duty on salt manufactured in Indian Native states and imported into British territory. The Coromandel and Malabar coasts were used for salt manufacture.

Owners of salt pans were licensed by the Government and salt was given at prices fixed by the Company's government. The salt was sold by the Company to wholesalers at a fixed price. Initially the price was about Rs 7 per 100 pounds of salt but there was a substantial increase later. Bengal imported most of its salt requirements from the United Kingdom despite the fact that salt from Madras could be obtained at much cheaper rates. The imposition of salt tax impacted the poorer sections and caused much unhappiness. The Madras Board of Revenue in 1850 estimated that a poor labourer spent nearly a month's wages annually to buy 18 pounds of salt that would be needed for a family of six members. The net revenue gained by the Company through salt was nearly 1,300,000 pounds in 1844.

Trade in Opium- Opium was another item of trade that raised much controversy. Opium was extensively grown in the territories of Benares and Patna apart from other regions. Opium fetched the Company profits of more than 200 per cent. Opium grown in India was sold at China resulting in widespread addiction and eventually a war .

The Civil Service- In Pre-British times India was characterized by the personal despotic rule of monarchs many of whom were however benevolent and committed to serving their subjects. A feature of the Company's administration was governance according to a definite set of rules .

When the Company first began operations in India, commercial as well as administrative functions were done by merchants, factors, agents and writers of the Company. The Court of Directors had the freedom of appointing their favourites and often their friends and relatives as civil servants. There were cases of civil posts being sold. In a bid to bring in accountability and reduce corruption Warren Hastings created highly paid posts in administration. Lord Cornwallis took steps to Europeanize the services. The first step towards training the civil servants was taken by Lord Wellesley when he founded the college at Fort William in 1800. Civil servants were to receive training in the literature, science and language of the Indians. The Court of Directors refused to recognize the college and it continued only as a language school for civil servants in Bengal till 1854. In England in 1806 was established East India College at Haileybury for the imparting of a two year training of young officers selected for service in the East.

The civil services remained a close preserve of the British and no Indians were allowed. Even though the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858 claimed that "our subjects of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted

to office in our service,” civil services was still out of reach for Indians. To assuage Indian sentiments the posts of Deputy Collector and Deputy Magistrate were created which Indians could aspire towards.

Judicial Reorganisation- The Company acquired territory in India using a variety of ways. Bombay was obtained by the cession in full sovereignty from British Crown in 1868. It gained Madras and the adjoining areas from the Nawab of Carnatic. Shah Alam II in 1765 granted the Diwani of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa. The laws that were created for Bombay made provisions for religious toleration, trial by Jury and establishment of a Court of Judication. In 1718 the jury system was done away with. Appeals were to be made to the Governor and Council, judges included a Hindu, a Muslim, a Parsi, a Portuguese and the Company's employees. In 1726 permission was sought from the King of England to establish a Mayor's court. Subsequently three Mayor's courts were established in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta. The Company authorities found that India did not have a single uniform system of judicial administration, there were variations based on regions and communities. The system existing was a mix of the Hindu law of the Shastras and Koranic law of the Muslims.

Warren Hastings established a rudimentary framework for the judicial system by establishing Diwani and Faujdari Adalats at the district level. Appeals from these courts were made to the Sadr Diwani Adalat and the Sadr Nizamat Adalat at Calcutta. An improved and elaborate system of justice was brought in by Lord Cornwallis. A hierarchy of courts dealing with both civil and criminal matters was introduced. At the lowest rung was the Munsiff's court. It was presided by Indian officers and could deal with cases involving upto 50 rupees. Next were the Registrar's court which were presided by European officers and were authorised to try cases involving upto 200 rupees. Appeals from both these courts went upto the District or City courts. Further appeals went to the four Provincial courts. The Cornwallis Code of 1793 provided the framework for the judicial system.

4.4.4 An Overview of the Administrative structure

Rule of Law- The British deserves the credit for having introduced in India the modern concept of rule of law. This ended the arbitrary authority exercised by earlier rulers. A set procedure was established and a person could know his rights and privileges. An opportunity was provided for bringing persons guilty of breach of law to court. The legal and executive arm of the government can be regarded as the steel

frame of the Raj. Law was expected to create possibilities for reform, in order to safeguard revenue collection and maintain public order. In conceiving of laws Company officials had to consider what was the precedent, to see how best the existing system could be changed. They had to take into consideration ideology and pragmatism. While Hastings wanted to work with and strengthen the existing agencies of justice the later governors believed that rule of law needed to bring progress and security and the necessary environment to develop trade and attract investments.

The earliest judicial and administrative experiments were tried first in Bengal. Between 1765 to 1772, judicial administration was operated by Indian officials. The Company followed the Mughal judicial system in virtually all matters. Under the provincial administration the Faujdar was the main officer. Local landlords and magnates had magisterial authority. Other judicial officers in the Mughal system were the Kazi and Kotwal who were authorised to interpret the Sharia.

In cases of civil disputes relating to property, marriage and inheritance, Hindus were judged by their customary laws. The laws of the state pertained to criminal laws.

Equality before Law- In the eyes of law all men were considered equal irrespective of their religion, caste or class. The earlier practice of varying law according to one's caste and status was negated.

Recognition of Personal Civil Law- The Company's authorities recognized the rights of the various Indian communities- Hindu, Muslim, Parsi or Christian to be judged by the laws of their community, in matters connected with marriage, adoption, succession or partition of property.

Trained Judicial officers and professional Lawyers- In pre-British times landlords and rulers decided judicial disputes. Under the Company a codified law was introduced. It led to the creation of trained judicial officers and lawyers well acquainted with the codes in the administration of justice. The judicial system was based on the principle of sovereignty of law, a codified secular law and Western concept of Justice.

While there were obviously limitations in these new concepts that were introduced to India and many hurdles in their implementation, nevertheless it was a change in the forward direction.

4.4.5 Changes in Economic Policy

During the period 1600-1757 the English East India Company was a trading body merely involved in purchasing Indian goods like cotton and silk cloth, handicrafts, spices and other goods. It was sold in England and other countries for a sizeable profit. Since there was virtually no demand for foreign goods in India, the Company had to pay in gold and silver for Indian goods. As the trade was beneficial the Indian rulers raised no objections to the setting up of factories which were essentially warehouses used to store the procured products. Since the trade was unfavourable for the British manufacturers heavy customs duty was imposed on Indian goods. In 1700 the British government even passed laws to restrict the wear and use of printed or dyed Indian cloth.

When the Company gained political ascendancy after the Battle of Plassey and Buxor the pattern of the Company's trade with India changed. The grant of Diwani of Bihar, Bengal and orissa added much more to the earnings of the Company. Lord Clive estimated the total revenue from Bengal to be 4 million which after all the payments for administration would leave a surplus of 1,650,000 pounds. As the Company acquired more land and used ruthless methods to collect their taxes the quantum of revenue was bound to increase.

The latter half of the 18th century witnessed the Industrial Revolution taking shape. This brought about a major shift in the Company's economic policy. They were no longer interested in the purchase of cloth and other finished products from India, rather the need now was for raw materials to feed their industries in England and a market to sell their finished products in. The industrial lobby demanded the abolition of the Company's monopoly in India. By the Charter Act of 1813, the Company's trade monopoly in India was abolished, the Company only retained monopoly in trade in tea and Chinese trade. By the Charter Act of 1833 the monopoly over trade in tea and also China was abolished. The markets of India were thrown open to British products almost free of any duties. As far as India was concerned the free trade was only one way. Indian goods in Britain were imposed with high customs duties.

The British Government and several Governor General expressed pious platitudes of promoting and fostering Indian economy but it was painfully apparent that economic growth of Britain happened at the cost of economic exploitation of India. India was gradually transformed into an

agrarian appendage of industrial Britain and also provided a ready market for the absorption of British manufactured goods.

The Battle of Plassey can be considered as an important landmark in the economic history of India because of the changes that came about. In Bengal, trade and economy were severely impacted because of the policies of the Company compounded by the corrupt practices of its officials and employees. From the domination in Bengal and Carnatic gradually the British gained a political foothold in many parts of India and they used their political clout to maximize their economic gains. When the Europeans first landed in India for trade it was to purchase commodities from India, like spices, cloth, salt, pepper etc. However after the Industrial Revolution there was a greater need for raw materials rather than finished products. Bales of raw cotton, minerals and iron ore were needed for the English factories. India also became a lucrative market to sell the finished products from England. The British rule had produced structural changes to the Indian economy. The new land laws that were created introduced the concept of property and ownership in land which was alien to her.

Free trade was forced upon India allowing free access to English goods. Cheap mass produced cloth from the factories of Lancashire and Manchester flooded the streets of India. The superior handloom cloth of India which was comparatively more expensive began to lose the markets. Apart from handloom industry many other traditional industries also were not able to compete with the cheap machine made products from England.

Right from ancient times, village communities in India functioned as units of local self-government and land revenue administration. All classes connected with land possessed certain rights. The cultivators had the right to cultivate, they had security of tenure and they paid a fixed share of produce to the landlord. The village headman collected the land revenue which varies from $\frac{1}{6}^{\text{th}}$ to $\frac{1}{3}^{\text{rd}}$ of the produce. Issues and needs of the village were decided by the Panchayat based on the customary practices.

The pre-colonial economy was predominantly an agrarian economy the primary occupation being agriculture. The British wanted maximum economic advantage and therefore had to rely on land revenue as the principal source of income for the state. Post battle of Plassey, the British secured the right to collect land revenue from Bengal. The earliest land revenue settlement was introduced by Warren Hastings on the assumption that all land belonged to the sovereign, in this case the Company. He

brought in practices as – auctioning land to the highest bidder, traditional families into zamindari were ignored, the term of settlement was annual, it was changed into five year settlement and then made annual again.

The assumption of the English that they were entitled to the entire profits from the land leaving only mere expenses of cultivation and wages to the cultivator resulted in the languish of the agrarian sector. Famines became frequent, large areas went out of cultivation. Excessive demand proved counter productive and production was badly impacted.

Drain of Wealth- Till the Battle of Plassey, East India Company had been a mere trading body. It imported bullion into India in return for the exports of Indian cotton, silk cloth, handicrafts, spices etc. These items were sold for a profit in England and other European countries. The British manufacturers were upset over the fact that there was much demand for Indian goods especially cloth. The manufacturers used the Government to impose restrictions on Indian imports. The situation reversed after the conquest of Bengal. The Company began to purchase goods from the surplus revenues of Bengal and made profits from duty free trade.

The process of continuous plunder of Indian resources, wealth and raw materials by the Company to enrich itself at the cost of India's growing poverty. This led to the formulation of the theory of Drain of Wealth by Nationalists like Dadabhai Nauroji, R.C Dutta, M.G Ranade and others. This idea that money was been drained out of India was first explained by Dada Bhai Nauroji in his paper "England's Debt to India" which he presented before a meeting of the East India Association. He wrote a book titled "Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India, the Wants and Means of India and on the Commerce of India." Nauroji was one of the earliest proponents of the theory of Drain of Wealth. He called it as the "evil of all evils" and the main cause of Indian poverty. The theory was officially adopted by Indian National Congress in 1896 at its Calcutta session.

R.C Dutta after studying the land tax introduced by the Company showed how the rates were increased, peasants in India who were already poor were completely impoverished by the land revenue settlements imposed by the British. In most regions the land revenue systems collapsed because of the excessive demand.

The economic exploitation of India can be classified under three phases. The earliest phase was from 1757 to 1813, it is called the Mercantilist phase. From 1813 to 1858 is called Mercantile capitalism phase and 1858 to 1947 the Finance capitalism phase.

Mercantilist Phase- During this phase trade was completely monopolized by the East India Company. Once they gained ascendancy in Bengal the Company began to manipulate the prices, paying very low prices for Indian commodities. They used their political clout to intimidate the Indian traders. The surplus revenues they gained through land revenue was used to purchase Indian goods.

Mercantile Capitalism or Free Trade Industrial capitalism- This phase happened after the Industrial Revolution in England. There was a demand for the abolition of the monopoly enjoyed by the East India Company as other merchants and manufacturers wanted to benefit from the large market that India was. By the Charter Act of 1813 the Company's monopoly of Indian trade was abolished. India was converted into a free market.

British mercantile class took away raw materials and brought back manufactured goods for being marketed in India. Exports from India came to be confined to raw materials and food grains.

Finance Capitalism- The last phase happened after the Revolt of 1857 India became a colony of Britain. British capital was augmented to facilitate the building of roads, railways, banks, post and telegraph services. To retain control over Indian capital, the system of managing agency was adopted.

As a result of the economic exploitation Indian manufacturing centres were destroyed. The age old village economies that had sustained over so many centuries were destroyed. India's indigenous industries were also destroyed after the Industrial Revolution and India was reduced to an agricultural colony of Britain for the supply of raw material.

4.4.6 Social Legislation and Educational policy

Idea of Indian education was culture and not literacy. Education was according to one's varna or caste and family tradition. There were centres of higher education in Sanskrit literature called Tols. Kasi was a well known centre for learning and has been recognized as such even in the writings of foreign travellers. French traveller Bernier has mentioned Kasi as a famous centre of learning. Kasi has been described as Athens of India. Elementary schools were called as pathshalas. Education was mostly popular with higher castes, female education was largely ignored. Higher education in Persian and Arabic was imparted in Madrasahs.

During the 18th century Hindu and Muslim schools declined. The political confusion was not conducive to the growth of education. The

local rulers had lost their power and resources and were not in a position to give donations and patronage to local schools. As a result many schools withered away. The traditional approach to education in India with the gurukula system had petered out to an extent due but there were some educational institutions.

After the East India Company became the ruling power in Bengal, the Court of Directors refused to take on the responsibility of educating the people of India. But there were some British governors who wanted to do something to promote learning. In 1781 Warren Hastings set up the Calcutta Madrasa for the learning of Persian and Arabic. In 1791 Jonathan Duncan, British Resident started the Sanskrit college at Benares. Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society in 1784. Orientalists like Parsi scholar William Wilkins, Horace Wilson also contributed to the scholarship. In 1800 Lord Wellesley founded Fort William College to educate Company employees in Indian languages and culture for the sake of administration. In 1824 the General Committee for Public Instruction was started. In 1824 Sanskrit College was founded by Lord Amherst.

Till the Company remained a mere trading body it did not take any interest in social and educational fields. There were however many Christian missionary groups that were already active in India and were involved in the impart of education. Christian missions opened charity centres like dispensaries, orphan homes and several schools providing free food, clothes and free education to Indian children.

The British stressed upon educating Indian on western lines to get cheaper clerks and spreading western culture. Western education proved useful for Indians. Indians became acquainted with the literature of philosophers like Rousseau, Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill, Burke, Spencer and others. Exposure to western philosophy had an impact and ideas of secularism, rationalism, democracy and other ideologies were adopted. Dr. Bipan Chandra was of the opinion that “Western education did not give birth to the National Movement but it was the clash between the interests of the British and the Indians. Western education system helped the Indians acquire thought, so that they might give a lead to National Movement and give it a democratic and modernized direction.”

The East India Company initiated its involvement in the education of India with the Charter Act of 1813. It marks a turning point for the

Company finally acknowledged that they had to take some responsibility for education. The agitation led by individuals like Wilber Force and Grant who relentlessly pushed for education found fruition.

The Charter Act of 1813 spoke of revival and improvement of literature namely classical literature in Sanskrit and Arabic. It also aimed at encouraging the learned natives in India to take on a greater role. The Company would create its own agency to spend an amount of one lakh of rupees sanctioned. Effort was to be made to educate the people of India in a secular and conservative fashion as well as the introduction and promotion of knowledge of sciences among Indian masses.

