



EIILM UNIVERSITY
S I K K I M

INDIA FROM MID 18TH TO MID 19TH CENTURY

Subject: INDIA FROM MID 18TH TO MID 19TH CENTURY

Credits: 4

SYLLABUS

Rise of Regional Powers

Indian Polity in the mid-18th Century, Bengal and Awadh, The Maratha State System, Mysore and Hyderabad, The Punjab

Capitalism and Imperialism

Mercantile to Industrial Capitalism in Europe, European Colonial Powers

British Conquest and Consolidation

The British in Eastern India up to Buxar, Conflict and Expansion- South India, Anglo-Maratha and Mysore Wars, British Expansion- North India, British Expansion Beyond Indian Frontiers, Imperial Ideology: Orientalist Construction of India and the Utilitarians

Colonial Economy

Mercantile Policies and Indian Trade, The New Land Revenue Settlements, The Commercialization of Agriculture, De-Industrialization in India, Economic Impact of Colonial Rule

Cultural Contours

The Languages of Modern India, Literature in the Indian Languages, The Spread of English Education
The Indian Mind and Western Knowledge: Growth of Critical Consciousness

Impact of British Rule: Polity and Society

Constitutional Development (1757-1858), Administration and Law, Social Policy and Indian Response

Social and Cultural Change

Reform Movement – I, Reform Movement – II, Social Discrimination and un-privileged Groups

Popular Revolts and Uprisings

Peasant and Tribal Uprisings, Revolt of 1857 - Cause and Nature, Revolt of 1857 - Course and Aftermath

Suggested Readings

1. Radha Kumar, The History of Doing: An Illustrated Account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800-1990, Verso
2. Tirthankar Roy, The Economic History of India, 1857-1947, Oxford University Press
3. Anjana Motihar Chandra, India Condensed: 5000 Years of History and Culture, Marshall Cavendish Corporation

CHAPTER 1

Rise of Regional Powers

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Indian polity in the mid-18th century
- Bengal and Awadh
- The Maratha State System
- Mysore and Hyderabad
- The Punjab
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you will become familiar with the following themes:

- The decline of Mughal Empire.
- The emergence of Mughal provinces as regional power.
- Learn about the process of transformation of Bengal and Awadh into autonomous states.
- Learn about the nature and functioning of the regional polity in Awadh and Bengal.
- The Maratha confederacy and its territorial expansion in the eighteenth century,
- Enable you to see the process in which the political formation of Mysore and Hyderabad evolved in the 18th century
- The development in the Punjab polities before the establishment of the Sikh rule,

INDIAN POLITY IN THE MID-18TH CENTURY

18th Century: A Dark Age ?

Till recently the 18th century was described as a Dark Age when chaos and anarchy ruled. The Mughal Empire collapsed, local powers failed to set up empires and stability returned only with the spread of British supremacy in the late 18th Century. It suited the British writers of the Cambridge History of India, and their Indian followers, to paint the 18th Century as black so that British rule would illustrate up as a blessing in comparison. Historian Jadunath Sarkar's words in the *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, deserve to be quoted:

- On 23rd June 1757 the Middle ages of India ended and her contemporary age began... in the twenty years from Plassey Warren Hastings ... all felt the revivifying touch of the impetus from the west.

There are obvious troubles with such a view. The Mughal Empire's power was not as widespread or deep as was whispered. Important parts of India, especially in the North East and South, remained outside it, as did several social groups. Hence Mughal decline cannot serve as an adequate theme for discussing changes taking place in excess of India. Scholars have recently argued that the establishment of local polities was perhaps the dominant characteristic of the eighteenth century, rather than the fall and rise of all-India empires. The 18th Century is presented through Satish Chandra, a leading historian of medieval India, as a separate chronological whole, rather than split into two halves, pre-British and British.

Decline of the Mughal Empire

The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed the decline of the Mughal Empire. Through 1740, when the era of our study begins, Nadir Shah had laid waste to Delhi. It was the Marathas, not the Mughals, who fought Abdali in 1761. Through 1783 the Mughal emperor was a pensioner of the British.

Internal Weaknesses: Struggle for Power

Aurangzeb's misguided policies had weakened the stable Mughal polity. But the two main pillars on which the empire rested-the army and the administration-were still upright in 1707. Wars of succession and weak rulers plagued Delhi from 1707 to 1719. Muhammad Shah's rule from 1719 to 1748 was extensive enough for a revival of imperial fortunes but the complete incompetence of the emperor ruled out this possibility.

It was in his region that Nizam-ul-Mulk resigned as wazir and set up the self-governing state of Hyderabad in 1724. Bengal, Awadh, and Punjab followed the same pattern and the empire was split up into successor states. Petty chiefs interpreted this as a signal for rebellion and the Marathas began to create their bid to inherit the imperial mantle.

External Challenge

The Persian monarch, Nadir Shah attacked India in 1738-39. Lahore was soon conquered and the Mughal army was defeated at Karnal on 13th February 1739. To complete the ignominy, the Mughal emperor Mohammed Shah was captured and Delhi lay waste. The well recognized poets Mir and Sauda lamented the devastation of Delhi. Though, the impact of Nadir Shah's invasion on Delhi was not as big a setback as commonly whispered. Abdali's invasions left Delhi worse off but through 1772 the municipality had revived. 70 crores of rupees were gathered from the official treasury and the safes of the rich nobles. The Peacock Throne and the Kohinoor diamond were the two mainly priced items of his loot. Nadir Shah gained strategically crucial Mughal territory to the west of the river Indus including Kabul. India was once more vulnerable to attacks from the North West.

Ahmad Shah Abdali gained prominence as Nadir Shah's commander and recognized his rule in excess of Afghanistan after the death of Nadir Shah. He invaded North India several times flanked by 1748 and 1767. The mainly well recognized was his victory in excess of the Marathas in 1761 which is recognized as the third Battle of Panipat.

Decline: Some Interpretations

Our understanding concerning the decline of the Mughal power has changed in excess of the decades. The traditional view, presented through Irving, Sarkar etc., highlighted the personal failings of the emperors and the nobles, their immorality and indulgence in luxury. Mughal rule was portrayed through Sarkar and others as Muslim rule and Maratha, Sikh and Bundela uprisings were understood as a Hindu reaction to Islamic onslaught.

As opposed to this view point, the crisis in the Mughal economic system has been rightly stressed through Satish Chandra and Irfan Habib. Satish Chandra has pointed to the crisis in the jagirdari system as the vital cause for the downfall, caused through a shortage of jagirs and in excess of abundance of jagirdars. Irfan Habib showed the agrarian system becoming more exploitative as pressure on limited possessions grew. This sparked off peasant revolts which ruined imperial stability.

The New Cambridge History of India takes a totally opposite stand from Habib. Mughal decline is seen as the result of the success of the Mughal system, rather than its failure. It is argued, for instance, that the zamindars whose rebellions against the Mughals spelled the end of the latter's empire, were rich not poor farmers, backed through wealthy merchants. Though, this view is yet to be recognized with further proof. The usually accepted view remnants one of economic crisis.

Stability of Mughal Traditions

In sharp contrast to the rapid territorial disintegration of the Mughal empire was the stubborn survival of the Mughal tradition of government. Through 1761 the Mughal empire was an empire only in name; it could better be described as the state of Delhi. But the prestige of the emperor, the king of kings, was so considerable, that whether it was acquiring territory, a throne or an empire, the sanction of the emperor was sought. Even rebel chiefs of the Marathas and Sikhs sometimes recognized the emperor as the fount of power. The Sikhs made offerings to the Delhi court in 1783 (despite their *gurus* having been killed through the Mughals) and the Maratha leader, Shahu, visited Aurangzeb's tomb in 1714.

The British and the Maratha fought in excess of possession of the person of the emperor, hoping to gain legitimacy for their claims to inherit the imperial mantle. Shah Alam II was made a pensioner of the company after the battle of Buxar but he preferred the protection of the Marathas at Delhi. British job of Delhi in 1803 brought him once again under British protection.

Mughal administrative practice was adopted through the local powers. It was natural for the successor states of the Mughal empire to continue with old Mughal practice. Even the states, such as the Maratha, which began as popular reactions against imperial rule, copied Mughal methods of administration. Several officers schooled in Mughal practice establish employment in numerous local kingdoms.

Stability of Organizations Vs. Change in Structure

Though, we should not deduce from the stability of organizations that the Mughal political system survived. The new polities were local; none could achieve an all India level. Some of the old organizations were reintegrated into new political systems through the local chiefs and later through the British. The old Mughal organizations served very dissimilar functions under colonialism. Land revenue practices might be the same as earlier, but the wealth gathered was drained from India under colonialism. This distinction flanked by form and function is blurred through imperialist historians with the intention of emphasizing stability of organizations to illustrate that the British were no dissimilar from their precursors.

The Emergence of Local Polities

Beside with the decline of the Mughal empire, the second major theme of the 18th Century was the emergence of local polities. Broadly there were three types of states which came into prominence:

- The states which broke apart from the Mughal empire,
- The new states set up through the rebels against the Mughal, and
- The self-governing states.

Successor States

Hyderabad, Bengal, and Awadh were the three cases where provincial governors under the Mughals set up self-governing states. The breakaway from Delhi occurred in stages — the revolt of individuals followed through that of the social groups, societies, and finally regions. Zamindari revolts in the provinces against imperial demands triggered off the breakaway. Governors did not get support from the centre and tried to secure support of the local elites.

Though, links with the centre were maintained and Mughal tradition sustained. Awadh and Hyderabad came to the help of the Mughals when Nadir Shah invaded Delhi. Through their links with factions of nobles, the provincial chiefs were often strong enough to control the centre. Hence the changes in polity in this era may more appropriately be characterized as transformation (to use Muzaffar Alam's term) rather than collapse. A new political order was constructed within the Mughal institutional framework.

The collapse of the all India polity did not lead to generalized economic decline. The local picture was very varied. Punjab's economy was disrupted through foreign invasions but Awadh experienced economic growth. Safdar Jang, Nawab of Awadh, on his accession paid Rs. 3 crores to Nadir Shah. A stable polity urbanized in Awadh on the foundation of economic prosperity while the states set up in Punjab collapsed.

Hyderabad

The death of Nizam-ul-Mulk in 1748 marked the closing of a glorious first chapter in the history of Hyderabad. It had started with the base of the state in 1724 through Nizam-ul-Mulk, a prominent noble at the time the Saiyids controlled the court at Delhi. He assisted Mohammed Shah in deposing the Saiyids and in return was given the office of Subadar of the Deccan.

He reorganized the administration and streamlined the revenue system. After a brief tenure as wazir at Delhi from 1722 to 1724, he returned to the Deccan to set up a state which was self-governing in practice, though he

sustained to declare allegiance to the Mughal emperor. The formation of local elite gave stability to this independence, as Karen Leonard has shown in her study of Hyderabad's political system. Reform of the revenue system, subduing of Zamindars, and tolerance towards Hindus were in the middle of his wise policies.

But his death in 1748 exposed Hyderabad to the machinations of the Marathas and later the foreign companies. The Marathas invaded the state at will and imposed Chauth upon the helpless inhabitants. Nizam-ul-Mulk's son, Nasir Jang and grandson, Muzaffar Jang, entered into a bloody war of succession. The French under Dupleix used this opportunity to play off one group against the other and supported Muzzaffar Jang, who gave them handsome monetary and territorial rewards.

Bengal

Independence in practice and allegiance in name to the power at Delhi marked the rule of the Nawabs of Bengal. Murshid Kuli Khan became Governor of Bengal in 1717 under Mughal aegis but his link with Delhi was limited to sending tribute. Shuja-ud-din became Nawab in 1727 and ruled till 1739 when Alivardi Khan assumed charge. In 1756 Siraj-ud-daula became the Nawab of Bengal on the death of his grandfather Alivardi Khan.

The Bengal rulers did not discriminate on religious grounds in creation public appointments and Hindus reached high positions in the Civil Service and obtained lucrative zamindaris. The Nawabs were fiercely self-governing and maintained strict control in excess of the foreign companies trading in their realm. Fortifications were rightly not allowed in the French and English factories at Chandernagar and Calcutta, nor did the Nawab concede to their special privileges. The sovereignty of the ruler was upheld even in the face of the threats of the British East India Company to use force to obtain its end.

Though, the Nawabs suffered defeat at the hands of the British because of their weak and meager army and their underestimation of the danger posed through the company. The British victory at Plassey in 1757 inaugurated a new stage in British dealings with India.

Awadh

Saadat Khan Burhan-ul-Mulk slowly secured the independence of Awadh after his appointment as Governor in 1722. The main problem in Awadh was posed through the zamindars that not only refused to pay land revenue but behaved like autonomous chiefs with their forts and armies. Sadat Khan subdued them and introduced a new land resolution which provided protection to the peasants from the zemindars. The Jagirdari system was reformed and jagirdaris granted to the local gentry, who were also given positions in the administration and army. A “local ruling group”, appeared, consisting of Shaikhzadas, Afghans and parts of the Hindus.

The second group of local states were the ‘new states’ or ‘insurgent states’ set up through rebels against the Mughals—the Marathas, Sikhs, Jats and Afghans. The first three began as popular movements of peasant insurgency. The leadership was not with the nobility but with ‘new men’, often from lower orders, e.g., Hyder Ali, Sindhias, and Holkars.

Marathas

If the two main themes of the 18th century were decline of Mughal power and base of colonial rule, then a third theme was the rise and fall of local states, the mainly important in the middle of them being the Marathas. One all-India empire declined, a second one took its lay, and a third empire failed to approach into being. Mughal decline spanned the first part of the century; British ascendancy grew rapidly in the second half, and mainly of the terrain of the middle of the century was occupied through the swaying political fortunes of the Marathas.

The vital contours of the Maratha State system dominated through the Peshwas or chief ministers were evolved throughout the time of Balaam Vishwanath. He was a loyal official of Shahu, Shikari's grandson, who was head of the Marat, has after his release from custody in 1707. The powers of the office of the Peseta rapidly increased throughout his tenure till it became the fountain head of power of the whole Martha Empire.

Balaam Vishwanath died in 1720 and his son Baja RAO in 1740, the era whence our study commences. Through then the Marat has were no longer a local power but had attained the status of an expansionist empire. They had acquired control in excess of distant flung regions of the Mughal empire. The main weakness, though, was that these conquests were made at the initiative of the Martha Chiefs who were unwilling to accept regulation through the Peseta. These chiefs had accepted the Peseta's power because of the military and financial benefit that accrued from this association. Collection of Chart and Sardeshmukhi of a sure region was assigned to the chiefs and conquest permitted, 'These chiefs were only too willing to go in excess of to the other face if the Peseta exercised control in excess of their behaviors. This was the situation in Balaam Vishwanath's time.

Perhaps learning from this, Baja RAO himself led military campaigns and acquired the wealthy region of Malta and Gujarat in the middle of others. Unfortunately he got embroiled in disagreement with the other great power in the Deccan, Nizam-ul-Mulk. An alliance against the Mughal, and later the British, would have benefited both, but they chose to go in for alliances with even Mughal functionaries against each other.

The Nizam was decisively beaten twice through Baja RAO'S forces but the struggle for mastery flanked by the two sustained. When the British entered the fray the contest became a triangular one, which proved to be of great advantage to the British, who could play off one against the other.

Balaam RAO, better recognized as Nana Sahel, was Peseta from 1740 to 1761. Martha power achieved its climax throughout his rule. Expansion was now no longer limited to regions in excess of Which the Mughal has an uncertain hold. No part of India was spared the depredations of Martha conquest. The South proved relatively easier to subdue. Hyderabad Surrendered a big chunk of territory after its defeat in 1760 and Mysore and other states paid tribute. In the east, repeated conquests of Bengal gained them Orissa in 1751. In Central India, Malta, Gujarat and Underhand, which had been conquered through Baja RAO, were better integrated with the rest of the Martha empire.

Struggle flanked by Mughal, Marat has and Afghans

Mastery in excess of North India proved more hard to uphold after the initial easy conquest. The Mughal at Delhi came under Maratha power but the Afghans under Abaci threw back the Marat has.

The Third Battle of Animagat, 1761

The third battle of Animagat commenced on 14th January 1761. But the disagreement and its outcome were brewing since 1752 when Maratha forces overran North India and 12 recognized their power at the Delhi court. Imad-ul-Mulk was proclaimed the Nazir of the Kingdom but for all practical purposes the Marat has were the rulers. The Marat has were not content with their acquisitions and looked greedily towards the Punjab, which was ruled through a tributary of Abdali. This was a grave mistake. Abdali had retreated from India after carrying absent what he could. He left behind trusted followers in charge of sure regions, but decided to return to challenge the ambitious Maratha power.

The disagreement inevitably became a multifaceted one as the major and minor north Indian powers got drawn in. Here the Afghans were at an advantage as the Marathas had acquired several enemies in the procedure of conquering and administering this core region of the empire. The Mughal nobles, separately from Imad-ul-Mulk, had been defeated through them in the power game. The Jat and Rajput chiefs were totally alienated through their conquests which were followed through imposition of heavy fines. The Sikhs, already frustrated in their effort to consolidate their power through the foreign invasions, were obviously in no mood to help the Marathas to contain Punjab in their empire.

The Rohilkhand chief and the Awadh Nawabs, whose region had been overrun through the Marathas, even went to the extent of joining hands with

Abdali. The Maratha armies marched alone to the battlefield of Panipat to confront Abdali.

The Maratha army was no match for the Afghans though it boasted of troops trained beside Western rows. 28,000 Marathas died on the battlefield, beside with the commanders of the army, the Peshwa's minor son Vishwas Rao and the latter's cousin, Sadashiv Rao Bhau. The Peshwa, Balaji Baji Rao did not survive for extensive, after hearing the tragic news of the defeat.

Aftermath of the Third Battle of Panipat

The third battle of Panipat proved important in the struggle for mastery in excess of India. The Marathas' ambition of replacing the Mughals as the imperial power was checked at a strategic point through this defeat. The beneficiaries were the British rather than the Afghans. The British got a tremendous opportunity to expand their power in Bengal and India. Once they had got these footholds there was no looking back. For a brief while after the debacle of 1761 it seemed as if the fortunes of the Marathas were reviving. Madhav Rao, who became Peshwa in 1761, was successful in subduing once again the old enemies, the Rohilas, the Rajput and Jat Chiefs in the north and Mysore and Hyderabad in the south. But the early demise of the Peshwa in 1772, at the age of 28, finally ended the dream. Factional struggle for power ensued, exposing the Maratha power to defeat at the hands of the British in the first anglo-Marathi war.

Nature of the Maratha State and Movement

The rise of the Marathas was both a local reaction against Mughal centralization as well as a manifestation of the upward mobility of sure classes and castes. The petty rural gentry and the hereditary cultivators (Miranda's) shaped the social base. Peasant castes wanted to achieve Kshatriya status while officials sought to concentrate power in their hands.

Levy was institutionalized as chauth and made a legitimate part of the Maratha state system. Money was raised through chauth to supplement the

income from the poor, underdeveloped home regions of the Marathas. But reliance on plunder was an inadequacy of the Maratha system and they did not impose direct rule even when the rich regions of Carnatic, Coromandel and the Gangetic Valley came under their control.

The Marathas adopted some parts of the Mughal administrative system, but they concentrated attention on techniques of extracting surplus. The absence of a proper administrative hierarchy or a well-defined provincial power prevented them from consolidating their power at the rapid pace necessary before the Afghans and British could defeat them.

These administrative and financial weaknesses were compounded through their technological backwardness, especially in the military sphere. The new development of the time, artillery, small arms, especially the flint guns and improved firearms were not adopted.

The strategically located province of Punjab had witnessed the spread of a democratic, new religion, Sikhism, at the end of the 15th century. It was confined to the personal sphere for two centuries, but through the time of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth Guru, political ambitions and militancy had transformed the adherents of this faith into a well-knit society. Guru Gobind Singh's disagreement with Aurangzeb is well recognized, as is Banda Bahadur's rebellion against Aurangzeb's successors.

The Mughals ruthlessly suppressed the revolt as Punjab was strategically crucial. The Sikhs, unlike other rebels, were not willing to compromise with the Mughals. They refused to have any link with the centre and insisted on being fully self-governing rulers. There were internal weaknesses too. The location of the leaders of the movement, the Khatri, declined as trade and urban centers withered under the combined impact of the foreign invasions and the Marathas. The movement had drawn in the lower castes with the prospect of upward mobility, but this invited the opposition of the upper castes and classes.

For a quarter century after the suppression of Banda Bahadur's rebellion in 1715, the Sikhs were quiescent. But adversity for the Mughal empire proved to be a beneficial opportunity for the Sikhs. The invasion of Nadir Shah and Abdali exposed north India and what they could not plunder

and take absent, was looted through the Sikhs. On the foundation of this booty and taking advantage of the breakdown of imperial control of Punjab; the Sikhs rapidly recognized their control once Abdali and his followers returned home.

There followed an era when 12 Misls or confederacies constituted the province. Recent scholarship has debunked the view that the Sikh political system was theocratic and placed it alongside secular polities elsewhere in the country. Punjab's rise to prominence had to wait till the end of the century for Ranjit Singh.

Jats

The Jats were an agriculturist Caste inhabiting the Delhi-Agra belt. In the latter half of the 17th century their revolts against Mughal power shook the stability of the core region of the Mughal empire. As Mughal power declined, Jat power grew and a peasant revolt was transformed into an uprising that proved destructive of all other groups in the region, including the Rajput Zamindars. Despite originating as a peasant rebellion, the Jat state remained feudal, with Zamindars holding both administrative and revenue powers and revenue demands under Suraj Mai were higher than under the Mughals.

Churaman and Badan Singh founded the Jat state at Bharatpur but it was Suraj Mal who consolidated Jat power throughout his rule from 1756 to 1763. Expansion of the state brought its boundaries to the Ganga in the east, the Chambal in the south, Delhi in the north and Agra in the west. In addition he possessed great administrative skill, especially in the meadows of revenue and civil affairs. Though, his rule was short existed and his death in 1763 also marked the demise of the Jat state.

Farukhabad and Rohilkhand

The states of Rohilkhand and the kingdom of the Bangash Pathans were a fall-out of the Afghan migration from the 17th century. Big level

immigration of Afghans into India took place in mid-18th century because of political and economic disruption in Afghanistan. Ali Muhammad Khan took advantage of the collapse of power in north India following Nadir Shah's invasion, to set up a petty kingdom, Rohilkhand. This was the region of the Himalayan foothills located flanked by Kumaon in the north and the Ganga in the south. The Rohilas, as the inhabitants of Rohilkhand were recognized, suffered heavily at the hands of the other powers in the region, the Jats and the Awadh rulers and later the Marathas and the British. Mohammad Khan Bangash, an Afghan, had set up a self-governing kingdom to the east of Delhi in the region approximately Farrukhabad.

The Afghani Use of artillery, especially the flint gun, ended the power of cavalry since the early medieval ages exposed the stirrup. Politically the role of the Afghans was negative. Not only did they accentuate the decline of the Mughals but they helped Abdali to subdue Awadh, which could have checked British expansion.

Self-governing Kingdoms

There was a third type of state which was neither the result of a breakaway from or rebellion against Delhi. Mysore, the Rajput states and Kerala fall in this category.

Mysore

The mid-18th century witnessed the emergence of Mysore as an important power in South India. Haidar Ali laid the foundations of Mysore's power, which were consolidated through his able son, Tipu Sultan. Though Haidar Ali was only a junior officer, of general parentage, in the Mysore army, he slowly rose to be a brilliant commander. His mainly extraordinary attainment was his realization that only a contemporary army could be the foundation of a powerful state. Consequently he inducted French experts to set up an arsenal and train the troops beside western rows. Soon after he was able to overthrow the real power behind the Mysore throne, the minister Nunjaraj in 1761.

The boundaries of the Mysore state extended to contain the rich coastal regions of Canara and Malabar. An expansionist at heart, Haidar naturally clashed with other powers in the region, the Marathas, Hyderabad and the new entrants in the game, the British. In 1769 he inflicted a heavy defeat on British forces very secure to Madras. With his death in 1782, his son Tipu became Sultan and extended his father's policies further. Though, Tipu's rule falls outside the scope of this Unit.

Rajputs

The Rajput rulers did not lag behind in consolidating their location through taking advantage of the disintegration of the Mughal empire. None were big enough to contend with the Marathas or the British for the location of paramount power. Their method was to slowly loosen their ties with Delhi and function as self-governing states in practice. They participated in the struggle for power at the court of Delhi and gained lucrative and influential governorships from the Mughal emperors.

Rajput policy sustained to be fractured in the post Mughal era. All the states followed a policy of constant expansion absorbing weak neighbours whenever possible. This took lay within the State too, with one faction ousting the other in a continuously played game of one-up-manship at the court of the Mughals. The mainly well-recognized Rajput ruler, Jai Singh of Amber, ruled Jaipur from 1699 to 1743.

Kerala

The three states of Cochin, Travancore and Calicut together comprised the present state of Kerala. The territories of a big number of chiefs and rajas had been incorporated into these states through 1763. But the expansion of Mysore proved destructive for the stability of Kerala. Haidar Ali invaded Kerala in 1766 and annexed Malabar and Calicut.

Travancore, the southern mainly state and through distant the mainly prominent one was spared. Travancore had gained in importance after 1729 when its King, Martanda Verma, expanded his dominions with the help of a strong and contemporary army trained in Western rows and well equipped

with contemporary weapons. The Dutch were ousted from Kerala and the feudal chiefs suppressed. His vision extended beyond expansion to development of his state and provision was made for irrigation and transport and communication. His successor Rama Verma, a man of great creativity and learning, including Western knowledge, was responsible for creation Trivandrum, the capital, a centre of scholarship and art.

Weaknesses of Local Polities

These states were strong enough to destroy Mughal power but none was able to replace it through a stable polity at an all-India stage. Just as to one view, this was because of some inherent weaknesses in these local polities. Though some of them tried to modernise, notably Mysore, on the whole they were backward in science and technology. These states could not reverse the common economic stagnation which had plagued the Mughal economy. The Jagirdari crisis intensified as income from agriculture declined and the number of contenders for a share of the surplus multiplied. Trade, internal and foreign sustained without disruption and even prospered but the rest of the economy stagnated.

The analysis of weaknesses has been questioned through historians recently. Some representative examples will illustrate a dissimilar trend. Satish Chandra argues that it is wrong to talk of generalized economic decline and social stagnation. The resilience of the economy was in sharp contrast to the ease with which the polity collapsed. For instance, Bengal withstood the ravages of early colonial rule very well. Bengal's economy stabilized after the 1770s and export of cotton piece goods went up to 2 million in the 1790s from 400,000 in the 1750s.

The social structure did not stagnate, it changed and low castes moved upwards and "new men" pushing forward was a general characteristic all in excess of India.

Muzaffar Alam presents a regionally varied picture, with some regions (Awadh) experiencing economic prosperity and other regions stagnation (Punjab). Polities remained local because there appeared no state system

indigenously with enough surpluses for an all-India system comparable to the Mughal empire.

The Rise of British Power

The third and the mainly crucial characteristic of the 18th century polity was the rise and expansion of the British power in India. It opened a new stage in the history of India. In this part you will become well-known with how the British came to India and subsequently expanded their power.

From Trading Company to Political Power

The mid-18th century saw the transformation of the English East India Company from trading enterprises to a political power. From its establishment on 31 December 1600 to 1744, the English East India Company slowly expanded its trade and power in India. The Portuguese and Dutch were eased out through a strategy combining war and maneuvers at the Mughal court. Through the 18th century the main foreign power remaining in the fray was the French East India Company, a comparatively late entrant in the race.

The beginning of the empire is usually traced to 1757 when the British defeated the Bengal Nawab at Plassey. The ground for the victory of 1757 was laid in South India where British military might and diplomatic strategy were successfully tested out in the disagreement with the French Company. This disagreement, popularly recognized as the Carnatic Wars, spanned a quarter century from 1744 to 1763.

The English East India Company had remained a commercial body for one and a half centuries. Why did it acquire its political ambitions at this time?

The expansion of European manufacture and trade and the emergence of aggressive nation states in Europe lay behind the expansion of the European companies in India from the 1730s. In India, the decline of Mughal power obviously provided a great opportunity for expansion of power.

The company's need for more revenue from taxation inclined it towards establishing an empire. The company needed money to uphold its

trade and pay its troops and so acquisition of territory seemed the best method of meeting this requirement. The company's interest in conquering Bengal was two-fold-protection of its trade and control in excess of Bengal's revenue. The intention was to remit the surplus revenue of Bengal as tribute through the channel of investment in Bengal goods.

Anglo-French Struggle in South India

Hyderabad had become self-governing of central power under Nizam-ul-Mulk but after his death in 1748 it entered into an era of grave instability, as did the Carnatic. Disputes in excess of succession offered the foreign companies a chance for intervention.

First Carnatic War

The First Carnatic War was provoked through the outbreak of hostilities in Europe in 1742 flanked by the two countries. Through 1745 the war spread to India where French and English East India Companies were rivals in trade and political power. The English attack of French ships close to Pondicherry was duly matched through the French job of Madras. At this juncture the Nawab of Carnatic responded to an English appeal to protect Madras and his armies were defeated through the small French army at St. Thomas close to Madras. With the end of the war in Europe, the hostilities in India ceased, but only temporarily. The issue of supremacy had not been decisively settled and from 1748 onwards a situation of disagreement once again appeared.

The Second Carnatic War

The second war was the outcome of the diplomatic efforts of Dupleix, the French Governor-Common in India. Disputes in excess of claims to the throne arose both in Hyderabad and in the Carnatic. Dupleix was quick to extend support to Chandra Sahib in the Carnatic and Muzaffar Jang in Hyderabad, with the intention of obtaining handsome rewards from them. This

early preparation was useful as the French and their allies defeated their opponents in 1749. The French gained territorially and monetarily. Important gains were the Northern Sarkars, Masulipatnam and some villages approximately Pondicherry. Political powers was secured at the Nizam's court through the appointment of an agent at the court.

The English avenged their defeat in 1750. Robert Clive master minded the job of Arcot with only 200 English and 300 Indian soldiers. Chandra Sahib had no option but to rush to the defense of his capital, lifting the siege of Trichortopoly and releasing Muhammad Ali in consequence. This was what Clive had hoped would happen.

The French effort to strike back was frustrated through the lack of support given through the French government. They had incurred heavy losses in America and India and preferred a humiliating peace to an expensive disagreement. Thus the very nature of the company, it's being approximately a department of the state, proved disastrous for it. The French state was not only corrupt and decadent; it failed to stay in row with current growths and visions into the future. Dupleix was recalled after negotiations with the English Company in 1754. The French challenge was virtually in excess of.