The period between 1813 and 1853 was rather a period of controversies rather than of achievements. The architects of the Charter of 1813 had drafted an education policy for India without be specific about certain things such as the main objective. No clear guidance on medium of instruction was given. There was lack of coherence on the Agencies that would organize educational institutions. The methods to be followed for the spread of education also were not clearly delineated.

Anglo-Oriental debate- The General Committee of Public Instruction consisted of ten members who were divided into two groups the Orientalists and Anglicists. A debate began on whether to continue with traditional type of education or whether to teach English. The Orientalists who were led by H.T Prinsep insisted that education would be effective only if teaching was through the vernacular languages. The Anglicists led by Macaulay insisted that all instructions should be in English. The main factor which favoured English language and western literature was the economic factor. Indians wanted a system of education which would help them get jobs. People like Raja Ram Mohan Roy encouraged the spread of English education.

Lord William Bentinck in the Resolution of March 7, 1835 accepted the view point of Macaulay. The main points of the resolution were

1. The object of the British Government is to promote European literature and science among the Indian masses through English.
2. The practice of supporting students of the colleges of oriental learning was to be discontinued.
3. Funds will be spent on imparting English literature and science.
4. Funds will not be spent on the printing of oriental works.

Wood's Despatch of 1854

The Despatch was prepared by Sir Charles Wood, the president of the Board of control. It is considered as one of the most important documents on education under the Company. It is regarded as the Magna Carta of English education in India. The recommendations are as follows:

1. The aim of the Governments educational policy was imparting western education.
2. It proposed the setting up of primary schools with vernacular languages at the lowest level. High schools were to be in Anglo Vernacular and Colleges in the district level were to be in English medium.
3. It recommended establishment of institutions for training teachers on the English model.
4. Universities on the model of London University were proposed for Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.
5. University was to have a senate, a chancellor, a vice chancellor and fellows nominated by the Government.
6. More attention was to be paid to elementary education.
7. The system of grants-in-aid was recommended to help private enterprise. The grants were conditional based on the principle of religious neutrality.
8. Comprehensive system of scholarship was recommended.
9. Female education was to be encouraged by the Government.
10. Director of Public Instruction was to be appointed in every province.
11. For higher education it recommended English language as the medium of instruction.

The Wood's dispatch was very similar to the British pattern of education. Based on its recommendations, three universities were started in India in 1857 at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Nearly all the suggestions of the Wood's despatch were implemented: the indigenous modes of learning gave way to rapid westernization of the educational system in India. It formed the foundation on which the present education system is based.

The thought process that the British Government was responsible for the welfare of Indian people emerged when the Dual Government was established in Bengal from 1765-1772. While the majority of the Company servants were preoccupied in amassing a fortune by the shameless plunder

of Bengal, a few conscientious Britishers were appalled by the state of affairs. Richard Beecher, a servant of the Company in 1769 wrote to the Court of Directors describing how the Company's rule had completely ruined Bengal. William Bolts a contemporary writer in his book "Consideration of Indian Affairs" referred to the oppression faced by weavers at the hands of avaricious merchants. Adam Smith described the Board of Proprietors as the "board for the appointment of plunderers of India". In 1772 Lord North appointed two committees, a select and secret committee to probe into the working of the Company. Both the committees recommended that trade should be separated from law and sovereignty.

Both The committees recommended that trade must be separated from law and sovereignty. Which meant the sovereignty of the Parliament would be considered in the governance of India. By the Regulating Act of 1773 the British Crown accepted powers and responsibility, though it was partial for the administration of the Company's territories in India and the process continued under Pitt's India Act and the Charter Acts.

In the year 1808, the court of Directors send a despatch to Lord Minto, the then Governor General (1807-1813) in which it was reiterated that it was the Company's policy of non interference in the socio-religious beliefs of the people living in the Company's territories. The instruction was to restrain the Christian Missions in their proselytizing activities. The Charter act of 1813 however struck a different note when all restrictions on entry of missionaries from UK to India were lifted. Moreover some of the Company servants began to harp on England's "Christian Duty" in the field of religious and social reforms. In England the Age Of Reforms was inaugurated with the first Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832, in 1833 the Abolition of Slavery was passed, the Factory Act in 1833, the New Poor Law act in 1834 followed by Municipal Reform Act and the Education Act.

The Court Of Directors advised Lord William Bentinck the then Governor General (1828-35) to remove the most conspicuous abuses of the Hindu society as fast as he could. It was based on this injunction that the Regulation XVII of December 4 1829 declared the practice of Sati illegal in the Bengal Presidency. In 1834 Sati was made illegal in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies as well. The practice of infanticide had been made illegal by the Bengal Regulations of 1795 and by 1804 its strict enforcement was followed. By the Act of 1856 Widow Remarriage was made promoted and matters pertaining to such marriages were made legal. Attention was also given to education of women.

4.4.7 Changes in Education Policy

European as well as Indian social reformers agreed that to eradicate social evils in society just legislations alone were not sufficient. A system of education that would create awareness alone could get rid of outdated social practices. The system of education that had existed in India at that point was largely the study of religious scriptures and philosophical thought. The method was rote learning rather than comprehension and reasoning. Therefore the spirit of enquiry, rationalism or scientific outlook had a rather slow start in India.

An important aspect in the history of the Company is how colonial knowledge was produced and how it impacted the people. The setting up of colleges of Fort William led to the development of a new kind of scholarship that created knowledge of Indian history and traditions. The colonial institutions created new figures like the Tamil munshi and Brahmin pandit collaborators who bridged the two worlds and resulted in documentation of Indian history. The emergence of indigenous elites was an integral part of the history of colonial cities, such as those of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

4.5 Land Revenue settlements

The English adopted three types of land tenures namely Zamindari, Mahalwari and Ryotwari. The Zamindari was introduced in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Northern Carnatic and Benares. It covered about 19% of the total area of British India. The Mahalwari settlement extended to major parts of the United provinces, Central provinces and Punjab. It included about 30% of the total area of British India. The Ryotwari system extended across major portions of Bombay and Madras presidencies, East Bengal and parts of Assam and Coorg. It covered 51% of the area.

When the Company obtained diwani in 1765 they were faced with the real concern of revenue assessment and collection. As far as the Company was concerned the main objective was to maximize the revenue collection with least administrative responsibility. They wanted to balance the existing set up with their authority. Under the older system revenue collection was the responsibility of the zamindar and other intermediaries like amils whose transactions were supported by a credit structure.

Since ancient times, villages in India had functioned as units of local self government and land revenue administration. The idea of absolute

ownership of land did not exist. All classes connected with land possessed certain rights. Cultivators had the right to cultivate and enjoyed security of tenure. They paid a fixed share of produce to the overlord or zamindar. The village headman acted as the collector and paid to the ruler the land revenue which varied from 1/6 to 1/3. The village community took care of providing irrigation facilities, allocation and collection of land revenue was decided by the village headman along with the panchayat. The village economy was turned upside down when the English East India Company obtained the Diwani rights that is the right to collect revenue. The British had realized that real wealth in India lay in land revenue, it was that which had made the Indian rulers immensely rich. But unlike the Indian rulers the English levied extremely high taxes which broke the backs of the peasants and impoverished the masses. Between 1765-66 and 1768-69 land revenue collection was increased by 53.8 percent. The zamindars faced a lot of pressure and they became increasingly indebted to local creditors.

The British introduced three types of land revenue settlements. The British introduced new land tenures and new land ownership concepts. The heavy state demand resulted in drastic changes in the rural economy. The British initially obtained the Diwani rights for Bihar, Bengal and Orissa and gradually for other regions under their control.

The English East India Company wanted to get maximum economic advantage from their presence in India. They realized that more than trade and industrial interests, they had much to gain from land revenue and they paid a lot of attention to developing a comprehensive policy. They believed that they were entitled to the entire economic rent of the land. They left the poor cultivators with only the expenses of cultivation and wages for their labour.

4.5.1 Zamindari System

Traditionally the Indian landowners in many parts of India were called zamindars. The Company introduced this settlement in the regions of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Benares and Northern Carnatic. About 19% of British India came under this form of land revenue settlement. The system was also called as Jagirdari, Malguzari and Biswedari. Under this system the Zamindar was recognized as the owner of the land who could mortgage, bequeath or sell land. The zamindari system was developed by John Shore and Lord Cornwallis. The zamindar was expected to pay the land revenue and if he was unable to pay, the land could be confiscated and sold out.

However, unlike the traditional system, the new system auctioned the land to new zamindars. Many persons with surplus funds grabbed the opportunity provided by the Zamindari system. They were like absentee landlords who had no interest in developing the land or in taking care of welfare of farmers. There only interest was squeezing maximum profits. It caused a lot of suffering among the peasants. The new zamindars neglected the land. Tenants who were not able to pay their dues were ejected from the land. When the Zamindars were unable to pay the promised rent on time to the Company officials they were disposed of the whole or part of the estate.

Under the Company the state demand was fixed very high. In 1762-63 during the reign of Mir Qasim, the revenue collected was about 64 lakhs during the very first year of revenue collection in 1765-66 the revenue collected as 147 lakhs. By the year 1790-91 the Company's collection had become 268 lakhs.

The excessive demand introduced by the Company compounded with crop failure resulted in a massive famine in which one third of the population of Bengal was wiped out. The main causes of the famine of 1769-70 was the serious crop failure for two successive seasons, the reduction of grain advance given to peasants and the cornering of food supplies by Company servants and their Indian agents. Food prices went out of control and there were starvation deaths. W .W Hunter author of – Annals of Rural Bengal wrote 'all through the stifling summer of 1770, the people went on dying. The husbandmen sold their capital, they sold their implements of culture, they devoured their seed grain, they sold their sons and daughters till at length no buyer of children could be found ; they ate the leaves of trees and the grass of the fields and in June 1770 the Resident of the Durbar affirmed the living were feeding off the dead.'

It was during the aftermath of the famine that the Company decided to take on direct responsibility as the diwan. A new farming system was introduced by Warren Hastings in 1772. European district collectors were given the task of revenue administration and the actual revenue collection was auctioned to the highest bidder. The system failed to improve the situation revenue collectors tried to extract the maximum without paying any heed to the condition of the peasants. It resulted in an impossible situation that Lord Cornwallis was instructed to resolve.

In 1793 Lord Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. It had several advantages for the Company. The state was assured

of a certain amount of land revenue. The landlords knew the amount to be paid to the British government. It stabilized the British government as the ablest servants were now free for judicial work. The English could avoid the difficulties associated with periodical assessments. The permanent land tax was uniform and certain.

Company officials like Alexander Dow, Philip Francis and Thomas Law were in favour of a permanent land tax and the rule of property. Lord Cornwallis was also convinced that the guarantee of private property would lead to improvements and encourage all round growth and productivity. This led to the creation of the Permanent Settlement of 1793. The central belief of this settlement was that if the government took on the task of protecting private property it would lead to large investment of capital. Landed natives would invest in purchasing and developing more land instead of investing money in trade or salt monopoly etcetera.

In the Permanent Settlement introduced by Cornwallis land ownership rights were vested with big zamindars who even earlier had been collecting more than 53% of land revenue in Bengal.

Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were brought under this scheme. The zamindar had to pay a tax fixed on his land. If he was able to do his obligation successfully then he was regarded as a free proprietor who had the freedom to sell, mortgage or transfer his land. However if he failed to discharge his obligation his estate could be confiscated and sold by auction. More lands which had earlier been regarded as rent free were brought under this scheme. Between 1790 to 1870 there was a 48% increase in revenue as a result of bringing new land under the settlement.

The social foundation of the Permanent Settlement was the old landed aristocracy, peasants were completely ignored and had to bear the brunt of the failure of the scheme. Their traditional rights were set aside and they were regarded as mere tenants. They suffered great hardships in dealing with the high demands.

Historians have assessed the Permanent Settlement to see if it achieved its objectives of effective governance combined with maximum revenues. The Bengal Tenancy Acts were passed to ameliorate the position of peasants but nothing much was accomplished. Tenants continued to suffer with worsening conditions. The Regulation of 1799 which is called the Laws of Haptam. It gave the zamindars arbitrary powers that allowed them to eject tenants for non payment of rent.

4.5.2 Ryotwari System

The agrarian situation in South India was complex and was impacted by both ecology and historical change. In the wet regions, the low lying areas of the West Coast and the river deltas of the east the agrarian society was stratified with a large number of untouchables. There were restrictions placed on agricultural labour. In these areas the village headman and accountants were powerful. Thomas Munroe described them as 'the only great body of landowners in India.' Accountants were the Brahmins and Vellalas who were the literate scribes. Dharma Kumar has mentioned that in some areas there was the existence of a communal system of landholding in Brahmin areas. The shareholders or pangukarrar could also participate in the management of the lands. They could share in the rents from lands leased and profits from orchards, forests and tanks in proportion to their shares. The large landholders were called mirasidars. Many of them were Vellalas . They dominated all aspects of village life.

Thomas Munroe who came to India as an ordinary soldier, became collector of the districts ceded in 1800. He introduced scientific methods of survey assessment and settlement. He was also involved in distributing pattas or title deeds to peasant cultivators. Thomas Monroe was convinced that directly dealing with the cultivator was the best basis for a settlement . He also felt that such a practice was indigenous to the region. With the districts ceded after the fall of Seringapatnam , Monroe began with four surveyors. Field by field was assessed .

Under the Ryotwari system the peasants or ryots were granted occupancy rights in land. They were made individually responsible for the payment of land revenue . The main features of the Ryotwari system was that assessment was done upon individual cultivators, fields were measured and an estimation of the production was done. Government demand was fixed at 55%.

The Company claimed that through the system they would ameliorate the condition of the ryots.

Like the other land revenue systems the excessive demand made agriculture un-remunerative. The method of collection was very harsh. Ryots were forced to borrow from moneylenders to pay their dues. Eventually the value of landed property declined. The measurements were faulty and estimations were wrong causing much distress. There was no provision for an appeal to the court of law against over assessment.

4.5.3 Mahalwari System

The annexation of the Upper Gangetic region was followed by the formation of the ceded and conquered provinces in 1801-3. The region had several types of zamindari rights, ranging from landed magnates, affluent rajas and taluqdars, owner cultivators and proprietors of large villages. Initially the English introduced the revenue settlement with powerful magnates. But it was not implemented well. Several taluqdars were disposed. Lands were auctioned which was bought up by a new class of zamindars.

Holt Mckenzie was given the task of developing a proper system for the region. He argued that taluqdars and revenue farmers who had been collecting land revenue had no hereditary rights of collection and had over time captured that right through fraud. So the state had the right to take away their right and confer it on whoever it chose. Holt Mckenzie believed the original property rightfully belonged to the village community and it should be given the responsibility of revenue collection.

The Mahalwari settlement was a modified version of the zamindari settlement. It was introduced in the Gangetic valley, North Western provinces, parts of Central India and Punjab. Under this system the basis of assessment was the produce of the mahal (estate). All the proprietors of a mahal were jointly responsible for the management and payment of the revenues. Mahalwari was a two fold settlement:

1. The occupancy and ownership right was reserved for the individual peasants and cultivation was to be done individually.
2. The peasants were jointly responsible for payment of land revenue.
3. Revenues had to be paid through the Lambardar.
4. The Lambardars were not vested with the rights zamindars had.
5. The cultivation was carried on individually but the land revenue was paid collectively.

The Mahalwari system also had several demerits, in actual practice rights to collect revenue was given to leading groups of big families. The peasants in general were position of tenants. Social and economic inequalities increased. Peasants were overburdened and there was hardly any progress .

Regulation of 1822- The Regulation of 1822 emphasized the existence of village communities in Northern India. It suggested the preparation of records for land holdings. Survey of land was recommended. Settlement of land and revenue demand was to be done village or Mahal wise. The state demand was fixed at 95%. The excessive state demand and harshness in collection of land revenue resulted in the collapse of the system.

Regulation of 1833-By this regulation the procedure for preparing estimates of the production was simplified. Based on the different types of soil the rent was fixed. Field maps and field registers were introduced. The state demand was fixed at 60%. The settlement was made for a period of 30 years.

4.5.4 Impact of the Land Revenue Settlements on India

The Indian rural economy was destroyed. The age old politico-socio-economic framework of village communities broke down. The concept of private property turned land into a market commodity. New social classes emerged, new class of zamindars, money lenders and traders. With the commercialization of agriculture, better means of transport added new dimensions to rural economy and agriculture. The tillers of the land suffered heavily under the new land revenue settlements and were pushed below the poverty line.

4.6 Introduction of Western education and its impact

Idea of Indian education was culture and not literacy. Education was according to one's varna and family tradition. There were centres of higher education in Sanskrit literature called Tols. Kasi was a well known centre for learning and has been recognized as such even in the writings of foreign travelers. French traveler Bernier has mentioned Kasi as a famous centre of learning. Kasi has been described as Athens of India. Elementary schools were called as pathshalas. Education was mostly popular with higher castes, female education was largely ignored. Higher education in Persian and Arabic was imparted in Madrasahs.

During the 18th century Hindu and Muslim schools declined. The political confusion was not conducive to the growth of education. The local rulers had lost their power and resources and were not in a position to give donations and patronage to local schools. As a result many schools withered away. The traditional approach to education in India with the

gurukula system had petered out to an extent due but there were some educational institutions.

After the East India Company became the ruling power in Bengal, the Court of Directors refused to take on the responsibility of educating the people of India. But there were some British governors who wanted to do something to promote learning. In 1781 Warren Hastings set up the Calcutta Madrasa for the learning of Persian and Arabic. In 1791 Jonathan Duncan, British Resident started the Sanskrit college at Benares. Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society in 1784. Orientalists like Parsi scholar William Wilkins, Horace Wilson also contributed to the scholarship. In 1800 Lord Wellesley founded Fort William College to educate Company employees in Indian languages and culture for the sake of administration. In 1824 the General Committee for Public Instruction was started. In 1824 Sanskrit College was founded by Lord Amherst.

The British stressed upon educating Indian on western lines to get cheaper clerks and spreading western culture. Western education proved useful for Indians. Indians became acquainted with the literature of philosophers like Rousseau, Thomas Paine, John Stuart Mill, Burke, Spencer and others. Exposure to western philosophy had an impact and ideas of secularism, rationalism, democracy and other ideologies were adopted. Dr. Bipan Chandra was of the opinion that "Western education did not give birth to the National Movement but it was the clash between the interests of the British and the Indians. Western education system helped the Indians acquire thought, so that they might give a lead to National Movement and give it a democratic and modernized direction."

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4.6.1 Anglo-Oriental Debate

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3.7 Religious Reform

British intrusion and the dissemination of a colonial culture resulted in an introspection about the strengths and weaknesses of the Indian culture and institutions. Religion had played a rather dominant role in Indian society right from Vedic times. Over time religious structures and strictures became extremely rigid and degenerative. Faced with criticism from the West and exposure to liberal concepts from the West educated Indians took the lead in heralding much needed reforms. The introspection inevitably resulted in a spurt of religious and social reform movements. It resulted in a socio-cultural regeneration or renaissance in India.

4.7.1 Brahmo Samaj

One of the oldest organisations that ushered in an era of reform was the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmo Samaj was the brainchild of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a multifaceted personality and intellectual of the age, he is regarded as one of the makers of modern India.

A humanist to the core he was deeply concerned about emancipation of men and women. It became his life's mission to fight against the ignorance, intolerance, superstitions and decadence that existed in the 19th century Indian society. R R Mohan Roy was a leading crusader against the practice of Sati. He was outspoken against the inequalities of the caste system. He was one of the earliest champions of the freedom of the press. He visualized the necessity for a universal religion.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy established the Brahmo Samaj on 22 August 1828. The Samaj was formally inaugurated on 23 January 1830. It was known as a 'One God Society'. The objective was to bring about social reform by promoting a rational ideology. The members of the samaj were called Brahmos. The samaj began to attract members mainly from the educated middle class. Anyone could use the Samaj for the worship of the eternal being without name, designation or title. Pictures or deities were not allowed. The Samaj was meant to be a meeting ground for all sects for the worship of one true God. The main objective of Raja Ram Mohan Roy was to revive monotheism in India. But he found it very difficult as the orthodox Hindu community opposed him tooth and nail. The orthodox group launched the Dharma Samaj to counter the Brahmo Samaj.

Devendranath Tagore- The Brahmo Samaj lost its vitality and became moribund after the death of Mohan Roy in 1883. It was revived and revitalized by Devendranath Tagore, the eldest son of Dwarkanath Tagore. In 1838 he established the Tattuvabodhini Sabha which in 1859 he merged with Brahmo Samaj. Devendranath Tagore rejected idolatry, infallibility of the Vedas and its ceremonies and theology. Under the patronage of Tagore Brahmo Samaj was developed as a distinct spiritual fraternity and an instrument of social reform. Many enlightened Hindus joined its fold. It began to function as a missionary organization and the activities were extended to the mofussil areas. However Tagore adopted a very cautious approach towards reform which provoked his disciple Keshab Chandra Sen to split the Samaj.

Keshab Chandra Sen- The Brahmo Samaj suffered a major split when its younger members under the leadership of Keshab Chandra Sen broke away from the Samaj. He was a monotheist. He was influenced more by the ethics of Christianity. He gave the Brahmo Samaj of India a new Christian outlook. He worked vigorously for the social and moral regeneration of India. He devoted his energies for the enunciation of women and spreading of education, temperance and charity.

Sen blamed the unscrupulous priesthood for perpetrating ignorance and superstition among the masses. He spoke vociferously against caste restrictions and considered slavery as a grave sin. He promoted the higher education of women. Because of Sen's intervention the Government of India passed the Native Marriage Act. The act came to be called as the Civil Marriage Act and was passed in 1872. The Brahmo Samaj grew into a dynamic force. It carried the ideal of freedom not only for religious matters but in the personal and social spheres as well. The Brahmo Samaj under Keshab Chandra Sen ushered in a new era proclaiming personal freedoms and social equalities. His ideas created a new consciousness among the young. Keshab Chandra Sen did not limit his mission to Bengal, he launched an all India movement of movement of religious and social reforms. He undertook a missionary tour to Bombay and Madras in 1864 and North West Provinces in 1868. It was because his efforts that the Prarthana Samaj was established in Bombay and Veda Samaj in Madras.

The Brahmo Samaj has gifted India a rich legacy. Its religion of humanity, its synthesis of the best of the East and the West prepared the intellectual foundations for the national movement. The movement inspired many patriots, scholars and leaders. Both Bipin Chandra Pal and C.R Das were intellectually stimulated by the Brahmo Samaj. The efforts of the Samaj in imbuing the nationalist spirit, freedom of individual conscience and moral and ethical precepts contributed to the growth of Indian nationalism.

4.8 Social Legislations

Reform movements in religion spurred social reform movements in the 19th and 20th centuries which eventually resulted in social legislations being promulgated. During the latter half of the nineteenth century only two social legislations were passed. The British government sanctioned Inter-caste and Inter-communal Marriages Act in 1872. Another legislation was enacted in 1891 which discouraged child marriages. The Sarada Act of 1929 forbade the marriage of girls below 14 years and boys below 18 years.

The evolution of social reform movements can be divided into four distinct phases.

- The first was the phase of individual revolt and reform together with strong religious overtones dating from the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy in the early 1880's.
- The second phase was the elevation of social reform movement to a national plan as exemplified by the efforts of Behraniji Malabari and the Indian National Social Conference.
- The third phase commenced when social reform was identified with a regeneration of the traditional spirit of the nation and is popularly associated with the activities of extremist leaders of early 20th century.
- The fourth phase is the time when social reform became the main plank for the all round regeneration of the Indian society.

The social reform movements aimed at uprooting social evils blended with religious sanctity. The reform movements served the purpose of inculcating in men and women the spirit of sacrifice for the general welfare of the society. One of the foremost social concerns became the upliftment of women. Indian society was riddled with abhorrent practises such as sati, infanticide, child marriage , polygamy and ill treatment of widows. Another social evil that rankled in the minds of the English educated Indian intelligentsia was the practise of caste system and untouchability. Initiating social legislations to get rid of these evils became a priority.

4.8.1 Abolition of Sati

Sati was a ritual that had evolved in India. It was performed by the wife of a man who was deceased. The social practice was to be performed by a devoted wife who contemplated perpetual and uninterrupted conjugal union with her husband life after life. The orthodox custom demanded that a woman had to burn herself on the pyres of her husband as proof of her devotion and love for him. The word Sati denotes a pure and virtuous woman. Enlightened rulers like Emperor Akbar and the Peshwas had imposed restrictions on the practice of sati. The Portuguese at Goa and French at Chandernagore tried to abolish sati. The English East India Company declared that it would not interfere in the social customs of the natives. But Lord Cornwallis, Lord Minto and Lord Hastings discouraged the compulsion of the practice and forbade the administration of

intoxicating drugs to the widows. The banned the performance of sati by pregnant women or widows below the age of 16 years. The supervision of police officials was insisted upon at the time of sacrifice to check that there was no compulsion or force on the widows. These restrictions however achieved only limited success in stopping sati and the cruel practice continued unabated.

It was Raja Ram Mohun Roy who launched a frontal attack on the heinous practice of sati. He had witnessed his own sister-in-law being made a sati. He began to write extensively against it and published a number of pamphlets. He received the support of progressive Indian newspapers. Mohan Roy pressurized William Bentinck the Governor General of Bengal to take necessary measures and declare the practice of sati illegal. William Bentinck began to collect the facts and figures of sati cases, obtained the views and opinions of army officers, Judges of Nizamat Adalat and superintendents of police. All this was done to gauge if a legislation would result in civil commotion. The British Parliament also encouraged Bentinck to enact legislation to suppress sati.

Regulation XVII of December 1829 declared the practice of sati, burning or burying alive of widows illegal. It became punishable by criminal courts as culpable homicide. The Regulation of 1829 was applied with immediate effect in the Bengal Presidency. In 1830 it was extended to the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. A few orthodox Bengalis appealed in vain to the Privy Council against Governmental interference in their religious customs. Apart from this there were no public disorders.

4.8.2 Widow Remarriage Act

The crusade to gain acceptance for a remarriage of Indian widows was yet another social cause that social reformers of the 19th century made efforts towards. One of the key proponents of widow remarriage was Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar. Even as the campaign against sati was going on, the movement for widow remarriage was gaining ground. The Brahma Samaj had initiated debates on the question of widow remarriage and had popularized the issue among its Brahmos. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, who was the Principal of the Calcutta Sanskrit College vociferously defended that Vedic texts sanctioned widow remarriage. Signatures and petitions were collected and sent to the British India Government urging it to initiate legislative changes. The Hindu Remarriage Act or Act XV of 1856 legalised the marriage of widows. The children born to such marriages were legitimate.

The Arya Samaj was another organization that put in considerable effort to promote widow remarriages. In Maharashtra Pandit Vishnu Sastri contributed much. Ranade, R.G Bhandarkar, Agarkar and D.K Karve have also worked for the cause of Hindu widows. Herculean efforts have been made by Veeresalingam Pantulu in Madras and Karve in Poona. Karve remarried a Brahmin widow in 1893, became the secretary of the Widow Remarriage Association and even opened a Home for widows in Poona. Efforts were made to make them self sufficient and opportunities were provided in teaching, medicine and nursing.

4.8.3 Infanticide, Child Marriage and Women's Education

Social legislations also covered the issues of infanticide, child marriage and education for women.

In India female children had begun to be considered a liability. The extravagant expenditure which Rajput conventions demanded on the occasion of a daughter's marriage further magnified the custom of infanticide. Parents were expected to arrange the marriage of their daughters. Failure to do so was a social disgrace and matter of great shame. It was a violation of religious injunctions too. To take the easy way out female babies were killed at birth. Infanticide was commonly practiced among the Bengalis and several Rajput tribes. It was rampant among the Jharija Rajputs of Cutch and Gujarat, Rathors of Jaipur and Jodhpur and the Jats and Mewatis. Cruel practices such as not feeding the babies, feeding them poison or tying them in sacks and throwing them into rivers were the methods by which girls babies were killed. Maharaja Dilip Singh , the son of Ranjit Singh and last ruler of Punjab has mentioned the practice of throwing baby girls into rivers.

The Bengal Regulation XXI of 1795 and Regulation III of 1804 declared infanticide illegal and equivalent to a murder. Despite the legislations in some places the inhuman crimes continued. William Bentinck issued orders to stop the ritual of offering child sacrifices at special occasions in Savgar island in Bengal. The Government of India Act of 1870 passed during the governance of Lord Mayo made it compulsory for parents to register the birth of all babies. The government took on the task of verifying the registered female children after some years where female infanticide was practiced.

The practice of child marriage was widely prevalent in India from the later Vedic age. Manusmriti prescribed a large difference in age between a bride and a groom. If the groom was 30 years old the ideal age of the bride was to be 12 years old. For a groom of 24 years the bride was to be 8 years. In the Mahabharata as well the age gap has been mentioned. A groom of 30 was to wed a bride of 10 and a groom of 21 could wed a bride of 7. So child marriage for girls was the accepted norm from the later Vedic age.

Early accounts of Europeans revealed the existence of infant widows. The life of a Hindu widow was full of misery. She could eat only one meal a day. She was not allowed to sleep on a bed or put on good clothes. Her hair was clean shaved. She was not allowed to look into a mirror. B.M Malabari a Parsi reformer of the nineteenth century began a crusade against child marriage. His efforts led to the enactment of the Age of Consent Act of 1891. The Act forbade marriage of girls below the age of 12. By the Sharada Act of 1929 the minimum age was raised to 14. The Child Marriage Restraint Act was amended post Independence in the year 1978, and the minimum age for males is 21 and that for females is 18 as of now.

Education for women was another area that attracted social legislations. Hindu scriptures did not sanction female education. It was believed that education of girls released the wrath of Gods leading to their widowhood. Women faced subjugation due to the social and caste practices and female education was discouraged.

Christian missionaries were the earliest to establish the Calcutta Female Juvenile Society in 1819. Several Indian social reformers worked with great dedication to promote female education. Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar was one such crusaders who popularized the cause of female education. About 35 schools in Bengal were opened thanks to his initiatives. The students of Elphinstone Institute of Bombay began to spearhead the spread of women's education. They founded the Students Literary and Scientific Society. One legislation that is considered the Magna Carta of education in India is the Charles Wood's Dispatch on Education passed in the year 1854. One of the clauses was the development of female education. Women's education it was agreed would help in ameliorating the plight of women.

Another social practice that attracted legislation was slavery. Slavery existed in different forms across the world. In the West it was largely racial, while in India it was casteist. Ancient Indian text mention different categories of slaves. Slaves were called Dasa and Dasi. Beyond the four

castes there were the outcastes or the Avarnas. Many outcastes and other suppressed castes were treated as slaves. Act V of 1843 declared the practice of slavery in India illegal. It emancipated all existing slaves without compensating the owners. The Penal Code of 1860 also declared trade in slaves illegal. However despite legislations the practice continued in many parts of India.