Third Carnatic War

A third war broke out in 1756 with the commencement of war in Europe. Count de Lally sailed to India to aid the French army but his ships were sent back and the French troops were defeated in Carnatic. The French location at the court and territory in Hyderabad state were taken in excess of through the English. The battle of Wandiwash in 1760 marked the elimination of French power in India.

Peace like war was once again connected with Europe. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 reduced the French company to a pure trading body without any political privileges.

The disagreement flanked by the English and French companies was a crucial stage in the consolidation of British power in India. At the end of 20 years the superiority of the British in excess of the French was clearly proved.

The lessons learnt in the Carnatic were well applied in other parts of the country.

Conquest of Benga: Plassey to Buxar

Bengal was the first province where the British recognized political control. The Nawab, Siraj-ud-daula, was defeated at the battle of Plassey in 1757. The grant of the Zamindari of 24 Parganas through Mir Jafar in 1757 and then of the Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagoh in 1760 through Mir Kasim gave the Company's servants the opportunity to oppress the officials of the Nawab and the peasants. Trading privileges were likewise misused. Mir Kasim followed Siraj-ud-daula's instance and refused to accept these attacks on his sovereignty. He joined battle with the British at Buxar in 1764 beside with the Nawab of Awadh and the Mughal emperor. The company won an easy victory.

Dual Government

The treaty of Bengal in 1765 inaugurated the Dual Government of Bengal. Clive became Governor of Bengal and Company the virtual ruler. The Nawab was the ruler merely in name as his army had been disbanded. The administration was handed in excess of to a Deputy Subadar, who would function on behalf of the Nawab, but would be nominated through the company. The company had direct control in excess of collection of revenues through the Deputy diwan. As the offices of diwan and subadar were held through the same person, the company's control was total.

Moreover, the great advantage was that responsibility sustained to be with the Nawab. The blame for the extortions and oppression through the company's servants fell on the Nawab. It is estimated that 5.7 million were taken absent from Bengal in the years 1766 to 1768 alone. Senior British officials including Clive admitted that

Company's rule was unjust and corrupt and meant untold misery for the people of Bengal.

Reorganisation of the Political System

The administrative abuses were so great that the company ended the dual government in 1772. The company was essentially a trading corporation, ill equipped to administer territory. Changes were necessary in the constitution to enable it to wield political power and for the British Government to regulate the functioning of the company. This was affected through the Regulating Act of 1773.

Introduction of Western Organizations

The significance of the Regulating Act for our discussion lies in its introduction of the British mode of governance. British style organizations were introduced. The Governor-General and his council were to run the administration of Bengal and supervise that of Bombay and Madras. The Supreme Court of justice was set up at Calcutta to administer justice just as to British percepts. The nucleus of administrative tools already lived within the company, as it had an army, composed taxes and imparted justice. Initially the old system was only extended, but through the turn of the century, British principles had permeated deep.

One such principle was the separation of the judiciary from the executive. Civil courts set up and presided in excess of through judges, proved popular, 200,000 cases per year being the average in the early nineteenth century. The police system took form under Cornwallis.

Both the Nawab and his subordinates lost power as the company became the supreme power. The powerful state tools created was planned to enforce obedience of the subjects. Continuities with earlier practice lived but the change in the way people were ruled was fundamental.

Change was not immediately visible. Revenue collection procedures were derived from varied traditional and Mughal practices. But the establishment of control of the British Government in excess of the Company's administration and policies marked the replacement of the

indigenous political system through an imperial system subservient to the interests of Britain.

BENGAL AND AWADH

Bengal and Awadh: Under the Mughals

The emergence of Awadh and Bengal as autonomous self-governing states in the eighteenth century was not an in accessible development. The rise of self-governing states in Awadh, Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore and in other regions was one of the predominant characteristics of the eighteenth century Indian polity. The on-going research on the decline of the Mughal Empire has shown that various factors like administrative crisis, agrarian crisis, societal crisis, etc., combining together destabilized the Mughal imperial system. The debate is still on in the middle of historians in relation to the nature and relative importance of these various factors. For our present purpose it is significant to understand the nature of the Mughal provincial polity in the early eighteenth century so that we can follow the procedure involved in the emergence of new regimes in Bengal and Awadh.

Bengal and Awadh were integral parts of the Mughal imperial system. In both the provinces higher officials like the Nazim and the Diwan were directly recruited through the Mughal emperors. The provincial officials were as follows. In the Suba or province the head of revenue administration was the Diwan, and the executive head controlling other matters of civil and military administration was the Nazim. These were aided through the Baksi who was the military pay-master of the Suba, the Kotwal who headed the police department, the Qazi who dispensed Justice and the Waqai Navis responsible for collecting and reporting news which had a bearing on political affairs. A Suba or Provinces was divided into Sarkars and these units were controlled through Faujdars. The Sarkars were further subdivided into Parganas. At the local stage within the province it was the Zamindars who had maximum control in excess of the local people and administration.

The imperial control in excess of the provinces was mainly through the control in excess of appointment of the Nazim and the Diwan. They were men in whom the emperor had confidence. It was a system of checks and balances, the Diwan was separately appointed through the emperor in order to stay control in excess of the Nazim. Besides these two high officials, in provinces several other officials like Amils, Faujdars, etc., were dependent on the emperor who appointed them. Political integration of the empire was a product of the coordination and balancing of the various forces ranging from the Zamindars and a big number of lower-stage officials to the highest provincial officials.

This system acted well till the imperial power was able to enforce policy and secure obedience from the provincial administration. But from the late 17th and early 18th century, slowly the connection of the central power with the provincial administration was virtually reduced to getting tribute from the provincial governor. While creation this token submission to the imperial power, the provincial governors slowly tried to identify themselves as local powers and to set up their self-governing power at the provincial stage. The flow of tribute to the imperial treasury became irregular. There was also a tendency in the middle of the governors to set up their dynastic rule in the provinces and to appoint their own men in the administration. All these point to the procedure of weakening of imperial control in the provinces and the creation of self-governing power at the local stage.

Bengal: Towards Autonomy

The rise of Bengal as a self-governing autonomous state in the first half of eighteenth century typified the emerging trend of local autonomy in various Mughal Subas. Though the sovereignty of the Mughal emperor was not challenged, the establishment of practically self-governing and hereditary power through the governor and subordination of all offices within the region

to the governor showed the emergence of a self-governing focus of power in Bengal.

Murshid Kuli Khan and Bengal

The foundation for a self-governing state in Bengal was first laid down through Murshid Kuli Khan. He was first appointed as Diwan to reorganize the revenue administration of Bengal. His success as an efficient administrator and the state of uncertainty in imperial administration following the death of Aurangzeb helped him to become the Subadar of Bengal. Although Murshid Kuli did not defy the imperial power of the Mughals yet it was his administration which showed clear indication of the establishment of a dynastic rule in Bengal. He was the last governor of Bengal directly appointed through the emperor. Murshid Kuli abolished the system of separate offices of the Nazim and the Diwan and combined both the offices. Actually the motive behind the appointment of a Diwan in the provinces was to stay control in excess of the governor of the province. But Murshid Kuli through combining these two posts wanted to strengthen the power Of the governor. This was a clear indication of the creation of a self-governing power in the province.

Murshid Kuli set the tradition of a dynastic rule in Bengal. It became as recognized information in the province that after his death the Nawabship of Bengal would pass into the hands of his family. They sustained to seek imperial confirmation but the selection of Nawab no longer remained in the hands of the emperor.

Initially Murshid Kuli's main concern was to step up revenue collection in Bengal. In order to do this Murshid Kuli entered into a series of new dealings with local power groups within the province. This actually laid the foundation for a superior framework within which the autonomous Suba would function in the 1730's and 1740's. The new arrangements followed as a consequence of Murshid Kuli's revenue events which essentially sought to

enhance and render more efficient the collection of land revenue. The events that he took were:

- Elimination of small intermediary Zamindars,
- Expelling rebellious Zamindars and Jagirdars into the boundary provinces of Orissa,
- Enlarging the scope and extent of the KHALSA lands,
- Encouraging big Zamindars who assumed the responsibilities of revenue collection and payment.

Murshid Kuli encouraged some Zamindars to build up and consolidate their holdings through buying up the estates of defaulters. Some of the significant Zamindars in Bengal were those of Rajsahi, Dinajpur, Burdwan, Nadia, Birbhum, Bishnupur and in Bihar Zamindars of Tirhut. Shahbad and Tikari. Murshid Kuli controlled the countryside and collected the revenue through these Zamindars; the Zamindars on their part expanded their dominations through extending control in excess of the neighbouring Zamindars. The net result was that through 1727, Zamindars as a group definitely appeared as one of the major political forces within the province.

Parallel to this development, was the rising importance of monies and commercial elements. The relentless pressure on the Zamindars to pay their obligations in full enhanced opportunities for financiers who now acted as securities at every stage of the transaction. It is, therefore, not surprising that the home of the Jagat Seths should have enjoyed such unstinted patronage and support of the Nawab. The Seths acted not merely as guarantors of the superior Zamindars but also assumed full responsibility for the remittance of the Bengal revenue to Delhi.

The new power structure that had thus appeared in Bengal was very dissimilar from the Mughal provincial model and coincided with Delhi's declining hold in excess of the province. The Nazim, though not unaware of the implications of the changing situation did not contemplate a complete

rupture with Delhi, and annual revenue sustained to be remitted. But on the other hand, it became increasingly clear that Murshid Kuli had recognized Bengal as his domain, and that he would ensure that the Nizamat of the province would pass on to a member of his family and not to an outsider. Thus Murshid Kuli nominated his daughter's son Sarfaraz as his successor. This manoeuvre would scarcely have been tolerated throughout the days of a strong imperial government.

Shujauddin and Bengal

Sarfaraz nominated through Murshid Kuli as his successor, was deposed through his father Shujauddin Muhammad Khan. Ties flanked by Delhi and Murshidabad persisted in the rule of Shujauddin. He sustained to pay the tribute to the Mughal court. But besides this aspect, in matters of provincial government Shuja supervised the affairs in his own way. He filled the high officers with his own men and got the imperial endorsement later on. The way Murshid Kuli tried to develop a system of administration of his own was also pursued through Shuja. He also urbanized ties of loyalty with dissimilar local power groups to retain his control in excess of the province. It has been observed through Phillip B. Calkins that throughout the 1730's the government of Bengal began to seem more like government through cooperation of the dominant forces in Bengal rather than the imperial rule from outside. The changing power equation was mainly conspicuously demonstrated in the coup that was affected in 1739-40 through Alivardi Khan who killed Sarfaraz Khan, the legitimate successor to Shujauddin, and seized power. Alivardi was backed through the Zamindars and bankers.

Alivardi Khan and Bengal

Alivardi's regime added a new dimension in the dealings flanked by the Mughal power and the Bengal government. As it happened in the case of his precursors Alivardi also obtained imperial confirmation of his location. But his reign showed a virtual break with the Mughals and marked the

commencement of autonomy for the Bengal Suba. The major appointments in the provincial administration were made through Alivardi himself without any reference to the Mughal emperor. Previously it was through these appointments that the emperor tried to enforce his power in the provinces. Men of Alivardi's own choice were appointed as Deputy Nawabs at Patna, Cuttack and Dhaka.

To control the revenue administration he appointed a big number of Hindus as Mutasaddis or Amils or local Diwans. Alivardi also organized a strong military force with the help of the Pathans settled in Bihar and North India. Besides these growths, a significant sign of declining of imperial control in excess of Bengal was the abrupt end in the flow of regular tribute to Delhi. Just as to modern sources whereas Murshid Kuli and Shujauddin used to pay an annual tribute of Rs. 10,000,000, Alivardi in 15 years had paid Rs. 4,000,000 to Rs. 5,000,000. Just as to some other sources, Alivardi stopped paying annual tributes.

It is significant to note here that through 1740's an administrative system urbanized in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa which steadily reduced ties with the imperial court in Delhi. It is true that Alivardi Khan did not formally defy the imperial power. But for all practical purposes we discover the emergence of a self-governing state in eastern India throughout this era. Two significant shapes of imperial control in excess of province—payment of annual tribute to the emperor and appointment of higher provincial officials through the emperor, were not visible throughout Alivardi's regime. Practically there was no imperial intervention in Bengal.

Though Alivardi had faced two strong external threats—one from the Marathas and the other from the Afghan rebels—when he was trying to consolidate his base in Bengal. After establishing their control in excess of mainly of central India Marathas were trying to extend their control beyond central India. They were forcefully collecting Chauth from the neighbouring states. Goaded through the dream of a Maratha Empire and the desire for wealth the Marathas attacked Bengal three to four times throughout the era 1742 to 1751. Each time when they attacked Bengal it caused lot of damage to the life and property of the local people. Being disturbed through these

repeated attacks of the Marathas and failing to stop it Alivardi finally sued for peace with the Marathas in 1751. Alivardi agreed to pay annual Chauth of Rs. 1,200,000 and Orissa was given to the Marathas on condition that the Marathas would not enter the dominions of Alivardi in future.

Another formidable threat that Alivardi had to face was from the rebel Afghan troops. Mustafa Khan, the Afghan commander, with the help of the dismissed Afghan troops put forward a serious challenge to Alivardi. In 1748 the rebel Afghan troops seized Patna and plundered it. Alivardi, though, was able to defeat the Afghans after a major battle and recovered Patna. The extensive wars that Alivardi had to fight against the Marathas and the Afghans put severe strain on the finances of the government. The effect of it was felt very shortly on dissimilar local groups like Zamindars, office holders, bankers, merchants and the European companies.

Bengal: Towards Subjection

The death of Alivardi in 1756 gave rise to dissensions in the middle of various groups within the court on the question of succession to the throne of Bengal. Actually in the absence of any definite rule of succession each time after the death of Nawab there was a disagreement for succession. Alivardi named Siraj-ud-daula, his grandson, as his successor. The succession of Siraj was challenged through other claimants like Shaukat Jang (Faujdar of Purnea) and Ghasiti Begam, daughter of Alivardi. This encouraged factionalism within the court and support offered through Jagat Seths, Zamindars and others to the dissimilar warring groups seriously threatened the stability of the self-governing Bengal Suba. The English East India Company acted as a catalyst to precipitate this crisis.

Plassey and After

Sure growths combined and converged to form the fateful conspiracy and encounter at Plassey in 1757 which set the procedure of subjugation of

Bengal to the English East India Company. The sources of disagreement flanked by the Nawab and the English were related to:

- The abuse of the duty free trade privilege (sanctioned through Mughal Emperor Farukhsiyar to the East India Company in 1717) which the company merchants insisted on availing of in their private commercial ventures.
- The right to fortifications within the town of Calcutta. Both these were objected to time and again through successive Bengal Nawabs. Disputes became more acrimonious in Siraj's reign and led to a military encounter. The disaffected notables of Siraj's court, notably the Jagat Seths, Yar Lutf Khan, Rai Durlabh and Amir Chand joined hands with the English to oust Siraj and installed their protege.

In organising the conspiracy, it was not their intention to upset existing political order—a return to the status quo of Alivardi's administration was the probable objective. The battle of Plassey (1757) showed the depth of factionalism in the Nawab's court. The treachery of the secure lieutenants of the Nawab rather than the might of the English decided the fate of the battle. Mir Jafar was proclaimed Nawab. An agreement was concluded with the English wherein the Nawab guaranteed and in some cases extended the commercial privileges of the English. The Company on their part agreed not to interfere in the Nawab's government.

A return to the status quo situation, the objective of Plassey conspirators, soon proved an impossibility to achieve. What happened instead was the steady erosion and collapse of the autonomy in Bengal which was so cautiously built up through Murshid Kuli and his successors. The inability of Mir Jafar, the ongoing conspiracy within the court and the relative weakness of the Nawab's armed forces gave the English the scope to decisively interfere in the affairs of the province. Mir Jafar's rising dependence on the company for military support was used through the company to demand more finances and other privileges from the Nawab. But the Nawab was not in location to

meet the rising financial demands of the company. Thus the company's relentless drive for more revenues in Bengal led to direct confrontation with Mir Jafar. Mir Jafar was ultimately forced to abdicate.

Mir Kasim who got the Nawabship through a secret deal with the English again faced the same fate like Mir Jafar.

Buxar and After

The first years of Mir Kasim's reign saw a concerted and conscious effort to rebuild the self-governing state in Bengal. Shifting the capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr in Bihar—a region absent from the English sphere of power, his objective was to set up a thoroughly centralized power structure. A major revaluing of the financial and military machine of the state was set in motion. The army was remodeled, a fire arms manufactory was recognized and troops which had served previous Nawabs and whose loyalty was suspected were disbanded. Embezzlements were checked, non-essential expenditure was curbed and the location of Zamindars as well as of all those who depended on assignments was ruthlessly undermined. Rebel Zamindars were dispossessed, Amils and revenue farmers appointed in their stead. The events left none in doubt as regards the Nawab's determination to exercise his power to the full.

For the company, the situation was distant from acceptable. Mir Kasim vehemently protested against the extension of private trade which diminished his customs revenue and which threatened to undermine his own region of territorial power. Indeed British commercial penetration into Bengal was not merely disrupting the cycle of economic action in the interior, but was clearly threatening to jeopardize the Nawab's power. Under the circumstances, it was not surprising that the abuse of dastak (i.e. duty free trade permit) through the company servants for their private trade was the immediate cause of the war of 1764. A surprise attack on Patna through the English led to a full level war flanked by the English and Mir Kasim. Mir Kasim was backed through the

provincial nobility of Bihar, Orissa and the Nawab of Awadh and the Mughal emperor Shah Alam. The combined forces though failed to restrain the English advance and the self-governing rule of the Nawabs in Bengal came to an end.

The authentication and execution of Mir Kasim was followed through the restoration of Mir Jafar, this time on much harsher terms. Not only did he and his successors have to pay Rs. 5, 00,000 for month to the company, they had also to submit to company intervention in matters of appointments and dismissal of officers, of reduction in military establishments. For all practical purposes, power was transferred to the British and which was formalized through the treaty of Allahabad, 12 August 1765. Through the treaty the Mughal emperor formally appointed the English East India Company his Diwan for the provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The company was entrusted with the financial administration of the three provinces and in return the emperor was guaranteed an annual tribute of Rs. 2, 00,000. The Nawabs of Bengal retained the office of Nazim with formal responsibility for defense, law and order and the administration of justice. In other words, responsibility for administration lay with the Nazim, revenues and rights with the company. Thus with the formal grant of the Diwani, greater Bengal came under full British rules not even vestiges of autonomy were allowed to remain, as had remained in the cases of the client states of Hyderabad and Awadh.

Awadh: Towards Autonomy

Development in Awadh followed the same trend towards autonomy in the first stage and eventually subjection to the British. The rise of Awadh as an eighteenth century local political system was fostered as much through economic and geographical factors, as through the pursuit of political autonomy through the Iranian and Shiite family of Burhanulmulk Saadat Khan.

Saadat Khan and Awadh

Autonomy from the Mughal system was, in a sense, thrust upon Awadh following the frustrations and disappointments of Saadat Khan in Delhi. Prevented time and again from playing a superior role in the Mughal imperial politics which he thought he so richly deserved, he concentrated his energies in consolidating his power in Awadh. He desired to convert Awadh into a power base for launching into imperial politics.

Economically Awadh was wealthy in eighteenth century because of its high stage of trade and agricultural prosperity. Geographically it was situated in a very strategic location lying flanked by the north bank of the Ganges and the Himalayan mountains. Awadh's proximity to the centre of imperial power, Delhi, had an added importance.

Saadat Khan was assigned the Subadari of Awadh in 1722 after having held the Agra Province, without conspicuous success against the Jath rebels. Saadat Khan devoted his energies to create Awadh a self-governing centre of power. Prevailing weaknesses in the imperial administration following the death of Aurangzeb helped him in fulfilling his Ambition. Immediately after taking control of Awadh Saadat Khan faced strong resistance from numerous rebellious chiefs and rajas in Awadh. In order to consolidate his location the events he took were:

- Suppression of rebellious local Zamindars and chieftains,
- Circumscribing the power of the Madad-i-mash grantees,
- Systematising revenue collection, and also
- Negotiation with some local Zamindars.

All the significant posts in the provincial administration were filled up through his relatives and followers. In this way he wanted to ensure the loyalty of provincial officials to him. With these achievements behind him Saadat Khan felt emboldened enough to nominate his son-in-law Safdar Jang as Deputy governor of the province without waiting for imperial sanction. This

was a clear sign of the rising autonomy of the Awadh Suba. Through 1735, Sadaat Khan's control in excess of Awadh was so complete that Delhi did not hesitate to bestow on him the faujdari of the adjacent Sarkar of Kora Jahanabad and on another occasion the revenue farm of the Sarkars of Benaras, Jaunpur, Ghazipur and Chunargarh. These successes notwithstanding, Saadat Khan's concerns were still primarily determined through prospects of imperial politics and not with local autonomy. The information was that, Saadat had not yet given up his stakes in Mughal imperial politics. Admittedly significant changes had been introduced and these had undermined the vestiges of imperial control but local independence and control was still envisaged within the Mughal framework. It was only in 1737 when Saadat's demands for greater territorial possessions and military control in lieu of his services against Maratha inroads were rejected outright through the Mughal Court and again 1739-40 when his request for the office of Mir Bakshi was turned down despite his display of valour against the invading Persians, that the procedure of disenchantment and disillusionment with the Mughals was complete. In 1739 Saadat Khan came with a vast force to save the Mughal emperor from the Persian attack. But his abrupt attack on the main Persian force led to his capture in the hands of Nadir Shah, the Persian commander. Though he was able to power Nadir Shah and became the negotiator flanked by the Persian and the Mughal camp. What followed was treachery and desertion to the Persian camp with disastrous implications. Saadat had helped in vain to utilize the Persian connection for a greater role in imperial politics. What transpired was Nadir's utter disregard of his client's pretensions and worse still Nadir's escalating cash demands on him. Despairing under the circumstances, Saadat gave up his life with it his obsession with the imperial game.

Safdar Jang and Awadh

The legacy that Saadat Khan had left for his son-in-law and nominated successor Safdar Jang was a semi-autonomous local political system. Its internal organisation and working was no longer dependent on imperial

dictates and which did not consider it obligatory to remit revenues regularly to Delhi. Furthermore, revenue arrangements of the province had undergone reorganization; the office of imperial Diwan was abolished and superior numbers of local Hindu service gentry were absorbed into administration.

The following years flanked by 1739 and 1764 saw Awadh's fortunes at its height and also constituted the era of greatest autonomy. The outward allegiance to the Emperor was still maintained, for instance,

- Emperor's formal confirmation was taken for the appointment in the high offices,
- Revenues were sent to the imperial treasury,
- Orders, Titles, etc. were given in the name of the Mughal Emperor, etc.

Though, Safdar Jang within this imperial context tried his best to strengthen the foundation of autonomous political system in Awadh. He extended his control in excess of the Gangetic plains and appropriated the forts of Rohtas, Chunar and also the Subadari of Allahabad. These acquisitions enhanced his status at the imperial court and also earned for him the office of Wizarat. The acquisition of Farukhabad and his continual attempts at self-aggrandisement alienated him from the imperial court. Safdar Jang was dismissed from the office of Wazir. Though throughout the Maratha attack on Delhi in 1754, he had a brief return to the Mughal court, he virtually lost his power in the imperial court.

Shuja-ud-daula and Awadh

Safdar Jang's successor Shuja-ud-daula achieved greater success in consolidating the expanding frontiers of the province and in adjusting the dealings of his self-governing Suba with the Mughal empire. He was also to contemplate and execute an intricate network of alliances against the rising English power in the east. Equally striking successes were registered in the internal sphere—revenue collection was systematized, the army well maintained and the treasury assured of regular receipts. Local Hindu gentry

groups were well represented in the administration and bureaucracy, the Naib was Raja Beni Bahadur (Brahmin) while the secretary to the Nawab himself was a Marathi speaking Deshasth Brahmin. In the middle of the Nawab's mainly reputed generals were not only Hindus but also gosain monks.

Like his precursors Shuja-ud-daula also did not totally cut off the ties with the Mughal emperor. He also took the confirmation from the emperor for this throne. He successfully outmaneuvered the emperor's effort to extend the imperial control in excess of north India. Shuja-ud-daula was able to reestablish the dominance of Awadh in excess of the imperial court and got the appointment of Wazir. He took the face of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan leader, in the battle against the Marathas in 1761 and thus checked the Maratha threat to north India. Thus Shuja-ud-daula, before the battle with the English East India Company in 1764, had very successfully maintained the autonomous political system that urbanized in Awadh in the first half of the 18th century.

Awadh: Towards Subjection

The second half of eighteenth century witnessed gradual expansion of the English East India Company's role in north India and this had a strong bearing on the economy and politics of Awadh. Until 1801, Awadh was conceived of essentially as a buffer state protecting Bengal against the powers to the West notably the Marathas and the question of encroachment and annexation did not arise. It was only approximately the turn of the 19th century that Awadh became a block to further British expansion. This led eventually to the take in excess of the province in 1856.

Awadh: 1764-1775

The failure of the combined forces of the Nawab of Bengal, Shuja-ud-daula and the Mughal emperor before the English forces at Buxar certainly undermined the power and prestige of the Nawab of Awadh. Awadh was

brought into the British dragnet through the treaty of Allahabad. Just as to this treaty Shuja-ud-daula was allowed to retain Awadh proper, though Kora and Allahabad were ceded to Mughal emperor. A war indemnity of Rs. 50, 00,000 to be paid in lots was imposed on Shuja who entered into a reciprocal arrangement with the company for defense of each other's territory. The Nawabs were aware of the company's burgeoning strength and aspirations and, like the Bengal Nawabs, they were not prepared to let go without at least a semblance of a struggle. This assumed in the initial stages the form of a concerted drive against British commercial penetration of Awadh. Alongside was initiated a major reorganization and reform of the Awadh Army.

The military reforms initiated through Shuja-ud-daula after the humiliation at Buxar, were not planned to either intimidate the English or to promote a war against them. Rather it would appear that the overall military effort reflected the Nawab's anxiety to defend his political power at a time when it was being steadily undermined through the alien company. For the company, Awadh was too significant and lucrative a province to be left alone. Its vast amount of revenue could be used to subsidize the company's armies. In cautiously planned stages, the company stepped up its fiscal demands. In 1773 was concluded the first definitive treaty flanked by Awadh and the English East India Company. Through this treaty the Nawab agreed to pay Rs. 2, 10,000 monthly for each brigade of company troops that would remain present in Awadh or Allahabad. This provision first recognized the beginnings of Awadh's chronic indebtedness to the company and represented the initial British thrust into the region's political system.

Awadh: 1775-97

It was in and after 1775 that the vulnerability of the Nawabi came into sharp focus. It was also in these years, ironically enough, that the emergence of a provincial cultural identity centered approximately the new court and capital at Lucknow (the capital had been shifted from Fyzabad) was more clearly identifiable than before. Asaf-ud-daula's succession to the throne in

1775 went without a hitch notwithstanding the hostility of some of Shuja's courtiers and of the opposition faction of his brother Saadat Ali, the governor of Rohil Khand. Soon, though, under the stewardship of Murtaza Khan (Asaf's favourite who received the exalted title of Mukhtar-ud-daula) the stability of the existing political set up was undermined as older nobles and generals were displaced. Furthermore, Mukhtar allowed the company to negotiate a treaty with the Nawab ceding to English control the territories surrounding Benaras, north to Jaunpur and west to Allahabad, and then held through Chait Singh. The treaty also fixed a superior subsidy than before for the company brigade and excluded the Mughal emperor from all future Anglo-Nawabi transactions. Finally all diplomatic transactions and foreign intelligence were to be controlled through the English through the Resident at the Nawab's court.

The disintegration of the political system, the blatant intervention of the English in Awadh's affairs and Asaf-ud-daula's excessively indulgent disposition and disregard of political affairs alarmed a sizeable part of the Awadh nobility. The situation worsened as troops were in arrears and at spaces mutinied. These acts of disturbance and lawlessness smoothened the way for British penetration. In the 1770's the English East India Company persistently eroded the foundation of Awadh's sovereignty. The rapid inroads the English made through virtue of their military attendance seriously undermined the Nawabi regime which in 1780 came up with the first declaration of protest. The supreme government in Calcutta was forced to realize that unremitting pressure on Awadh's possessions could not be sustained indefinitely and that the excessive intervention of the English Resident would have to be curtailed if Awadh's usefulness as a subsidiary was to be guaranteed.

Thus in 1784 Warren Hastings entered into a new series of arrangements with Asaf-ud-daula which reduced the debt through Rs. 50 lakhs and thereby the pressure on the Awadh regime.

In the following decade and a half, the Awadh regime sustained to function as a semi-autonomous local power whose dealings with the company were cordial. This state of affairs lasted until 1797, the year of Asaf's demise, when the British once more intervened in the succession issue. Wazir Ali, Asaf's chosen successor was deposed in favor of Saadat Ali. With Saadat Ali a formal treaty was signed on 21 February 1798 which increased the subsidy to Rs. 76 lakhs yearly.

Awadh: 1797-1856

A more forward policy was initiated through Lord Wellesley who arrived in 1798 only to reject the Awadh system. The Nawab's declaration of inability to pay the increased financial demand of the company gave Wellesley a suitable pretext to contemplate annexation. In September 1801, Henry Wellesley arrived in Lucknow to force Saadat's surrender of his whole territory. After protracted negotiations, the company accepted the perpetual sovereignty of Rohil Khand, Gorakhpur and the Doab which yielded a gross amount of 1 crore 35 lakhs. The annexations of 1801 inaugurated a new era in Anglo-Awadh dealings. The Shrunken Suba could no longer pose a threat to the stability of the company dominions. Nor did in information the rulers of Awadh entertain any notion of resistance to the relentless forward march of the English. Deprived of their army and half of their territory, they concentrated their energies in cultural pursuits. In this they were following the footsteps of Asaf-ud-daula who had built up approximately the Lucknow court a vibrant and livelihood cultural arena.

The patronage extended to luminaries and poets, Mirza Rafi Sauda (1713-86), Mir Ghulam Hasan (1734-86), etc., made Lucknow a second home for these sensitive men of letters who had left Delhi and lamented for the world they had loved and lost.

The assumption of imperial status through Ghazi-ud-din-Hyder (1819) and the formal revocation of Mughal sovereignty was an integral part of the

blooming court civilization of Awadh. But this conceded with the decline in the ruler's control in excess of the administration and province. The heavy price that had to be continually paid to the Company for "protection", the devolution of administrative responsibility to ministers, the dominant location of the British Resident, were facts which no regal pomp and ceremony could conceal.