3.9 Summary

Unit four has explained the colonial construction of India. The various administrative measures that were introduced to govern the vast empire that the English acquired have been evaluated and discussed. The beginning of western education, its impact on Indian intelligencia and the efforts

3.10 Keywords

Utilitarian, administration, land revenue, Zamindari, Ryotwari, Mahalwari, education, social reform, sati, widow remarriage, infanticide, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Devendranath Tagore, Kesav Chandra Sen, William Bentinck, Regulating Act, Pitt's India Act, Charter Acts, Government of India Act, Board of Control, Council of Directors.

3.11 Time to Self Evaluate

I Answer the following in about 750 words

1. What were educational institutions of the earlier times in India called?
2. Why is the Wood's despatch called the Magna Carta of English education in India?
3. Explain the Anglo- Oriental debate.
4. Enumerate the personal efforts made by the English to start educational institutions.

II Match of Following

- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Wood's Despatch | a Asiatic Society |
| 2. Lord Macaulay | b. Fort William College |
| 3. William Jones | c. Sanskrit College |
| 4. Jonathan Duncan | d. University of Calcutta |

5. Lord Wellesley

e. Filtration theory

III Choose the correct answer

1. Diwani was the
 - a. Right to Collect Taxes
 - b. Right to administer justice
 - c. Right to mint coins
 - d. Right to wage wars
2. In 1858 the remaining powers of the East India Company were transferred to

a. The Parliament	c. The Crown
b. The Viceroy	d. The Mughal Emperor
3. Find the odd one out

a. Jeremy Bentham	c. Thomas Hobbes
b. David Ricardo	d. J S Mill
4. The island of ----- was acquired by the English as dowry

a. Bombay	c. Kochi
b. Gopalpur	d. Howrah
5. The term of office of the Court of Directors was increased to four years by -----Act

a. Regulating Act	c. Pitts India Act
b. Charter Act 1813	d. Charter Act 1833

IV Fill in the blanks

1. The Company's monopoly of trade with India was abolished with -----Act.
2. The Ryotwari system was developed by -----
3. In the -----type of land revenue settlement the village was collectively responsible for payment of dues.
4. The college at Fort William for training civil servants was an initiative by -----
5. The diwani of Bihar , Bengal and Orissa was granted to the English by Emperor-----

V Answer the following in about 750 words

1. Give an overview of the administrative structures introduced by the Company.
2. Evaluate the changes in the economic policy of the Company from the 17th to the 18th century.
3. Write a note on the efforts made by the Brahmo Samaj in ushering in social reform.
4. Critically evaluate the land revenue settlements introduced by the English and explain its impact.
5. Explain the various social legislations that were introduced to fight existing social evils of 18th century India.

VI Match the following

- | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Anglo Oriental debate | a. Cornwallis |
| 2. Education for Women | b. Wood's Despatch |
| 3. Charter of 1813 | c. Abolition of Sati |
| 4. Lord William Bentinck | d. Rupees 1 lakh to promote education |
| 5. Permanent settlement | e. Macaulay |

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UNIT - V**Lesson 5.1 - The Great Revolt of 1857****Structure**

- 5.1 Learning Objectives
- 5.2 Introduction
- 5.3 Rebellions preceding the Revolt of 1857
 - 5.3.1 Tribal Revolts, civil rebellions, Popular movements and Mutinies
 - 5.3.2 Revolts in Bengal and Eastern India
 - 5.3.3 Revolts that occurred in Western India
 - 5.3.4 Revolts in South India
- 5.4 Sepoy Mutinies
- 5.5 The Revolt of 1857
 - 5.5.1 Nature and Character of the Revolt
 - 5.5.2 An Overview of the Revolt of 1857
 - 5.5.3 Causes of the Revolt of 1857
 - 5.5.4 The Beginning and Spread of the Mutiny and Revolt
 - 5.5.5 Suppression of the Revolt
 - 5.5.6 Causes of the Failure of the Revolt
 - 5.5.7 Impact of the Revolt
- 5.6 Summary
- 5.7 Keywords
- 5.8 Time to Self Assess
- 5.9 References

5.1 Learning Objectives

- To familiarize students with the social and political upheavals caused by the English rule in India.
- To help students understand the circumstances that led to the Revolt of 1857 and to recognize its causes, course and impact.

5.2 Introduction

The revolt of 1857 is perhaps one of those landmark events in Indian History that has excited much curiosity among historians and lay people alike. It's been the subject of much speculation and debate with opinions varying widely. The revolt has been a much researched subject with lots of books and articles written on it. This unit has looked at the traditional approach to the study with the causes, nature, course, consequences narrative and at the same time has also included new thematic approaches to the understanding of the great Revolt of 1857.

5.3 Rebellions Preceding the Revolt of 1857

As colonial domination progressed, a chain of far reaching changes that affected large sections of the Indian society were witnessed. The wars that were fought in the 18th and early 19th centuries demonstrated the unhappiness of regional power holders against the rising power of the Company. When Mir Qasim of Bengal took up arms against the Company it was to register his angst against the growing exploitation of the English for they had ruined both the peasants and traders. Mir Qasim in a conversation with Henry Vansittart spoke of how English traders set up trade in tobacco, salt, dried fish, timber and many other such products, but they used force and extortion and oppressed the poor inhabitants, merchants and manufacturers to obtain their goods rates far below the actual selling prices thereby causing much distress to the people. For instance the opposition of the Marathas, the conflict of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan rulers of Mysore. The wars in Punjab to crush the powers of the Sikhs.

With the battle of Plassey, the British gained control over Bengal and in the subsequent years the loot and plunder of Bengal in the form of excessive land revenue demand or exploitation of trade privileges resulted in a complete disruption of life as it had been for the people of India. The country witnessed a number of popular uprisings, revolts and mutinies across the country. There was an articulation of resistance at multiple levels against the hegemony of the Company. The resistance against the Company came from different quarters in varied forms to mount the first serious challenge to the domination of the English. The alienation experienced by agrarian communities and political sections finally led to a large scale uprising in 1857.

The agrarian society witnessed a transformation as a result of two major developments. The first was related to the land revenue settlements and the escalation of revenue demands. The changes affected both the poor peasants as well as the traditional land owning classes. The second development was the political displacement of the old ruling aristocrats, they lost their status and no longer enjoyed the life they were used to.

Stokes in his study of the 1857 revolt stated “the Brahmin challenged by the new educational system, the aristocrat deprived of his ancestral lands, the prince shorn of his state all readily joined together to overthrow the British state.” British rule from the very beginning destabilised the local society resulting in armed insurrections. For example in Bengal where the British captured power early, there were a spate of zamindari uprisings. The greedy English traders who coerced the artisans and manufacturers to obtain the wares cheap impacted the wellbeing of those communities. Before the battle of Buxor, Mir Qasim had forged an alliance with the local magnates whose incomes were impacted by British interference. In 1764, there is the instance of fakirs attacking the English factory at Dacca while zamindars participated in the siege of English factories in the countryside.

Rajat Ray in his study states that Mir Qasim was able to build a social alliance leading to the battle of Buxor in 1764 which reflects the anti-British sentiments

5.3.1 Tribal Revolts, Civil Rebellions, Popular Movements and Mutinies

The century after 1757 witnessed a number of popular mobilizations, revolts and mutinies against foreign rule and its attendant evils. The pinch of the loss of independence, foreign intrusion into local autonomy, introduction of administrative innovations, excessive land revenue demands dislocation of economy was felt in different regions of India at different points of time and as such caused disturbances mostly of a local nature. Agrarian resistance as seen from Bengal to Malabar was primarily the result of severe destabilization caused by British rule and land settlements. To enforce the new settlements the English depended on certain sections of landed aristocracy. The English created new groups and used some older groups who were suitable for the new disposition. It was inevitable that eventually the English and their collaborators who face the ire of the peasants and cultivators who bore the brunt of the new land revenue settlements. Religion in some cases became the framing ideology of the protest. The main thrust of the Company's agenda after

they acquired the diwani was to increase the taxes in Bengal. Between 1765 and 1784 there was a substantial increase in revenue. This was made possible through various experiments which involved the replacement of old intermediary collectors by new ones, who were very often ruthless. Therefore insurgency became a recurring feature of the agrarian economy in Bengal.

5.3.2 Revolts in Bengal and Eastern India

The Sanyasi Revolt- The establishment of British rule in Bengal after 1757 and the new economic order it brought spelt ruin on zamindars, peasants, and artisans alike. The famine of 1770 and the callousness on the part of the Company's stooges was seen as a direct impact of alien rule. The sanyasis and fakirs refer to the gosians and monastic orders that operated an extensive network of trade, usury and mercenary military activities. They had risen to prominence in the eighteenth century when they offered their services to local politics and exercised broad political economic and military influence as bankers, merchants and soldiers. In return for the military assistance they were given rent free lands. This was evident in the districts of Malda, Dinajpur and Mymensingh. Robert Barlow an English officer in his description of the sanyasis of Benares states that they were a religious sect who were wealthy and were known for their integrity in commercial transactions.

The Company introduced some changes that impacted the sanyasis. A ban was imposed on the free movement of Sanyasis along pilgrimage routes, their rights to collect contributions from villages along these routes and the right to carry arms was also removed. Moreover since the Company was trying to maximise their profits they supported large landlords who were in dispute with the powerful moneylending sanyasis. In 1773 Warren Hastings issued a proclamation banishing all fakirs and sanyasis from Bengal. The sanyasis, with a tradition of fighting against oppression, espoused the popular cause and organised raids on the Company's factories, state treasuries and valiantly fought against the Company's armed forces. They also attacked those zamindars who were supported by the Company. In the winter of 1773 the fakirs led by Majnu Singh joined hands with sanyasis and marched towards Brahmaputra. Four companies of sepoys were deployed and the sanyasis and fakirs were repulsed. However it took the Company almost three decades to completely suppress the sanyasi revolt.

By the regulation of 1788 the English staked claims to the rent free lands enjoyed by sanyasis. This was a direct challenge to the position and economic basis of the sanyasis. Only after prolonged military action could Warren Hastings contain sanyasi raids. The Rangpur insurrection of 1783 intersected with the Sanyasi uprising. In Rangpur district in North Bengal, the problems of revenue collection became acute. Offenders like Debi Singh and Ganga Gobind Singh terrorised the villagers. The peasants sent a petition seeking redress but when there was no response from authorities they armed themselves and attacked the zamindars operating for the Company. The uprising saw both Hindu and Muslim peasants come together. They invoked symbols of the pre-colonial system to legitimise their actions. The Company brutally suppressed the rebellion.

Chuar and Ho Risings- Famine, enhanced land revenue demands and economic distress goaded the Chuar aboriginal tribesmen of Midnapur district to take up arms. The Rajas of Dhalbhum, Kailapal, Dholka and Barabhum organised a revolt in 1768 and followed a scorched-earth policy. The disturbed conditions continued till the end of the century.

The Ho and Munda tribesmen of Chhota Nagpur and Singhbhum also suffered much under the new land taxes. They challenged the Company's forces in 1820-22, again in 1831 and the region remained disturbed till 1837.

Kol Risings- The Kols of Chhotanagpur were angry over the fact that land originally under Kol headmen (Mundas) was transferred to outsiders like Sikh and Muslim farmers. In 1831 the Kol rebels attacked and killed about a thousand outsiders. The rebellion spread to Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau and western parts of Manbhum. Law and order could be restored only after large-scale military operations.

Santhal Risings- The Santals were a tribe residing in what is now the present day state of Jharkhand. They were resentful about the ill-treatment meted to them by the revenue officials. They also faced the oppression of the police and exactions of the landlords and the money-lenders. The anger of the tribals spilled out against the three pillars of colonial rule- landlord, moneylender and police. Forced by colonial oppression they relocated to the area along the Rajmahal hills, which they cleared and claimed as their own. This however did not end the oppression they faced. Taking advantage of their poverty and innocence, moneylenders lured them into their trap by offering loans. They ended up in debt-ridden subordination.

The Santhals rebelled in 1855 under the leadership of Sidhu and Kanhu. A local legend circulated that their God, the mighty Marang Buru appeared before the brothers and gave them a blank paper commanding them to avenge the oppressors.

On 30 June 1855 about 10,000 santhals gathered in the village of the two brothers and declared the end of the Company's rule and proclaimed themselves independent and set up a government of their own. Letters were dispatched by Sidhu to the government Commissioner, Collector and Magistrate at Bhagalpur, Collector and Magistrate at Birbhum, to the police stations at these places and to several zamindars in an attempt at reconciliation but it did not work. The santhals began attacking landlords, moneylenders and policemen. About 30,000 santhals armed with bows and arrows attacked their oppressors. The Company's government between Rajmahal and Bhagalpur was paralysed. The uprisings were quelled brutally with santhal villages being burnt down. About 60,000 santhals lost their lives. The situation was under control by 1856. The Company stepped in quickly to pacify the Santhals and redress their grievances. They created a separate district of Santhal Parganas. It was stipulated that the usual bureaucratic and judicial procedures would not apply to this region. Special provisions were made for land rights and it became illegal for a santhal to transfer land to non-santhals. The Santhal uprising was one of the most successful tribal rebellions in British India.

The Ahoms' Revolt- During the Anglo Burmese war the English had occupied the territory of the Ahoms. They had promised to withdraw once the war was over but when they showed no signs of doing so and instead tried to incorporate Ahom territory into the Company's dominion it sparked much anger. The Ahom nobility in Assam accused the Company's authorities of non-fulfilment of pledges of withdrawal from their territory. The events sparked off a rebellion. In 1828 the Ahoms proclaimed Gomdhar Konwar as their king and planned a march to Rangpur. However the Company had a superior military force and they aborted the move. A second revolt was planned in 1830. The Company decided to follow a pacific policy and in 1833 handed over upper Assam to Maharaja Purander Singh Narendra and a part of the kingdom was restored to the Assamese Raja.

Khasi Rising- The East India Company had occupied the hilly region between Jaintia in the east and Garo hills in the west. The English had

plans of building a military road to link up the Brahmaputra valley with Sylhet and brought a large number of Englishmen, Bengalis and other labour to complete the project.

Tirat Singh, the ruler of Nunklow, was annoyed and angry about the intrusion into his territories. He won over the support of tribes such as Garos, Khamptis and Singhpos in a bid to drive away the lowland strangers. The insurgency grew into a popular revolt against British rule in the area. The superior English military force however managed to suppress the revolt in 1833.

Pagal Panthis' and Faraizis' Revolts- The Pagal Panthis were a semi-religious sect founded by Karam Shah, who lived in the northern districts of Bengal. Tipu, the son and successor of Karam Shah, was inspired by religious as well as political motives. He took up the cause of the tenants against the oppressions of the zamindars. In 1825 Tipu captured Sherpur and assumed royal power. The rebelling tribes spread their activities to the Garo hills. The area remained disturbed in the 1830s and 1840,

The Faraizi movement developed among the East Bengal peasantry. The Faraizis were followers of a Muslim sect founded by Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal. The movement emphasised a purer version of Islam and abandoning of un-Islamic practices. They took inspiration from the Quran as their sole spiritual guide. They advocated radical religious, social and political changes and directed their anger against the English, zamindars and planters. Shariatullah's son Dadu Mian (1819-60) took upon himself the responsibility to expel English intruders from Bengal. Dadu Mian was an excellent organiser as he was able to build a number of village organisations in the districts of Faridpur, Bakarganj, Dacca, Pabna, Tippera, Jessore and Noakhali. The sect supported the claims of the tenants against the exactions of the zamindars. Dadu Mian ran a parallel system of administration and arbitration. The Faraizi disturbances continued from 1838 to 1857 but were suppressed by the English. Unlike the Santhals the Faraizi movement failed to get any permanent concession from the authorities. Most of the Faraizis later joined the ranks of the Wahabis.

5.3.3 Revolts that Occurred in Western India

Bhil Risings- The Bhils were an aboriginal tribe, living in the Western Ghats with their strongholds in Khandesh. During 1817-19 the Bhils revolted against their new masters, the English East India Company.

The Company's authorities alleged that the revolts had been instigated by Peshwa Baji II and his lieutenant Trimbakji Dangle. The Bhils faced agrarian hardships and they feared the new regime would completely destroy their livelihood. Several British detachments were enlisted to ruthlessly crush the revolt. However, the Bhils could not be suppressed. Encouraged by the British reverses in the war in Burma, the Bhils under their leader Sewram revolted again in 1825. The trouble erupted in 1831 and again in 1846 signifying the popular character of the discontent.

Koli Risings- The Kolis who lived in the neighbourhood of the Bhils, also resented the imposition of British rule. They were unhappy about the British rule and the fact that several of their forts had been dismantled. The new administration established by the Company caused widespread unemployment. The Kolis rose in rebellion in 1829, in 1839 and once again during 1844-48.

The Cutch Rebellion- Anti-British sentiments existed in the Cutch and Kathiawar areas. The struggle between the Cutch ruler, Rao Bharmal and the pro-Jhareja chiefs was at the root of the trouble. In 1819 a British force defeated and deposed Rao Bharmal and placed his infant son on the throne. The actual administration of Cutch was committed to the care of a Council of Regency under the superintendence of the British Resident. The administrative innovations made by the Regency Council in addition to the excessive land assessment caused deep resentment. The news of the English reverses in the Anglo-Burmese war emboldened the chiefs to rise in revolt and demand the restoration of Bharmal. Extensive military operations had to be undertaken to suppress the movement. The trouble erupted again in 1831. The company's authorities were compelled to follow a conciliatory policy.

Waghera Rising- The Wagheras of Okha Mandal had been resentful of the imposition of foreign rule from the very beginning. The exactions of the Gaikwar of Baroda supported by the British Government compelled the Waghera chief to take up arms. The Wagheras carried out attacks on British territory during 1818-19. A peace treaty was concluded in November 1820.

Surat Salt Agitation- The region of Surat had a long history of opposition to unpopular measures. Salt duty was raised from 50 paise to one rupee in 1844. This caused great discontent among the people. Soon the anti-Government feelings turned into a strong anti-British

spirit. Some Europeans were attacked. Faced with a popular movement the Government decided to withdraw the additional salt levy. Similarly in 1848 the Government's decision to introduce Bengal Standard Weights and Measures in Surat had to be withdrawn, as the people were determined to resort to boycott and passive resistance to prevent its implementation.

Ramosi Risings- Ramosis, who were the hill tribes in the Western Ghats, were not reconciled to British rule and the British pattern of administration. In 1822 their leader Chittur Singh revolted and plundered the country around Satara. There were eruptions again during 1825-26 and the area remained disturbed for a long time.

Satara - The deposition and banishment of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara in September 1839 caused widespread resentment among the people and a chain of disturbances occurred during 1840-41. Narsingrao Dattatraya Petkar gathered a sizable troop and captured the fort of Badami and hoisted the flag of the Raja of Satara. A superior British force managed to restore order in the area.

Kolhapur and Savantvadi Revolts- Administrative reorganisation in the Kolhapur state after 1844 caused much hardships for the people. The Godkaris, who were the hereditary military class which garrisoned Maratha forts were disbanded. Faced with the possibility of unemployment and its resultant evils, they rose in revolt and occupied the forts of Samangarh and Bhudargarh. Similarly, the simmering discontent resulted in a revolt in Savantvadi.

The Wahabi Movement - The Wahabi movement offered the most serious and well-planned challenge to British supremacy in India from 1830s to 1860. Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareilly (1786-1831), the leader of this movement in India was influenced by the teaching of Abdul Wahab (1703-87) of Arabia, but even more by the preaching of the Delhi saint Shah Waliullah (1702-62). Syed Ahmed condemned all accretions to and innovations in Islam and advocated a return to the pure Islam and society of Arabia of the Prophet's times. The Wahabi movement was basically a revivalist movement.

In order to achieve the desired objectives, Syed Ahmad looked for (a) the right leader. (b) a proper organisation and (c) a safe territory from where to launch his jihad. Syed Ahmad was acclaimed as the desired leader (the Imam), a country-wide organisation with an elaborate secret code for its working under four spiritual vice regents (Khalifas) was instituted and

Sithana (in Darul-Islam) located in the North-Western tribal belt was at Patna became the headquarters though it had its missions at Hyderabad, Madras, Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Bombay.

Since Dar-ul-Harb (The world of Kafirs) was to be converted into Dar-ul-Islam (The world of Islam) a jihad was declared against the Sikh kingdom in Punjab. Peshawar was captured in 1830, but lost to the Sikhs the following year with Syed Ahmad losing his life in the battle. After the Sikhs were defeated and their empire incorporated into the East India Company's dominion in 1849 the sole target of the Wahabis' attack became the English dominion in India.

During the Revolt of 1857 the Wahabis played a notable role in spreading anti-British sentiments but their exact role in anti-British military activities is not very clear.

The British rulers of India viewed the potential danger of the Wahabis' base of operations from Sithana in the background of a possible war between Great Britain getting involved in a war with Afghanistan or Russia. In the 1860s the Government launched a multi-pronged attack by organising a series of military operations on the Wahabi base of operations in Sithana. This was aided and abetted by the frontier tribesmen. A number of court cases for sedition were registered against Wahabis. The movement lost its vitality however the Wahabi fanatics continued to help the frontier hill tribes in their encounters with the English in the 1880s and 1890s.

The Wahabi movement was a movement of the Muslims, by the Muslims and for the Muslims and aimed at the establishment of Dar-ul-Islam in India. At no stage did it assume the character of a nationalist movement. Rather it left behind a legacy of isolationist and separatist tendencies among the Indian Muslims.

5.3.4 Revolts in South India

The Revolt of the Raja of Vizianagaram - After the East India Company acquired the Northern Circars in 1765 they began to act in a very high-handed manner. The Company demanded three lakhs from the Raja as a gift apart from ordering him to disband his troops. When the Raja refused, his estate was annexed. A revolt erupted in which the Raja received the full support of his people and his troops. The Raja lost his life in a battle in 1794. The Company's authorities realized that it would be wise to patch up

differences and they offered the estate to the deceased Raja's son and also reduced the demand for presents.

Vellore Mutiny- Vellore Mutiny which took place on 10 July 1806 was the earliest instance of a large scale uprising against the East India Company. Though it lasted only for a day it was brutal it rattled the Company authorities. There were several causes that were responsible the most important being that of the religious sensitivities of Hindu and Muslim sepoys. New rules had been enforced by the Company forbidding caste marks, head gears and beards in abid to bring about uniformity in the dress of the sepoy. The sepoys expressed their grievances because the changes ordered were against their religious practices but the soldiers who protested were flogged and punished.

Within the prison fort the family of Tipu Sultan who had been defeated and killed in the battle at Seringapatnam were lodged. The rebelling sepoys rallied around the royals of Mysore and mutinied. 14 English officers and 115 English soldiers of the 69th regiment were killed by the mutineers. The reprisal by the English was swift and severe. The rebels were overpowered. About 350 Indian soldiers lost their lives and about 350 soldiers were wounded in the hostilities. The three Madras regiments that participated in the mutiny were disbanded.

Poligar Rebellion- The Poligars of Dindigul and Malabar also took up arms against the evils of the English land revenue system. During 1801-5 the Poligars of the Ceded Districts and North Arcot revolted against the Company. Sporadic risings of the Poligars in the Madras Presidency continued up to 1856.

Diwan Velu Tampi's Revolt- In 1805 Wellesley imposed a subsidiary alliance treaty on the ruler of Travancore. Resentful of the harsh terms imposed on the State, the ruler did not pay the subsidy and fell in arrears. The overbearing attitude of the British Resident caused deep resentment and Diwan Velu Tampi raised the banner of revolt with the support of the Nair battalion. A large British force had to be deployed to meet the situation and restore peace.

5.4 Sepoy Mutinies

The East India Company required a large army to pursue its plans of territorial aggrandizement in India. Its demands for recruits increased as its plans for expansion outside the boundaries of India and for imperial

purposes took shape. However, the sepoys found that their pay, allowances and terms of service worsened as they conquered more and more territories for their masters. Further, the sepoys shared all the discontent and grievances be it social, religious or economic-that afflicted the civilian population.

- 1764-A battalion of Munro's army at the battlefield of Buxor deserted and joined the forces of Mir Kasim.
- 1806-There was a mutiny at Vellore in protest against the interference in the social and religious practices of the sepoys, namely that of wearing head gear, caste marks on forehead and sporting of beard for Muslims. The sepoys unfurled the flag of the ruler of Mysore, whose family were incarcerated in the Vellore jail.
- 1824 The 47th Native infantry unit mutinied when ordered to proceed to Burma without being provided adequate overseas allowances.
- 1825-The Grenadier Company in Assam mutinied.
- 1838-An Indian regiment at Sholapur mutinied for nonpayment of full bhatta.
- 1844-The 34th N. I. and 64th regiment joined by some others refused to proceed to Sind without old pecuniary benefits.
- 1849-50-There was mutinous spirit in the Company's army of occupation in Punjab. The regiment at Govindgarh mutinied in 1850.

5.5 The Revolt of 1857

The record of the East India Company ever since the Battle of Plassey had been one of ever-increasing conquest and commercial interference. The greed of the Englishman knew no limits. The combined effect of British expansionist policies, economic exploitation and administrative changes over the years had adversely affected the population. The position of all-rulers of Indian states, sepoys, zamindars, peasants, traders, pundits, moulvies etc. was compromised excepting, of course, the Western educated class in towns who owed their 'position' to the Company's Government. The Lucknow Proclamation highlighted how British rule had endangered all the four things dear to Hindus and Muslims alike-religion, honour, life and property. The resentment of the Indians had found expression in a number of mutinies and insurrections from time to time in different parts of the country; to mention a few, the mutiny at Vellore in 1806, at Barrackpore in

1824, at Ferozepur in February 1842 closely followed by the mutiny of 7th Bengal Cavalry and 64th Regiment, 22nd mutiny of 22nd N.I. in 1849, of the 66th N.I. in 1850, the 38th N. I. in 1852 etc., the Bareilly rising of 1816, the Kol insurrection of 1931-32, the 1848 revolt of the Rajas of Kangra, Jaswar and Datarpur and the Santhal rising of 1855-56. These rebellions arose out of a wide range of political, economic and administrative causes. The simmering discontent burst out into a violent storm in 1857 which shook the British empire in India to its very foundations.

5.5.1 Nature and Character of the Revolt

Historians have held divergent view about the nature of the outbreak of 1857. Several British historians like Kaye, Malleeson, Lawrence, Trevelyan and Holmes have painted it as 'a mutiny'. They claimed that the insurrection was confined to the army and did not enjoy the support of the people at large. A similar view was held by many contemporary Indians like Munshi Jiwan Lal, Moinuddin (both eye-witnesses at Delhi), Durgadas Bandyopadhyaya (eye-witness at Bareilly), Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Sadr Amin at Bijnor in 1857) among many others. Others described it as a 'religious war against the Christians' or 'a racial struggle for supremacy between the Black and the White.' Still others described 'a struggle between Oriental and Occidental civilization and culture'. A few described it the result of Hindu-Muslim conspiracy to overthrow the British rule'. Some Indian nationalists have called it a well-planned national struggle and as 'the first war of Indian independence',

Sir John Lawrence and Seeley believed it to be a Sepoy's Mutiny and nothing more. Sir John Seeley describes the Revolt of 1857 as a 'wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy Mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support'. According to him, it was a rebellion of the Indian sepoys against the constituted government of the day. Some Indian states, it is conceded, also joined in the revolt but these were states which nursed a grievance because of the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie. The British Government, as the constituted authority of the land suppressed the revolt and restored law and order. This interpretation is unsatisfactory. No doubt, the Revolt began as a military rising, but it was not entirely confined to the army. Even the army as a whole did not join the revolt, and a considerably large section fought on the side of the government. In fact, the rebels came from almost every section of the population. In Oudh it enjoyed the support of the masses and so also in some districts of Bihar. In the trials of

1858-59 thousands of civilians, along with the soldiers, were held guilty of rebellion and punished.

L. E. R. Rees has described the Revolt was 'a war of fanatic religionists against Christians. This description also is untenable. During the heat of the rebellion the ethical principles underlying the various religions had little influence on the combatants. Both sides quoted their religious scriptures to justify their actions and cover their excesses over the other. The Christians ultimately won but not Christianity. The Hindus and Muslims were defeated but not their respective religions. True, Christianity like Western science has influenced the Indian mind but the Christian missionaries had no astounding success in the work of proselytization.

Nor was it 'a war of races, a struggle between the White and the Black. True, all the Whites in India, whatever their nationality, were ranged on one side, but not all the Blacks. As Captain J.G. Medley point out: "In fact (counting the camp-followers) for every white man in camp there certainly were twenty black ones". In the British war-camps Indians served as cooks and looked after the comforts of the soldiers. It was the black palanquin-bearers who carried the white wounded soldiers out of the danger zone. Besides the non-combatants there was a high proportion of Indian soldiers in the Company's army and they took part in the suppression of the rebellion. To be more accurate, it was a war between the black rebels on one side and the White rulers supported by other blacks on the other side.

Some English historians led by T. R. Holmes popularized the view that the Revolt of 1857 was a conflict between civilization and barbarism. The opinion smacks of narrow racialism. During the rebellion both the Europeans and the Indians were guilty of excesses. If the Indians were guilty of the murder of European women and in some cases children in Delhi, Kanpur and Lucknow, the record of the British was equally tarnished by dark deeds which were no less gruesome and barbaric. General Hodson indulged in indiscriminate shooting at Delhi. General Neill took pride in the fact that he hanged hundreds of Indians without any trial whatsoever. Around Allahabad there was hardly a single tree which was not used as a gallows for unfortunate peasants. At Banaras even the street urchins were caught and hanged. Russell, the correspondent of The Times, mentions that Muslim noblemen were sewn alive in pig-skin and pork was forced down their throats. The stark reality was vendetta took the better of men on both sides. No nation or individual which indulges in such horrible atrocities can claim to be civilised.

Sir James Outram and W. Tayler described the outbreak as the result of Hindu-Muslim conspiracy. Outram held “it was a Mohammedan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances”. Like most of the earlier mentioned explanations provided by the British this also was inadequate and unsatisfactory.

Benjamin Disraeli, a contemporary conservative leader in England, described it ‘a national rising’. He contended that the so-called Mutiny was ‘no sudden impulse but was the result of careful combinations, vigilant and well-organised, on the watch for an opportunity... the decline and fall of empires are not affairs of greased cartridges... such rebellions are occasioned by adequate causes and accumulation of adequate causes.” As Judith Brown has pointed out at the time many British people preferred to see the events largely as a military mutiny- understandably as any wider interpretation would have cast doubts on the nature of the Raj.

Early national leaders, looking for examples to arouse national consciousness among the people, reinterpreted the uprising of 1857 as a people’s revolt and its leaders as national heroes gifted with the vision of a free India. The lead was taken by V. D. Savarkar who in his book *The Indian War of Independence*, published in London in 1909, described it “a planned war of national independence” and tried to prove that the earlier risings of 1826-27, 1831-32, 1848, 1854 were rehearsals of the great drama played out in 1857. Later national leaders further developed the theme of the popular character of the Revolt and cited it as a shining example of the perfect accord and harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims in the fight for freedom from British yoke. In 1957 the people of India celebrated the centenary of the events of 1857 with the fervour and enthusiasm as if it was a war of independence.