The declining state of affairs sustained through the regimes of Nasir-ud-din-Hydar, Muhammad Ali Shah and Amjad Ali Shah (1827-47). None of these rulers could enforce their power in excess of the administration or free themselves from the political hold of the company. Their achievements were confined to preserving Awadh's nominally autonomous status and to elevating Lucknow's location as the dominant cultural centre in north India. The English Resident was allowed to control the administration and to exercise a form of dyarchy or indirect rule. The company was not unaware of the inherent contradictions in the situation and from time to time toyed with the thought of annexation. The thought was vetoed on the grounds that the company was not ready to assume the direct administration of Awadh. It was, in 1856 when Wajid Ali Shah was exiled, Awadh was annexed and Dalhousie, the Governor-General, wrote to his masters, "So our gracious Queen has 5,000,000 more subjects and Rs. 1,300,000 more revenues than she had yesterday." Nishapuri Awadh became British 'Oudh' and thus came to an end the self-governing Shiite home of the Burhan-ul-mulk (Saadat Khan) which had made and lost its fortunes in the century of transition sandwiched flanked by two empires, that of the Mughal and of the British respectively.

Nature of the Local Polity

Here we would try to look at the nature of the local polity and the various forces that were within the local political system. Though there was a separate effort towards the formation of self-governing state both in Bengal and Awadh, both of them acknowledged Mughal sovereignty as a formality. In the case of Awadh, it was only in 1819 with the coronation of Ghazi-ud-din

Hydar that the sovereignty of the Mughals was unilaterally revoked. Ties with the Mughal imperial power were not totally broken and the shapes of the Mughal provincial government did not change much. Major noticeable change was the rising power of the provincial rulers and the central power had virtually no control in excess of the provincial rulers. This contrasted with the situation in the 17th century.

The self-governing power that appeared in the provinces in the 18th century worked with the collaborative support of dissimilar groups like the Zamindars, the merchants, etc. Merchants and money lenders who became politically significant in the 18th century had a significant role in the emergence of the local political system. Throughout the 17th century this class of people helped the Mughal's taxation system and the expansion of trade in agricultural products and artisan goods. Though their role in imperial politics was not much visible. But in the 18th century with the weakening of central power and the collapse of the Mughal treasury, this commercial class provided the economic foundation for the emerging local political system. They became the guarantor of money for the rulers and the nobles. The extent of mercantile and commercial penetration into the working of the administration was fairly pronounced. The government borrowed substantial sums from the commercial houses. The Agarwal bankers had complete command in excess of the revenue matters in Benares. In information, in Awadh the debts incurred through the time of Asaf-ud-daula (1755-97) became so staggering a burden that successive English Residents were forced to investigate into the matter. In case of Bengal, the home of Jagat Seths assumed a significant role in the main centre of power in the province. Thus the merchants and the money lenders had a share in political power in the local polity in the eighteenth century .

Parallel to the merchants, Zamindars as a group also had a very important role within the province. In the wake of the receding tide of the imperial power the Zamindars consolidated their power at the local stage and began to tax markets and trade in their regions which was beyond their purview throughout the sunny days of the Mughal rule. The collection of

revenues and the maintenance of law and order in the countryside became the concern of the Zamindars. The stability in the local polity became dependant on the active support of the Zamindars. The Zamindars were usually supportive vis-à-vis merchants and in several cases Zamindars were also money lenders and had investment in commerce. So their general interest tied them together. Their support became essential for the ruler to uphold his power. We have seen how the rulers in Awadh and Bengal tried to develop good dealings with the Zamindars in order to retain their control in the state.

Another important feature that is observed in the polity of Bengal and Awadh is the appointment of big number of Hindus in the revenue administration. Hindu officials like Atma Ram, Raja Ram Narayan in Awadh and Rai Duriabh, Amir Chand in Bengal were trusted with the charge of revenue administration. The manning of revenue administration through Hindu officials may have been encouraged because there was less chance of resistance from the Hindus to the Nawab's power. Be that as it may, traditionally several Hindu officials were employed in revenue administration and clerical jobs.

Since the mid-18th century the English East India Company slowly appeared as a strong force in the polity of Bengal and Awadh. The rising economic power of the company backed through military force made it the arbiter of provincial politics. The dissension and rivalry within the provincial administration further strengthened their location in the provincial polity. Taking advantage of the situation they played one faction against the other to consolidate their base in the province.

THE MARATHA STATE SYSTEM

Historians on Nature of Maratha Polity

Imperialist historiography usually characterized the 18th century Maratha power as chaotic and anarchic. On the other hand, in effort to develop

Nationalist historiography, many Maratha scholars saw the Maratha state as the last reincarnation of the Hindu empire.

Irfan Habib's thesis is that the Maratha movement was essentially a zamindar uprising of the imperial ruling class (mansabdars and jagirdars) of the Mughal Empire. It is the zamindar context of the Maratha state that he underlines.

Satish Chandra locates the successful bid for local independence through the Marathas in the crisis of the Mughal jagirdari system which failed to balance income and consumption. C.A. Bayly notes the emergence of three warrior states—Marathas, Sikhs and Jats and argues that they reflected popular or peasant insurgency directed in part against the Indo-Muslim aristocracy. The Marathas, he elaborates, drew their strength from the ordinary peasant pastoralist castes. The Brahmin officers who were on the ascendant pictured the Marathas state a classic "Brahmin" kingdom, protecting the holy spaces and sacred cattle.

In Andre Wink's analysis the procedures of *fitna* were central to social and political life in the Maratha state system. Characteristically this implied creation use of existing political conflicts through a combination of coercion and conciliation, as opposed to pure military operations. *Fitna* then, is regarded as the political mechanism that was used for the expansion, consolidation and subsequent institutionalization of Maratha power. Ensuring the crucial collaboration/acquiescence of the gentry demanded the political arithmetic of *fitna*. This was essential both for conquest as well as gaining access to the agrarian resource base.

It was through *fitna* that the Marathas penetrated the expanding Mughal Empire in the late 17th century through aligning themselves with dissimilar Deccan Sultans against the Mughals. Therefore, Wink argues, rather than on behalf of a revolt against the Mughal empire, Maratha sovereignty appeared as a result of Mughal expansion. In form the Maratha *swarajya* remained zamindari tenure and the Marathas never really shed the status of zamindars.

Frank Perlin's concern is with broadening the concepts of state and state-formation in the extensive term, trans-political, subcontinental and international framework. This is because (a) the state had an extensive-term

development, covering dissimilar regimes flanked by the 15th and 19th centuries, (b) there is a need for a relative perspective of transition procedures affecting India and Europe before industrialization in order to correct stereotypical views in relation to the late pre-colonial societies as being unresponsive to change.

The Maratha Confederacy

Through the second decade of the 18th century the Maratha powers under Peshwa Baji Rao 1 were striking out against the Mughals in the Deccan and in central India. Yet, even in the 1780s treaties flanked by the Mughals and the Marathas, the Mughal emperor sustained to be recognized as the first in the middle of all the kings and chiefs of India. Significantly it was the levying of *chauth* under the sanction, or the pretended sanction of the Mughal Emperor that was the usual prelude for establishment of Maratha sovereignty (as for instance Gujarat, Malwa and Berar).

The King and the Peshwa

In 1719 Balaji Vishwanath returned from Delhi with firmans for *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*. The Maratha king became the *sardeshmukh* of the whole Deccan (Aurangabad, Berar, Bidar, Bijapur, Hyderabad and Khandesh) and Karnataka.

In 1719 Balaji Vishwanath made an intricate division of the collection of *chauth* and *sardeshmukh* flanked by Shahu and his *sardars*. Out of these collections a fixed share was to be paid to the Raja (*sardeshmukhi* + 34% of *chauth*). The Raja thus became mainly dependent on his *sardars* for his finances.

Originally the Peshwa was only a *mukhya pradhan* or prime minister and his post was not hereditary. When Baji Rao, Balaji Vishwanath's son, became Peshwa in 1720, the office became hereditary. In 1740 Balaji Baji Rao (Nana Saheb) became Peshwa. Till Shahu's death in 1749 he was still under the restraint of the Raja of Satra, Thereafter he virtually dislodged the Raja from sovereign power.

The expansion of the Marathas had from an early date predominantly been the work of the Peshwas and their sardars. In the 1740s the Marathas conquered Malwa, Gujarat, Blundelkhand and penetrated, as distant as Attock in the north, Rajasthan, Doab, Awadh, Bihar and Orissa. Andra Wink's study shows that all these conquests started as fitna (conquests on invitation).

It may be pointed out that in the 1740s Maratha sovereignty was not yet decisively recognized in the north and that it was even more fragile and limited in the south.

Bhonsle of Nagpur

The first chauth levies, made in the north-east, self-governing of the Peshwa, were those made through Parsoji Bhonsle, a descendant of a family of village headmen from Poona district. One of the first sardars to join Shahu when he returned from the Mughal court in 1707, Shahu recognized his Berar conquests and Balaji Vishwanath too sanctioned his exclusive right to Berar, Godwana and Cuttack. In 1743 Shahu assigned the rights of chauth and sardeshmukhi in Bihar, Orissa, Berar and Awadh to Raghuji Bhonsle. Though, when Raghuji died in 1755, the Peshwa decided to curtail the Bhonsles through dividing the saranjam in three parts and thus weakened them considerably.

Gaikwad of Baroda

Bande, Pawar and Dabhade were in the middle of the major Maratha sardars who led raids in the Mughal province of Gujarat in the early 18th century. The Gaikwads who started out as lieutenants of the Dabhades, rose to predominance approximately 1730. In 1727 the Mughal subedar of Gujarat assigned to Shahu sardeshmukhi to 10% of the land revenue Of the whole of Gujarat and chauth of the south of Gujarat in saranjam, in return for punishing marauders. After Shahu's death, the Peshwa divided the chauth and sardeshmukhi of Gujarat flanked by himself and Dabhade in 1749. In 1751 Gaikwad forced his way in, in lay of Dabhade and made Baroda his capital in 1752. Like the

Bhonsles of Nagpur, the Gaikwad dynasty formally enjoyed merely the status of *saranjamdar*s, i.e., assignment holders, not kings.

Holkar of Indore

The Mughal province of Malwa which shaped the political and commercial nexus flanked by Hindustan and the Deccan had been invaded through the Marathas since 1699. The first Maratha outposts were recognized on the Narmada in 1716 and claims of *chauth* made soon after. After the victory at Daroha Sarai in 1738 the Peshwa was made Malwa's deputy governor in 1741. Meanwhile in the 1730s itself the Peshwa had distributed the collections of *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* flanked by himself and Sindia, Holkar and Pawar. While the Peshwa administered the eastern half of Malwa, the hereditary *saranjams* of Holkar, Sindia and Pawar were located in the western half.

Like the Sindias and Gaikwads, the Holkars were village *vatandars* of recent origin. In 1733 they were assigned the district of Indore which subsequently grew into their dominion or *daulat*. Technically, though, it remained a *saranjam*. The Holkars remained loyal to the Peshwa even at the height of their power. Flanked by 1788 and 1793 there were constant clashes flanked by Holkar and Sindia with the former lagging behind in terms of territorial expansion.

Sindia of Gwalior

Though associated with the nature of the Sindias, actually Gwalior did not belong to the Sindias till the last quarter of 18th century. This family, which had risen to prominence in Malwa, had Ujjain as its headquarters. Sindia, too, was directly under the Peshwa as a hereditary *saranjamdar*,

Mahadaji Sindia escaped from Panipat in 1761, after his father's contingent was annihilated and reestablished his family's hold in excess of Malwa. After Malhar Rao Holkar's death, he became *de facto* sovereign of Hindustan.

Institutional Growths

The Mughals never properly controlled the heartland of Maharashtra and its administrative and property system can be seen evolving well into the 18th century.

The Administrative Structure

Maratha dominion can be broadly divided into what have been described non-regulation and regulation regions.

In the former, zamindars, autonomous and semi-autonomous chiefs were left with internal administrative autonomy. The king's tribute demand from these regions, in contrast with the land revenue demand from regulation regions, was not based on an assessment of the chief's possessions but more in proportion to their power of resistance, the weaker ones paying more than the stronger.

In regulation regions or the region of direct administration, there was a system of revenue assessment, controlment and accountancy. Such regions were divided in the middle of vatandars. Each unit of in relation to the 10 to 200 villages was under a deshmukh-deshpande combination. Under vatandar system the rights vested not in an individual incumbent but in a brotherhood of matrilineal relatives. Vatandars were co-sharers of the land produce with rights like dues from cultivators as salary, customary share in the government's land-revenue exempt land. The division of shares of a vatan did not imply partition of the land but of the proceeds. The right to sell any hereditary estate was recognized in principle. Throughout periods of agrarian or financial or administrative crisis the regulation could be relaxed and zamindars could acquire a temporary power under a system of revenue farming. In the middle of the tenants, there were two types (a) resident cultivators with hereditary rights of occupancy (mirasdars) and (b) temporary cultivators (uparis). The tenancy system of south Maharashtra and Gujarat was more complicated. In mainly of the regulation territories the standard assessment rates of the previous era were maintained in the 18th century.

Under the Peshwas the tankha— a permanent standard assessment for each village — was the baseline of revenue settlements.

In the late 1750s and 1760s the kamal (or ‘completion’) resolution was made. This resolution completed the tankha resolution through taking into consideration newly cultivated lands. It was based on measurement and classification of the qualities of land, and the king’s share came to one-sixth of the produce.

The internal sharing of the village assessment (tankha or kamal), once arrived at, was approximately entirely left to the Datil (village headman) or the village itself. In addition to the regular land revenue, the government also imposed a number of extra collections (under the head of village expenses), which were intricately recorded through village and district officials. The revenue collectors were commonly designated as kamavisdars or mamlatdars. In the 18th century, everywhere in the Deccan, southern Maratha country, Gujarat, Central India and Nagpur, the village settlements were made annually. In the 1790s and 1810s when the Peshwa needed more revenue to pay for armies and obligations to the British there was an expansion of revenue farming and an augment in the state’s demands. In Maharashtra no more than a quarter of revenue was paid in cash. Mainly often, it was remitted from villages, through the districts, to Poona through bills of swap. The administrative systems in the northern saranjam states (Holkar, Sindia, Gwalior and Bhonsle) were in principle copies of Peshwa, except that they had Diwans and supervisory officials imposed on their administration from Poona. The bureaucracy in the Deccan and the north was dominated through dissimilar grades of Brahmins.

Extensive Term Trends

From the 14th and 15th centuries, throughout the north and western Deccan, the Central Provinces, Gujarat and Rajasthan sure families were emerging into powerful positions through accumulating offices and rights and veritably establishing the infrastructure of their later power and state structure.

It is in the administrative shapes adopted through the great Houses of 17th century Maharashtra (instance the Bhonsles), attended on fiscal and military offices,

purchases and commercial dealing that saw important experiments in administrative shapes (such as land survey, cash revenue, accounting and record keeping).

There were also tensions flanked by the centralizing forces of the state and the comparatively equalitarian usages of the local peasantry. Vatandar assemblies (qota) were often held to protect themselves from state demands. While such assemblies were almost certainly the focus of 17th century popular resistance, it appears that in the 18th century, the power and powers of local and village headmen were progressively bypassed through new administrative procedures. The great Houses or magnates, through their economic power based on control of land, labour and capital provided the link flanked by the royal court and the local peasantry.

Society and Economy

In the earlier part we have discussed the institutional growths throughout the formation of the Maratha polity. Here we will talk about the society and economy of the Maratha state system.

Agrarian Society

Through the 18th century the establishment of villages in the heartlands of the Maratha polity was complete. This implied the spread of population and agrarian resolution

Though, the heartland approximately Poona was poorly irrigated and relatively sparsely populated. Through mid-18th century, given the state of its technology, this region was at the limits of its development. This explains the persistent outward pressure of the Maratha into regions of stable agriculture like Tanjore in the south, Gujarat and the Ganges valley in the north.

The elaboration of taxation and other obligation stimulated the need for increased manufacture.

The Maratha rulers adopted two types of events here. The first measure entailed concessional assessment (istava), remission of revenues and loans. These events helped to bring new land under farming. The second measure encouraged initiative of the people to build agricultural facilities. For instance an inam of gift land was given to the headman of a village throughout Shivaji's era to repair or build new dams.

Fukuzawa has noted that such events of the Maratha rulers i.e. state promotion of agriculture, revenue system etc. had led to a considerable economic differentiation in the middle of the peasantry. This varied from holders of 18 acres of land to 108 acres of land in his study. He has also noted that in excess of the years 1790 to 1803 the smaller land holdings totally disappeared. While on the other hand the big land holders increased in number.

Through the late 18th century the exploitability of peasantry was significantly increased due to augment in population, taxation, and prices of food granules.

There is abundant proof of a strengthening hold on peasantry through non-cultivating privileged class (state ministers, deshmukhs, military officers with saranjam, financiers and traders), several of whom combined more than one function. This perhaps explains the subsequent social differentiation that appeared in the countryside. There were in the main three shapes of control in excess of rural possessions — tax, gift of land and hereditary offices.

Monetization

In the era of our study manufacturing and cash cropping for distant markets shaped part of the economy in Maharashtra, presently as it did in the southern Deccan, Bengal, Bihar and Gujarat. Through the 17th and 18th centuries credit organizations were operating in town and countryside, financing indebted nobility and peasants, as well as daily economic life. The import of copper and cowries in the 18th century western Deccan was indicative of vigorous, highly monetized local market centres. Villagers in western Deccan were not only occupied in local market transaction in money,

but were also paid daily and monthly wages for agricultural labour, craft manufacture and household service. Big and small level mints producing a variety of coins were established in small market towns, the residential houses of significant lords as well as in major municipalities. In information there is a wide range of records dealing with rural exchanges throughout the late 18th century. In Maharashtra there is copious proof of loans in cash and type, in the middle of persons involved in landholding, peasants, agricultural labourers, craftsmen and soldiers. Written contracts specifying exact terms of repayment are also accessible. All this designates knowledge of quantity and calculation in the middle of general people.

Maratha Dealings

Let us now talk about the nature of Maratha dealings with other powers. Here we seem at the dealings with Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore, Rajasthan, the Mughals and the East India Company.

Bengal

Shortly after Nadir Shah's invasion in 1740 the Mughal province of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa not extensive after Alivardi Khan sought the help of the Peshwa against his rival who sought the backing of Raghuji Bhonsle. In 1743 the Peshwa was promised chauth in excess of the provinces in return for his help. Later, though, on Raghuji's appeal Shahu assigned chauth and sardeshmukhi in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to Raghuji Bhonsle. In 1751 the Nawab concluded a treaty to pay 12 lakhs of rupees in lieu of the chauth of Bengal and Bihar and a stipulated part of the revenue of Orissa to the Bhonsle of Nagpur.

Hyderabad

As viceroy of the Deccan from 1715 to 1717 the Nizam resisted the Maratha claims for chauth and sardeshmukhi of the Deccan and was constantly at war with them. Approximately 1720 he encouraged agrarian and revenue officials to obstruct collection through the Marathas. Though, in 1724

he agreed to such collection in return for the Peshwa's help against a rival. The entente fell through in 1725-26 when the Peshwa invaded Karnataka. The Nizam therefore replaced Sambhaji of Kolhapur as the collector of the Deccan *subas*. Only after the Peshwa defeated him at Palkhed in 1728

did he agree to back Kolhapur. At the height of the Poona-Hyderabad clashes in 1752, the Marathas extracted the western half of Berar flanked by Godavari and Tapti.

Mysore

The Marathas who expanded up to the Tungabhadra, were in constant disagreement with Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore and exacted tribute from Mysore in 1726. The Peshwa made successful expeditions against Haidar Ali in 1764-65 and 1769-72 and through the peace of 1772 Haidar lost territory south of the Tungabhadra. After 1776, though, Haidar Ali made incursions into the Maratha territories in the Krishna-Tungabhadra Doab. Only in 1780 was Mysore allied briefly with the Marathas against the British.

Rajasthan

Here the Marathas did not set up any regular direct administration. Though, occasionally in the second quarter of the 18th century they interfered in internal disputes in the middle of the Rajputs, in scrupulous in Bundi, Jaipur and Marwar. Before Bajji Rao's visit in 1735 only the smaller states paid chauth but therefore even Udaipur and Mewar fell in row. Collections were neglected in the aftermath after Panipat but were taken up again through Holkar and after his death through Sindia on behalf of the Peshwa and the Mughal Emperor.

Mughals

In 1752 when Ahmad Shah Abdali annexed Lahore and Multan, the Mughal Emperor sought Maratha protections. He entered into an agreement with Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindia in 1752 granting them chauth of

Punjab and Sindh and the Doab in addition to the subadari of Ajmer and Agra. AH this was in swap for protection against external enemies and disloyal subjects.

The Marathas, though, could not match Ahmad Shah Abdali and were defeated at Panipat in 1761. Punjab and Rajasthan soon slipped out of their control.

In 1784 Shah Alam turned in excess of the controlment of Delhi and Agra to Sindia in return for a monthly allowance. The Peshwa was given the title of regent and Sindia that of deputy regent. These titles were renewed in 1788 when Sindia reinstated Shah Alam who has temporarily been dislodged through the Rohilla chief, Ghulam Kadir Khan.

The Sindia though, derived very little from this power as the region was mostly held through Mughal chiefs who were only nominally under the Emperor. Therefore, Sindia concentrated on stepping up his demands on the Rajputs.

East India Company

When the Marathas took Basein from the Portuguese in 1739, the Bombay Council of the Company decided to fortify Bombay and sent envoys to Shahu and negotiated a treaty which conceded to the Company the right to free trade in the Maratha dominions.

Tensions in the Maratha confederacy (flanked by the Peshwa and the Rajas of Berar and Satara) and factional disputes flanked by members of the Peshwa's family (in the 1770's) were used through the Company to intervene in Maratha affairs.

MYSORE AND HYDERABAD

MYSORE (lh1

The kingdom of Mysore lay south of Hyderabad. In the 18th century the rulers of Mysore, from the Wodeyars to Tipu Sultan, were to face the expansionist threat of the Marathas on the one hand and that of Hyderabad and Carnatic on the other, while the English were to use the situation to their advantage. One of the mainly well-recognized eighteenth century personalities

is Tipu Sultan, approximately a folk-hero symbolizing resistance to British aggrandisement and also a substance of management in British accounts of their rise to power. Mysore was transformed from a viceroyalty of the Vijaynagar Empire into an autonomous state through the Wodeyar dynasty. It was left to Haidar Ali and his son Tipu Sultan to set up Mysore as a major military power in the south of India. Haidar was of unaristocratic origin and hostile English contemporaries often termed him a usurper—this has influenced later historians. But he was a usurper in same sense as the dalwai or the prime minister, he replaced in Mysore was a usurper. The dalwai had reduced the titular Wodeyar king to a cipher and like the previous dalwai, Nanjraj, Haidar began as an official serving the state. He displayed his military genius in strengthening the army, in bringing under control the fiercely self-governing local chiefs or poligars, and in subjugating Bednove, Sunda, Seva, Canara and Guti. His greatest moment of triumph was when he chased the English troops within five miles of Madras and dictated a treaty in 1769.

War and Militarization

The significance of war and its companion militarization appears to go back further in the Mysore history. Burton Stein, in information traces it back to the times of the historic Vijaynagar empire in 16th century. The Vijaynagar state was the first in South India to use fire arms in establishing its control in excess of the local rajas and other external powers.

The Local Chiefs

To understand as to why the early militarization in Mysore was necessary, it is significant to understand the role played through the local chiefs. The local chiefs, mainly poligars, were descendants of the hunter-gatherers of the forests who had acquired military skills and local political leadership in the military service of the Vijaynagar empire. Through the 18th century mainly of them had become powerful through two main factors — (a)

the control of revenue and tribute from agriculture on their lands and (b) through combined the support of priests of the temples of their own society. This with the information that the temples were also centres of trading action made the local chiefs powerful forces who could affect the growth of any centralized state in Mysore, This further meant that a tussle of force and military might flanked by Mysore and the poligars would be the determining factor in establishing a polity at Mysore.

The 18th Century Thrusts

This tussle in 18th century was initiated through Chikkadeva-raja Wodeyar (1672-1704). Under him Mysore moved towards an unprecedented militarization. To sustain this increased military capability he increased the common revenue collection through the state official and exempted lands held through his soldiers from revenue demands.

Haidar Ali, who had slowly worked up his way in the hierarchy of Mysore administration consolidated himself precisely with such tactics. He auctioned off big territories to ambitious warriors, who as tax farmers, pressed revenue demands upon the local chiefs. Haidar Ali refused these chiefs any claim to independence and if they resisted they were driven off their lands. Through limiting the scope of these chiefs' behaviors, Haidar further eroded their local base. Tipu Sultan, his son, went further in the subjugation of the poligars. After expelling them he rented out their lands to either private individuals or government officials. Further, through insisting to pay a regular salary to his troops rather than pay them with spoils of war, Tipu was able to ensure that no vested interest could emerge in the army in a tie up with the local chiefs.

In sure compliments Haidar and Tipu also tried to overcome sure weaknesses in the organisation of the army. There was an effort to induce organizational discipline more strongly beside European rows. For this French soldiers were recruited and used for training special troops. The French common De La Tour, whose detailed explanation of his service under Haidar

is accessible to us, tells us that through 1761 the French personnel in the Mysore army had considerably increased. This necessity have helped in the training of the infantry and the artillery. Secondly the European discipline attempted to conquer attitudes of hostility and ambivalence towards modern firearms and cannons as noted through Sanjay Subramaniam in the study of warfare in Wodeyar Mysore.

Administration

Another attainment of Haidar and later Tipu was the consolidation of the tools of administration. In effect the older administration of the Wodeyars was retained intact through Haidar and Tipu. The 18 departments of the administration ranging from military and revenue, to information were retained. In the middle of the top officials individuals like Khande Rao, Venkatappa or Mir Sadik who had demonstrated their competence were retained in spite of political fluctuations. In information changes were made only when these top officials were caught in cases of financial frauds. Thomas Munro was of the opinion that it was the scope offered through native ruler 'Hindu or Mussalman' for personal wealth and ambition which made the 'higher orders' prefer the native rulers rather than the 'humble mediocrity' of the company's service.

Finance

Though, the distinguishing characteristic of the Mysore administration under Haidar and Tipu laid in structure the base of their military-political power through augmenting their financial possessions for running the state. For this, both the merchant and the peasant, the twin movers of finance and manufacture in 18th century Mysore had to be tackled.

Revenue from Land

Land were classified into various categories and the mode of assessment varied from one category to the other. Ijara land was leased on fixed rents to the peasants. On hissa land rent was assessed as a share of the produce. Further rent on watered land was paid in the form of a portion of the produce and on arid land in terms of money.

Land was sought to be kept under a system of survey and control combined with events to encourage tillers through adequate relief and protection. A strong system of state control was evolved where an amildar controlled the revenue administration and asufdar looked after the legalities of rent disputes. Intermediaries were sought to be removed and a direct link flanked by the interests of the state and the interests of the peasantry was sought to be recognized to maximize revenue for the state. Tipu took events like denying revenue farming rights to main government officials to protect peasants against the revenue farmers.

The land revenue policy under Tipu even envisaged self-governing individual initiative to develop facilities for agriculture. Rent free land was gifted to individuals for the construction of irrigation and other infrastructure. Thus a class of people who could support agricultural development independently was sought to be created.

Though, these events were offset to a big extent through the practice of farming off lands and the jagir system whereby jagir was granted in perpetuity to a scrupulous family. On the other hand the agricultural produce was through force of custom shared through whole village society. Here, as Nikhilesh Guha shows the majority of the share of produce was going to the dominant or upper castes that mostly performed ritual functions. So there was no way the agricultural surplus could be used to initiate development within the farming society. The cultivator was left without many possessions for agricultural development.

All the state accorded priority to war. Marathas, Hyderabad, Carnatic and the English occupied the major attention of the Sultans. This meant, inevitably, a disproportionate rise in military expense and consequent rise in

the revenue demand. Tipu for instance, had raised his land revenue through 30% at the height of his defeats. No sustained agricultural development thus could be possible and forcing the cultivator to pay more was an inevitable consequence.

Revenue from Trade

Merchants had been playing a significant role in the Mysore economy for the last couple of centuries. Linking the inland, external trade and revenue fanning the important amongst them held a portfolio of these diverse investments in trade and land. At the stage of political operation they often used existing custom and traditional lies to get their interests protected amongst the rulers in power. Their intervention in land was important enough. As Sanjay Subramaniam points out, that inspite of some of them being big revenue farmers the region under their farming prospered rather than declined. This indicated the importance they attached to land and the significance of the trickling in of trade profits towards land. The wealthy merchants were then significant actors in Mysore scene.

Tipu realized the importance of these traders and their trade. He appointed asufs to train officials to run trade centres recognized through him for keeping trade in control.

Trade capital was to be provided for these trade centres from the revenue composed through the state officials. Provision was made for accepting deposits of private persons as investment in the state trade with returns fixed approximately 35%. Private traders were allowed to participate here in sale of commodities thought to be beneficial to the state. Regular inspection of financial records of these centres was undertaken. Further, currency was strictly regulated.

Though the dimension of the private traders' behaviors, in the context of the British power of the sea trade, appears to have been perceived as a potential threat, perhaps in the form of alliance flanked by the native merchants and the English. In 1785 he declared an embargo at his ports on the export of pepper, sandalwood and cardamoms. In 1788 he explicitly forbade trade with the English.

To sum up, Mysore in the 18th century was a polity consolidated under military might of Haidar and Tipu but under constant pressure from their own inability to evolve durable solutions to the forces which were held in check due to military strength. As a consequence we saw the potential which individuals within the polity had to create personal gains at the expense of the polity itself.

Hyderabad

Hyderabad polity appears to have followed a dissimilar type of pattern from Mysore. Here the Mughal power in the earlier days was more prominent. Normally throughout the days of Mughal empire the Subadar of Deccan was posted at Hyderabad. An effort was made to introduce the Mughal administrative system. In spite of continual Mughal-Maratha disagreement and internal tensions this system served to highlight the order of Mughal empire in Deccan. Though in the wake of the decline of the Mughal empire this system appears to have approached into crisis.

Nizam Asaf Jah was first appointed a subadar (in charge of province) through the Mughal emperor in 1713. But only after a military victory in excess of his rival Mughal appointee in 1724 that he could take effective charge of the Deccan. After this era he stayed on in Deccan and went to the Mughal court only after leaving his appointee in charge. Subsequently, he removed the Mughal officials in Hyderabad and installed his own men. He also assumed the right of creation treaties, wars and granting mansabas and titles. Now slowly the Mughal power was reduced to a symbolic reading of Khutba etc. Through the time of Nizam Ali Khan (1762-1803) Carnatic, Marathas and Mysore had all settled their territorial claims and some type of a stable political pattern appeared in Hyderabad.

Warfare and the Army

As elsewhere, the army was a significant component of the polity that appeared in Hyderabad. The Nizam-ul-Mulk essentially followed a policy of allowing the existing jagirdari holdings. The military commanders and their troops were tied to the political system through their individual employer, mainly the nobles. Unlike Mysore, the local chief's power in Hyderabad was allowed to remain in tact. Like in the Mughal army, the Hyderabad army too was maintained from the cash allowances drawn through the nobles from the Nizam's treasury. The army was significant to contain the Marathas, the Carnatic Nawab, Mysore or the English. Though unlike Mysore, the thrust to gear up state finances directly for war appear to be definitely weaker than Mysore. Let us turn to the main source of finance—the land revenue system and see whether indeed there was a variation in emphasis in mobilizing revenue for the state.

Land Revenue System

The land revenue system in Hyderabad was dissimilar from Mysore in the sense that unlike Tipu and Haidar who made an effort to directly control revenue through a vast bureaucracy, the rulers of Hyderabad allowed intermediaries to function.

M.A. Nayeem has noted the subsistence of *ijara* or revenue farming land. Secondly, there were a big number of *peshkush* zamindars whose lands were not officially assessed but required to provide an annual tribute or *peshkush* on the foundation of their own assessment records. Thirdly, Nayeem points out, that even where the zamindars and *deshpandes* (village chiefs) had to pay the land revenue assessed through the state, their consent was obtained.

While the revenue was supposed to be 50% of the produce, it was very rarely that this proportion was composed. The importance of intermediaries (flanked by the state & land revenue payers) is recognized from the information that the state's collection, i.e., *jarr*, *abandi* was always lower than *Kamil* i.e., the assessment figure for revenue arrived at with the landlord's

consent. As Nayeem shows, the variation flanked by the two, i.e. Kamil and Jama, was the 'zamindar's share'. Secondly, from the documents on revenue of the Nizam era "we may conclude that the actual revenue too declined".

In Hyderabad jagirs or land grants for service to the state tended to become hereditary. While in Mysore there was an effort to check this, in Hyderabad no serious measure to do so appears to have been taken. Moreover, the jagirdars (taking advantage of hereditary succession), became strong so that even in the context of declining actual revenue "the question of jagirdars getting lesser revenue receipts from the jagirs assigned to them than the actual amount due to them, does not arise at all".

The land revenue administration in Hyderabad had officers under amils (provincial heads). Events for regular assessment and survey were taken. Encouragement was given to the cultivator through the state policy of loans and reprieves.

Though, all these characteristics were undermined through the power and importance of intermediaries.

This in turn was to have significant consequences in the shaping of Hyderabad polity under the Nizams. A network of intermediary interests on land appears to have lived which could be the political base for the competition to power and power at the top.

Patrons and Clients

Karen Leonard identifies loose "patron-client relationships" in the Hyderabad political system. The main patrons she identifies broadly as the Nizam and the powerful nobles. While the Nizam broadly maintained his hold, the circle of nobles approximately him changed from time to time.

The nobility in the Nizam's era did not have uniform criteria for career advancement as under the Mughals. Personal dealings with Nizam or military skills were becoming significant. So to become powerful in Hyderabad, the mansab rank (as under Mughal system) did not prevent the rise of the noble. Several Zamindars or Jagirdars who could rally the smaller intermediaries behind them, could with a little military skill and diplomacy become powerful.

Earlier the ordered administrative hierarchy or formal land revenue regulations of the Mughals and restricted the scope of accumulating power and wealth. Though now the institutional set up was weak enough to allow a straight absent grab at the political stakes at the top.

Vakils

Aiding this procedure of grabbing wealth and power was a network of intermediate clients described the vakils. These vakils acted as mediators flanked by Nizam and nobles, nobles and nobles and Nizam and outside powers. The vakils also provided opportunities for individuals within the vast and affluent establishments maintained through the Hyderabad nobles.

The vakils normally acted on the foundation of interests of individuals and were powerful only in so distant as their patron was powerful. Though switching of loyalties, for personal gain was general. In an atmosphere where no uniform criteria for career advancement lived, the vakils represented forces of individual initiative in the competition for power and wealth.

The Local Chiefs

Unlike Mysore, the local chiefs under the Nizam sustained to control their inherited land on the payment of tribute to the Nizam. Though they played the role of patrons like Nizams and his nobles, they were never fully integrated within the Hyderabad political system. Nor did their vakils uphold connection with other rulers. The local chiefs did not even follow the life style of Hyderabad court and as such seemed content to remain out of the sphere of the court politics. Though, they could become decisive individual factors when the Hyderabad court was weak.

Financial and Military Groups

Bankers; money-lenders and military commanders (usually mercenaries) played and significant role in the political system of Hyderabad. They played a key role since they provided essential financial and military

service. Their strength derived mainly from the society they came from and in contrast to the vakils they functioned as caste or society groups. Some of the main society or caste groups amongst the financial groups were the Agarwal and Marwaris while Afghans and Arabs were prominent military groups. Through threatening to withdraw support and services these individuals and groups could at their stage play a significant role in the balance of the polity.

Administrative System

The administrative system appears to follow the trend of other characteristics of the Hyderabad polity. The earlier Mughal organizations apparently sustained but now allowing the consolidation of the vested interests, in the procedure allowing individuals to profit. The mainly illustrative is the case of the office of diwan who mannered mainly of the day to day, affairs of the kingdom. Here instead of the diwan, the subordinate hereditary office of daftardars or the record keepers became more significant. In the absence of salaried officials to conduct matters like revenue, these record keepers were able to exercise real control through deciding the amount of revenue through local deshpande or taluqdar and putting it on records. This allowed a lot of them also to create a vast amount of wealth.

THE PUNJAB

The Punjab Polity before Autonomy

The disintegration of the Mughal Empire in the first half of the 18th century was followed through the establishment of self-governing political power in various provinces. In Bengal, Awadh and Hyderabad the provincial governors were successful in carrying out their self-governing dominions. But the development in the Punjab did not follow the same trend. Zakariya Khan who was the governor of Lahore (1726-1745) had tried to strengthen his control in excess of the province but failed in the procedure of establishing an

self-governing political system. The situation in the Punjab was somewhat dissimilar compared to other provinces. The dominant forces in the Punjab polity throughout this era were:

- The struggle of the Sikhs for self-governing political power.
- The foreign invasions, first the Persian and then the Afghan.
- The Maratha incursion, and
- The rivalry within the provincial administration.

The Sikh movement in the course of the 18th century changed from a religious to a political movement and was directed mainly against the Mughal imperial power. Guru Gobind Singh's death in the early 18th century was followed through a peasant revolt through the Guru's follower, Banda Bahadur. This was a very tough time for the Mughal power to retain its hold in excess of the province. Banda's execution in 1715 gave the Mughals respite only for the time being. The Sikhs organized themselves into numerous small and highly mobile bands, described Jathas and posed serious challenge to the Mughal imperial power.

The invasion of Nadir Shah, the Persian marauder, in 1739 made the situation more hard for Mughal power in the Punjab. The attack and plunder of the province through the Persian invader seriously undermined the imperial power in the Punjab. The Persian invasion was followed through a series of Afghan invasions led through Ahmad Shah Abdali and this gave a final blow to the Mughal power in the Punjab. In the wake of these foreign invasions and the consequent turmoil in the province the Marathas tried to set up their control in excess of the Punjab.

Besides this, more detrimental for the political stability in the province was the internal struggle within the provincial administration. The major cause of disagreement was the issue of succession. After Zakariya Khan's death fratricidal struggle began in the middle of his three sons—Yahiya Khan, Shah Nawaz Khan and Mir Bagi in excess of the succession to the governorship of

the Punjab. Holding up the appointment of the governor for a year the Mughal emperor finally agreed to appoint Yahiya Khan as the governor.

This did not stop the fighting in the middle of the brothers. Ultimately Shah Nawaz Khan forcefully captured the office of the governor. Yahiya Khan fled to Delhi and asked for help from the Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah and the Wazir Qamaruddin who was also his uncle and father-in-law. Shah Nawaz on the other face was trying to negotiate with Abdali for help. The struggle that followed flanked by Abdali and the Mughal emperor ended with the death of Qamaruddin and appointment of his son Mir Mannu as the governor of Lahore.

Safdarjang the new Wazir in Delhi was against Mir Mannu and started conspiracy against the governor. Through Shah Nawaz he created a problem in and approximately Lahore. Mir Mannu was able to overcome this crisis. But constant Afghan invasion under the leadership of Abdali did not provide Mir Mannu any respite and finally he was defeated through Abdali. Finally the Afghans forced the emperor to cede the Punjab, Kashmir and Sind. Timur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah, was appointed governor of Lahore. But Adina Beg Khan (Faujdar of Jaiandar Doab) with the help of the Marathas was able to expel Timur from the Punjab. The Marathas considering the problem of direct administration of the province gave the control of the Punjab to Adina Beg on the condition of an annual tribute of 75 lakhs rupees to the Marathas. After Adina Beg's death the Marathas appointed Khwaja Mirza Jan as the governor of Lahore. The Afghans were not sitting silently seeing this rising power of the Marathas in the Punjab. The Afghans retaliated under the leadership of Abdali and finally crushed the Marathas at the battle of Panipat in 1761.

These factors made the situation hard for the Mughal governors to set up and self-governing political power in the Punjab as in the case of Bengal, Awadh and Hyderabad. It was the Sikhs who took full advantage of the prevailing political instability in the region and ultimately recognized an autonomous state in the Punjab.

Sikhism: Religious to Political Identity

In the 15th and 16th century a series of reformist movements revitalized the Indian religious belief systems. In the midst of these movements, a new order of Sikhism was born in the Punjab. The founder of this newly emerging sect was Guru Nanak who named his followers as Sikhs, which literally means the learner or disciple. In course of time as the new cult spread, the name Sikh became the descriptive title of the people, a designation not ethnic but religious. Guru Nanak's religious movement was peaceful, non-sectarian and motivated towards reconciliation with secular life.

Guru Nanak was succeeded through a extensive row of nine Gurus, who in a era of in relation to the 200 years, not only organized and strengthened the Sikh brotherhood, but built it up as a powerful fighting force to face the challenges of the Mughal emperors and their governors. Thus,

- Guru Angud urbanized the writing Gurumukhi,
- Guru Ram Das laid the foundations of Amritsar temple.
- Guru Arjun Dev compiled the Adi Granth.
- Guru Har Govind trained the Sikhs in military art and warfare tactics.
- Guru Govind Singh organised the Sikhs into a well organised fighting force, with Khalsa as its organisational focus.

After Guru Govind Singh's death the institution of Guruship ended and the leadership of the Sikh brotherhood passed to his trusted disciple Banda Bairagi, popularly recognized as Banda Bahadur. He accepted a vigorous struggle against the Mughal forces for almost 8 years. In 1715 he was captured and executed. After Banda's execution for more than a decade the Mughal authorities tried to bring the rebellious Sikhs under control. But this effort was not successful. A number of factors helped the Sikhs to organize and set up themselves as the mainly powerful political force in the Punjab. These were,

- The weakening of the Mughal imperial power since the early decades of the 18th century,
- The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali,
- The Maratha incursion,
- Lack of cohesion and coordination in the provincial administration, and
- The defiance of imperial power through various local chiefs and Zamindars.

All these created a very fluid situation in the Punjab in the 18th century and from this the Sikhs appeared as the mainly powerful. The death of Ahmad Shah Abdali sounded the death knell of the Afghan hegemony in Northern India. With the collapse of the Afghan power, the Sikh confederacies assumed a predominant role in the Punjab and succeeded in carving out self-governing principalities under their respective chiefs.

In the face of the repression through the Mughal authorities the Sikhs organised themselves into numerous small and highly mobile bands described jathas, each commanded through a Jathedar. Realizing the need for a united course of action the jathedars tried to form a confederation and they met in a group on the occasion of the Baisakhi and Diwali festivals. Although these could not be organised regularly, these promoted solidarity in the middle of the various groups.

The defeat of the Mughals and the Marathas through the Afghans was an added advantage for the Sikhs to consolidate their base in the Punjab. So the era from 1765 onwards showed a steady development of Sikh political power which culminated in the establishment of an autonomous state in the early 19th century? In the second half of the 18th century the numerous small Sikh groups had regrouped themselves into 12 superior local confederacies or Misls under the leadership of various local chiefs. Thus,

- The Bhangis had control in excess of territories flanked by Jhelum and the Indus and on Lahore and Amritsar
- The Ramgarhias had command in excess of the Jalandhar Doab
- The Kanhays had control in excess of the Raikri tract
- The Singhpurias had control in excess of the regions east and west of the river Sutlej
- The Ahluwalias had command in excess of Raikot and Kapurthala the Sukerchakias had control in excess of Gujranwals, Wazirabad the Phulkias controlled Malwa and Sirhind.

These Misls were based originally on the principle of equality, wherein each member had an equal say in deciding the affairs of the respective Misls and electing the Chief and other officers of the organisation. The unity and the democratic character that the Misls had at the initial stage slowly withered absent with the removal of the threat of the Afghan invasion. In course of time this democratic character ended with the emergence of powerful chiefs, their mutual bickerings and internecine warfare. This internal disagreement sapped the vitality of the Misls. Ultimately Ranjit Singh, the leader of the Sukerchakia Misl, appeared as the mainly powerful in the middle of other chiefs and through force of arms he brought unity in the middle of the Sikhs.

Rise of the Sikh State

The development in the Punjab polity took a new turn with the rise of Ranjit Singh. The procedure that started in the 18th century, for the establishment of the Sikh territorial organisation, culminated in the establishment of an autonomous state in the Punjab through Ranjit Singh in the first half of the 19th century. Ranjit Singh was the son of the Sukerchakia Misl Chief, Mahan Singh. He was only 12 years of age when his father died in 1792. He inherited a small kingdom comprising Gujranwala, Wazirabad and some region in Sialkot, Rohtas and Pind Dandan Khan. This was the time when the Sikh confederacies were fighting in the middle of themselves for

supremacy. This internal fighting of the Sikh chiefs and the Afghan invasions under Zaman Shah in 1795, 1796 and 1798 helped Ranjit Singh in consolidating his power in the Punjab. Ranjit Singh was able to curb the power of the self-governing Sikh principalities and brought them under single political power.

Throughout the first few years Ranjit Singh's major problem was to check the rising power of his Diwan Lakhpat Rai and the attempts of his mother, Mai Malwai, to control the administration. He got rid of his Diwan through despatching him on a dangerous expedition to Kaithal, where he was assassinated. Mai Malwai was also murdered under mysterious circumstances. After establishing his complete control in excess of the affairs at home, Ranjit Singh launched his expeditions against the various chiefs of the Sikh confederacies. With the active support of his mother-in-law Rani Sada Kaur, the Kanhaya chief, he fell on the Ramgarhias. This expedition was undertaken to punish the Ramgarhias for their encroachments on the territories of Kanhayas. The Ramgarhias were defeated and their main municipality Miani was seized.

After reducing the powerful Ramgarhias to abject submission, Ranjit Singh turned his attention towards Lahore. Afghan leader, Zaman Shah recognized his control in excess of Lahore in 1797. But the news of a conspiracy against him through his brother in alliance with Shah of Persia forced Zaman Shah to retreat, leaving Lahore under the charge of his governor Shahanchi Khan. The retreat of Zaman Shah gave Ranjit Singh an ideal opportunity to set up his control in excess of Lahore. He in alliance with Sahib Singh of Gujarat and Milkha Singh of Pindiwala, attacked Shahanchi Khan and occupied Lahore in 1799. After Lahore Ranjit Singh annexed Amritsar from the Bhangis beside with all their other territories. Master of Lahore and Amritsar. Ranjit Singh, laid the base of a sovereign Sikh monarchy in the Punjab, with himself as its undisputed monarch.

With a view to consolidate his location further Ranjit Singh sustained his march towards other principalities. He subdued Jammu, seized Mirowal, Narowal, Sialkot, Dilawargarh and Wazirabad, humbled the Kangra chief Sansar Chand and the Pathan chief Nizam-ud-din of Kasur. The Muslim principalities of Kabul monarchy, like Jhang and Sahiwal, made ready submission and the Multan governor Muzaffar Khan greeted Ranjit Singh with vast presents. Though, it was not until 1818 that Multan finally surrendered to Misr Dewan Chand, the commander of the Sikh forces. Kashmir was conquered in 1819 and through 1820-Ranjit Singh was acknowledged as the ruler of the whole of the Punjab, from the Sutlej to the Indus, with the territories of Kashmir and the hill tract to the borders of Tibet. The Trans-Indus regions of Dera Ismail, Dera Ghazi Khan, Khairabad and finally Peshawar (1834) were all subjected to the Sikh monarchy.

Ranjit Singh's successors were able to uphold the territorial integrity recognized through Ranjit Singh till 1845 and also added some small territories. But after that, in a phased manner, the Sikh dominion was subjugated to the British imperial system and it was fully annexed to the British empire in 1849. Thus the era of sovereign Sikh rule in the former Mughal province of Lahore was from 1765 to 1845.

The Sikh State and the English East India Company

When the Sikhs were trying to consolidate their territorial base in the Punjab exactly at the same time, the English East India Company had also started the procedure of establishing itself as a political power in India. The sphere of behaviors of the Sikhs was in the North and that of the English in Eastern India. But having gained control of the East the English turned their attention towards the North in their bid for an all India empire. So disagreement with the Sikh state was approximately inevitable in the procedure of British expansion.

Until the middle of 1808, the English East India authorities were desirous of establishing a closer get in touch with the ruler of Lahore so that he could serve as a buffer against any foreign invasion through the North-West boundary. This British attitude towards the ruler of Lahore was the outcome of the international political pressures and the mounting threat of Napoleonic march towards the east. But through the secure of 1808 the international scenario had changed. Spanish risings against France, the treaty flanked by England and Turkey and the Anglo-Persian treaty in 1809, were events which ended the possibility of the French invasion. This change in international politics had bearing on the British dealings with the ruler of Lahore. The British now became sympathetic to the cause of the cis-Sutlej Sikh States who were seeking British protection against Ranjit Singh. The British asked Ranjit Singh to withdraw his army to the north of the river Sutlej and a contingent of British army marched towards Ludhiana. Ranjit Singh, influenced at the superiority of the British military power, abandoned his claim in excess of the cis-Sutlej Sikh States. An agreement was signed flanked by the British and Ranjit Singh which is recognized as the Treaty of Amritsar.

After the treaty of Amritsar in 1809 till 1839, when Ranjit Singh died, there was no major tension flanked by the two powers. The British did not allow him to set up his control in the cis-Sutlej regions, but did not interfere in his domain. The death of Ranjit Singh, though, weakened the foundation of Sikh autonomy and within a decade the mighty fabric of the Sikh monarchy was absorbed through the expanding arms of British imperialism. Ranjit Singh's eldest son Kharak Singh succeeded him on the throne of Lahore. But he was not worthy successor of Ranjit Singh. Soon after his succession the existing court factions became active. Kharak Singh's sudden death in 1839 and the accidental death of his son prince Naunihal, when he was returning from his father's funeral, led to an anarchic situation in the Punjab. Moves and counter moves through various groups to capture the throne of Lahore paved the way for a more decisive action through the British.

The first Anglo-Sikh war began in 1845 and there were in all five battles fought flanked by the two forces. The British captured Lahore and compelled the Sikhs to sign the Treaty of Lahore in 1846. The treaty sealed the fate of Sikh monarchy and made the Punjab a British dependency. But till 1849 Punjab was not absorbed totally in the British dominions. After the final British victory in the second Anglo-Sikh war in 1849, Lord Dalhousie annexed the Punjab to the British empire in India. Thus ended the autonomy of the Punjab and it became a part of the British colonial empire in India.

Organisation of the State

In the organisation of the state the Sikh rulers tried to strike a balance flanked by the Mughal system and the necessities of their own rule. In mainly of the cases the previous system of territorial divisions and the functions of the officials were maintained. But in spaces where they establish that the modern situation demanded changes, they tried to adopt a new system. Administrative necessity rather than religious outlook guided them in the matters of organisation of the state. The subsistence of diverse ethnic, religious, linguistic and economic organisation and of a big number of autonomous principalities led them to adopt an administrative system that could hold the various forces together under a single power. Therefore, in spite of their identity with the Sikh religious establishments, the Sikh rulers took a secular approach in administration.

Territorial Administration

In the Sikh dominions the administrative divisions were more or less the same as in the empire of the Mughals. Royal dominions were divided into Subas, Subas were further divided into Parganas and the Parganas were subdivided into Tappas or Taluqas, each Tappa consisting of a number of villages. But the size of mainly of the units was rather small compared to the Mughal times. The king was the supreme head of the administration. To assist him in the administration there were a number of officials who were

responsible to the king. At the centre the Diwan helped the king in revenue administration and he was the mainly powerful official after that to king. The various officials at the provincial stage were as follows:

- Nazim (Head of a Suba)
- Kardar (Head of a Pargana)
- Chaudhuri (Head of a Tappa)
- Muqaddams (Head of a village)

Besides these there were Qanungos, the Patwaris, etc. The functions of all these officials were mainly:

- Collection of revenues,
- Promotion of farming,
- Suppression of crimes.

The judicial powers of these officials were limited. Except the petty cases in all significant cases the Maharaja, the Qazis and the itinerant justices in the countryside took the decision. The higher officials were usually appointed through the ruler and their offices were not hereditary. Merit was the major consideration at the time of appointment. There were the men of dissimilar groups and religious faiths in the higher offices. Officials were paid in Jagirs but from the second half of Ranjit Singh's reign a big number of officials were paid cash salaries.

The control of the central power in excess of dissimilar parts varied mainly just as to the proximity of the lay to the centre of power. Historians have divided the Sikh domains into 3 territorial zones on the foundation of the actual exercise of royal control:

- Central zone, from the Sutlej to the Jhelum, the territories which were first occupied and closest to the capital
- Intermediate zone, flanked by the Indus and the Jhelum, mainly the Subas of Multan and Kashmir.

- Peripheral zone, bordering territories like Peshawar, Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan, etc.
- The royal control was maximum in the central zone, where the appointments of the officials and their functions were very closely controlled through the centre. In the other two zones the central control was comparatively less and at times the local officials were appointed through the provincial governor himself.

Besides these directly administered regions, there were sure autonomous principalities through out the Sikh rule, especially in the hills. These were the vassal principalities, divided into 3 groups.

- The eastern group flanked by the rivers Sutlej and Ravi,
- The central group flanked by the Ravi and the Chenab, and
- The western group flanked by the Chenab and the Indus.

The vassal chiefs accepted the suzerainty of the Sikh rulers and paid annual tributes to them. But within their own principalities they enjoyed substantial power and were not within the purview of the revenue policies of the Sikh rulers. Though, some of the vassals helped the Sikh rulers in common administration and military expeditions and also acted as Nazims and Ijaradars.

Revenue Administration

For financial purposes the Punjab was divided into three categories i.e. regions that were leased out, regions which were given in grants and directly administered regions. These regions were assigned to three classes of officers:

- Affluent class of people, sent as revenue farmers.
- Military chiefs who were given absolute powers in their respective assignments on condition of sending army contingents as and when required.

- Tax collectors as state functionaries, with variable emoluments mainly dependent on perquisites of their jobs.

Agriculture being the foundation of the country's economy land revenue was the major source of the country's wealth. Land revenue was realized on the foundation of Batai, Kankut and Zabti system.

- **Batai:** Actual produce obtained after harvesting was used as the foundation of sharing of crops. This system was prevailing since the Mughal times. In this system the government had to stay constant check on the harvest, otherwise it might be deprived of its actual share.
- **Kankut:** In this system the government share was assessed on the foundation of standing crops on or before harvesting. This system was also prevalent throughout the Mughal era. An advantage in this system was that the government did not have to stay constant check on the crops; because of the estimation of the government share before harvesting the government could plan its budget.
- **Zabti:** This was the system of cash payment on the foundation of the measurement of crops. Usually for the cash crops like cotton, indigo, sugarcane, tobacco, etc. this method was applied.

The rate of land revenue varied from lay to lay. Usually the government share was flanked by two-thirds to one-third of the produce. The rate was fixed depending on the condition of the soil, the mode of irrigation and the expense of farming. Besides the land revenue the state also claimed a number of Abwabs from the peasants. The collection of revenue was made in both cash and type. Thus we discover that in the revenue administration also there was not much change compared to the Mughal system.

Nature of the Sikh Polity

There is no denying the information that the teachings of the Sikh Gurus provided the vital base for the Sikh polity. The movement that had urbanized amongst the Sikhs to fight against the socio-economic and religious injustices in the medieval era ultimately got transformed into a political movement in the course of the 18th century. So the foundation of the Sikh polity was laid down through the moral ethos and the democratic traditions of the Sikh Gurus. The reflection of this democratic tradition is established in the Sikh polity of the Misl era with its various characteristics like the Gurmata, the Dal Khalsa, ruling in the name of the Khalsa, etc.

It is significant to point out here that the historians are not unanimous in relation to the nature of the Sikh polity throughout the Misl era. Just as to some historians the organisation of the Misls was 'theocratic' in character; on the other hand, it has also been pointed out that the functioning of the Misl Chiefs suggests that they acted independently in their own respective regions, sometimes guided through their own interests. Their attendance in the meetings of the Sarbat Khalsa was not compulsory. They attended the meetings to talk about an emergency situation or for matters of mutual interest; decisions were not universally regarded as binding. Moreover, in spite of the framework of a democratic tradition, in the internal organisation of the Misls there was not much democracy. The thought of personal government was much in practice. There was no doubt a confederacy of the Misls but within the Misl the Sardar or the chief had complete independence. The confederacy lived mainly because there was external threat. In the sphere of internal affairs the confederacy had no control in excess of the Misls.

The emergence of Sikh monarchy in lay of various self-governing chiefs brought further change in the nature of Sikh polity. Throughout the 19th century the autonomy of the individual Sardar came to an end and the king became the supreme power within the state. Ranjit Singh had full faith in the Sikh scriptures and the Sikh religion. But his personal faith never came in the way of his administration. Punjab being a land of the people of diverse ethnic,

religious and language groups needed a secular administration and the Sikh rulers acted rightly in order to consolidate their rule in the region. The interference of religion in matters of administration was not expedient. To quote Dr. Indu Banga “The continuance of autonomous principalities on the margin and other such pockets in the plains, assignment of Jagirs and service to a cross-part of the landed aristocracy and the grant of Dharmarth to the religious personages and organizations belonging to all faiths, necessity be viewed in terms of the ideology of consolidation”.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What were the financial and territorial gains made by Nadir Shah?
- Did the Mughal traditions end with the decline of the Mughal Empire?
- What were the major states set up by rebels against the Mughals?
- How would you explain the decline of imperial control in the province in the first of 18th century?
- Why did the Bengal Nawabs fail to uphold their autonomy?
- Why is it important to examine the Maratha state system in a widened framework?
- What was the position of the Marathas in relation with the Mughal emperor in 1780s?
- How did the Misls come up? What was their role in the Sikh polity?
- What happened to the Sikh state after Ranjit Singh's death?

CHAPTER 2

Capitalism and Imperialism

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Mercantile to industrial capitalism in Europe
- European colonial powers
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you will be able to explain:

- The factors responsible for the weakening of feudalism in Europe.
- The mercantile era.
- The changes in the techniques of agriculture, industry and trade.
- The industrial revolution in Britain.
- The rise of capitalism and the role of colonies in it.
- The expansion of European nations for trade and markets carried out by the formation of trading companies.
- The growth in the trading empire of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French in the East.

MERCANTILE TO INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM IN EUROPE

Feudal Europe

As the middle ages were drawing to a close the feudal society of Europe was in crisis. Feudalism had been in subsistence for in relation to the a thousand years. After the decline of the powerful Roman empire in the fifth century A.D., political, social and economic powers increasingly became decentralized as the centralized powers of the state and kings was seized through a range of intermediaries. In the after that few centuries feudal society urbanized into a very hierarchical one with layers of intermediaries drawing

sustenance from their dependents. The economy and society became primarily land-based or agrarian with trade playing a relatively less significant role. The majority of the agrarian population at the bottom of social hierarchy consisted of peasants described serfs who were bound to serve their masters who were their lords. The lords in turn had in excess of-lords whom they were obliged to serve.

Hence, the whole of feudal society was based on ties of dependence and interdependence: the strong needed the weak as dependents to serve them and the latter got protection from their superiors. Loyalty and patronage governed, relationships flanked by classes.

It was an age when values of chivalry and honor dominated the lives of big land lords: knights, noblemen and kings. The Christian church with its clergy was very powerful and influential in the feudal society.

Through the 14th C. the limits to the growth and expansion of feudal society had been reached. Feudal society had experienced growth in technology, agricultural manufacture, trade, commerce and population, since the 12th century. Though, beyond a point such dynamism could not be sustained. Population had grown from in relation to the 38.5 million in C. 1000 A.D. to 73.5 through the middle of the 14th C. Technology and possessions could not stay pace and a series of wars and natural calamities checked growth of population. The Black Death or plague spread from 1348 A.D, onwards reducing population in big numbers. Depopulation led to abandoning of cultivable land and agricultural manufacture declined. Consequently, the income of the feudal landlords also declined as they could no longer get their dues and levies. They reacted through attempting a tightening of their feudal control in excess of their dependents mainly the serfs. The latter resisted this and the 14th and 15th centuries were marked through series of peasant rebellions all in excess of Europe. Of these the French Jacquerie of 1358 and the English peasant uprising of 1381 are well recognized.

Thus a crisis in feudal society occurred in Western Europe i.e. broadly the region west of the rivers Elb consisting of countries like England, France, Holland, Spain and parts of Germany and Scandinavia. The hold of the feudal lords weakened and serfdom declined as a result of the feudal crisis. In Eastern Europe i.e. in the region of present day Poland. Romania. Hungary, U.S.S.R. etc., the landlords succeeded in their efforts to resubjugate the serfs and therefore serfdom was consolidated after the crisis of the 14th and 15th centuries. As a result of this, feudal dealings persisted in Eastern Europe for a much longer era than Western Europe. In trade, industry and urbanization Eastern Europe lagged behind Western Europe and in the after that three to four centuries it provided the latter with agrarian produce in return for manufactured goods.

New Thoughts: Renaissance and Reformation

As Europe entered the 16th century its feudal society was being questioned and transformed in several ways. In the realm of civilization and thoughts, the importance of the individual and humanity was being emphasized through a number of writers, painters, civilization of ancient Greece and Rome and several Europeans were demanding the subordination of the individual to the hierarchies and the communal power of the feudal age. With the weakening of the feudal system since the 14th C. the spread of these thoughts of humanism and individualism gave rise to a whole set of values which are commonly designated as the Renaissance. Renaissance means rebirth and this was used later on to signify the changes which Europeans were experiencing after the middle ages.

Renaissance thoughts had their origin in several universities in the late medieval era especially in Italy and subsequently it matured on the continent in the 16th C. in the realm of literature and various arts. From the 1520s, the Christian Church was also under regular attack from reformers like Martin Luther and John Calvin. They criticized the distortions, abuses and the corruption in the Church which just as to them had deviated the Church from the teachings of Christ and the path shown through early saints of Christianity.