In recent times two distinguished Indian historians namely Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Dr. S. N. Sen, have made exhaustive studies of all available records, official as well as non-official. There are differences in how they interpret the events of 1857-1858. Both of them however, agree that the uprising of 1857 was not the result of careful planning nor were there any master minds behind it. The mere fact that Nana Sahib went to Lucknow and Ambala in March-April 1857 and the struggle started in May of the same year cannot be regarded as evidence that he planned it. The belief that Munshi Azim Ullah Khan and Rango Bapuji were involved in the preparation of plans for the uprising is untenable. Azim Ullah Khan had gone to London to plead before the Court of Directors the right of Nana

Sahib for the pension paid to Baji Rao II. On his way back he visited Turkey and met Omar Pasha on the battlefield of Crimea. Rango Bapuji was sent to London to secure the rendition of Satara. The fact that both had been in London on missions cannot be regarded as pointing to their participation in the conspiracy. Even the story of the circulation of messages through chapatis or lotus flowers does not prove anything. During the trial of Bahadur Shah the evidence collected did not convince even the British officers. In fact, the course of the trial made it clear that the uprising was as much a surprise to Bahadur Shah as it was to the British.

Both the historians Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Sen agree that in the middle of the nineteenth century Indian nationalism was only just beginning and was in an embryo form. "India in the first half of the nineteenth century" asserts Dr. Sen, "was a geographical expression". In 1857 the Bengalis, the Punjabis, the Maharastrians, the Madrasis never realised that they belonged to the same nation. The leaders of the Rebellion were no 'national' leaders. Bahadur Shah was no 'national' king. He was compelled by the soldiers to assume their leadership. Nana Sahib raised the banner of revolt only after his envoy in London had failed to get for him the pension of Baji Rao II. Even after the revolt had begun he declared that he would come to terms with the English if only pension was sanctioned. The trouble in Jhansi was over the right of succession and annexation. The Rani's slogan was "mera Jhansi, dehygi nahin." No doubt, the Rani died a hero's death, but at no stage did she indicate that her cause was the cause of the nation. The Nawab of Oudh, a worthless debauchee, could never aspire to national leadership. The taluqdars of Oudh fought for their feudal privileges and for their king, not for any national cause. Most of the leaders were mutually jealous and masses was no better. The majority of the people remained apathetic and neutral. The movement failed to enlist popular support except in Oudh and Shahabad district of Bihar. Nationalism, as it is understood today, had yet to come.

R. C. Majumdar gave his analysis of the revolt of 1857 in his book entitled *The Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857*. Subsequently he elaborated some of his arguments in the chapters he contributed to the *Bhartiya Vidya Bhavan's British Paramountcy and the Indian Renaissance*, vol. ix. The main thrust of Majumdar's argument is the uprising of 1857 was not a war of independence. He maintains that the Revolt took different aspects at different places. In some regions (like large parts of

Madhya Pradesh and the Panjab) it was a mutiny of sepoys joined later by disgruntled elements eager to take advantage of anarchy; in other area (like the U. P., some parts of Madhya Pradesh and western parts of Bihar) the mutiny of sepoys was followed by a general revolt in which apart from the soldiers, civilians, particularly the dispossessed rulers of Indian states, landlords, tenants and others took part; in still other parts of the country (like Rajasthan and Maharashtra) the civil population sympathised with the rebels but kept themselves within bounds of law and did not take part in overt acts of rebellion.

R. C. Majumdar strongly believed that the most important group that fought against the British were the sepoys. The sepoys had their grievances. He contends that the sepoys were mostly motivated by the desire of material gain rather than any political or even religious considerations. The sepoys at Delhi, Bareilly and Allahabad indulged in plunder and loot during the revolt and both Europeans and Indians were their victims. These soldiers inspired a sense of dread and terror rather than that of sympathy and fellowfeeling among the people. The sepoys at Delhi refused to fight unless their salaries were paid, Dr. Majumdar concluded that "there is nothing in the conduct or behaviour of the sepoys which would justify us in the belief or even assumption, that they were inspired by love for their country or fought against the British with the definite idea of freeing their motherland."

Dr. Majumdar underlines another aspect of the Revolt of 1857. He maintains that its national importance was indirect and posterior. He writes: "It has been said that Julius Caesar was more powerful dead than when he was alive. The same thing may be said about the Mutiny of 1857. Whatever might have been its original character, it soon became a symbol of challenge to the mighty British power in India. It remained a shining example before nascent nationalism in India in its struggle for freedom from the British yoke, and was invested with the full glory of the first national war of independence against the British."

Dr. S. N. Sen's contention is that the rising of 1857 was a war of independence. He states that revolutions are mostly the work of a minority, with or without the active sympathy of the masses. Such was the case with the American Revolution of 1775-83 and the French Revolution of 1789-1799. A very large percentage of American settlers remained loyal to the British crown and about 60,000 of them emigrated to Canada after the war was over. Similarly, in revolutionary France there were many royalists.

Dr. Sen contends that when a rebellion can claim the sympathies of the substantial majority of the population, it can claim a national character. Unfortunately, in India the majority of the people remained disinterested and even apathetic. The Rebellion of 1857 cannot be invested with a national character. However, it was not merely a military rising. Dr. Sen comes to the conclusion: "The Mutiny became a revolt and assumed a political character when the mutineers of Meerut placed themselves under the King of Delhi and a section of the landed aristocracy and civil population declared in his favour. What began as a fight for religion ended as a war of independence for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the king of Delhi was the rightful representative."

Yet another Indian scholar, Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, in his book *Civil Rebellions in the Indian Mutinies, 1857-59* has done a detailed analysis of the civil rebellions which accompanied the military insurrection of 1857. Dr. Chaudhuri maintains that the revolt of 1857 can be bifurcated into two sub-divisions, mutiny and rebellion. He believes that the outburst of 1857 was the coming together of two series of disturbances, the military and the civil, each provoked by independent grievances. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, however, maintains that the outbreaks before 1857, whether civil or military, were "a series of links following one single chain-the isolated ebullitions which culminated in the great conflagration of 1857."

The Marxist interpretation of the Revolt of 1857 as the struggle of the soldier-peasant democratic combine against foreign as well as feudal bondage which failed because of feudal betrayal goes way off the mark. There seems to have been no ideology or programme behind their revolt except local grievances or anti-British sentiments.

5.5.2 An Overview of the Revolt of 1857

There is a broad general agreement and consensus among historians that in the middle of the 19th century conception of nationality-if nationalism is taken in the modern sense-was in embryo. Prof. S. N. Sen remarks that India in 1857 was "a geographical expression" and the Bengalees, the Punjabis, the Hindustanis, the Maharastrians and the people in the south did not realise that they belonged to the same nation.

On the question of whether the Mutiny and Revolt of 1857 was a War of Independence. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wrote: "Essentially it was a feudal

outburst headed by feudal chiefs and their followers and aided by the widespread anti-foreign sentiment.” Nehru refers to the rural base of the Revolt and points out that even the feudal chiefs were unorganised and had no constructive ideal or community of interests”. The rulers of princely states as a whole kept aloof or helped the British, fearing to risk what they had acquired or managed to retain. Prof. R. C. Majumdar argues that some segments of Indian society in many parts of India fought against the British, but their motives seems to have material interest and religious considerations and in very few individual cases the rulers were moved by disinterested and patriotic motive of freeing the country from the yoke of imperial British rule. Majumdar concludes “It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the so-called First National War of Independence of 1857 is neither First, nor National nor War of Independence.”

Prof. S.N. Sen looks upon the events of 1857 in the broader perspective and argues that revolts and revolutions are mostly the work of minority, with or without the active sympathy of the masses as it happened during the American War of Independence or even the French Revolution. Following this logic. Sen concludes: “What began as a fight for religion ended as a War of Independence for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old of which the King of Delhi was the rightful representative.”

Western scholars particularly from the Universities of Cambridge, Oxford and London followed by scholars from U.S.A. and Australian Universities labelled the revolt of 1857 as ‘The Mutiny of 1857’ (ie., a military outbreak). This interpretation is the outcome of the British imperial bias. A recent British historian, Dr. Judith M. Brown has admitted the existence and persistence of this when she writes. “At the time many British people preferred to see the events largely as a military mutiny- understandably, as any wider interpretation would have cast doubts on the nature of their Raj- ‘a mutiny complex’ does seem to have become part of the British picture of India” Prof. F.G. Hutchins, a U.S.A based historian expresses a similar opinion when he writes: “The uprising of 1857 was termed a mutiny by the British because they wished to emphasise its treasonous nature and in addition convey the impression that it was confined to the Indian troops of the British Army. It is clear, however, from recent scholarly researches that while it began as a military mutiny, the uprising quickly assumed the character of a popular rebellion.”

Prof. Stanley Wolpert, an American historian strikes a slightly different stance when he writes about the Revolt of 1857. “It was far more than a mutiny..... yet much less than a first of independence”.

Whatever the nature of the Revolt of 1857, it soon became a symbol of challenge to the British imperial rule in India. During the freedom Struggle of India, our leaders and people in general drew inspiration from some of the heroic events of 1857. Undoubtedly, the Revolt of 1857 became a turning point in modern Indian History.

5.5.3 Causes of the Revolt of 1857

The Anglo-Indian historians have greatly emphasised the importance of military grievances and the greased cartridges affair as the most potent causes which led to the great rising of 1857. But modern Indian historians have established beyond doubt that 'the greased cartridge' was not the only cause, nor even the most important of them. The causes of the Rebellion lay deeper and are to be found in the history of the hundred years of British rule from the Battle of Plassey (June 1757) to the rebellion of Mangal Pandey when on March 29, 1857, he murdered an English Adjutant. The greased cartridge and the mutiny of soldiers was merely the match-stick which exploded the inflammable material which had gathered in heap on account of a variety of causes political, social, religious and economic. The incident of the greased cartridge was symptomatic of a larger sense of resentment and grievance. They had experienced a sense of alienation with their masters which made them sensitive to new acts of legislation which they felt was an attack on personal faith and religion.

Political Causes- The East India Company's policy of effective control and gradual extinction of the Indian native states took a definite shape with the perfection of the Subsidiary Alliance System under Lord Wellesley. Its logical culmination was reached under Dalhousie who threw all codes of morality and political conduct to the winds and perfected the infamous Doctrine of Lapse. Dalhousie's annexations and the Doctrine of lapse had caused suspicion and uneasiness in the minds of almost all ruling princes in India. The right of succession was denied to the Hindu Princes. The guarantee of adoption to the throne "did not extend to any person in whose veins the blood of the founder of the dynasty did not run". The distinction between 'dependent states' and "protected allies" was very thin and looked more like hair-splitting. In case of disputed interpretation, the decision of the East India Company was binding and that of the Court of Directors final. There was no Supreme Court to give an impartial verdict on questions of right and wrong. While Punjab, Pegu, Sikkim had been annexed by the 'Right of Conquest', Satara, Jaipur, Sambhalpur, Baghat, Udaipur,

Jhansi and Nagpur were annexed by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. Oudh was annexed on the pretext of “the good of the governed”. Regal titles of the Nawabs of Carnatic and Tanjore were abolished and the pension of Peshwa Baji Rao II’s adopted son Nana Sahib was stopped. The Indians held that the existence of all states was threatened and absorption of all states was a question of time. It has been stated that annexations were not because of the Doctrine of Lapse, but due to the ‘Lapse of all Morals’ on the part of the East India Company. That the fears of the people were not without foundation is clear from the correspondence of one of the architects of British India, Sir Charles Napier, who wrote: “Were I Emperor of India for twelve years.... no India prince should exist. The Nizam should no more be heard of... Nepal would be ours...” Malleon has rightly stated that the policy of Dalhousie and the utterances and writings of other high officials had created bad faith and Indians got the feeling that the British were ‘playing the wolf in the garb of the lamb’.

Muslim sentiments had been grievously hurt. Bahadur Shah II, the Mughal Emperor, was an old man and likely to die soon. Lord Dalhousie who was not in favour of retaining an imperium in *imperio* had recognised the succession of Prince Faqir-ul-Din, but imposed many strict conditions on him. After Faqir-ul-Din’s death in 1856, Lord Canning announced that the prince next in succession would have to renounce the regal title and the ancestral Mughal palaces in addition to the renunciations agreed upon by Prince Faqir-ul-Din. These acts greatly unnerved the Indian Muslims who thought that the English wanted to humble the House of Timur. In the words of Alexander Duff: “The Mohammadans have for the last hundred years not ceased to pray, like privately in their house and publicly in their mosques throughout India for the prosperity of the House of Timur or Taimurlane, whose lineal representative is the titular emperor of Delhi. But the prosperity of the House of Timur, is their estimation, undoubtedly implies neither more nor less than downfall of the British power, and the re-establishment of their own instead. In their case, therefore, disaffection towards the British Government with an intense longing for its speedy overthrow is sedulously nurtured as a sort of sacred duty which they owe alike to their faiths and the memory of their ancestors.”

The ‘absentee sovereignty’ of the British rule in India was an equally important political factor which worked on the minds of the Indian people against the British. The Pathans and the Mughals who had conquered India had,

in course of time, settled in India and become Indians. The revenues collected from the people were spent in this very country. In the case of the British, the Indians felt that they were being ruled from England from a distance of thousands of miles and the country was being drained of her wealth.

The British during the past four decades had pursued the policy of Pax-Britannica that had resulted in the disbanding of Pindaris, Thugs, and irregular soldiers who formed the bulk of the native armies. These people had lived mostly on plunder, and when deprived of the means of livelihood by the British, they formed the nucleus of antisocial elements in different areas. When in 1857, there occurred some disturbances they swelled the ranks of the rebels.

Administrative and Economic Causes- The annexation of Indian states produced startling economic and social effects. The Indian aristocracy was deprived of power and position. It found little chance to gain the same old position in the new administrative set-up, as under the British rule all high posts, civil and military, were reserved for the Europeans.

In the military services, the highest post attainable by an Indian was that of a Subedar on a salary of Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 and in the civil services that of Sadr Amin on a salary of Rs. 500 per month. The chances of promotion were very few. The Indians felt that the British were out to reduce them to 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

Sir Thomas Munro, pleading for the employment of Indians, wrote in 1817, "Foreign conquerors have treated the natives with violence, and often with cruelty, but none has treated them with so much scorn as we; none has stigmatized the whole people as un-worthy of trust, as incapable of honesty and as fit to be employed only where we cannot do without them. It seems to be not only ungenerous, but impolite, to debase the character of the people fallen under our dominion..." Despite the recommendations contained in the Charter Act of 1833, the policy had remained more or less the same.

The administrative machinery of the East India Company was 'inefficient and insufficient'. The land revenue police was very unpopular. Many districts in the newly-annexed states were in permanent revolt and military had to be sent to collect the land revenue. In the district of Panipat, for example, 136 horsemen were maintained for the collection of land revenue, while only 22 were employed for the performance of police duties. At the out-break of the Rebellion, Sir Henry Lawrence is reported to

have remarked: "It was the Jackson, the John Lawrence, the Thomason, the Edmonstones who brought India to this." In the land revenue settlement of newly acquired territories, the English administration had eliminated the middleman by establishing direct contact with the peasants. The land revenue settlement of North-Western Provinces was described as "a fearful experiment... calculated so as to flatten the whole surface of society." Many talukdars, the hereditary landlords (and tax- collectors for the Government) were deprived of their positions and gains. Many holders of rent-free tenures were dispossessed by the use of a *quo-warranto*-requiring the holders of such lands to produce evidence like title-deeds by which they held that land. Large estates were confiscated and sold by public auction to the highest bidders. Such estates were usually purchased by speculators who did not understand the tenants and fully exploited them. It was Coverly Jackson's policy of disbanding the native soldiers and of strict inquiry into the titles of the talukdars of Avadh that made Avadh the one of the chief centres of the Rebellion. The Inam Commission appointed in 1852 in Bombay confiscated as many as 20,000 estates. Thus, the new land revenue settlements made by the East India Company in the newly-annexed states drove poverty in the ranks of the aristocracy without benefiting the peasantry which groaned under the weight of heavy assessments and excessive duties. The peasants whose welfare was the chief motive of the new revenue policy did not like the passing of the old ways. They fell in the clutches of unprincipled moneylenders; they often visited their dispossessed landlords and with tears in their eyes expressed their sympathy for them. The taluqdars of Avadh were the hardest hit. In the words of Asoka Mehta: " Out of the 25,543 villages included in their estates at the time of the annexation of the kingdom, 13,640 paying a revenue of Rs. 35,06,519 were settled with taluqdars, while 11,903 villages paying Rs 32,08,319 were settled with persons other than taluqdars... the taluqdars had lost half their villages, some had lost their all." The ruthless manner in which the Thomasonian system was carried into effect may be clear from the resumption of the revenue of free villages granted for the temple Lakshmi in Jhansi.