Both Luther and Calvin recognized their separate Churches and attracted supporters from parts of Germany, Switzerland, France, England, Scotland and the northern Scandinavian countries. This whole movement of attack on Christian Church and the effort at its reform is recognized as the Reformation.

The thoughts of Renaissance and Reformation were particularly attractive to the rising class of traders, merchants and bankers who constituted the new middle class of Europe. Throughout the era of the feudal crisis in the 14th and 15th centuries agriculture had become less profitable and compared to that the gains in trade and commerce were more.

In Italy, the birth lay of Renaissance, the merchants had been prospering since the 11th-12th C. through supplying various artisan goods and luxury items to Europe. For this Italy also enjoyed a geographical advantage in the Mediterranean as it is surrounded through sea and also linked through land route to the East. Approximately the year 1500 A.D., Italy was the mainly wealthy country in Europe with a number of self-governing small states and fairly autonomous trading municipalities like Venice, Genoa, Milan, Florence etc.

Geographical Exploration and Overseas Colonization

The other countries of Europe were very eager to break the Italian monopoly in excess of trade. Since the 15th century A.D. the countries on the Atlantic Coast were in search of an alternative route to the East via Africa. Many growths enabled the detection of new unknown lands and new sea routes:

- The rise of centralized states with strong kings in the later part of the 15th century A.D. promoted the geographical exploration. Several of these centralized states like Portugal and Spain encouraged explorations and often supported and sponsored navigators.
- Several technological advantages and information were increasingly accessible at the service of the explorers e.g. the compass, the

astrolabe, the gunpowder. Printing and the creation of maps (Cartography) spread rapidly in the 15th and 16th centuries.

- Stories in relation to the fabulous of the East, the zeal to spread Christianity into the new lands and above all the desire to achieve glory acted as inspiring factors for navigators and explorers.

The trade with the colonies of the New World (North and South America) was dissimilar from the European trade with Asia. American treasures were plundered and subsequently valuable metals (gold and silver) were mined through Spanish and Portuguese settlers which was shipped back home. With the passage of time sugar, timber, tobacco, cotton and fish became significant items of import into Europe while from Europe textiles domestic furniture and instruments and other consumer's items were being exported. Another important trade which prospered was that of slaves. To meet the labour necessities in the plantations of sugarcane, tobacco, cotton and the mines of gold and silver, African slaves were imported into the colonies. The early treatment of the colonized American 'Indians' was very brutal and harsh. For instance, the population of Mexico fell from 25 million in 1519 to million in 1600.

Access to the bullion of the new world benefited Spain the mainly. In the 16th C. almost of the goods reaching Spain from the Americas consisted of valuable metals. Spain, under emperor Charles V and his son Philip II, became the mainly powerful country in Europe. The Portuguese on the other hand increasingly came to control the spice trade of the East.

The rising get in touch with the East and the Americas led to a tremendous growth in the volume of trade in the 16th C. Increasingly more and more trade was being done on the Atlantic Coast. This led to the rise of Antwerp which was in Southern Netherlands and is currently in Belgium. It was in Antwerp that the Portuguese merchants who took absent the lucrative spice trade from Venice, brought in their goods. The German merchants were increasingly diverting their metal trade and the English their cloth to Antwerp.

Slowly Italy's monopoly in excess of trade weakened as the century progressed.

Meanwhile Northern Netherlands was also last emerging as a major trading and manufacturing region. The Dutch were recognized for their seafaring abilities and shipping industry. From 1550 onwards they recognized control in excess of the grain trade of Baltic Sea Region. The Dutch made many improvements in agriculture and industry in the 16th C. They employed techniques to recover marshy and sea lands to add to the accessible scarce land region Dairy industry prospered and there was widespread use of the wind mill. They urbanized lighter commercial ships, kept smaller crews on their war ships and concentrated on exporting cheaper variety of wine and cloth. After the Spanish conquest of Antwerp in 1585 Amsterdam in Northern Netherlands appeared as, a major trading point in the north-west Atlantic.

Sixteenth Century England: Wheels of Change

Though, the country which was eventually going to get ahead of Spain. Portugal. Italy and the Netherlands was England. England did not have direct access to bullion sources like Spain nor did she have an early lead in the highly profitable spice trade like the Portuguese. Yet through the end of the 16th C. England had become so strong that it was able to defeat Spain in a naval battle in 1588. The key to England's success lies in the internal changes which occurred as a result of the feudal crisis towards the end of the 15th C. England experienced what is recognized as the enclosure movement. Those English landlords who were encountering losses in agriculture and were troubled through a rebellious peasantry started enclosing their meadows them into pastures. This had many significant consequences.

These pastures were utilized for rearing of sheep for commercial purposes. Meat and wool enabled several landowners to not only survive the economic crisis but also to reap tremendous profits. Sir Thomas More the

author of a well-known book remarked in early 16th C. that sheep were eating men.

With the revival of population in the 16th C. land was again brought back to agriculture profitably in combination with sheep and cattle rearing. The other crucial consequence of the enclosure movement was the ejection of peasant's livelihood with traditional rights on landlords land. Deprived of their land they were forced to become agricultural labourers or migrate to ports and urban regions in search of a livelihood. In the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, English agriculture experienced tremendous dynamism due to the efforts of a whole class who were recognized as the "improving English landlords." They were products of the enclosure movement who were increasingly investing in land to augment its commercial potential for a rising market of grain and wool. Their growth was facilitated through the rise of the Tudor monarchy from 1485. When Henry VIII the second Tudor king seized Church. property in the 1530s and put it up for sale, the land hungry commercial landlords were quick to buy it and expand manufacture. In addition several of them were also leasing in land from older feudal nobility on rent. This rising class of commercial

The Seventeenth Century saw the emergence of four broad classes in English agricultural society.

- Nobility comprising of big landlords mostly livelihood off rental income,
- Gentry,
- Tenant farmers,
- Landless agricultural labourers.

Meanwhile English merchants were creation progress in the export of wool and textiles. English cloth was reaching Europe via Antwerp. From 1520 economic growth rate picked up. Henry VIII devalued the currency in order to raise money for defense expenditure. This made English exports cheaper in European markets.

In 1550 there was a depression in European cloth markets due to excess supplies Which) affected England's cloth exports adversely. In order to overcome the crisis English manufacturers brought in relation to the changes in their products and diversified into new regions. English cloth manufacturers started exporting more and more cheap coarse cloth which came to be recognized as the new draperies or worsteds.

After 1550, coal and metal industry started developing at a rapid pace. Coal increasingly replaced wood as fuel in homes, brick kilns and in the manufacture of beer, sugar, glass and soap. Coal, timber and metal manufacture grew in response to the growth necessities of shipping, utensils and manufacture. A combination of favorable factors brought in relation to the steady economic growth of England in the second half of the 16th Century. The stability provided through Elizabeth's reign, growth in population, geographical discoveries and the arrival of migrant protestants from France and Southern Netherlands who were mostly merchants, provided a favorable context for growth.

Manufacturing in the Age of Merchant Capital

Europe of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries underwent what is recognized as the commercial revolution. The term is used to denote a series of intricate and interrelated factors which brought in relation to the tremendous expansion of the market and a money economy. The use of currency became widespread replacing the age old system of barter. Means of communication improved. Through 1600 approximately all significant municipalities of Europe had got linked through postal services. Urbanization picked up in response to commercial and administrative necessities. London, Paris, Antwerp and Amsterdam grew at a very fast pace.

This was an age of the merchant. The expanding horizons of the market had opened up vast opportunities for profit: The merchants wanted

expansion in manufacture with preferably lower costs. In this they were encountering hindrances from guilds. Now, what were these guilds? Guilds were unions of artisans and workers which protected the interests of artisans through controlling the volume and excellence and cost of manufacture. They tried to secure better wages and selling prices for the produce of workers and looked after them in times of distress. In the medieval era dissimilar occupations had approach to acquire numerous specific guilds. For instance weavers, metal workers, carpenters, leather workers etc. had their own guilds. Within a scrupulous guild, say for instance weaving, there were separate guilds of spinners or dyers. The knowledge of a scrupulous craft or skill was usually monopolized through a scrupulous guild. Skills were normally transmitted through a system of apprentices within a scrupulous guild. An apprentice was a young learner of a scrupulous grade or skill who was attached to a senior skilled craftsman, who was not supposed to impart training to presently anybody not approved through the guild.

The sixteenth century merchant, eager to expand trade was confronted with higher wages. To break this barrier, merchants started putting out advances to peasant families willing to do artisanal work to supplement their income from agriculture or to breakaway craftsmen of guilds. The putting out system also recognized as the domestic system had the following significant characteristics':

- The merchant advanced capital and raw material to a craftsman with specifications concerning the type, excellence and quantity of products.
- The craftsman utilizing his skills usually worked at home, using their own tools and often utilizing the labour of his family as well.
- The finished product was delivered to the merchant who then sold it for profit.

The important aspect of this system was the information that the merchant still did not have full control in excess of the labour procedure of the artisan since the latter worked at home. Secondly the artisan owned his tools and implements and of course his skill to work.

From the merchant's point of view, the disadvantage in this system was a limited, potential for technical growth; but on the other hand the advantage was to have access to cheap labour of the artisan's family free from the restrictions of guilds. The merchant at this stage was as yet not a direct manufacturer and his source of profit came from trade. Hence the capital which accumulated in this procedure throughout the 16th and 17th Century is described merchant capital. Though, it was not only the merchant who was accumulating capital but there were several craftsmen who broke absent from their guilds, showed enterprise, profited from the expanding market and improved their social and economic status in society. In recent years the stage of industrial growth has been described as proto-industrialization. It is argued that the putting out system brought in relation to the not only the expansion of merchant capital but it had a important social and demographic (i.e. population relation) impact which created circumstances for the emergence of factory and contemporary science and technology — based industrial manufacture in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the middle of other things the putting out system aided peasant differentiation, lowered marriage age to facilitate superior working families, and concentrated skills and capital in specific regions from where subsequent industrialization took off. Some good illustrative examples which are cited for this are Flanders close to France and East Anglia in England.

Methods and Organisation of Trade

The huge augment in the volume and complexity of trade which occurred from the sixteenth century demanded progress in the sphere of credit network and monetary swap. The use of drafts and letters of credit became widespread to facilitate lending, transfer and business swap. The use of paper currency came much later. Another development was the effort of states to develop a uniform standard currency. Fully standardized currencies appeared through the end of the eighteenth century in many European countries.

Till the fifteenth century merchants mostly mannered their operations either— individually or as a family venture. The Sforza family of Milan, the Medici of Florence and the Fuggers of Germany were some of the well-known business houses of Europe. In addition, trading operations were also done in partnerships with other merchants or through leagues like the well-known Hanseatic league of Northern European merchants, mainly German speaking. Though, in partnerships a major disadvantage was the unlimited liability of each of its members. The expansion in shipping and trade meant a vast investment of capital and heavy risks. General ventures brought merchants together and this resulted in the formation of regulated companies. Often its members combined with the purpose of maintaining their monopoly of a scrupulous trade or some region. The members did not pool their possessions but agreed to abide through sure regulations which would be of advantage to all members via, maintenance of docks, warehouses, protection against interlopers and protection of monopoly. The English company of Merchant Adventurers was a regulated company recognized for the purpose of trade with Germany and the Netherlands.

The Seventeenth century saw the development of a more sophisticated business organisation — the joint stock company. Trading operations demanded a more compact organisation with a broader scope so as to lessen risks, ensure stability and augment access to capital. Unlike the regulated company, the joint stock company issued shares of capital to a big number of investors. In this, a shareholder was entitled to have a share in the profits of the company in accordance with the capital invested through him without necessarily participating in the actual work of the company. The joint stock company had two major advantages:

- A much superior amount of capital could be raised and the high risks and costs could be shared through shareholders. Later even people of moderate means had a chance to invest their small savings through purchasing shares and reaping profits.

- The Joint Stock Company was a legally recognized corporate body which could continue in spite of the death or withdrawal of a shareholder.

Another important development was the formation of Chartered Companies. These companies were authorized through the government i.e. they held charters from the government through which they acquired monopoly of trade with a scrupulous region or country and even power in excess of the latter's inhabitants. Many such companies were recognized to gain control in excess of the trade and the people of the East, e.g. the English East India Company (1600), the Dutch East India Company (1602), the French East

Mercantilism

In the seventeenth century the countries of Europe were under the power of a set of economic thoughts and practices recognized as mercantilism. Mercantilism never assumed the coherence of a system but it consisted of a series of doctrines and policies involving state intervention to promote national prosperity and strength. Its thoughts and policy prescriptions can be summarized as follows:

- It was whispered that the volume of world trade is more or less fixed. State policies should be framed in such a manner that it should get as big a share of this trade as possible.
- Valuable metals, i.e., gold and silver were the mainly desirable form of national wealth. If a nation did not possess natural sources of valuable metals, the chief way to get them was trade.
- In order to accumulate valuable metals, the government should ensure a favorable balance of trade, i.e., the value of exports should always exceed the value of imports. In other words more gold and silver should approach into the country than the amount going out.

- To preserve and augment this balance, high tariffs should be imposed to reduce imports of manufactured goods, lower tariffs to encourage import of cheap raw material and bounties on exports should be given.
- The state should take steps to promote exports especially of manufactured goods through undertaking steps like establishing state run workshops and manufactories through granting monopolies and regulating the guilds.
- Colonies could prove to be useful both as a market for exports and as sources of supply of raw material and if possible valuable metals. If necessary, wars necessity be waged against economic rivals for the acquisition or protection of the colonies.
- It was whispered that colonies should be feeders to the mother country, i.e., the controlling colonial power. Manufacture of sure commodities was either forbidden or discouraged for fear of spoiling the market of the mother country and exhausting the supply of raw materials. All colonial trade should be a monopoly of the mother country.

We can illustrate mercantilism with reference to a few countries. Several mercantilist steps were undertaken in England throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth in the later half of the sixteenth century. They were sustained in the seventeenth century when in the middle of other steps a series of Navigation Acts were passed. The first of the Navigation Acts was passed in 1651 under Oliver Cromwell. It required that colonial products to England should be accepted in English ships only and its main purpose was to end Dutch predominance in shipping. Subsequently a series of Navigation Acts were passed with the aim of consolidating colonial trade through securing for British merchants a monopoly of colonial products and reserving colonial markets for British goods. In the middle of the leading supporters and ideologists of mercantilist practices was an Englishman, Thomas Mun, who was a London merchant and also a director of the East India Company. Mun recognized wealth with money and advocated reduction in the import of luxury goods and recommended granting of exclusive shipping rights to English ships.

In France a number of mercantilist policies were initiated through the able and ambitious chief minister of the absolutist monarch Louis XIV Jean Baptiste Colbert, flanked by 1661 and 1683. Under him high tariffs were levied on foreign imports, export of bullion and grain was controlled, special manufacturers and several state industries were set up. French power was sought to be increased through waging wars against the main rival the Dutch Republic; French colonial power was expanded in the West Indies, Canada, Louisiana, India and Africa.

In Germany mercantilism was recognized as 'Camerarism' a word derived from Kammer which meant royal treasury. Cameralist practices pursued through the Prussian Kings Frederick William I (1713-1740) and Frederick the Great (1740-1786) were aimed primarily at strengthening the powers of the State through rising exports and accumulation of bullion.

Mercantilist thoughts were very influential flanked by 1600 and 1700 and several of its characteristics survived till the end of the eighteenth century when Adam Smith launched his criticism of mercantilist monopolies in his work. The Wealth of Nations, published in 1776. In the words of Maurice Dobb, the well-known Marxist thinker - "The Mercantile System was a system of state regulated use through trade which played a highly significant role in the adolescence of capitalist industry: it was essentially the economic policy of an age of primitive accumulation."

As is clear from this statement, the mercantilist era was an era of accumulation of capital in Europe which proved to be a vital requirement for the forthcoming Industrial Revolution in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.

Price Rise and Crisis

Though, the availability of valuable metals was not enough to create a country rich in the extensive run. Gold and silver are valuables which can create some people rich but if a whole country comes to possess valuable metals then a dangerous tendency to buy things abroad might develop. Why is this dangerous? This is because gold and silver in themselves cannot give more goods and services to the people unless they are used for expansion of manufacture. Otherwise that country is likely to become critically dependent on imports and its own potential will not be realized. This is precisely what happened to Spain in the seventeenth century.

Some 95.6% of the goods reaching from the Americas in 1594 were valuable metals. The conquest of South America in 1530 proved to be a real gold mine for Spain which procured in excess of 27 lakhs kilograms of gold in the last decade of the sixteenth century. No doubt Spain of the sixteenth century was wealthy and powerful but eventually this gold and silver did not stay in Spain. The Spanish people increasingly started buying agricultural and industrial goods from European markets which stimulated manufacture in countries like England and Holland. Eventually Spain suffered even more when its gold and silver led to a huge augment in the amount of money in circulation which brought in relation to the what is recognized as the price revolution in Europe.

Just as to a rough estimate flanked by 1500 and 1600 the amount of gold and silver in Europe trebled. All in all some 20,644 tons of silver and gold were imported flanked by 1503 and 1650. Although some of it was absorbed through the sharp augment of trade, stimulated through population growth in the sixteenth century, it brought in relation to the a common augment in the prices. For instance, in the sixteenth century grain prices in England went up through four times and in France through six times. High prices, economic stagnation in countries like Spain, Portugal, Italy, religious warfare and declining population in mainly parts of Europe led to a common

crisis in the first half of the seventeenth century. The thirty years war (1618-1648), epidemics and the rebellions of the peasants in several countries added to the crisis. Though, the crisis though widespread, did not have an equal impact on the whole of Europe. It proved detrimental for countries like Spain and Italy where the political, technological and socio-religious dealings had not kept pace with the changing pattern of trade and markets in the sixteenth century. The Dutch on the other hand supervised to not only survive the crisis but appeared with a buoyant economy and trade. England plagued through internal turmoil was plunged into civil war in the 1640s which resulted in the beheading of its Stuart King, Charles I.

This was the beginning of a decisive shift of political power in favor of the gentry and mercantile classes in trade and industry. Soon, a series of mercantilist steps like the Navigation Acts were undertaken from 1651 onwards to protect English interests. In France also, a series of mercantilist steps under Colbert, enabled it to survive the crisis of the seventeenth century. Hence, when we survey the European scene approximately 1700, Holland, France and England appear to be the leading powers of Europe. The focus through then had shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic shores and the one crucial advantage which these countries enjoyed was access to overseas markets and colonies. All three appeared as major rival colonial powers in the eighteenth century but, it, was Britain which on the foundation of an industrial revolution appeared as the mainly powerful country through the end of the eighteenth century. Why and how did Britain become the world's first industrial nation? We shall effort an explanation of this intricate issue in the after that section.

England: On The Path of Industrialization

In the second half of the eighteenth century the changes in agriculture and industry brought in relation to the through the application of technology were such that they revolutionized British economy and society. The term

Industrial Revolution came into vogue in late nineteenth century and numerous explanations have been provided for it. Though, it is very hard to isolate any factor and attribute the causation of Industrial Revolution to it. It is perhaps more useful to outline the procedure of the Industrial Revolution and focus on the interaction of factors like politics, cultural values, population and able utilization of possessions.

The commercial groups gained out of it and increasingly came to control the Parliament in England. When the king (monarchy had been restored in 1660) tried to re-assert his arbitrary powers the absolutist powers of the monarchy were curtailed in 1688. England became a constitutional monarchy in which the parliament became the effective ruling institution. The events of 1688 constituted the Glorious Revolution. It involved no bloodshed and recognized the supremacy of the rule of law. English society and parliament saw a steady rise in the power of the gentry (improving landlords practicing commercial agriculture) and businessmen after the Glorious Revolution. Under them another round of enclosures was initiated in the eighteenth century with the help of state legislation. If you recall, the first enclosure movement had taken place in England in late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when meadows were enclosed through the landlords for sheep and cattle rearing. Though from 1710 onwards enclosures were intended to augment the efficiency of crop raising. The landlords wanted to improve their lands further through scientific farming and introduction of new crops and farming methods. This incorporated aggregation and reclamation of general lands, i.e. lands on which people enjoyed traditional customary rights of usage. The result was that land increasingly became a business commodity in private ownership of landlords. The landlords utilized them for manufacture for the market to reap profits. Moreover, a series of changes in the technology of manufacture, e.g. rotation of crops and rigorous farming, use of new tools and fertilizers, reclamation of marshy land with the help of contemporary pumps, etc. brought in relation to the augment in agricultural productivity. The changes in manufacture techniques and agrarian dealings is often described the English Agricultural Revolution. In eighteenth century England wheat

manufacture increased through one-third and the average weight of livestock doubled. Through 1830 England was producing ninety per cent of its domestic grain necessities.

The important aspect of the home market in England was its size and steadiness. It was rising on explanation of many factors. As we have seen more and more peasants were forced to become labourers in the procedure of depeasantiation. Several of them were employed through landlords to work in their meadows as agricultural labourers. Several others migrated to municipalities and establish employment as workers in trade, manufacturing or domestic service. Now, they were all paid wages in money with which they purchased food, clothes and other essential items. In other words they were increasingly buying goods from the market and thereby increased the demand for goods as customers. Secondly demand could grow with population growth. In England there was sharp rise in population since 1750s. Though population growth does not always mean that the economy of a country, would benefit. For instance several poor countries of today have a fast rate of population growth and they continue to be poor. What is important in relation to the England is that population augment coincided with extensive-run growth trends in income. Even when population was stagnant in the first four decades of the eighteenth century imports increased through forty per cent, manufacture for exports went up sixty per cent and there was a hundred per cent growth of goods which were re-exported. This shows that the purchasing power of the people had registered a net augment. This is also demonstrated through the new wants of English people and the number of consumer goods which were increasingly being produced to fulfill them Flour-milling, beer brewing, cutlery and stove manufacturing increased. More English homes were using coal in their fire spaces. From mid-18th century population growth provided cheap labour for manufacturing behaviors which urbanized with the onset of Industrial Revolution.

While the home market provided stability and homogeneity to the demand it was the export market which provided the real impetus to the

economy leading to mechanization of industries from the 1780s onwards. E.J. Hobsbawm. observes in his book 'Industry and Empire that home demand increased but foreign demand multiplied.

Within the export trade there was a huge rise in colonial trade. Approximately 1700 colonial trade constituted fifteen per cent of commerce which increased to thirty- three per cent through 1775.

In 1715 nineteen per cent of Britain's foreign trade was with North America and the West Indies which increased to thirty four per cent in 1785. With Asia and Africa it rose from seven to nineteen per cent in the same era. Demand had gone up in North America under Britain were population increased through ten times flanked by 1700 and 1774. In the middle of the commodities being traded, tropical products like sugar, tea, coffee and tobacco beside with textiles increasingly replaced spices and gold through the end of the eighteenth century. Since mainly of these tropical products were grown in plantations more and more slaves were sold to North America, the West Indies and South America especially in the sugar and coffee plantations of Brazil. Just as to a rough estimate in relation to the 7 million slaves were transferred from Africa to the Americas in the eighteenth century compared to one million in the sixteenth and three million in the seventeenth century. Through the 1780s British slave traders were creation tremendous profit through supplying more than half of all slaves exported from Africa.

Britain's supremacy through the end of the eighteenth century was also possible because of the aggressive foreign policy. Britain participated in five major wars throughout this era and won recognition as a great power. The state was willing to colonize and wage wars for economic benefit. Unlike her rivals like France. Britain was willing to dedicate everything in her foreign policy to economic ends. The result was that Britain was able to reduce the power of her rivals like the French and the Dutch through the end of the eighteenth century. This brings us to the third component of the market: the market provided through the state. Commercial wars meant strengthening of

navy and higher demand for arms and ships for the navy and the army; Therefore, in addition to the home and the export market. British manufacturers were also able to benefit from government contracts and state necessities.

Political stability, a rising demand and society equipped with the will to industrialise brought England on the threshold of the Industrial Revolution. Several historians regard the thirty years from 1750-1780 as the era of take off into the Industrial Revolution. Through this it is meant that the necessary combination of capital, entrepreneurship and technology occurred to mechanize manufacture for the use of a mass market. Such was the pace of growth after 1780s that it revolutionized manufacture and laid the foundations of the contemporary society which today is no longer limited to Britain or Europe.

In today's world, we know that science and technology is progressing and changing at a fast rate. In order to survive and be successful, manufacturers have to constantly employ new technology to create profits in the market. Today, an industrialist would turn obsolete with stagnant technology and therefore cannot afford to remain ignorant of changes in the realm of science and technology. Though, we necessity not assume that England had the industrial revolution because its manufacturers were men of science and technology. What was crucial was their skill to seize opportunities and utilize new inventions for manufacture to sharpen their competitive advantage in the domestic and external market.

This does not mean that development of scientific thoughts played no role in this procedure. Europe's attitude towards the mysteries of nature and past notions in relation to were undergoing a change specially since the fifteenth century. The scientific method and outlook with its emphasis on experimentation, proof and rejection of conclusions based on mere beliefs was immensely enriched through the philosophical contributions of thinkers like Nicholas Copernicus. Galileo. Issue Newton, Francis Bacon, etc. Communal

efforts for the promotion and dissemination of scientific thoughts resulted in the establishment of the Royal Society of London (1662) and the French Royal Academy (1665-66). The impact of these thoughts was a common weakening of the hold of superstitions, magic and old thoughts in relation to the nature of the universe, the human anatomy and the causes and treatment of diseases. It is in this sense that scientific thoughts contributed to the Industrial Revolution through creation the society more receptive to new inventions and discoveries.

Though, the information that the Industrial Revolution of the late eighteenth century occurred in Britain, was not because its society was more scientific compared to other European countries. The discoverers, inventors, scientists and thinkers came from all parts of Europe France, Italy, Germany etc. But. the utilization of scientific thoughts through innovative technology occurred first in Britain because of the dynamism its economy and society possessed in the eighteenth century, which was the product of a specific historical development seen already.

Through the eighteenth century Britain had earned the reputation of being the shopkeeper of the world. In France, on the other hand, separately from the absence of a steady, homogenous market, and adequate supply of capital and labour, money was invested more in buying court positions, land and states. The upper classes and the government were not flexible and dynamic enough towards business as in Britain. The Dutch were successful in trade and finance, but they were unable to create the crucial transition to big level mechanized industrialization.

The Industrial Revolution

Proof of the application of new technology becomes visible from the first half of eighteenth century itself. Several English towns were rebuilt and there were substantial improvements in inland transport especially water ways on rivers and canals. The improvement in transportation helped to make a national market and reduce transport costs. For instance, the cost per ton

flanked by Liverpool and Manchester or Birmingham was reduced through eighty percent through canal navigation.

In 1754, the rolling machine for the manufacture of steel was urbanized. Though, the mainly significant event was the adoption of three innovations in the manufacture of textiles. The Spinning Jenny urbanized through James Hargreaves in 1765 increased the artisans spinning capability through a hundred times. Now one person could do the work of eight persons. Richard Arkwright's water frame turned the jenny into a commercial proposition through spinning through a combination of rollers and spindles. Crompton's mule, further improved the native to which steam power was applied from the 1780s. This necessitated collection of a big numbers of workers under one roof and brought in relation to the factory manufacture.

Mechanization of weaving i.e. the use of power looms, urbanized in the 1780s, really spread after the Napoleonic wars, i.e.. after 1815. From the last decade of the eighteenth century there was a rapid augment in Britain's cotton exports which peaked in the three decades after 1815. In the post-Napoleonic decades roughly half of the value of all British exports consisted of cotton products and in the 1830s, raw cotton accounts for twenty per cent of total net imports.

In addition to cotton textiles, metallurgy, especially copper and steel manufacture, glass and paper industries also experienced tremendous growth with the application of new technology. The invention of the steam engine through James Watt in the 1790s proved a boom for several industries and means of communication. Paddle ships and use of steam power in shipping revolutionized maritime transport. Finally the railways network from the 1830s ushered in altogether a new era in land transport.

The Industrial Revolution, therefore, brought in relation to the series of changes in the organisation of manufacture. Based on rapid changes in technology the factory system started replacing the putting out system. As we

have seen earlier, in the putting out system, the artisan owned his tools and produced finished goods at home for the merchant through taking advances. In the factory system the labour was employed through the factory owner; the worker did not own tools and machines, he only received wages for rendering labour services. This gave birth to the industrial proletariat, i.e. class of wage earning labourers. The procedure of losing control in excess of tools, land and labour was a painful one and there were many protests against the rising mechanization. In the early decades of the nineteenth century there were many instances of bread riots and machine breaking. Subsequently from the 1830s organised communal action of workers gave rise to labour movements.

Beside with the creation of a working class, the capitalist class, i.e. the bourgeoisie, rose to maturity. Capitalists came from the ranks of merchants and also better off artisans who invested capital in industries, used wage labour and strove to create profits in the market. The profits were re-invested and competitive advantage was sought to be maintained through using better and efficient techniques of manufacture. The mechanization procedure brought in relation to the rapid rate of capital accumulation. Flanked by 1820 and 1845, the net output of cotton industry grew through in relation to the forty per cent (in current values), whereas its wage cost increased through only in relation to the five per cent.

The Industrial Revolution also meant a radical redistribution of labour from agriculture to industry. Just as to one rough estimate 80% of the population was occupied in agriculture at the end of the seventeenth century. In 1800 it reduced to 60% and through 1901 only 8.5% of the population was occupied in the agricultural sector of the economy. Another index points out to a similar trend. Approximately 1750, 40 to 45% of the national income came from the primary sector but only 20% in 1851.

This does not mean that agriculture declined but shows that technical progress urbanization. The population of the municipality of London increased to in relation to the 10 lakhs approximately 1800 compared to 2 lakhs in 1600. Through 1851, there were twenty nine municipalities with a population in

excess of 1 lakh and a third of the British population existed in municipality's over 50,000 inhabitants. Urban livelihood was so often tough. The Industrial Revolution was remorseless in utilizing the labour of men, women and children livelihood under sub-human circumstances. The novels of the great nineteenth century author Charles Dickens (Oliver, David Copperfield, Nicholas Nickleby, Great Expectations etc.) paint the gloomy face of life in that era of growth.

The Maturation of Industrial Capitalism

In the early decades of the nineteenth century the mercantile era was giving way to the capitalist one. The theoretical attack on mercantilist thoughts had already been launched through Adam Smith in 1776 in his book "The Wealth of Nations". The capitalists were increasingly resenting state intervention in the economic sphere although it was active state support which had helped their growth in the preceding centuries. The ever expanding capitalist manufacture required freeing of trade and opening up of market: 'Laissez faire' was the new doctrine which literally meant 'leaving alone', i.e. non-intervention through the state in economic affairs. Demand and pressure for free trade led to the ending of the monopoly in excess of trade of the East India Company in 1813 and further in 1833. The political power of the bourgeoisie was on the rise especially after the 1832 Reform Act of the Parliament which enfranchised property owning parts of British society.

Once Britain's location as the premier industrial capitalist world power was recognized, the policies derived from mercantilist epoch were dispensed with. The Navigation laws were relaxed and replaced in 1849. Prohibition of the export of British machinery and technical expertise lifted. Finally came the abolition of corn laws which signified the decline of the power of the landed aristocracy. Corn laws had extensive ensured control in excess of food imports to protect the agricultural interests of British landed aristocracy. Thus through the middle of the nineteenth century with the triumph of 'laissez faire' the transition from the mercantile to the industrial era was virtually complete.

Other European countries were to follow Britain in the later part of the nineteenth century but each country's industrialization had its own specificities. Industrialization of the continent was not uniform and several countries of Eastern Europe persisted with many feudal and pre-industrial structures till the end of the nineteenth century.

EUROPEAN COLONIAL POWERS

The Background

The extra ordinary transformation started in the fifteenth century when Europeans went out to the world. This does not mean that no get in touch with other cultures lived after the beginning of the Christian era. Get in touch with the Chinese and other parts of Asia was also very old and sustained throughout the middle ages. You necessity have heard of Marco Polo (C. 1254-1324 A.D.) who traveled to China and fascinated Europeans with his travel talcs. Stories in relation to the fabulous riches of the East enhanced the desires of Europeans.

The municipality-states of Italy virtually came to monopolise the trade of the East with the rest of Europe from in relation to the twelfth century. Trade with South-East Asia and India was accepted on beside many land and sea routes. One route brought eastern goods to Iraq and Turkey via the Persian gulf. From there it reached Genoa and Venice through land. Another one brought them to Alexandria in Egypt via the Red Sea but since there was no Suez canal then, from Alexandria it was connected to Italian towns via the Mediterranean. Another route through land, scarcely used, was through the passes of North-West crossways Central Asia. Russia to the Baltic.

Towards Africa and the Americas

Search for alternative sea routes through countries on the Atlantic coast began as early as the fifteenth century. The Portuguese started creation efforts from the West Coast of Africa. Commercial rivalry with Italy and the spirit of adventure and enquiry generated through the Renaissance were the motivating factors for the explorers. An additional push was provided when land route was blocked through the Ottoman Turks with their capture of Constantinople in 1453. The highly lucrative trade in spices and other goods of the East had to be retained. The Portuguese efforts were joined through Spain and subsequently through the middle of the sixteenth century not only new sea routes to India had been exposed but a new continent had been established and colonized. Europe's assault on the world had begun and through the end of the eighteenth century, European nations had already laid claim to more than Half of the world's land surface and in varying degree effectively controlled almost a third of it. Crossways the Atlantic, Spain and Portugal had approached to control South America while North America had been getting settlers from various European countries. In 1776 a new nation had appeared United States of America from former British territory. The Caribbean islands scattered in flanked by the north and the south had been subjugated to Spanish, French and British interests.

Conquest and colonization of the American continents brought tremendous benefits emerging European colonial powers. The colonics got structurally connected to in a subordinate location undergoing at best a distorted development. In the opinion of Andre Gunder Frank, while European powers were developing there was procedure of 'development of underdevelopment' in the colonies. The Spaniards destroyed two mature civilizations the Incas and the Aztecs in South America to implant their own. Plantations worked through slaves came to characterize the economies of the colonies. Slaves working under sub-human circumstances provided cheap labour on the sugar, cotton and tobacco plantations and the mines of the Americas.

Estimates vary but somewhere flanked by 15 and 50 million Africans were brought as slaves into the New World. Europe on the other hand was enriched through a range of new products from the New World cocoa, tomatoes, maize, beans, capsicum and tobacco. Potato exposed in 1538 through a Spanish soldier Pedro de Cieza de Leon, in the Cauca valley of Columbia was introduced in Europe in 1588 as a curiosity. Beside with maize the potato was instrumental in solving the food problem of the rising population of Europe through the eighteenth century, thus reducing the danger of periodic famines. Finally, it was bullion which directly contributed to the wealth of Europe through providing the much needed supply of money and capital for the rising manufacture, trade and wars. All this had implications for Europe's trade with Asia.

Towards Asia: The Portuguese Onslaught

In contrast to the Americas in the Western hemisphere, direct colonization of the East through European powers did not begin straightaway. Territorial control had to wait but the control of the seas was very swift due to the superiority of navigational technology and arms especially because of the use of gunpowder. In 1513, the Portuguese navigator Albuquerque proudly wrote, to his king that “at the rumor of our coming, the native ships all vanished, and even the birds ceased to skim in excess of the water”.

When Vasco De Gama reached Calicut via the Cape of Good Hope it opened an altogether new chapter in the history of India's trading links with Europe. The voyage from Lisbon to Calicut took ten months and fourteen days. The clarity in Portuguese purpose is indicated through the statement made to Tunisian merchants in Calicut that they had approach to seek Christians and spices. They certainly succeeded it, fulfilling the latter mission as the cargo with which Vasco De Gama returned sold for sixty times the cost of his voyage.

At that time trade in the Indian ocean was a monopoly of Arab merchants. Within fifteen years of their first arrival in Indian waters the Portuguese had totally destroyed Arab navigation, very often resorting to plunder, slaughter of sailors and other coercive methods. Their King Manuel I. was quick to declare himself "Lord in excess of conquests, navigation and trade with Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India", in 1501.

The Portuguese were determined to develop and retain their naval superiority in excess of Asia through establishing trading points on land described feitorias. Feitorias were unfortified trading outposts which also served as strategic bases for their naval fleet. Portuguese overseas expansion had been based on these specially on the coast of Africa. Though, in India, they soon realized that the establishment of trading points would not be unopposed. When Zamorian, the king of Calicut did not cooperate in expelling the Muslim traders from his port, the Portuguese bombarded it. Subsequently they cleverly used the rivalry flanked by Cochin and Calicut and supervised to construct the first fort on the Malabar territory of the Raja of Cochin. In 1509, Diu was conquered through defeating the navel fleet sent through the Mamluk ruler of Egypt. Goa, captured in 1510 became the Portuguese administrative base. When the Spanish King Charles V renounced interests in the Indian ocean region keeping only the Philippines in the Distant East, the Portuguese came to acquire a monopoly of an Eastern maritime empire which later acquired the name of Estado da India.

The Portuguese dominated the maritime trade with Asia till the beginning of the sixteenth century. In 1506, the lucrative trade in spices became a crown monopoly and the Portuguese proved to be ruthless to preserve it. Quite often a thin row lived flanked by trade and piracy. Various methods were used to extract money from Indian ships, one of them being the cartaze system. This was a system* of license or pass, in which, captains of all those Indian ships sailing to a destination not reserved through the Portuguese, were obliged to buy passes from the Viceroy of Goa. This was necessary to prevent seizure of their ships and the confiscation of their merchandise

through the Portuguese. One of the main reasons for the success of the Portuguese on the sea was because the Mughals had not been interested in developing a strong navy. Moreover, the southern part of India was also outside the direct territorial power of the Mughals enabling the Portuguese to get a foothold. In this manner the Portuguese not only profited from the spice trade but also acted as carriers flanked by other Asian countries, Indian cloth went to Siam, cloves from the Moluccas to China, Persian carpets to India and copper and silver from Japan to China.

The Decline of the Portuguese Empire

Though, through the first decades of the seventeenth century much of the Portuguese empire in the East collapsed and was replaced through the Dutch in several spaces and the British in others. Many growths were responsible for this. In 1580, Portugal got attached to the Spanish crown and it further got connected to the declining fortunes of Spain. Spain's own naval might was reduced with the defeat of its Armada in the naval battle of 1588 with the English. Portugal's internal development also made it hard to retain its maritime empire. The aristocracy dominated its society and merchants did not enjoy the social power necessary to mould state policy just as to their interests. The crown was autocratic. The Portuguese proved to be intolerant and fanatic in matters of religion and resorted to forcible conversions in their spheres of power. Moreover their feitorias essentially remained trading outposts lacking adequate manpower and political will to carve out a territorial empire. The Portuguese in some ways became victims of their early lead in overseas expansion through remaining limited to profits through monopoly trade only.

A thought of Portuguese decline may be gained from the decline in the number of ships leaving Lisbon for Goa throughout three centuries; whereas 451 ships left Lisbon for Goa in 1500-49 in 1700-1750 the number was 112 and only 70 in 1750-1800.

In the end, their power got reduced to some pockets only — in East Africa, Diu, Daman, Goa (where it ended in 1961), Timor and Macao where it, still survives.

The Rise of the Dutch

As Portuguese power wavered in the aftermath of the Spanish union, the Dutch took in excess of from them through the mid seventeenth century. The Dutch had been adding to their commercial and naval superiority in the sixteenth century through transporting eastern goods brought to Lisbon through the Portuguese, to Antwerp from which it reached other markets of Europe. The Dutch had shown innovative spirit in business organisations and techniques and in shipping. In the latter, they intended and produced the fluitship (fluyt) which was measured to be a masterpiece of Dutch ship-builders of the seventeenth century. The design of the fluyt was such that it was lighter needing a smaller crew thus reducing its operating costs. Eventually Dutch ships proved to be superior to the bulkier and slower Portuguese ships. Dutch national feelings had been aroused in their struggle against the power of Spain in excess of their homeland the Netherlands and they were all set to rival the Portuguese in the spice trade of the East.

In 1602 the Dutch East India company was shaped and it received a charter empowering it to create war treaties, acquire territories and fortify them. The main interest of the Dutch was in the Indonesian archipelago and the Spice Islands and not India in the beginning. Though, they soon exposed that Indian trade was necessary to carry on trade with South-East Asia, as there was a good demand of Indian cloth there. Indian cloth was an essential swap commodity in that region and in return Indians demanded pepper and spices. The Gujarat region in Western India and the coast of Coromandel in the East produced a big variety of cotton cloth. Coromandel was even described as the left arm of the Moluccas through Hendrik Brouwer who later became the Governor Common of the Dutch settlements in the East India. Subsequently they recognized trading depots at Nagapatam in Madras, Cochin

and at Surat, Cambay, Broach and in Western India. More trading points came up at Chinsura in Bengal, Agra in Uttar Pradesh and Patna in Bihar.

With the help of commodities like indigo, saltpetre, opium, raw silk in addition to cotton, they were able to seize a big part of the inter-Asian trade formerly controlled through the Portuguese. Several decisive blows were struck at the Portuguese control of Goa, their factories in Malabar and their Cinnamon trade of Ceylon. For this Goa was blocked in the trading seasons. Malacca was conquered in 1641, Colombo in 1653-56 and Cochin in 1659-63. With this the Dutch virtually replaced the Portuguese but meanwhile they already had a significant rival — the English.

The Success of the English

The East India Company had been shaped in 1600, through a charter granting it the exclusive privilege of trading with the region East of the Cape of Good Hope for fifteen years. Compared to the Dutch company financially, it was a much smaller concern. For its first Voyage it supervised to raise less capital compared to the United Dutch company. Though, the chief asset of the English company was its simple organization, a court of twenty four directors elected annually through the common court of shareholders.

In its early voyages the East India company concentrated on the spice trade, mainly pepper with Indonesia and the Spice islands. Its rate of profit amounted to almost 20 per cent per year in the first twelve years. The many voyages (1611-15) yielded a profit of 214 per cent on original investment. Though, very soon the English realized the importance of Indian goods especially textiles as a barter commodity for spite trade. Plans were drawn up to open a factory at Surat in Gujarat and Captain William Hawkins was sent to the court of the Mughal Emperor Jahangir. After spending sometime in Agra Hawkins had to leave as a result of Portuguese intrigue. It was now clear to the English that they would have to deal with the Portuguese to gain favors from the Mughals. A Portuguese naval squadron was defeated at Swally Hole close

to Surat in 1611. This influenced Jahangir and the English were allowed to set up a permanent factory at Surat in 1613. An English factory had already approached up at Masulipatam on the East Coast in 1611. Subsequently they were allowed to open factories at many places on the West Coast.

A policy of expansion followed with the decision to send Sir Thomas Roe as an Ambassador to the Mughal court. Roe used his diplomatic skills to obtain royal favors. Meanwhile on the sea the English often resorted to piracy and plunder of Portuguese ships and to holding up Indian ships and exacting heavy ransoms. Their method therefore was a combination of diplomacy; threats, entreaties, intrigue and aggression. The efforts of Roe secured the English a Royal firman to trade and set up factories in all parts of the Mughal empire. An open confrontation with the Portuguese in a naval battle of 1620 ended in English victory. Tension flared by the English and the Portuguese declined in excess of time. The Portuguese were expelled from Hugli in Bengal through Mughal forces in 1633.

With the waning of Portuguese power and power, the English started setting up factories in dissimilar parts of India. Separately from Surat and Masulipatam, through 1623, factories had been set up in Broach, Ahmadabad and Surat. Though, the company felt insecure and vulnerable with unfortified settlements. It resented the dues it often had to pay to indigenous rulers. Payments also had to be made to local businessmen who had to be used as intermediaries. The English wanted to be a beneficiary of the redistributive enterprise themselves.

English territorial and imperial ambitions can be traced to the effort made to fortify Surat as early as 1625. They had recently been driven out from Indonesian islands through the Dutch in 1623. Though, Mughal authorities frustrated English attempts at Surat through imprisoning the English. The English then focused on the smaller states of South India to avoid direct confrontation. In the South the strong Vijaynagar empire had been overthrown in 1565 and many relatively weaker states had appeared. In 1639, they

supervised to obtain Madras on lease from the local Raja. Madras was a port and the English made a promise to provide half of the customs revenue to the Raja. In return they procured the right to fortify it and also to mint their own coins. The English set up a factory and built a fort described Fort St. George approximately it. In 1662, King Charles-II of England received Bombay as dowry on marrying a Portuguese princess. The English crown transferred it to the company in 1665 which was soon fortified. Rising threat of the Marathas and the availability of a good port soon enabled Bombay to replace Surat as the principal depot of the company on the West Coast.

In Eastern India the power of the company steadily rose after 1630. Factories were recognized at Balasore in Orissa in 1633 and Hugli in Bengal in 1651. More factories came up at Patna in Bihar and Dacca and Kasimbazar in Bengal. In 1658 all the establishments of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and the Coromandel coast were brought under the control of Fort St. George.

In Eastern India, the company had to procure its articles of trade like cotton piecegoods, silk, sugar and saltpetre from internal regions. There they were subjected to several tolls and custom duties. The company directed its efforts to get rid of them. Through a series of firmans in 1651, 1656 and 1672 they were exempted from payment of custom duties in return for fixed sums to be paid through the company to Indian authorities. In 1680, Emperor Aurangzeb after levying Jaziya on the company issued a firman that the Company's trade was to be customs-free everywhere except Surat. For this the company is said to have spent Rs. 50,000 to bribe the Mughal officers.

English Rivalry with the Portuguese and the Dutch

While the English company was occupied in establishing itself with respect to Mughal and other Indian states it was simultaneously occupied in rivalry with the Portuguese and the Dutch. We have seen how they came into disagreement with the Portuguese in the first three decades of the seventeenth century. The end of hostilities flanked by the Portuguese and the English

started with the conclusion of the Madrid treaty in 1630. Another agreement made in 1634 flanked by the President of the English factory at Surat and the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa guaranteed commercial inter dealings flanked by the two nations in India. In 1654, Portugal fully accepted the rights of the English to the Eastern trade and the treaty of 1661 bound them together against the Dutch in India.

Meanwhile the Dutch had not only replaced the Portuguese in the spice trade but had expelled the English from the South East Asia. Although, the main interests of the Dutch were in the Spice Islands, they had recognized significant factories at Pulicat (1610), Surat (1616), Chinsura (1653), Kassimbazar, Baranagore, Patna, Balasore, Nagapatam (1659), and Cochin (1663). Unlike the English, the Dutch having secured bases in South East Asia were not under pressure to secure territorial bases in India. Hostilities flanked by the Dutch and the English brought them to a point of disagreement many times from 1653-54 onwards, when, a big fleet of Dutch ships appeared close to Swally, forcing the English company to suspend its trade at Surat. In 1667, the Dutch agreed to leave alone English settlements in India, while the English gave up all claims to Indonesia. In this manner two rival colonial powers settled their conflicts. Though, English attempts to drive the Dutch out of the Indian soil sustained and the Dutch 'retired' more and more to country trading with their officers trying to create private fortunes in collaboration with English company officials.

The eighteenth century saw steady erosion in the fortunes of the Dutch. The spread of the English as a result of privileges received, enabled them to set up a rising hold in excess of the trade of indigo, silk, cotton, piece-goods, saltpetre etc. With the failure of the Hugli expedition in 1759, Dutch naval power received a further setback. Finally, the Dutch lost their last possession in India in 1795 when the English expelled them. English supremacy though apparent from the beginning of the eighteenth century though had to bitterly contest another European rival — the French before emerging fully victorious through the early nineteenth century.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- How do you explain the success of England compared to other countries of Europe in the 16th century?
- What do you mean by the Commercial Revolution?
- Explain the role of State in Mercantilism.
- What was the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the state regulation of trade?
- Why do the capitalists need the expansion of market?
- What was the Dutch interest in Indian trade?
- Narrate the process of the establishment of English commercial settlements in India in the 17th Century.

CHAPTER 3

British Conquest and Consolidation

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- The British in Eastern India up to Buxar
- Conflict and expansion: south India
- Anglo-Maratha and Mysore wars
- British expansion: North India
- British expansion beyond Indian frontiers
- Imperial ideology: Orientalist construction of India and the utilitarians
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you will be able to:

- Understand the background of the British conquest of Bengal.
- Learn about the transformation of power from the Bengal Nawabs to the British authority.
- The two major foreign trading companies that existed in South India in the 18th century i.e. the English and the French.
- Understand the nature of struggle for power in Mysore and Maratha state.
- Identify the factors responsible for the failure of the Indian states against the British.
- About the way North India, especially Awadh and Punjab came under the British rule
- Learn the general causes of the English trade and expansion outside India.
- Discover how and where the East India Company expanded their influence.
- The ways in which the British perception of India was being shaped.

THE BRITISH IN EAST INDIA UP TO BUXAR

Bengal before the British Conquest

In this procedure of imperialist expansion Bengal became since the 17th century, the hunting ground of the Dutch, the French and the English companies. It was mainly the rich possessions and good prospects of trade in Bengal which attracted the various foreign companies. Referring to Bengal Francois Bernier, a traveler who visited India throughout Aurangzeb's reign wrote:

- “The rich exuberance of the country...has given rise to a proverb in general use in the middle of the Portuguese; English and Dutch that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure”.

In the 18th century exports from Bengal to Europe consisted of raw products, such as, saltpetre, rice, indigo, pepper, sugar, etc. and silk, cotton textiles, handicrafts etc. Bengal goods comprised almost 60 per cent of British imports from Asia in the early 18th century. Commercial potentiality of Bengal was naturally the chief cause of the interest of the English in this province.

Regular get in touch with of the English with Bengal started in the 1630s. First English company in the east was set up at Balasore in Orissa in 1633, then at Hugli, Kasimbazar, Patna and Dacca. Through 1690s the acquisition of the Zamindari rights of the three villages of Sutnati, Calcutta and Govindpur and the base of Calcutta through the Company, completed this procedure of English commercial resolution in Bengal. The annual investment of the Company in Bengal turned to £ 150,000 in 1680.

Since the 17th century the English East India Company was allowed to trade freely in Bengal, in return the Company had to pay annually Rs. 3,000 (£350) to the Mughal emperor. When the Company paid the Mughal emperor

annually (£350) to free trade in Bengal that time Company's exports from Bengal were worth more than £ 50,000 a year.

The provincial governors were not in favor of such a privilege for the Company because this meant a heavy loss to their exchequer. So there was always pressure from the provincial administration to compel the English Company to pay more for its trade in the province. The English on their part tried to set up its complete manage in excess of the trade through various means. Murshid Kuli Khan, who recognized his self-governing power in excess of Bengal, was not in favor of the special privileges enjoyed through the Company because of the loss that resulted to the treasury. So the tussle flanked by the English commercial interest and the local government in Bengal was already marked before the mid 18th century.

While the rising commercial interest of the English was becoming a serious threat for the Bengal polity, the provincial administration in Bengal itself had sure weaknesses. The stability of this local power was dependent on sure circumstances:

- Nawab's rule depended on the support of powerful faction of the local aristocracy.
- He needed the support of Hindu Mutaseddis who were in manage of the financial administration.
- The support of the big Zamindars was also very essential because they not only supplied revenues to the treasury but also helped the Nawabs with their own militia in times of need and through maintaining law and order in their regions.
- The co-operation and support of the bankers and business houses, particularly the home of the Jagat Seths, the main financial home in Bengal was also needed.

All these dissimilar groups had dissimilar interests and expectations from the Nawab. The stability of Nawab's regime depended on maintaining proper balance in the middle of these various interest groups. The general people had no lay in this power equation flanked by the ruler and the interest groups. They were the victims of the rising demands of the Zamindars but

there was no protection from the administration. There was no initiative on the part of the rulers to involve the people in the anti-imperialist struggle.

The British Conquest of Bengal, 1757-65

The history of Bengal from 1757 to 1765 is the history of gradual transfer of power from the Nawabs to the British. Throughout this short era of eight years three Nawabs, Siraj-ud-daula, Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim ruled in excess of Bengal. But they failed to uphold the sovereignty of the Nawab and ultimately the rein of manage passed into the hands of the British. We will now talk about the growths in Bengal from 1757 to 1765 and see how the British ultimately got manage in excess of Bengal.

Siraj-ud-daula and the British

Siraj-ud-daula succeeded Alivardi Khan as Nawab of Bengal in 1756. The succession of Siraj was opposed through his aunt Ghasiti Begum and his cousin Shaukat Jang who was the governor of Purnea. There was a dominant group in the Nawab's court comprising Jagat Seth, Umichand, Raj Ballabh, Rai Durlabh, Mir Jafar and others who were also opposed to Siraj. Besides this internal dissension within the Nawab's Court, another serious threat to Nawab's location was the rising commercial action of the English Company. The disagreement flanked by the Nawab and the English Company in excess of trade privileges was nothing new. But throughout Siraj-ud-daula's reign sure other factors further strained the dealings flanked by the two. They are:

- The fortification approximately Calcutta through the English Company without the permission of the Nawab.
- The misuse of the Company's trade privilege through its officials for their private trade.
- The English Company at Calcutta had given shelter to Krishna Das, son of Raj Ballabh, who had fled with immense treasures against the Nawab's will.

Siraj-ud-daula was unhappy with the Company for these reasons. The Company on its part became worried in relation to the Siraj because the Company officials suspected that Siraj would cut down the privilege of the Company in alliance with the French in Bengal. Siraj-ud-daula's attack on the English fort at Calcutta precipitated an open

The arrival of a strong English force under the command of Robert Clive at Calcutta from Madras strengthened the British location in Bengal. The secret alliance of the Company with the conspirators of the Nawab's camp further strengthened the location of the British. So English victory in the battle field of Plassey, (June, 1757) was decided before the battle was fought. It was not the superiority of the military power but the conspiracy of the Nawab's officials that helped the English in winning the battle. It is very hard to ascertain why Shiraj failed to take appropriate action. He could not save himself ultimately and was murdered through the order of Mir Jafar's son Miran.

Mir Jafar and the British

Mir Jafar was promised the Nawabship through Clive before the battle of Plassey. This was his reward for his support to the British against Siraj.

The British now became the kingmakers of Bengal. Mir Jafar was made to pay a heavy price to his English friends for their favour. But the treasury of Murshidabad did not have enough possessions to satisfy the demands of Clive and his fellow countrymen. Mir Jafar paid out in relation to the Rs. 1,750,000 in presents and compensation to the British.

Immediately after his accession Mir Jafar faced some serious internal troubles. They were:

- Some of the Zamindars like Raja Ram Sinha of Midnapore, Hizir Ali Khan of Purnea refused to accept him as their ruler.
- Mir Jafar's soldiers who were not getting salary regularly were in a rebellious mood.

- He had doubts in relation to the loyalty of some of his officials, specially of Rai Durlabh. He whispered that Rai Durlabh had instigated the rebellion of Zamindar against him. But Rai Durlabh was under the shelter of Clive so he could not touch him.
- There was an effort through the Mughal Emperor's son who later on became Shah Alam to capture the throne of Bengal.
- The financial location of the Nawab was also weak, mainly because of the demands of the Company and mismanagement of possessions. All these made Mir Jafar more dependent on the English Company. But the Company was unhappy with the Nawab for some reasons.
- The English Company was under the impression that Mir Jafar, in collaborator with the Dutch company was trying to curb the rising power of the English in Bengal.
- Mir Jafar also failed to respond to the ever rising demands of the English.

Meanwhile the death of Miran, son of Mir Jafar, again created a disagreement in excess of the question of succession. The fight was flanked by Miran's son and Mir Kasim, the son in-law of Mir Jafar. Vansittart who came as Governor of Calcutta took the face of Mir Kasim. Mir Kasim in a secret agreement with Vansittart agreed to pay the necessary funds to the Company if they support his claim to the Nawabship of Bengal. Mir Jafar had already lost the confidence of the English. The rebellion of Mir Jafar's army for their due salary made it easier for the British to force Mir Jafar to step down.

Mir Kasim and the British

Mir Kasim's accession to the throne of Bengal followed the same way, the way through which Mir Jafar had approach to power. Like his predecessor, Mir Kasim also had to pay big amounts of money to the English. Besides this he had given three districts of Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong to the English Company. After the assumption of power the two mainly significant things that Mir Kasim did were:

- Shifting the capital from Murshidabad to Monghyr in Bihar in order to stay a safe aloofness from the Company at Calcutta, and
- Re-organising the bureaucracy through the men of his own choice and remodeling the army to enhance its skill and efficiency.

The first few months of Mir Kasim's reign went very well. But slowly the connection with the British became embittered. Reasons for this were:

- Ram Narayan, the Deputy governor of Bihar, was not responding to the repeat requests through Nawab to submit his accounts. But Ram Narayan was supported through the English officials of Patna who never concealed their anti-nawab feelings.
- The misuse of the Company's Dustak or trade permit through Company officials for their private trade generated tension flanked by the British and the Nawab.

The Company servants were not paying any duty on their goods. Whereas local merchants had to pay duty. While the Nawab lost tax revenue because of the nonpayment of duty through the Company officials the local merchants faced unequal competition with the Company merchants. Moreover, the Company officials were totally ignoring the officials of the Nawab. They were forcing the local people to sell their goods at low prices. Mir Kasim complained against these practices to Governor Vansittart, but this had no effect.

As it happened in the case of Mir Jafar, in the case of Mir Kasim also when the British establish that Mir Kasim had failed to fulfill their expectation they started searching for a suitable replacement of Mir Kasim. But Mir Kasim was not ready to surrender so easily, unlike his predecessor. He tried to put up a united resistance against the British with the help of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam and Shuja-ud- daula of Awadh.

Though, Mir Kasim ultimately failed to protect his throne and the battle of Buxar (1764) completed the victory and the power of the British in eastern India.

After Mir Kasim

Mir Jafar was brought back to the throne of Bengal. He agreed to hand in excess of three districts—Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong to the English for the maintenance of their army and to permit duty free trade in Bengal (except a duty of 2% on salt), But Mir Jafar was in bad health and he died shortly after this. His minor son Najim-ud-daula was appointed Nawab. The real administration was accepted on through a Naib-Subadar, who would be appointed or dismissed through the English.

In the summer of 1765 Clive came back as the Governor of Bengal. Clive now occupied himself in completing his unfinished task, i.e. to create the British the Supreme political power in Bengal. He approached the Mughal emperor Shah Alam who was practically a prisoner of Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Awadh, since 1761 for an agreement. The emperor responded positively to Clive's proposal. An agreement was signed flanked by Shah Alam and Clive on August 1765. Through this agreement Shah Alam was given Allahabad and the adjoining territories, while the emperor granted through a firman, the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. The right of Diwani gave the British complete manage in excess of the Bengal revenues or financial administration.

The responsibility for defense, law and order and the administration of justice remained in the hands of the Nawabs. But the Nawabs had virtually lost their military power after the battle of Buxar. So after the grant of Diwani the Nawabs were in reality reduced to a cipher.

The discussion shows how the political events from 1757 to 65 slowly led to the transfer of power from the Bengal Nawabs to the British East India Company.

Explanation for the Political Transformation

The narrative of the political events from 1757 to 1765 shows, how the British slowly subdued the Nawab's power and recognized their complete manage in excess of Bengal. What happened in Bengal in this era has been termed through several historians as a "political revolution". On the question, what were the causes of this revolution, historian's opinions are divided. The effort through some historians to discover the cause of the revolution in the personal failures of the Nawabs is not tenable. The arrogance Of Siraj or the treachery of Mir Jafar at the individual limitations of Mir Kasim through itself cannot explanation for the transformation of Bengal's power structure. The issues involved in the disagreement flanked by the British and the Nawabs were some thing more important.

It is argued through some historians that private interests of the East India Company officials provoked the conflicts with the Nawabs. Expectations of more trade privileges and rewards and effort to create their own fortunes made the individual Englishmen defy the power of the Nawabs. The misuse of trading privilege through the Company officials for their private trade became the bone of contention flanked by the Nawabs and the East India Company. The firman or the imperial grant given through the Mughal emperor Farukshiyar in 1717 gave duty free concession only to the Company's imports and exports and not to the Company servants' private trade. The misuse of this trade privilege through the Company officials for private trade meant a heavy loss to the Nawabs treasury. Both Siraj-ud-daula and Mir Kasim complained to the Company against this misuse of trade privilege, but there was no change in the situation.

If the private interest of the individual Englishmen was responsible for the disagreement with the Nawabs, the Company was also equally responsible for it. The Company was pressurising the Nawabs for greater trading privileges. The British wanted to set up their monopoly manage in excess of Bengal trade through driving out the French and the Dutch companies from Bengal. The English Company began to augment its military strength and

fortified Calcutta against the wish of the Nawab. This was a direct challenge to the power of the Nawab. After Plassey, company's pressure for superior subsidies increased and it demanded some Zamindaris from the Nawab to meet the expenses of the Company's troops. More alarming was the Company's involvement in the court politics of Nawab and interference in Nawab's choice of high officials. Thus, the rising power of the Company and its dabbling in local politics seriously challenged the self-governing location of the Nawabs.