British economic policies in India worked against the interests of Indian trade and industry. The East India Company used its political power to destroy Indian handicrafts and industry and developed it into an appendage of a foreign exploitative system. Writing in 1853 Karl Marx, a very shrewd observer, very aptly remarked: "It was the British intruder

who broke up the Indian hand-loom and destroyed the spinning-wheel. England began with depriving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindustan and in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons". The ruination of Indian industry increased the pressure on agriculture and land, which lopsided development in turn resulted in the pauperization of the country in general.

Social and Religious Causes- Like all conquering people the English rulers of India were rude and arrogant towards the subject people. However, the English were infected with a spirit of racialism. The rulers followed a policy of contempt towards the Indians and described the Hindus as barbarians with hardly any trace of culture and civilisation, while the Muslims were dubbed as bigots, cruel and faithless.

The European officers in India were very exacting and over-bearing in their social behaviour. The Indian was spoken as nigger and addressed as a suar or pig, an epithet most resented by the Muslims. Even the best among them like Bird and Thomason insulted "the native gentry whenever they had the opportunity of doing so".

European officers and European soldiers on their hunting sprees were often guilty of indiscriminate criminal assaults on Indians. The European juries, which alone could try such cases, acquitted European criminals with light or no punishment. Such discrimination rankled in the Indian mind like a festering sore.

It may be easy to withstand physical and political injustices but religious persecution touches tender conscience and forms complexes that are not easy to eradicate. That one of the aims of the English in Indian was to convert the Indians to Christianity is clear from the speech of Mr. Mangles, the Chairman of the Directors of the East India Company, in the House of Commons: "Providence has entrusted the extensive empire of Hindustan to England in order that the banner of Christ should wave triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone must exert all his strength that there may be no dilatoriness on any account in continuing in the country the grand work of making all Indians Christians," Major Edwards had openly declared that "the Christianization of India was to be the ultimate end of our continued possession of it." Vir Savarkar has pointed that the superior military and civil officers used to abuse the very names of Ram and Mohammad and prevail upon the sepoys and the civilians to embrace the Christian faith. Sepoys were promised promotions if they

accepted the True Faith. The missionaries were given ample facilities and the American Missionary Society at Agra extensive printing press. Idolatry was denounced, Hindu gods and goddesses ridiculed, Hindu superstitions dubbed as ignorance. Sir Syed Ahmed Khan mentions that “it has been commonly heard and believed that government appointed missionaries and maintained them at its own cost.” The Evangelical opinion was voiced by Lord Shaftesbury who believed that the failure to Christianize India was the cause of the whole trouble.

The Religious Disabilities Act of 1850 modified Hindu customs; a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his heathen father. Rumours were circulating in India that Lord Canning had been specially selected and entrusted with the duty of converting Indians to Christianity. In this surcharged atmosphere even the railways and steamships began to be looked upon as indirect instruments for changing their faith. The telegraph was regarded as ‘the accursed string’ and the rebels once said that ‘it was this accursed string that strangled them’. In the words of Benjamin Disraeli: “The Legislative Council of India under the new principle had been constantly nibbling at the religious system of the native. In its theoretical system of national education the sacred scriptures had suddenly appeared in the schools”. The Indian mind was getting increasingly convinced that the English were conspiring to convert them to Christianity. The activities of Christian *padris* and efforts of Dalhousie and Bethune towards women’s education made Indians feel that through education the British were going to conquer their civilisation. Even ‘education offices’ set up by the British were styled as *shaitani daftars*.

Military Causes- The sepoys had many grievances. The first was the question of emoluments. Pay, pension and prospects were far from being attractive. The average pay of an infantryman was Rs.7/- per month. A sawar from the cavalry got Rs.27/ with which he had to take care of his mount as well. As a retired British officer noted the majority of military expenditure for salaries was for European soldiers. The European corps took no share in the rough ordinary duties of a soldiers, they were lodged, fed and paid in a manner unknown to the other soldiers. No doubt this would affect the morale of the sepoys who also had to deal with difficult service conditions such as being forced to fight overseas without extra bhatta.

Since the Afghan adventure of Lord Auckland, the discipline in the army had suffered a serious set back. Lord Dalhousie had written to the Home

authorities that “the discipline of the army from top to bottom officers and men alike is scandalous”. The Bengal Army was “ a great brotherhood in which all the members felt and acted in union”, and service in the army was hereditary. Three-fifth of the recruits of the Bengal Army were drawn from Oudh and the North-Western Provinces and most of them came from high caste Brahmin and Rajput families who were reluctant to accepting that part of the army discipline which treated them on par with the low caste recruits. Sir Charles Napier had no confidence in the allegiance of ‘high caste mercenaries’. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie three mutinies had occurred in the army-the mutiny of the 22nd Native Infantry in 1849, of the 66th Native Infantry in 1850, and the 38th Native Infantry in 1852.

The sepoys feared that travelling across to foreign lands to fight the British wars would result in them loosing their caste. The camaraderie and friendship that had existed with English officers in the initial years was replaced with scorn and suspicion. The English officers treated the sepoys badly called them lazy niggers and used foul language. The British surprisingly seemed unaware of the growing distance with the soldiers and year after year promulgated orders that caused much resentment. In 1806 Acting Governor General George Barlow issued instructions to remove caste markings, trim beards and replace turbans with leather cockades. It was a very unpopular order that resulted in the Vellore mutiny. In the years following provocative orders pertaining to religious practices were passed causing much resentment. Fears of forcible conversions became very real.

The Bengal Army sepoys reflected all the feelings of the civil population of Oudh. In the opinion of Maulana Azad, the annexation of Oudh “marked the beginning of a rebellious mood in the army generally and in the Bengal army in particular... it gave a rude shock to the people... they suddenly realised that the power which the Company had acquired through their service and sacrifice was utilised to liquidate their own king”.

The extension of British dominion in India had adversely affected the service condition of the sepoys. They were required to serve in area away from their homes without the payment of extra *bhatta*. The sepoys yearned for the good old days when the Indian rulers used to reward their meritorious deeds by bestowing jagirs and other prizes upon them whereas their victories in Sind and Punjab had brought worse days for them. In 1824 the sepoys at Barrackpore had refused to serve across the seas in

Burma and the 47th regiment had been disbanded. In 1844 four Bengal regiments had refused to move to Sind till extra *bhatta* was sanctioned.

In 1856 Canning's government passed the General Service Enlistment Act which decreed that all future recruits for the Bengal army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere their service might be required by the Government. The Act did not affect old incumbent, but was unpopular because service in the Bengal army was usually hereditary. The sepoys were worried that the act would soon be extended to them. Moreover, those soldiers who had been sent in the army of invasion of Afghanistan during 1839-42 had not been taken back in the folds of the caste. Sepoys declared unfit for foreign service were not allowed to retire with pension, but were to be posted for duty at cantonments. The resentment created was expressed through the idiom of religion, which was seen to be in danger. All this assumed a certain urgency in connection with the new Enfield rifle and the greased cartridges that raised a wave of alarm among the sepoys.

The privilege of free postage that for so long had been enjoyed by the sepoys was withdrawn with the passing of the Post Office Act of 1854. Besides, the disparity in numbers between European and Indian had lately been growing greater. In 1856, the Company's army consisted of 2,38,000 native and 45,322 troops British soldiers. This disproportion was rendered more serious by the deficiency of good officers in the army, most of whom were employed in administrative posts in the newly annexed states and the frontier. The distribution of the troops was also faulty. Moreover, disasters in the Crimean war had lowered the general moral of the British soldiers. All these factors made the Indian soldiers feel that if they struck at that hour, they had reasonable chances of success. So they were waiting only for an occasion which was provided by the 'greased cartridge' incident. The greased cartridges did not create a new cause of discontent in the army, but supplied the occasion when the simmering discontent came out in the open.

In 1856 as the Government decided to replace the old-fashioned musket, 'Brown Bess' by the 'Enfield rifle. The training for the use of the new weapon was to be imparted at Dum Dum, Ambala and Sialkot. The loading process of the Enfield rifle involved bringing the cartridge to the mouth and biting off the top paper with the teeth. Orders were passed for the manufacture of greased cartridges at Calcutta, Dum Dum and Meerut for the use of troops serving in India. In January 1857 a story got currency

in the Bengal regiments that the greased cartridge contained the fat of pig and cow. On 22 January 1857 Major Boutein of the Dum Dum Musketry Department noted that his men did not wish to use the new cartridges. When questioned, a denial was issued by the military authorities without investigating into the matter. Subsequently enquiries proved that “the fat of cows or oxen really had been used at Woolwich arsenal” (V. A Smith). The English did not respond swiftly to the situation and the tardiness proved costly.

Assurances of superior officers and slight concessions proved of no avail. The sepoys become convinced that the introduction of greased cartridges was a deliberate move to defile their religion. It was argued that if the East India Company was playing the part of Aurangzeb it was but natural that sepoys should play the part of Shivaji.

5.5.4 The Beginning and Spread of the Mutiny and Revolt

The refusal of the sepoys to use the greased cartridges was regarded by the authorities as an act of insubordination to be punished accordingly. On 29 March 1857, the sepoys at Barrackpore refused to use the greased cartridge. Mangal Pandey tried to exhort his fellow sepoys to join the fray in refusing to use the cartridges. He is reported to have said, ‘it is for our religion! From biting these cartridges we have become infidels.’ He then attacked and fired at the Adjutant. His comrades refused to arrest him when ordered by their European superiors. Mangal Pandey was finally overpowered with the help of Shaikh Paltu. Mangal Pandey and a few others were apprehended, court martialled and hanged. The 34th Native Infantry regiment was disbanded. Though the incident at Barrackpore was crushed it ignited a forest fire.

At Meerut, on 6 May 1857, around 86 sepoys of the 3rd Native Light Cavalry regiment refused to use the greased cartridge despite persuasion and intimidation. The guilty were court-martialled and sentenced to imprisonment with 10 years of hard labour. The sentences were read out on the parade ground in front of the troops. The sentenced men were stripped of their uniform and shoes and their ankles were strapped. It was an act of humiliation. On 10th May a group of sepoys broke out in open rebellion, shot their officers and released their fellow sepoys who had been court-martialled. By evening even as the English were gathering their wits the mutineers had fled. They began to plunder the European bungalows and murdered its inhabitants. General Hewitt, the Officer Commanding

at Meerut, had 2,200 European soldiers at his disposal but did nothing to stem the rising tide. The police left their positions while villagers from surrounding areas poured in to take part in the loot and plunder. The mutineers decided to march to Delhi and approach the Mughal emperor to take up their cause.

Delhi was seized by the rebels on 12th May 1857. Lieutenant Willoughby, the officer-in-charge of the magazine at Delhi, offered some resistance, but was overcome. The palace and the city were occupied. Some European inhabitants of Delhi were shot dead. Bahadur Shah II was proclaimed the Emperor of India. The loss of Delhi was a serious loss of prestige to the English. Thus within a short span of time what began as random acts of mutiny swelled into a political rebellion.

Very soon the rebellion spread throughout Northern and Central India at Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Bareilly, Banaras in parts of Bihar, Jhansi and other places. Fortunately for the English, the majority of Indians rulers remained loyal and some of them rendered valuable services in the suppression of the rebellion. India south of the Narbada remained practically undisturbed.

Timeline of the rebellion

29 March 1857	- Mutiny of the 34 th Native Infantry at Barrackpur
10 May 1857	- Mutiny of sepoys in Meerut
11-30 May 1857	- Outbreaks in Delhi, Ferozepur, Bombay, Aligarh, Etawah Bulandshahar Nasirabad Bareilly, Moradabad, Shahjehanpur and other places in UP - Mughal Emperor proclaimed as Emperor of India
June 1857	- Mutinies at Gwalior, Bharatpur, Jhansi, Allahabad, Faizabad, Sultanpur, Lucknow etc. - The civil rebellion spreads through the Indo-Gangetic plain, Rajputana, Central India and some parts of Bengal.
July 1857	Mutinies at Indore, Mhow, Saugar and certain places in the Panjab like Jhelum sialkot etc.
August 1857	Civil rebellion spreads throughout

	Saugor and Nerbudda districts.
	-The civil rebellion spreads through the Indo-Gangetic plain, Rajputana, Central India and some parts of Bengal.
July 1857	- Mutinies at Indore, Mhow, Saugar and certain places in the Panjab like Jhelum sialkot etc.
August 1857	- Civil rebellion spreads throughout Saugor and Nerbudda districts.
September 1857	- The English recapture Delhi: further outbreaks in Central India.
October 1857	- Revolt spreads to Kotah State.
November 1857	- The rebels defeat General Windham outside Kanpur.
December 1857	- Sir Colin Campbell wins the battle of Kanpur. - Tantia Tope escapes.
March 1858	- Lucknow recaptured by the English.
April 1858	- Jhansi falls to the English. Fresh rising in Bihar led by Kunwar Singh,
May 1858	- The English recapture Bareilly, Jagdishpur and Kalpi. Indian rebels begin guerilla warfare Rohilkhand.
July-December 1858	- English authority re-established in India

5.5.5 Suppression of the Revolt

The English were determined to recapture Delhi at the earliest as they felt it could be of great psychological importance and they directed their efforts towards that end. Troops from Punjab were rushed and positioned themselves to the north of Delhi. The siege of Delhi was one of the biggest episodes in the events of 1857. Though tough resistance was offered by the Indian soldiers, in September 1857 Delhi was recaptured by the English after six days of desperate fighting. John Nicholson, whom the English consider the hero of the siege, was badly wounded during the operations and succumbed to his injuries. The Emperor Bahadur Shah II was arrested. Terrible revenge was wreaked on the inhabitants of Delhi. Hundreds of prisoners were hanged without trial or any judicial process. Two sons and a grandson of the Emperor were publicly shot by Lieutenant Hodson himself. The brutality with which the revolt was suppressed and the reign of terror unleashed on

Delhi left a lasting impression on both sides. The cost to the British and loyal Indian armies in recapturing Delhi was 1,254 killed and 4,493 wounded.

The rebellion broke out at Lucknow on 4th June. Henry Lawrence, the British Resident, European inhabitants and a few hundred loyal sepoys took shelter in the Residency. The Residency was besieged by the Indian rebels and Sir Henry was killed during the siege. The command of the besieged garrison was placed on Brigadier Inglis who held out against heavy odds. The early attempts of Havelock and Outram to recover Lucknow met with no success. Some relief came in November 1857 when Sir Colin Campbell, the new Commander-in-Chief, sent from England entered the city with the help of Gorkha regiments and evacuated the Europeans. In March 1858 the city was finally reduced, but guerilla activity continued till September of the same year.