It is not hard to see that the Company and its officials played an important role in shaping the events in Bengal flanked by 1757-65. Though, no less important was the role of some of the local merchants, officials and Zamindars in the establishment of the British political supremacy in Bengal. The home of the Jagat Seths, the main banking home in Bengal, and the wealthy merchants like Umichand were not happy with the accession of Siraj-ud-daula. The Seths were the custodian of the Nawab's treasury and they had an important manage in excess of Nawab's administration. Besides the Seths and other merchants, there was landed and military aristocracy who were a dominant group in the Nawab's court. This group became apprehensive of losing their special privileges which they were enjoying from the earlier Nawabs. Siraj-ud-daula's reorganization of civilian and military administration through replacing old office holders gave ground for their apprehension. The Nawab's patronage to a new elite group represented through Mohanlal, Mir Madan and Khawaja Abdul Hadi Khan alienated the old officials from the Nawab. 'This alienation and the expectation of a better bargain through replacing Siraj-ud-daula with their own man brought the ruling clique into a conspiracy against Siraj-ud-daula.

The British who were in search of an ally for their own ends, establish allies in this group. The British wanted to gain more trade privileges and to extract more possessions from Bengal, while their Indian collaborators had the desire to set up their own political power in Bengal. Their general objective was to replace the present Nawab through a man of their general choice.

Hence the conspiracy made the task easier for the British to set up manage in excess of the Bengal Nawab.

To sum up, the economic interests of the Company and its officials and the growth of factions in the court at Murshidabad and the disagreement of interests in the middle of dissimilar groups in the court were some of the factors which brought in relation to the political " transformation of Bengal flanked by 1757 to 1765.

Significance of British Success

We have seen in the earlier parts that how decisively the British recognized their political supremacy in Bengal through winning two battles, one at Plassey (1757) and the other at Buxar (1764). Separately from the overall significance of the British victory the two battles had sure specific significance of their own.

- The success of the British in the battle of Plassey had an important impact in the history of Bengal.
- The victory of the British, whether through treachery or any means, undermined the location of the Nawab in Bengal.
- Apparently there was not much change in the government and the Nawab still remained the supreme power. But in practice the Nawab became dependent on the Company's power and the Company began to interfere in the appointment of Nawab's officials.
- Internal rivalry within the Nawab's administration was exposed and the conspiracy of the rivals with the British ultimately weakened the strength of the administration.
- Besides the financial gain, the English East India Company was also successful in establishing their monopoly in excess of Bengal trade through marginalizing the French and the Dutch companies.

The battle of Buxar gave them the complete political manage in excess of Bengal. Actually, the procedure of transition started with the battle of Plassey and culminated in the battle of Buxar.

The battle of Buxar sealed the fate of the Bengal Nawabs and the British appeared as the ruling power in Bengal.

Mir Kasim was successful in forming a confederacy with the Emperor Shah Alam II and Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh against the British. This confederacy failed before the British force. The victory of the British in this battle proved the superiority of the British force and strengthened their confidence. This was a victory not against Mir Kasim alone but against the Mughal Emperor and the Nawab of Awadh also. The success of the British in this battle gave a clear indication that the establishment of the British rule in other parts of India was not very distant off.

CONFLICT AND EXPANSION: SOUTH INDIA

The English and the French in India: Their Strengths and Weaknesses

Both the French and the English East India Companies were the products of the rise of mercantile capitalism in Europe. This stage of capitalism is regarded as a preparatory stage when trade with Asiatic and Latin American countries was accepted on to help in the procedure of capital accumulation. Trade was accepted on in goods which were manufactured in India and for which there was a heavy demand in Europe.

Though, the way in which the two Companies took advantage of trade with the East differed greatly. While the English Company had a vastly superior infrastructure with much superior fleets, the French were deficient even in their knowledge of commerce. The English Company was the wealthier body and mannered more frequent voyages. In comparison with the French Company it had a more continuous history of trading with the East. To appreciate the qualitative variation in the two Companies we necessity take into explanation the nature of their origins. While the French Company was the offspring of state patronage whose revenues were mainly drawn from monopoly of the tobacco trade, the English EIC was a great private

corporation, founded and maintained through individual enterprise— not dependent in any way on the state. In information the slate was in its debt. The impact of these differences was very great, as will be seen later in the course of events.

The French EIC was shaped in 1664 whereas the English Company had been shaped in 1600 and had begun trade in cloth and calicoes with India in 1613 through an Imperial firman received from Emperor Jahangir. Though, they had obtained the right to trade only on the Western coast—at Surat, Ahmedabad, Cambay and Goa. The French Company also recognized their first factory at Surat in 1668. But this did not pose a serious threat to the English Company, since they failed to “buy cheap & sell dear” and all they succeeded in doing was to reduce the price of European goods and augment that of Indian goods.

The factory at Surat was succeeded through one at Masulipatam in 1669. Then in 1674 Francois Martin founded Pondicherry, which was to become the future capital of the French in India. It was a rival to Madras. It grew in size and strength and became as impressive as the English resolution at Madras—but it could not match the latter in the extent and variety of its commerce. Flanked by 1690 and 1692 a factory was set up at Chandernagore in the East. It proved no challenge to the English resolution in Calcutta.

Fortunes of the French East India Company declined in the beginning of the 18th century and the factories at Surat, Bantam and Masulipatam had to be abandoned. Though, that was only a temporary setback and through the 1720s, the French Company had staged a comeback with the revival of interest on the part of the French mercantile bourgeoisie in the Company. The Company was reconstituted, it adopted a new name and was now recognized as 'Perpetual Company of the Indies'. French naval power was greatly improved—a base being recognized at Mauritius. It was also accounted that 10 to 12 ships were being built in England for the French Company. In 1725 the French recognized themselves at Maher on the Malabar Coast and in 1739 at Karaikal on the East Coast.

The First Carnatic War (1740-48)

The scene was thus set for a confrontation flanked by the two forces. The opportunity was provided through the outbreak of the war of Austrian Succession in Europe in which the English and the French were in opposite camps. There was the possibility of an outbreak of hostilities flanked by the British and the French in India but it was the French who hesitated. Perhaps conscious of their relatively weaker location in India, they tried hard to prevent an extension of hostilities to India. The English did not share this sentiment, though, and in a deliberately provocative manner, seized some French ships off the south-eastern coast of India. The French, having no fleet in India, had to wait until the arrival of the fleet from Mauritius. Immediately on its arrival, the French launched an attack on the English through both land and sea, within a week Madras had surrendered to the French and the first Carnatic war had begun.

Role of the Nawab of Carnatic

The English appealed to Anwar-ud-din the Nawab of Carnatic, for protection and assistance and the latter requested Dupleix, the French Governor to raise the siege of Madras. But the French were in no mood to accede to his request, presently as the English had ignored him in the past. Since the Nawab had no naval fleet, he was not in a location to intervene effectively. Yet he felt that he could teach the French a lesson on land and therefore sent an army against the French troops besieging Madras. Despite its impressive size his troops suffered an ignominious defeat at the hands of the French. This was an eye-opener for the Europeans in India; it revealed that even a small disciplined European force could easily defeat a much superior Indian army. This, knowledge was invaluable to them in future dealings with Indian princes.

Defiance of Dupleix through the French Admiral

The initial seizure of Madras had been possible because of the arrival of Admiral La Bourdaunais' fleet from Mauritius. But the latter refused to

cooperate with Dupleix since he felt that he held self-governing charge and took orders only from the French Government. Much to the chagrin of Dupleix, the French Governor-Common, he struck a deal with the English. Madras would be returned to them on the payment of a ransom amount of £400,000. The French Governor-Common was not even consulted on the matter. If he had his way, Madras would not have been returned to the English at any price. La Bourdaunairs returned to Mauritius after the completion of his mission in India. Dupleix was now free to assume the initiative vis-à-vis the English. He made a fresh attack on Madras in September 1746, which surrendered as easily as in the first instance. The English prisoners were marched to Pondicherry and quartered there.

The French followed up this military success with an attack on Fort St. David, a minor English possession to the south of Pondicherry. But this time the English were better prepared to defend their resolution. They had stationed their fleet off the coast of Pondicherry and were able to withstand the French attack effectively. The siege of Fort St. David lasted for 18 months. The French did not withdraw the siege either and it was only after the conclusion of hostilities in Europe with the signing of the treaty of Aix-La-Chappelle in 1748 that the English possessions were restored to them. The French possessions in North America were also returned to them.

Superiority of French in First Carnatic War

Despite their naval weakness, it was obvious that the French, had performed better in the first Carnatic War. Had it not been for the quarrel flanked by Dupleix and La Bourdaunairs, the English would have faced total ruin in India. P.E. Roberts, the British official historian for India feels that this is an exaggeration. He argues that the war on the Coromandel coast affected only a single English Presidency and that too the weakest.

French military superiority was obvious not only to the English but also to the Indian powers. Since the latter did not possess navies, they could not have a say at all in European conflicts in India. Even their land armies, though impressive in numbers, were no match for European armies. In the heyday of the Mughal Empire, Indian princes could expect assistance from the

centre but with the disintegration of the Mughal Empire that source of help was no longer accessible.

Dupleix had learnt his lessons well from the first Carnatic War: he was influenced that, in any quarrel flanked by the Indian princes, his disciplined army would be very useful. And in those days of political unrest, there was no dearth of Indian princes who would invite Dupleix's assistance to turn the levels in their favour.

The Second Carnatic War

Unlike the first Carnatic war, there was no European war to give a pretext for the outbreak of hostilities flanked by the English and the French in the second instance. Rivalry in India provided the context, but it became a life and death struggle for the survival of the English and French EIC in India.

Succession Rivalry in Carnatic and Hyderabad

Carnatic was a province under the subadar of Deccan, i.e., the Nizam of Hyderabad and was ruled through a governor—the Nawab, with his headquarters at Arcot. Since the subadar of the Deccan was usually busy with his own affairs—at this time tackling the Marathas and other forces in Northern India, the Nawab practically enjoyed

self-governing power.

In 1740, i.e. before the first Carnatic War, the Marathas had invaded the Carnatic and killed the Nawab—Dost Ali. They also took his son-in-law Chanda Sahib as prisoner to Satara. The prevailing circumstances of stability prompted the Nizam to approach to the Carnatic in 1743 and to appoint Anwar-ud-din Khan as the Nawab of Carnatic. But this appointment only worsened the situation especially after 1748 when Chanda Sahib was set free through the Marathas after seven years of captivity. In the same year i.e. in 1748 Asaf-Jan-Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Hyderabad Nawab, passed absent. He was succeeded through his son, Nasir Jang but his grandson, Muzaffar Jang laid claim to the throne on the ground that the Mughal Emperor had appointed him

as the Governor of the Carnatic: Muzaffar Jang establish an ally in Chanda Sahib to fight together to gain their respective seats in Hyderabad and the Carnatic.

Dupleix's Intervention

This was a wonderful opportunity for the foreign merchant companies to pursue their own ends. The French took the initiative and Dupleix concluded secret treaties with Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang with a view to placing them on the thrones of the Carnatic and the Deccan.

In August 1749 the three allies ambushed and killed Anwar-ud-din at the battle of Ambur, located south-east of Vellore. His son, Muhammad Ali, fled to Trichinopoly and Chanda Sahib became Nawab of Carnatic.

Entry of British

The English felt that the initiative was slipping out of their hands. Hence they now recognized friendship with Nasir Jang, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and persuaded him to approach and crush his enemies in the Carnatic and send some help to Muhammad Ali in Trichinopoly. But Nasir Jang's attempts to crush his enemies only resulted in his own death in 1750. Muzaffar Jang was released from prison and proclaimed Subadar of the Deccan.

As a token of his gratitude the new subadar amply rewarded the French. Dupleix was appointed Governor of all the Mughal Dominions south of the river Krishna. Territories close to Pondichery were ceded to the French as also some regions on the Orissa coast, including the well-known market-town of Masulipatam. In return, at Muzaffar Jang's request, Dupleix placed at his disposal the services of his best officer Bussy with a French army. He knew that this was the best way of ensuring French interests in the Hyderabad court and thereby its power in the whole of the Deccan.

It seemed as if the British location in Madras would be lost irrevocably. Though, the appointment of Saunders, a more dynamic Madras Governor in September 1750 changed the situation. He decided to go to the

assistance of Muhammad Ali in 1751. In the meantime the French, having realized that their siege of Trichy was not proving successful, changed their tactics and were trying to know Muhammad Ali. The latter wavered, was even willing to provide up his claims to the Nawabship of the Carnatic, provided the French persuaded the Nizam of Hyderabad to obtain a new appointment for him in any other part of the Deccan. But the British proved to be better masters in the art of the diplomacy and persuaded Muhammad Ali not to provide up his claim, but instead to bide his time. But he was further advised that the pretence of negotiations with the French be kept up, so that the latter may be fooled effectively. When the English had prepared a full-level offensive, they sent a detachment to Trichy in May 1751. The thought was to help Muhammad Ali against the French. Later in the same year, the rulers of Mysore, Tanjore and the Maratha chief, Morari Rao, also gave help to Muhammad Ali and the English. In the meantime Clive proposed an expedition against Arcot as the best means of preventing the fall of Trichinopoly. Chanda Sahib would have to divert an effective part of his army for the protection of the capital Arcot was successfully occupied through Clive with the help of a small British force—consisting of 200 European and 300 Indian soldiers. The Nawab had to send relieving forces from Trichy and it was only after battling for 53 days that he supervised to win back Arcot. The seizure of Arcot demoralized the French so greatly that the French common Jacques-Lafayette, in charge of the siege of Trichy, abandoned post and fled to Srirangam. The British pursued him and Lafayette finally surrendered on 9-June 1752. Shortly thereafter a dispirited Chanda Sahib also surrendered to the English. He was beheaded on the orders of the Tanjore generals.

The English prestige was greatly enhanced through this incident and the French were in sorry plight. But they were not willing to provide up that easily and Dupleix was devising a fresh strategy. He won in excess of Morari Rao, the Maratha chief and the ruler of Mysore and secured the neutrality of the Raja of Tanjore, the siege of Trichinopoly was renewed in December 1752 and sustained for more than one year, both sides were successful alternatively.

Recall of Dupleix

Dupleix's valiant efforts to relieve the French position were not much appreciated through the French authorities. They were greatly annoyed at the heavy financial losses that Dupleix's policy involved and decided to recall him. On 1 August 1754 Godeheu succeeded Dupleix as Governor-General in India. In a complete reversal of Dupleix's policy, he reopened negotiations with the British and concluded a treaty. The English and the French both agreed not to interfere in the quarrels of native princes and each party was left in possession of the territories that it actually occupied at the time of the treaty.

How did the tide turn against Dupleix? Displeasure with his policies in India was only a part of the cause. It is necessary to be recalled that the French East India Company was directly controlled through the French Government which had to consider the superior political issues confronting the state; It was the fear of serious repercussions in America that prompted the French to suspend hostilities in India.

When the English realized that Dupleix was to be withdrawn and that they had scored a point, they decided to press their advantage further. While the negotiations were proceeding, they fanned the rising sentiments in France against Dupleix and maintained that Dupleix's "ambition and artifice" were sure to sabotage any negotiations. They insisted that he be replaced through a more pliable negotiator. Thus the British too had a hand in the downfall of Dupleix and this was of decisive importance to them in their engagements with the French.

French Power Restricted to Hyderabad

The work of Dupleix was practically undone. The only place where his policy sustained to have some impact was at Hyderabad, where Bussy still maintained his power, despite the opposition of the nobility, which was more favorably disposed towards the English. Bussy even induced the Nizam to grant him the Northern Sarkars consisting of the districts of his, Mustafanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole. These districts with annual revenue of more than 30 lakhs of rupees, were to help meet the expenses of*

maintaining the French army in Hyderabad: For the time being, at least, Bussy's, location in Hyderabad was secure. He had succeeded in maintaining French military attendance in Hyderabad in spite of the best efforts of the nobility to expel the French troops from the Nizam's territory. (They had even succeeded in doing so, briefly in 1756).

There is no denying the information that the prestige of the French in India had been greatly enhanced through the dangerous exploits of Dupleix in the second Carnatic War. It is indeed ironic that the French Government in the interests of securing "the gains of commerce" which could only accrue in peacetime, chose to reverse all, Dupleix's positions and recall him in disgrace. Dupleix had reckoned with the hopeless incompetence of the French generals. The indecision, lack of power and cowardice of Law was in sharp contrast to the brilliant genius and bold dash of Clive.

Third Carnatic War

Clive's masterly abilities in structure the English fortunes in India had begun revealing themselves. The heyday was the 1750s and the arena Bengal. It was not a mere coincidence then that at the outbreak of the Seven Years' War flanked by the English and the French in Europe in 1756 the English captured Chandernagore in India. Siraj-ud-daula the Nawab of Bengal was enraged at this behaviour of the Company especially since he had warned the English that he would not tolerate such behaviour on the part of either of the European powers. When Chandernagore was besieged, the Nawab, gallantly enough, gave shelter to the French captives in his court and refused to drive them absent even when the English offered military help in swap against an impending attack on Bengal through the Mughal heir-apparent. This refusal of the Nawab to hand in excess of the French became one of the reasons for war flanked by him and the British.

In south India, though, neither the French nor the British were in a location to indulge in war immediately. Both were handicapped through lack of possessions. The major part of the Madras military and naval forces of the British had been sent to recover Calcutta, which had been seized through the

Nawab of Bengal. The French Government had plans to strike a severe blow against the English this time and had made preparations. An impressive French army under Count de Lally had set sail for India but it encountered many difficulties on the way. Hence the reinforcements for the French did not reach India until the second quarter of 1758, presently in time to protect the French interests in south India as the English fleet had returned from Bengal, victorious and ready to take on the French. They brought enough reinforcements of men and money.

French Offensives in the Carnatic

The stage was thus set for the third Carnatic War. This time the French were on the offensive. They were successful in taking fort St. David in a swift operation. Meanwhile Bussy from Hyderabad had been attacking the English possessions in the Northern regions. He supervised to take in excess of all of them including the fort at Vizianagaram on 24 June 1758.

The English were quite justifiably alarmed at their reverses. They even feared a possible expulsion from India. Just as to James Mill “had Dupleix been still the guide and conductor of the enemy’s affairs, it is more than probable that their mainly: gloomy apprehensions would have been realized.”

Troubles of the French Army

But the French were unable to sustain their valiant military effort. Troubles of Varying nature began to surface on the horizon. First, there were the financial difficulties of the Company which would henceforth approach in the way of preparations for every fresh military offensive. There were no funds to pay the troops. Already handicapped thus, the French common added to his troops’ woes through indulging in rude and haughty behaviour towards them. He refused to listen to their advice and thus alienated them. Lally’s supposedly wise decision to “strike at the root of British power in the Carnatic through reducing Madras” backfired when he failed to get naval cooperation. The French naval forces were commanded through Admiral d’Ache who had already suffered defeat at the hands of the English in April 1758. He refused to set sail for Madras. Consequently Lally had to postpone his plans for a seizure

of Madras. He thus lost a valuable opportunity—the like of which would never offer itself in the future.

Lally thought he would solve the financial troubles of the French company through forcing the Raja of Tanjore to pay an outstanding amount of 70 lakhs of rupees owing to the Company since the time of Dupleix. Tanjore was besieged on 18 July 1758 and though the Raja was hardly in a location to offer any resistance, the French could not press their advantage. Troubles within the French army once again surfaced—there was a shortage of ammunition; both Lally and his soldiers distrusted each other; the French troops were badly demoralized.

The Naval Debacle

Meanwhile the English fleet had inflicted heavy losses on the French fleet in August 1758. A dispirited d'Ache resolved to abandon the French naval effort and left the Indian seas in the same month. This compelled Lally to withdraw from Tanjore, thereby inflicting a heavy blow to his reputation as well as that of the French.

Though, Lally sustained to challenge the British through conquering minor English settlements on the Coromandel coast, so that, at one stage, the English were left only with Madras, Trichy and Chingleput in the Carnatic. Through December 1758 with the onset of the monsoon English fleet had to leave the harbourless Madras coast, and this gave Lally an opportunity to embark on a fresh siege of Madras. But the troubles of the French army had not been effectively tackled and the siege of Madras sustained for three months. It had to be finally withdrawn when the English fleet returned in February 1759.

From this point onwards the fortunes of the French in India went into a decline that could not be reversed. In the after that twelve months the debacle was completed. Miscalculations and wrong decisions in the Deccan cost them dearly. Lally unwisely prevailed upon Bussy to leave Hyderabad, leaving the French forces there under incompetent commanders. His repeated requests to be allowed to return to Hyderabad fell on deaf ears. Having assessed the

situation, the English sent an army from Bengal to the Northern Sarkars. They occupied Rajamundry and Masulipatam and in 1759 concluded a favorable treaty with Nizam Salabat Jang. French power in the Deccan had thus been irretrievably lost. What was worse from the French point of view, was that, they were replaced through the English at the court of Hyderabad.

Battle of Wandiwash

The decisive battle of the third Carnatic War was fought at Wandiwash on 22 January 1760. Common Eyre Coote's army totally routed the French army under Lally. In the after that three months all the minor French possessions in the Carnatic had been effectively reduced through Coote's efforts. The French were left with no possessions in the Carnatic except Jinje and Pondicherry. Finally, in May 1760, the English laid siege to Pondicherry.

At this juncture Lally tried to retrieve the situation with a last-ditch effort at alliance with Nawab Haidar Ali of Mysore. The latter even sent a contingent to the aid of the French. But the French and Haidar Ali's contingent were unable to decide on a concerted plan of action and Haidar's contingent ultimately returned to Mysore without fighting a single battle.

After more than six months of encirclement, the French capital of Pondicherry unconditionally surrendered on 16 January, 1761. The municipality was totally destroyed through the victors and its fortifications reduced to mere rubble. A modern explanation states that "in a few months not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing municipality". Shortly thereafter Jinje and Mahe, the two French settlements on the Malabar coast also surrendered to the English leaving the French without even a toehold in India. More distressing was the fate of the French common Count de Lally. After being detained as an English prisoner of war for two years, he was allowed to return to France at the end of the Seven Years War, But distant from getting kindly treatment, he was imprisoned in the Bastille for more than two and afterwards executed.

The Peace of Paris did restore the French factories in India to the French company but the French East India Company formally ended its career

in 1769. Thereafter the French Crown maintained the French factories, in India for the benefit of private traders. It was a feeble effort and the French, like their Portuguese and Dutch counterparts in India, confined themselves to "country trade". Their dependence on the English was revealed through the information that both in Europe and in India their business transactions were in collaboration either with the English Company directly or with its officials or private English traders residing in India.

Causes of French Failure

To what do we ascribe the final French failure in India? Was it a mistake on the part of the French Government to recall Dupleix? Indeed, the French reverses began to happen after Dupleix's humiliating exit from India. Or was the French inferiority at sea the main cause? The information that the French had no permanent naval attendance in India was a disabling factor vis-à-vis the British, who had a formidable naval attendance; what was more problematic was that on the occasions when the French navy from Mauritius did approach to the assistance of their Indian counterparts, it created fresh troubles for the French Company in India.

Though, these were secondary factors. What really turned the tide in Britain's favour was its recent access to the rich possessions of Bengal. From this secure base they could send a constant supply of men and money to Madras and distract the French through launching diversionary attacks against the French as they did in the Northern Sarkars;

The Aftermath

In the aftermath of the third Carnatic War the English reigned supreme in India. All their European rivals had been ecumenical. But the task of subjugating Indian rulers still remained. In south India, Mysore was a major force to reckon with and so were the Marathas. Battles with these two states were to become a major preoccupation with the East India Company in the third and last quarters of the eighteenth century. Through the second decade of the nineteenth century, though they had secured their

location in southern India rather firmly. They were now concerned with fortifying the frontiers of India, especially the land-boundary to the North-West in the face of Russian threat to British associations in the East.

ANGLO-MARATHA AND MYSORE WARS

Struggle for Supremacy: Indian States and the British

In eighteenth century India we discover the development of an intricate power struggle flanked by various groups of powers. It was not only a struggle flanked by the colonial power and the Indian states but also there was struggle in the middle of the Indian powers themselves to set up political supremacy. Here we focus on the issues that involved these dissimilar powers into a fierce struggle.

The mainly general Cause for disagreement in the middle of the Indian powers was the urge for territorial expansion. The traditional approach to explain this expansionist policy in terms of personal desire of the rulers or their insatiable thirst for territory or their religious zeal appears an oversimplification of the whole historical context. Territorial acquisition was mainly a response to the need for further possessions. When internally a limit had already been reached to extract fresh revenue, the main way of tapping new possessions was the acquisition of fresh territories. A prominent instance: the Marathas relied mostly on the Chauth and the Sardeshmukhi, composed from their spheres of power. This need for territorial expansion for the enlargement of their possessions brought the dissimilar neighbouring states into disagreement with each other.

Besides this, in the case of Mysore we discover that the peculiar situation of Mysore posed a great threat to the Marathas, the Nawab of Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The rise of Mysore was viewed with great alarm through the neighbouring states. Each of these states was in the procedure of consolidation and expansion of its territorial boundary. In this procedure the emergence of Mysore naturally caused uneasiness to its

neighbours. The Marathas and the Nizam shaped an alliance against Mysore and also cooperated with the British to curb the power of Mysore. But the Nizam was equally apprehensive of the Maratha expansion in the South, and therefore cooperated with the British against the Marathas. Each one was trying to set up its supremacy in excess of the other. Thus a major characteristic of the modern political growths was that the Indian states were occupied in fighting with each other to pursue their aggressive expansionist policy. This mutual dissension and enmity in the middle of the 'country powers' ultimately helped the British to intervene effectively in their internal polity.

The reasons for British intervention in Mysore and the Maratha states were primarily commercial. Haidar and Tipu's manage in excess of the rich trade of the Malabar coast was seen as a threat to the British trade in pepper and cardamom. Mysore was also a threat to the British manage in excess of Madras, In case of Western India the sudden growth in Company's cotton trade after 1784 to China from Gujarat through Bombay motivated the British authorities to play a more interventionist role in the region. The British authorities wanted to remove the intervention of the Marathas from the way of their lucrative trade. Moreover, the development in infantry and gunnery in both these states caused great uneasiness for the Company's army. Some other development also accounted for a more interventionist role through the British authorities in these two states. Particularly the French alliance with the Mysore rulers was seen as a threat to the British dominance in this region. The British home government Was in need of finance for the rising expenditure for Napoleonic wars in Europe and the attitude of the Company merchants, in favour of direct political intervention to protect their commercial interest, favored a more aggressive expansionist polity in this region. The argument put forward through the British colonialists in support of their military actions in India, was that "...mainly modern Indian rulers were tyrannical usurpers of previous dynasties and rights, and could therefore fee dispensed with at will so that (this ancient, and highly cultivated people) could be restored to the full enjoyment of their religious and civil rights." For instance, in ease of Mysore it was argued that the vital objective of British policy was to restore the Hindu

Wodeyar home which was overthrown through Haidar Ali, The development of this type of argument was born out not only of obvious politico-economic factors but also was rooted in the shared perception of a group of western thinkers and officers who wanted to legitimize their political action.

The expansionist policy of dissimilar Indian states and their drive for political supremacy led to disagreement and confusion in Indian polity. This provided a good ground for the British intervention in the Indian political arena in order to extend their region of manage and to maximize their profit.

Mysore Wars

Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan fought four wars against the British before the final surrender of Mysore. The vital cause of these wars remained the same, viz., the substance of the British to undermine the self-governing power of the Mysore rulers. The Marathas, the Nawab of Carnatic and the Nizam of Hyderabad from time to time aligned with the British to subdue the Mysore ruler. The Nizam and the Marathas entered into an alliance with the British against the Nizam and the Maratha entered into an alliance with the British against Haider Ali and the Marathas attacked Mysore in 1766. But Haidar Ali skilfully

Thus re-launched an attack against the British and reached upto the gates of Madras, He forced the Madras council to sign peace on his terms in 1769. This was a suspicious alliance and both the powers agreed to help the other in case of an attack through a party.

The British had no intention to stick to this alliance. The British capture of Mahe, a French resolution with in Haidar's jurisdiction provided the immediate pretext for the second Mysore war. The British neutralized Haidar through winning in excess of the Marathas and the Nizam and defeated Haidar Ali at Porto Nolo in 178ft. The Mysore troops sustained occasional skirmishes but Haidar died of cancer in 1782 throughout the course of the second Anglo-Mysore War,

Tipu, son and successor of Haidar, sustained the war against the British. Though, lack of possessions, uncertainty of the Maratha attitude, the attendance of French fleet on the Coromandel coast and some other thoughts changed the attitude of the Madras government and they desired peace. Tipu was also not in favour of continuation of war with the British at this stage because immediately after accession he needed time first to strengthen his own administration. Thus, the war of Mangalore in 1784.

This was not a permanent solution to the question of political supremacy in the Deccan. It was a temporary respite before a final showdown. Renewal of war was inevitable. Lord Cornwallis who became the Governor-General of India in 1786, through diplomatic maneuvers brought the Marathas and the Nizam to the British face. Tipu's attack on Travancore, an ally of the British made the war with the British again inevitable. The war started in 1790 and it sustained for two years. Tipu suffered serious set back in this third Mysore war and showed initiative for peace. The treaty of Seringapatam was signed in and Tipu had to surrender half of his territory to the British and their allies. Tipu was not ready to surrender to the British. But the third Mysore war depended his strength and undermined his power in the Deccan.

The arrival of Lord Wellesley as Governor-General of India in 1798 gave fresh vigor to the British expansionist policy. Wellesley desired to create Mysore an ally of his grand 'subsidiary alliance' system. But Tipu had no intention of surrendering his self-governing power to the British imperial system. The Governor-General sent the British forces against Mysore ruler who was defeated in a brief but fierce war in 1799. Tipu died in the course of war in the same year, Seringapatam was plundered and half dominions were divided flanked by the British and their ally, the Nizam. The rule of Tipu's dynasty came to an end and the Wodeyars from whom Haider Ali had seized

power were restored to the Mysore kingdom. Mysore virtually became a dependency of the English.

Maratha Wars

First Anglo Maratha War

The First Anglo Maratha War was fought flanked by the Maratha Empire and British East India Company. The war started with the Treaty of Surat and Treaty of Salbai ended it.

The First Anglo Maratha War had a historical background. Madhavrao Peshwa, the Maratha ruler died in the year 1772 and his brother Narayanrao Peshwa ascended the throne and became Maratha king. His uncle Raghunathrao had him assassinated in a palace conspiracy and he himself became the after that Peshwa, although he was not a legal heir. After the death of Narayanrao, his widow Gangabai gave birth to a son, who was named as `Sawai` Madhavrao(Sawai means one and a quarter) and was the legal successor of the Peshwas. Twelve Maratha chiefs under the leadership of Nana Phadnis were united and ruled in the name of the newborn infant as his Regents. Though, Raghunathrao, who was absolutely unwilling to provide up his power and location, sought the help of British at Bombay and signed the Treaty of Surat on March 6, 1775 in this regard.