Kanpur was lost to the British on 5th June 1857. Nana Sahib was proclaimed the Peshwa. General Sir Hugh Wheeler, commanding the station, surrendered on June 27 on being promised safe passage for the European residents. However a terrible massacre was perpetuated on the Europeans. The revolt of 1857 was marked by extreme violence by both sides. At Kanpur Nana Sahib was joined by his able and experienced Lieutenant, Tantia Tope.

A third centre of rebellion emerged in central India or Bundelkhand. On 5 June the 12th Native Infantry in Jhansi broke out in rebellion. They captured the treasury and threw open the jails to release prisoners. They urged the people to support them in the defence of their religion. The violence spread to Nowgong, Khurrea, Lalitpur and Hamirpur. British establishments were targeted and even Bengali clerks were beaten up for writing in English. The sepoys marched to the palace of Rani Lakshmi Bai, the widow of the late Raja Gangadhar Rao, and demanded her support. They threatened to kill her if she did not comply. She agreed to support them and was proclaimed the ruler of the state.

The initial success of the rebels and the rapidity with which the British had been brought to their knees did not sustain for long. As time went on the unity among the rebelling sepoys got fractured. The British brought in reinforcements and the superior tactics they used enabled them to recover lost ground.

The military operations for the recapture of Kanpur were closely associated with the recovery of Lucknow. Sir Campbell occupied Kanpur on December 6th 1857. He had little difficulty in crushing the rebels led by

Tantia Tope and in clearing the Doab. Tantya Tope escaped and joined the rebellion alongside Rani of Jhansi. On 8th June 1857 the British defeated the rebels at Badli-ke-serai and established themselves on the ridge overlooking Delhi.

After Kanpur was lost, Tantia Tope joined the Rani. Sir Hugh Rose recaptured Jhansi by assault on 3rd April 1958.

The Rani of Jhansi and Tantia tope marched towards Gwalior where they were hailed by the Indian soldiers. The Sindhia ruler however, wanted to remain-loyal to the English and he fled from Gwalior to take shelter at Agra. At Gwalior Nana Sahib was proclaimed the Peshwa and plans were laid out for a march into the South. Under the command of Sir Hugh Rose Gwalior was recaptured by the English in June 1858. Having displayed exceptional valour and determination in trying to save her kingdom, Rani of Jhansi died fighting clad in a soldier's uniform on the ramparts of the Gwalior fort on 17 June. On 20 June the fort of Gwalior was captured by the British. Tantia Tope escaped southward; in April 1859 he was captured by one of Sindhia's feudatory who handed him over to the British to be hanged.

At Bareilly Khan Bahadur Khan had proclaimed himself the Nawab Nazim. In Bihar a local zamindar Kunwar Singh of Jagdishpur raised the banner of revolt against the Company. At Benaras the rebellion was mercilessly suppressed by Colonel Neill who put to death all suspected rebels including young boys. By July 1858 the rebellion had been almost completely suppressed.

5.5.6 Causes of the Failure of the Revolt

Several reasons have been identified as to why the first major uprising against the Company failed.

1. The Revolt of 1857 was to a large extent localized, of a restricted nature and poorly organised. The Bombay and the Madras armies remained loyal. India south of the river Narmada witnessed little disturbance. Sind and Rajasthan remained quiet and Nepal's aid proved of great value in the suppression of the Revolt. Dost Mohammad, the ruler of Afghanistan, remained friendly. Punjab was under the effective control of John Lawrence and the rebellion had virtually no impact on the region. The worst affected regions were Western Bihar, Oudh, Rohilkhand, Delhi, and the

territory between the Chambal and the Narmada.

2. The resources of the British Empire were far superior to that of the rebels. The British were in luck for the Crimean and the Chinese wars had been ended by 1856, and British troops numbering around 1,12,000 poured into India. About 3,10,000 additional Indian soldiers were recruited in India. The Indian soldiers had very few guns and muskets and mostly fought with swords and spears. On the other hand, the European soldiers were equipped with the latest weapons of war like the Enfield rifle about which Nana Sahib said: "The blue cap kills before they fire". The electric telegraph kept the Commander-in-Chief informed about the movements of the Indian rebels and their strategy. A concerted plan was formed to suppress the Rebellion. Russell, the Correspondent of The Times of London, summed up the advantages of the electric telegraph thus: "Never since its discovery has the electric telegraph played so important and daring a role as it now does in India; without it the Commander-in-Chief would lose the effect of half his force. It has served him better than his right arm". Considering the vast resources of the British Empire and her naval superiority, it may be said that even if the English had been driven back to the coastal areas or into the sea, before long she would have reconquered India by her superior military strength.
3. The revolt of 1857 was largely feudal in character carrying with it some nationalistic elements. The feudal elements of Oudh, Rohilkhand and some other parts of Northern India led the rebellion; other feudal princes like the Rajas of Patiala, Jhind, Gwalior and Hyderabad helped in its suppression. European historians have richly praised Sir Dinkar Rao, the Minister of Gwalior, and Salar Jang, the Wazir of Hyderabad, for their loyalty. In the moment of crisis Canning had said: "If the Sindhia joins the mutiny, I shall have to pack off tomorrow." Canning acted very astutely when he gave solemn assurances to the Indian princes and thus won over their support. The Indian princes were amply rewarded after the suppression of the Rebellion. The districts of Berar were restored to the Nizam and his debts remitted. Nepal was rewarded by the cession of territory from Oudh. The Sindhia, the Gaikwar and the Rajput princes also received rewards or concessions in return for their help during the revolt.
4. The Revolt was poorly organised. The leaders of the Revolt did

not lack bravery, but most of them did not have the experience or the organising ability to deal with concerted operations. Surprise attacks and guerilla tactics were insufficient to win them their lost independence. The various commissions and boards appointed by the Government of India and provincial governments after the suppression of the rebellion could not find any plan behind the rebellion or any scheme on which the movement was launched. The trial of Bahadur Shah II proved that the rebellion was as much a surprise to him as it was to the British.

5. The rebels had no common ideal before them except for the anti-foreign sentiments. Bahadur Shah II was declared the Emperor at Delhi, while at Kanpur and Gwalior Nana Sahib was proclaimed the Peshwa. Hindu-Muslim differences lay dormant against the common enemy, but were not dead. The peasants and the inferior castes showed no active sympathies; the soldiers in the Bombay and Madras armies were recruited from the lower castes and they remained loyal.
6. The East India Company was fortunate in having the services of men of exceptional abilities in the Lawrence brothers, Nicholson, Outram, Havelock, Edwards etc. They fought the battles in the initial stages of the Revolt and controlled the situation till reinforcements arrived from abroad.

5.5.7 Impact of the Revolt

The revolt marked a significant moment in the history of India. It had brought to the fore the resentment anger against the British rule. The Revolt of 1857 though eventually completely suppressed had shaken the British rule in India from its very foundations. Lord Cromer once remarked: "I wish the young generation of the English would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny: it abounds in lessons and warnings". The techniques of controlling India though well established by 1857 were confirmed and uniformly acted upon thereafter. The reactionary and vested interests were well protected and encouraged and became bulwarks and pillars of British rule in India: the policy of divide and rule was pursued and made the main prop of British control; tight European control over key positions both in the civil and military administration was maintained.

On 2 August 1858, the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act. The control of Indian administration was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown by The Government of India Act 1858. In the words of Sir H.S. Cunningham the change was formal' rather than 'substantial'. Sir Henry Rawlinson director of the Company who favoured abolition of the Company correctly summed up the significance of the change: "The one great result will be a change of name, which may enable us to condone the past-the immediate past-and to set out from a fresh starting point into a fresh career of empire." In India the same sort of Governor-General and the same military and civil service continued as before. In Britain the Act of 1858 provided for the appointment of a Secretary of State for India, who was to be assisted by an Advisory Council of fifteen: Eight members to be nominated by the Crown and seven members at first to be selected by the Court of Directors and afterwards by co-option by the Council itself. Thus, the former directors of the Company sat on the India Council. No new policy was inaugurated. Rather, in the proclamation of November 1858 the Queen announced a continuation of the Company's policies. In India supreme authority was vested in the Viceroy, the title was assumed by Governor General Canning. The Viceroy was to be assisted by an Executive Council consisting of 12 members of whom 6 were to be non official. This was a concession to men like Syed Ahmed Khan who urged for the selection of Indians for consultation on political matters.

Ever since 1784 the Crown through the Board of Control had exercised considerable influence over Indian affairs and, in fact, had the deciding voice in all major issues. The Act of 1858 ended the dualism in the control of Indian affairs and made the Crown directly responsible for management of Indian affairs.

- (2) The Queen's announcement declared against any desire for "extension of territorial possessions" and promised "to respect the rights, dignity and honour of native princes as their own". While general amnesty was granted 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". The Indian states had served as "breakwaters to the storm which would otherwise have swept over us in one great wave" and to preserve them as the bulwark of the Empire became a cardinal principle of British policy. The Taluqdars of Avadh who had joined in large numbers in the rebellion were reinstated and confirmed in their estates subject to promises of

loyalty and future good behaviour. In the words of Pandit Nehru, these taluqdars took pride in calling themselves the 'Barons of Avadh' and became one of the pillars of British rule. Thus feudal and reactionary elements became the favourite children of imperialism.

- (3) The Proclamation of 1858 contained an assurance that "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". To give expression to this pledge the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861 was passed, which provided for an annual competitive examination to be held in London for recruitment to the Covenanted Civil Service. Unfortunately, the detailed rules framed for the conduct of this examination had the effect of keeping the higher services a close preserve of the Englishman.
- (4) The Indian Army had been mainly responsible for the crisis of 1857. It was thoroughly reorganised and built up on the policy of 'division and counterpoise'. The Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1861 transferred the Company's European troops to the services of the Crown. The Europeans in India were constantly renovated by periodical visits to England in what came to be known as the 'linked-battalion' scheme. The strength of European troops in India was increased from the pre- 1857 figure of 45,000 to 65,000 and the number of Indian troops reduced from the pre-1857 figure of 238, 000 to 140,000. All Indian artillery units (with the exception of a few mountain batteries) were disbanded. The general formula followed was that in Bengal Presidency the proportion between the European and Indian troops should be 1:2. while for Bombay and Madras Presidencies it should be 1:3. Besides the policy of counterpoise of natives against natives was to be followed which was explained by the report of the Punjab committee on army organization in 1858 in these words "To preserve the distinctiveness which is valuable, and which while it lasts makes the Mohammedan of one country fear and dislike the Mohammedan of another, corps should in future be provincial, and adhere to the geographical limits within which differences and rivalries are strongly marked". All big posts in the army and the artillery departments were reserved for the Europeans. In the fifty years following the Rebellion of 1857 no Indian soldier was thought fit to deserve the King's commission and a raw English recruit was considered superior to an Indian officer holding the Viceroy's commission.

- (5) It was increasingly realised that one basic cause for the Revolt of 1857 was the lack of contact between the ruler and the ruled. Sir Bartle Frere, in his famous Minute of 1860, urged 'the addition of the native element' to the Legislative Councils. The association of Indians in the task of legislation, it was believed, would at least acquaint the rulers with the sentiments and feelings of the Indians and thus provide an opportunity for avoidance of misunderstandings. Thus, a humble beginning towards the development of representative institutions in India was made by the Indian Councils Act of 1861.
- (6) The emotional after-effects of the Revolt were perhaps the most unfortunate. Racial bitterness was one of the worst legacies of the struggle. The Punch cartooned the Indian as a subhuman creature, half gorilla, half-negro who could be kept in check by superior force only. The agents of imperialism in India dubbed the entire Indian people as unworthy of trust and subjected them to insults, humiliation and contemptuous treatment. In the words of Jawaharlal Nehru: "Imperialism and the domination of one people over another is bad, and so is racialism. But imperialism plus racialism can lead only to horror and ultimately to the degradation of all concerned with them". The entire structure of the Indian government was remodelled and based on the idea of a master race. This neo- Imperialism was justified by the philosophy of the Whiteman's-burden and the civilising role of England in India. The gulf between the rulers and the ruled widened and erupted occasionally in political controversies, demonstrations and acts of violence.
- (7) The Revolt of 1857 ended an era and sowed the seeds of new era. The era of territorial aggrandisement gave place to the era of economic exploitation. For the British, the danger from feudal India ended for ever; the new challenge to British Imperialism came from progressive India fed on the philosophy of John Stuart Mill and British liberals of the nineteenth century.

5.6 Summary

Unit 5 has provided a broad overview of the circumstances leading to the great Revolt of 1857. It has given a detailed analysis of some of the revolts that took place in India before 1857. The objective is to help students understand that the rule of the English through the Company brought in

great disruptions at the social, economic and political spheres. There was virtually no section of the society that had not experienced challenges as a result of the rising paramount power of the English. Rebellions run like a thread through the history of India starting from the battle of Plassey and the Conquest of Bengal. The rebellions are testimony of the repercussions of the disruptive nature of English rule. Despite the many expressions of anger against their domination the English imperialists remained irresponsible and refused to heed to the grievances. The Revolt of 1857 was a culmination of the many rebellions and mutinies witnessed in the century leading up to it. The revolt also had a profound influence on the subsequent history of the nation.

5.7 Keywords

Mutiny, Revolt, Tribals, Dalhousie, Santhals, Company, Sepoy, Native Infantry, Cavalry, racial, Sanyasi, Ahom, Munda, Ho, Chuar, Koli, Faraizi, Pagal Panthi, Wahabi

5.8 Time to Self Assess

Choose the correct answer

1. Which of the following was not a reason for tribal revolts
 - a. Issue of land pattas to peasants
 - b. Excessive land revenue landlords
 - c. Dislocation of economy
 - d. Displacement of traditional
2. Choose odd one out-
 - a. Sanyasi rebellion
 - b. Faraizis
 - c. Pagal Panthis
 - d. Ahom Rebellion
3. Choose odd one out-
 - a. Santhal rebellion
 - b. Rajmahal
 - c. Gondha Konwar
 - d. Kanhu
4. Which of the following was not a tribal uprising
 - a. Cutch Rebellion
 - b. Kol Uprising
 - c. Bhil rising
 - d. Ho uprising
5. Diwan Velu Tampi's revolt took place in
 - a. Travancore
 - c. Dindigul

b. Seringapatnam

d Vellore

Fill in the Blanks

1. Syed Ahmad of Rai Baraelli was associated with the -----movement.
2. The government reconciled the Santhals by granting them a separate district called-----
3. Dadu Mian is associated with the ----- movement.
4. The book "The Indian War of Independence was written by -----
5. The Greased Cartridge incident was the -----cause of the revolt.

State whether True or False(Revolt of 1857)

1. The Religious Disabilities Act of 1856 debarred a son from inheriting the property of his heathen father.
2. The Brown Bess replaced the Royal Enfield rifle in 1856.
3. The leader of the Revolt of 1857 at Lucknow was Begum Hazrat Mahal.
4. The leader of the revolt of 1857 at Faizabad was Kunwar Singh.
5. Sir John Nicholson is credited with the recapture of Kanpur.

Match the Following(Revolt of 1857)

- | | |
|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. Mangal Pandey | a. Lucknow |
| 2. Henry Lawrence | b. Barrackpore |
| 3. Khan Bahadur Khan | c. Jhansi |
| 4. Hugh Rose | d. Kanpur |
| 5. Colin Campbell | e. Bareilly |

Answer the following in about 750 words

1. Critically analyse reasons for the tribal revolts against the English rule.
2. What were the reasons for the sepoy grievances against the Company?
3. Give reasons for the outbreak of the Revolt of 1857.
4. Discuss the impact of the Revolt of 1857.

5. Can the Revolt of 1857 be called the First war of Indian Independence?
Give reasons for your answer.

5.9 References

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