The First Anglo Maratha War was initiated with this treaty of Surat, just as to which he gave up the territories Salsette and Bassein and promised them parts of revenues from Surat and Bharuch districts. In return, the British aided Raghunathrao with twenty-five hundred soldiers. The British Calcutta Council reprobated the Treaty of Surat and sent Colonel Upton to Pune in order to dismiss it. The colonel`s thought was to create a new treaty with the regency that abdicated Raghunath and offered him pension. Thus Treaty of Purandhar signed on March 1,1776 canceled that of Surat. Raghunath was mentioned and his interest was not fulfilled but Salsette and Bharuch revenues

were still earned through the British. The Bombay Government rejected this treaty and gave shelter to Raghunath. In 1777, Nana Phadnis on behalf of the infant king violated his treaty with Calcutta Council as he granted the French a port on the west coast. The British sent an army towards Pune. The confusion increased when London authorities supported the Bombay division of East India Company and Raghunathrao was again supported in 1778-79.

The First Anglo Maratha War was initiated with the Battle of Wadgaon. Maratha and the British army encountered at the outskirts of Pune. The Maratha force consisted of eighty thousand soldiers while British force involved Thirty five thousand soldiers, superior ammunition and canons. Tukajirao Holkar was the chief of Maratha army and Mahadji Sindhe was the common. Mahadji Sindhe entrapped the British army close to Talegaon valleys and then Maratha cavalry harassed the enemy from all sides. They also attacked the British supply base at Khopoli. The Marathas used a `scorched earth policy` through burning farmland and poisoning wells. The British started to withdraw at Talegaon and Maratha attack forced them to retreat to the village of Wadgaon. Here, the Marathas surrounded the British force from all sides and cut off their food and water supply. The British finally surrendered on middle of January 1779 and signed the treaty of Wadegaon, which compelled the Bombay Government to release all the territories acquired through British since 1775.

Though, the First Anglo Maratha war did not end up here. Warren Hastings, the British Governor- Common in Bengal, rejected the Treaty of Wadegaon and sent a big army under the leadership of Colonel Goddard. Goddard captured Ahmedabad in February 1779 and Bassein in December 1780. Another army from Bengal led through Captain Popham that captured Gwalior in august of 1780. Hastings sent another force after Mahadji Shinde. In February 1781, the British army under Common Camac was able defeat Shinde finally at Sipri.

The First Anglo Maratha War ended with the Treaty of Salbai signed flanked by the Peshwa and the British on 17th May 1782. This treaty recognized young Sawai Madavrao as Peshwa and Raghunathrao as the pensioner. The treaty was sanctioned through Hastings in June 1782 and through Phadnis in February, 1783. Just as to the treaty Shinde got back his territories west of the Yamuna. The treaty also guaranteed peace flanked by the two oppositions for twenty years and thus ended the First Anglo Maratha War.

Second Anglo-Maratha War, 1803-1805

The vaulting ambition of Raghunathrao, Peshwa Baji Rao II's father and the latter's own incompetence since his ascension to the throne, had extensive caused much conspiracy within the Maratha confederacy. Peshwa Baji Rao II no longer commanded the reverence his precursors had. In October 1802, Baji Rao II was defeated through the Holkar ruler of Indore in the Battle of Poona (Pune). He fled to British safety. Then, in December of the same year, Baji Rao II concluded the Treaty of Bassein with the British East India Company. The treaty relinquished territory for the upholding of an auxiliary force and also agreed to treat in a powerless mode. The British also had to hold back the French power into India.

This act on the part of the Peshwa, their titular overlord, horrified and sickened the Maratha chieftains. In scrupulous, the Sindhia rulers of Gwalior and the Bhonsle rulers of Nagpur and Berar tremendously challenged the agreement. The Holkar rulers of Indore joined the disagreement belatedly and coerced the British to create peace. And thus began the saga of the Second Maratha War.

In February 1803, Major-General Arthur Wellesley gathered and organised his forces in Seringapatam (present day Srirangapatnam, Karnataka), as the Maratha threat of disagreement grew superior.

On 13th May, Wellesley's forces escorted Baji Rao II to Poona (present day Pune, Maharashtra). The troops of Holkar withdrew on Wellesley's advance and thus avoided a battle with the British.

In August 1803, as Wellesley approached the renewal of war with the Marathas, he the following goals:

- Destruction of the French attendance on the banks of the Jumna (present day Yamuna River)
- Extend the Company's boundary to the row of the Jumna (present day Yamuna River) and to contain possession of Delhi and Agra
- Take manage of the person of the Mughal Emperor
- Construct a system of alliances with the states of Rajputana
- Annex Bundelkhand

From the era starting from August 1803 and ending in February 1804, Sir Wellesley waged the Deccan Campaign to win in excess of the Se3cond Maratha War. On 12th August 1803, Major-General Arthur Wellesley captured Ahmednagar, taking a major supply depot from the Marathas and securing British rows of communication with Poona (Pune). In consequence, this forced the Marathas to strike at Hyderabad.

On 23rd September, with a force of 4500, the British swept a total victory in Assaye in excess of the 10,500 Maratha forces, led through Sindia. The British suffered 1566 killed and wounded and the Marathas almost 6000. Wellesley encountered some criticism for dividing his forces which was viewed as a contributing factor to his high number of casualties. On 15th October 1803, Colonel Stevenson took possession of Burhanpur without opposition.

Victory for the English in the Second Maratha war was heightened even more, when on 21st October, the British accepted the surrender of the fortress at Asirgarh. This implied that Sindia had lost his last possession in the Deccan. On 29th November, Wellesley defeated Bhonsle's army of almost

40,000 at Argaum, while suffering only 360 British casualties. Maratha casualties numbered almost 5000.

On 15th December, the forces of Wellesley and Stevenson assaulted and captured Bhonsle's fortress, suffering only 126 casualties to perhaps 4000 for the Marathas. Thus the last fortified location beside the infiltration route linking the Deccan to Hindustan, or north India had fallen to the British. On 17th December, the British concluded the Treaty of Deogaon with the Raja of Berar. He relinquished to the British the province of Cuttack including Balasore and all territory west of the river Warda.

On 30th December, Sindia agreed to the Treaty of Surji Arjangaon, through which he ceded to the British all land lying flanked by the Jumna (Yamuna River) and the Ganga River and all forts and territories north of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gohud. In the west, the British seized Broach and Ahmednagar and all territory south of the Ajanta Hills. This treaty sheltered the results of campaigns of both Wellesley and Lord Lake (1744-1808).

In February 1804, Sir John Malcolm (1764-1833) negotiated a subsidiary alliance with Sindia, placing a defense force of 6000 infantry with associated cavalry and artillery on the Maratha boundary.

The second stage of the Second Maratha War constituted of the Northern Campaign, stretching from August 1803 to February 1805. As the Anglo-Maratha War loomed, the British made great effort to turn the British and French officers in the employment of Sindia. The defecting officers were handsomely paid under the terms of Lake's Proclamation of August 29. In consequence, the Marathas went to war, stripped of much of their senior command structure.

On 29th August, the municipality of Broach in Gujarat fell to the British.

On 4th September 1803, Lord Lake captured the fort at Aligarh which had served the French as a major depot. Maratha casualties numbered 2000, with 281 pieces of artillery captured through the British. On 11th September, Lake defeated Louis Bourquin in the Battle of Delhi and took tacit manage of Shah Alam II, the aged Mughal Emperor. The British lost 478 killed or missing and the Marathas had an estimated 4500 killed.

The port of Cuttack in Orissa fell to the British 18 September, as did the municipality of Balasore.

On 18th October, after a short siege, the British took manage of Agra, capturing flanked by 5000 and 6000 Marathas and a vast storehouse of goods and treasure. The capture of the fort gave to the British the strategic controlling point of north India.

On 1st November in Laswari, Lord Lake defeated a force of seventeen battalions led through the French Commander, Colonel Dudrenec. British casualties numbered slightly in excess of 800, in what was evaluated later as a hard secure run victory. The Marathas lost almost 7000 killed and 71 pieces of artillery.

Although the Nizam of Hyderabad as an ally usually failed to deliver any assistance in 1804, the British offered to the Nizam some of the territory of the Raja of Berar. To Peshwa Baji Rao II, the British assigned the fort and district of Ahmednagar. In other settlements, the British signed treaties of alliance with the Rajas of Jodhpur, Jaipur, Macheri, Bundi, and the Jat ruler of Bharatpur.

The Holkar Campaign was waged through the British in the ensuing Second Maratha War, within the years of 1804-05

On 16th April 1804, Wellesley ordered Lord Lake to commence hostilities against Holkar (1776-1811). Through April 23, Lake had forced Holkar to retreat to Kota and then further south on the approach of addition

British forces. In June, due to the monsoon rains, Lake took his main force into encampment at Cawnpore (presently Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh).

On 8th July, Colonel William Monson (1760-1807) infiltrated beyond the Mokundra Pass deep into Holkar's territory without appropriate support. At this point, Monson determined that his retreat was necessary which sustained until his arrival at Agra on August 31, essentially as an exhausted force. Holkar held Delhi from 8-28 October in siege, until he was fought off and Delhi was relieved through Lake's forces. Holkar subsequently decamped to raid the Doab.

Lord Lake finally was successful to defeat Holkar in Farruckabad on 17th November, after a brilliant forced march from the Doab. On 24th December, the fortress at Dig fell to the British.

Within the era of 9th January to 21st February 1805, Lord Lake assaulted the fortress at Bharatpur unsuccessfully, suffering a high loss of men. Unaccountably, he had failed to create a proper breach of the walls prior to the assault. British losses numbered 100 officers and 3100 men.

On 23rd November 1805, the Company signed a peace treaty with Sindia. Its terms incorporated: expiration of the suspicious alliance, restoration of Gwalior and Gohud to the Marathas, the avoidance of British treaties with the Rajput chieftain and the return of specific portions of land. The Company passed a measure supporting the establishment of an East India College as a substitute for Fort William College at Calcutta. Thus, the Second Maratha War was brought to a secure, with efforts being put through the East India Company.

In July 1805, Lord Wellesley resigned the post of Governor-General in the face of severe criticism. He perceived the likelihood of being recalled. He left Calcutta for England on August 5, 1805.

On 30th July 1805, Lord Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805) received reappointment to the duties of Governor-General of India. Barely two months later he died while on tour at Ghazipur on October 5. Sir George Barlow (1762-1846) served as Acting Governor-General until 1807.

Third Anglo-Maratha War, 1816-1817

The Third Maratha War was the concluding and crucial disagreement flanked by the British East India Company and the Maratha Empire in India, which left the Company in total manage of mainly of the country.

From the years of 1812 to 1816, the Company suffered a rising number of raids through the Pindaris, or predatory robbers loosely associated with the Maratha armies. In May 1816, the Government of India recognized a subsidiary alliance with Nagpur to arrest the movement of Pindaris towards the south-east. The Company also forced Sindia into the treaty of Gwalior, binding him to assist in events against the Pindaris. In June 1817, the British thrust a new treaty upon Peshwa Baji Rao II. Its terms required the Peshwa to renounce claims to leadership of the Maratha Confederacy, to pass all of his future correspondence through the British Resident, to cede to the Company the fort at Ahmednagar, and to accept responsibility for the murder of Gangadhar Shastri.

In the autumn of that year, two Company armies gathered, one in the north under Warren Hastings and another in the south led through Sir Thomas Hislop (1764-1843). The plan embraced the surrounding of an estimated 30,000 Pindaris with a total British force of 120,000. On 5th November, Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, attacked and burned the British Residency of Elphinstone at Poona (present day Pune, Maharashtra). Elphinstone fled to a nearby British force of 3000 men. In the subsequent engagement fought at Kirkee that afternoon, the Marathas were defeated and the Peshwa was put to flight.

On 9th November, the British entered into an agreement with Amir Khan, a Pindaris leader who possessed much of Holkar's territories. In consequence, he disbanded his troops, turned in excess of to the British his artillery and thereafter became the Nawab of Tonk. Throughout the days of 26th and 27th November, Appa Sahib (d.1840), Raja of Berar, attacked the Residency at Nagpur, which Richard Jenkins (1785-1853), British Resident, successfully fought off. With the arrival of a relieving force led through Brigadier-General John Doveton (1783-1857), Appa Sahib surrendered to Jenkins after the battle of Satibaldi.

On 21st December, British forces led through Malcolm and Hislop defeated Holkar's army at Mahidpur in the only major engagement of the war. On 1st January 1818, at Koregaon, the Peshwa's army of 28,000 men met unexpectedly with a Company force led through Captain Francis Staunton (c. 1779-1825). The Maratha attacks were beaten off and then withdrawn altogether from fear of approaching British reinforcements. In February, Munro commissioned as a brigadier-general, led a small force of irregular troops through southern Maratha Country capturing nine forts and securing the region for British Interests. On 2nd June, Peshwa Baji Rao II surrendered to Malcolm in Berar and was subsequently sent into exile in Benaras.

Throughout the years of 1818-20, with the ostensible blessing of Warren Hastings, the firm of Palmer and Company provided the Nizam of Hyderabad a loan of sixty lakhs. What transpired was a transfer of an already existing debt of fifty-two lakhs at twenty-five percent interest to a debt of sixty lakhs at eighteen percent interest. Simultaneously, the Nizam was approached for a 200,000 pounds contribution towards the expenses of a public works project. In August 1818, Hastings removed the strict censorship events placed on Anglo-Indian newspapers and journals for a milder set of policies.

The Peshwa was pensioned off and mainly of his territory was annexed to the Bombay Presidency. The Maharaja of Satara was re-recognized as ruler of a princely state until its annexation to Bombay state in 1848. The northern

portion of the Nagpur Bhonsle territories, together with the Peshwa's territories in Bundelkhand, were annexed to British India as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories. The Maratha kingdoms of Indore, Gwalior, Nagpur and Jhansi became princely states. They were coerced to acknowledge British manage.

The Third Anglo-Maratha War left the British in manage of practically all of present-day India south of the Sutlej River.

Causes for the defeat of the Marathas in Anglo-Maratha Wars

In the 18th century India, the Marathas proved themselves as one of the violent powers that were even superior to the Muslim powers that ruled India before the arrival of the British in India. But the historians have opined that throughout time the native powers were inferior to the English in material possessions, military organization, diplomacy and leadership. Though the crushing defeat of the Marathas in the Anglo Maratha wars was not only responsible for the weak military organization and incompetent diplomacy and leadership. The socio-political condition of the modern era was equally responsible for the defeat and the downfall of the Maratha confederacy.

The character of the Maratha confederacy was despotic. Hence the absolute sovereign became the sole power of the Maratha state. At that very time due to the absence of a settled constitution the administrative machinery became one of oppression under the weak rulers. Peshwa Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia, who controlled the supreme government at Poona, could not retain the integrity of their Empire. Moreover the Peshwa Baji Rao II wanted to retain his location through his foul play. Baji Rao II signed the treaty of Bassein with the company and entered in the subsidiary Alliance with the company. In this way he projected all the Maratha chiefs to the enemy camp. Thus he bartered absent the self-governing sovereignty of the Maratha confederacy. Daulat Rao Sindhia was an unworthy successor of Mahadaji Sindhia. He also proved incompetent in administration. Perhaps Holkar was one of the ablest rulers. The ultimate result was that under these weak rulers

the Maratha confederacy became an instrument of oppression and misrule. The total absence of the efficient personalities was a significant cause for the breakdown of the Maratha supremacy.

The economic policy of the Maratha state was not conducive to set up a stable political set up. Throughout the extensive wars against Aurungzeb, the Maratha people had been uprooted. The peasants have given up farming and joined the profession of a soldier. Throughout the early Peshwas the wars of the state was financed through the plunder of the territories conquered. The collection of Chauth and Sardeshmukhi from dependent territories also provided the financial support for the wars. Thus the Maratha Empire subsisted not on the possessions of Maharashtra but on the taxes levied on the newly acquired state. Whenever the Maratha kingdom became expanded, this source of income was dehydrated up. Due to the expansionist policy of the Marathas, the provinces they acquired were totally crushed. The economy of those provinces was broken down. Hence the sources of income from these territories were also dehydrated up. Moreover it the Maratha state had to co-operate with the princes from whom the tribute was exacted. The later Maratha rulers made the situation worse through the civil wars. The civil wars though ruined the economy of Maharashtra. Finally in the Anglo- Maratha war, the Marathas did not have the enough finance to put arms against the English. In 1804 there was a terrible famine and also the Maratha chiefs became economically bankrupt. Thus the Maratha leadership failed to evolve a strong economic policy with the changing needs of the time. Hence the inefficient economic machinery was also a significant cause of the failure of Maratha power before the Company.

When the Maratha Empire was in its zenith, even then the Maratha were a loose confederation under the leadership of the Chatrapati and later the Peshwas. Initially the Peshwas seized the powers of the Chatrapati. Later in the same way the warlords usurped the power of the Peshwa. Powerful chiefs like the Gaekwar, Sindhia, Bhonsle, and Holkar carved out the semi-self-governing kingdom for them. When the Poona government weakened after the

disaster of Panipat, the feudal units were broken down. Those disintegrated feudal units were occupied in the internal conflicts. There was irreconcilable hostility flanked by Sindhia and Holkar, while the Bhonsle Raja of Nagpur was claimed for the kingship of the Maratha Empire. Mutual jealousies flanked by the Maratha chiefs prevented them to offer a united resistance to the East India Company. To meet their own selfish needs, the Maratha chiefs support the intervention of the English in the Maratha administration. Thus the lack of corporate spirit of the Maratha chiefs was considerably a significant cause for the downfall of the Marathas.

The military strength of the Marathas was very lacking in comparison to the English. Though not lacking in the personal prowess and valor the Maratha confederacy lacked the effective organization of forces, in war weapons, in disciplined action and efficient leadership. The tendencies of divided command, improper organization and treachery of the Maratha chiefs played the foremost part for the Maratha failure in the Anglo-Maratha wars. Moreover the mercenary soldiers of the Marathas had no higher motive than the mere personal interest. To them the loss of a battle meant at worst temporary loss of employment to them. Moreover the espionage system of the Marathas was very weak than the English. Thus the military intelligence of the Marathas was hampered. In this way the weak military set up also measured as one of the important causes of the defeat of the Maratha power in the Anglo-Maratha wars.

The English were much more superior than the Marathas in the tactical policies and diplomatic administration. The English before starting the actual operation played the fair game of winning allies` and isolating the enemies. The lack of unity and co-operation in the middle of the Maratha chiefs considerably simplified the task of the British. In the second Maratha war the English won in excess of the Gaekwar and the Southern Maratha Jaigirdars to their face. Then the English won in excess of the Peshwa through their face through the treaty of Bassein. Through these diplomatic gains the Company got the supply of bases at Poona. Thus the company became able to overthrow

the supremacy of Sindhia from his territories at Ahmednagar and Bhrauch. Likewise the alliance with the Southern Jaigirdars provided them the easy communication with the British army and the supply base at Seringapatnam. Therefore the diplomatic policy of the British was somewhat responsible for the defeat of the Marathas in the Anglo Maratha war.

Separately from these reasons the socio-economic and the political circumstances of the country was very anarchic, which led the British to meddle in the administration of the Maratha confederacy. Consequently, the administrative power of the Maratha Empire was used as an instrument through the English to put arms against the Marathas. Moreover the weak administration, military strength and the lack of efficient leadership crushed the violent Maratha confederacy totally.

BRITISH EXPANSION: NORTH INDIA

Decline of the Mughal Empire and the Rise of the Successor States in North India

As you have already read in the earlier Units, the procedure of Mughal decline started in the beginning of the 18th century and the invasion of Nadir Shah in 1739 sealed the fate of Mughal rule.

Taking advantage of this weakness of the central power a big number of self-governing and semi-self-governing states arose all in excess of India—some as a result of the assertion of autonomy through governors of Mughal provinces and others as the product of rebellion against Mughal power. In North India, Awadh, Rohillas, Jats and Sikhs were the prominent examples. These powers competed and sometimes collaborated with each other and with the British in order to consolidate and expand their dominions.

Even though the actual power and power of the Mughal home in excess of its subordinate ruling groups declined, Mughal sovereignty was still universally recognized. All powers seeking to set up their rule in the 18th century India needed to acquire imperial titles and rights. Reasons for this were more material than simply a belief in the divine major tradition for the incumbent local ruler trying to be king to imitate. Secondly, the Mughal rule had trained executive and financial official which the local rulers could not do. Thirdly, and this was more significant in the states like Awadh, the local rule was initially recognized in the name of the Mughals and any formal repudiation of Mughal power would have incited the taluqdars to assert their independence.

Weakening of Awadh's Defences: 1775-1801

After the death of Shuja-ud-Daula in 1775, his son Asif-ud-Daula tried to gain manage of Awadh. Since the Mughal practice denied any dynastic stability at the provincial stage, Asaf-ud-Daula had to vie with other aspirants for the same location. In this struggle he struck a compromise with the East India Company which, while securing the Nawabi for him, proved to be very harmful for the state.

In the new treaty, Asaf-ud-Daula, in order to save his shaky location, made a number of concessions to the Company. He added to it the Benaras region, agreed to pay an augment of 50,000 rupees, almost a quarter more than the previous sum, each month as subsidy for the Company's brigade in Awadh. He also agreed to the dismissal and expulsion of all Europeans in his Service or livelihood in Awadh, unless allowed through the Company. He had to lay his connection with the Company above his ties to the Mughal Emperor. Thus from the beginning of his reign, Asaf-ud- Daula had to admit and adjust himself to de facto dependence on the East India Company.

Thus, the Company took advantage of the dissension in the ruling clan to further consolidate its location in Awadh. Soon, its demands rose to such heights that the Awadh ruler could not satisfy them. Now the Company demanded tankhwahs, or assignments of revenues from specified lands, so that

the officials who composed the land revenues for those territories would transfer them directly to the Company, thus bypassing the Awadh regime. This drew the Company deeply into the Awadh administration. The Company specified the districts it wished to be assigned, involved itself in the appointment of revenue mediators in those districts, tried to oversee their behaviors and explanation books, and regularly enforced their demands through the use of the Company's troops.

Company's interference in the affairs of state became even more marked after Asaf's death in 1797. Wazir Ali, Asaf-ud-Daula's son and proclaimed heir, did not suit the Company because of his anti-Company views. He was deposed in January 1798 through the Company and a group of nobles in the Awadh court. Saadat Ali Khan, the installed Nawab, thus became the second Nawab after Asaf-ud-Daula to assume power with the assistance of the Company. But his location was even more dependent. He initially agreed to cede vast territories to the Company. But later on the Company preferred cash to land. The annual subsidy to the Company's troops stationed in Awadh was increased through 20 lakh rupees bringing the annual payments to a minimum of 7,600,000 rupees. Further, the new Nawab was obliged to pay 1,200,000 rupees to the Company for the costs of its exertions in putting him in his

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and any foreign power of state, shall be accepted on with the knowledge and concurrence of the Company." Thus, the new Awadh ruler was reduced financially and in accessible diplomatically.

The Treaty of 1801

Not satisfied with this, the new Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, forced the Nawab to sign a new treaty in 1801, just as to which he had to cede the Doab, Gorkhpur and Rohilkhand to the Company.

Besides territorially isolating him, the new treaty had three significant provisions which worked towards the final elimination of the Awadh regime:

- The Awadh army was drastically reduced to less than one-tenth of its previous size.

- The Company took responsibility for defending the Awadh territories “against all foreign and domestic enemies.”
- The Awadh ruler was required to “set up in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be accepted, into effect through his own officers, as shall be conducive to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and His Excellency will always advise with and act in conformity to the council of the officers of the said Honourable Company.”

Decline and Fall of the Awadh Dynasty: 1801-1856

Besides slowly annexing territories from the Awadh rulers the Company was also successfully structure an alternative source of power inside Awadh. Through the right of extending extraterritorial protection, the successive Residents tried to build a substantial constituency for the Company which extended from bottom to the top. The sepoys from Awadh, enlisted in or retired from the Company’s armies, represented the lowest rung of it. The Taluqdars who were displaced through the action of the Nawabs and who successfully appealed to the Company for the restoration of their lands shaped the middle of the ladder. The friends and relatives of the deposed or unsuccessful were the highest in order to which Company’s protection extended. British legitimacy had become so convincingly recognized through the turn of the 19th century that as high a person as Bahu Begum mother of Asaf-ud-Daula, appealed to it and made a will in Company’s name to the effect that all her property would go to the Company after her death, minus selected endowments for a tomb, dependents and the obligatory gift to the holy Shrine at Karbala. When the Nawab, Saadat Ali, objected to this indiscriminate use of protection, the Resident declared that your Excellency’s denial of my title to intercede...is, in my judgment, totally inadmissible.”

Thus, through creating an alternative and superior political location for itself in Awadh, the Company undermined the legitimacy of the Awadh rulers.

It further sought to denigrate the Mughal status through urging the empire's constituent parts, the various local rulers, to assert their juridical as well as actual independence from him. Although Awadh had now become virtually dependent on the Company, the latter still needed a illustrate of independence on the part of its rulers for its own superior designs. The Company official encouraged Ghazi-ud-Din Haider to declare his independence and repudiate the sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor in 1819. Through declaring formal independence the Nawab set an instance. He unwittingly cleared the coast for the British who were in a location to emerge as an alternative all-India source of power replacing the Mughals. Now all that remained for the Company was to down-grade and humiliate the Nawab-emperor to prove its superiority. The imperial pretensions of the Awadh rulers were only in name, but they were forced to retract even in these matters. While Ghazi-ud-Din Haider had used the title, Padshah-i-Ghazi (Emperor of the Warriors for Faith) and Shah-i-Zaman (Lord of the Age), his son and successor Nasir-ud-Din Haider was forced through the Company to change these to the more circumscribed Padshah-i-Awadh (Emperor of Awadh) and Shah-i-Jahan (Lord of the World). The latter title was also objected to and the ruler was allowed to use it only in domestic correspondences. This way the Company kept on encroaching on the material and moral domains of the Awadh rulers' so much so that the annexation of 1856 became a logical conclusion.

BRITISH EXPANSION BEYOND INDIAN FRONTIERS

East India Company's Trade

Trade with India

The prosperity that the officers of the company enjoyed allowed them to return to Britain and set up sprawling estates and businesses, and to obtain political power. The Company urbanized a lobby in the English parliament. Under pressure from ambitious tradesmen and former associates of the

Company (pejoratively termed Interlopers through the Company), who wanted to set up private trading firms in India, a deregulating act was passed in 1694.

This allowed any English firm to trade with India, unless specifically prohibited through act of parliament, thereby annulling the charter that had been in force for approximately 100 years. Through an act that was passed in 1698, a new "parallel" East India Company (officially titled the English Company Trading to the East Indies) was floated under a state-backed indemnity of £2 million. The powerful stockholders of the old company quickly subscribed a sum of £315,000 in the new concern, and dominated the new body. The two companies wrestled with each other for some time, both in England and in India, for a dominant share of the trade.

It quickly became apparent that, in practice, the original Company faced scarcely any measurable competition. The companies merged in 1708, through a tripartite indenture involving both companies and the state. Under this arrangement, the merged company lent to the Treasury a sum of £3,200,000, in return for exclusive privileges for the after that three years, after which the situation was to be reviewed. The amalgamated company became the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.

In the following decades there was a constant see-saw battle flanked by the Company lobby and the Parliament. The Company sought a permanent establishment, while the Parliament would not willingly allow it greater autonomy and so relinquish the opportunity to use the Company's profits. In 1712, another act renewed the status of the Company, though the debts were repaid. Through 1720, 15% of British imports were from India, approximately all passing through the Company, which reasserted the power of the Company lobby. The license was prolonged until 1766 through yet another act in 1730.

At this time, Britain and France became bitter rivals. Frequent skirmishes flanked by them took lay for manage of colonial possessions. In 1742, fearing the monetary consequences of a war, the British government agreed to extend the deadline for the licensed exclusive trade through the Company in India until 1783, in return for a further loan of £1 million. Flanked by 1756 and 1763, the Seven Years' War diverted the state's attention

towards consolidation and defense of its territorial possessions in Europe and its colonies in North America.

The war took lay on Indian soil, flanked by the Company troops and the French forces. In 1757, the Law Officers of the Crown delivered the Pratt-Yorke opinion distinguishing overseas territories acquired through right of conquest from those acquired through private treaty. The opinion asserted that, while the Crown of Great Britain enjoyed sovereignty in excess of both, only the property of the former was vested in the Crown.

With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, Britain surged ahead of its European rivals. Demand for Indian commodities was boosted through the need to sustain the troops and the economy throughout the war, and through the increased availability of raw materials and efficient methods of manufacture. As home to the revolution, Britain experienced higher standards of livelihood. Its spiraling cycle of prosperity, demand, and manufacture had a profound power on overseas trade. The Company became the single main player in the British global market. It reserved for itself an unassailable location in the decision-creation procedure of the Government.

Trade with China

In the 18th century, Britain had a vast trade deficit with Qing Dynasty China and so in 1773, the Company created a British monopoly on opium buying in Bengal. As the opium trade was illegal in China, Company ships could not carry opium to China. So the opium produced in Bengal was sold in Calcutta on condition that it be sent to China.

Despite the Chinese ban on opium imports, reaffirmed in 1799 through the Jiaqing Emperor, the drug was smuggled into China from Bengal through traffickers and agency houses such as Jardine, Matheson & Co and Dent & Co. in amounts averaging 900 tons a year. The proceeds of the drug-smugglers landing their cargoes at Lintin Island were paid into the Company's factory at Canton and through 1825, mainly of the money needed to buy tea in China was raised through the illegal opium trade.

The Company recognized a group of trading settlements centered on the Straits of Malacca described the Straits Settlements in 1826 to protect its

trade route to China and to combat local piracy. The Settlements were also used as penal settlements for Indian civilian and military prisoners.

In 1838, with the amount of smuggled opium entering China approaching 1,400 tons a year, the Chinese imposed a death penalty for opium smuggling and sent a Special Imperial Commissioner, Lin Zexu, to curb smuggling. This resulted in the First Opium War (1839–1842). After the war Hong Kong island was ceded to Britain under the Treaty of Nanking and the Chinese market opened to the opium traders of Britain and other nations. A Second Opium War fought through Britain and France against China lasted from 1856 until 1860 and led to the Treaty of Tientsin.

Straits Settlements

The Straits Settlements were a group of British territories located in Southeast Asia. Originally recognized in 1826 as part of the territories controlled through the British East India Company, the Straits Settlements came under direct British manage as a crown colony on 1 April 1867. The colony was dissolved in 1946 as part of the British reorganization of its South-East Asian dependencies following the end of the Second World War.

The Straits Settlements consisted of the four individual settlements of Malacca, Dinding, Penang (also recognized as Prince of Wales Island), Singapore (with Christmas Island and the Cocos Islands). The island of Labuan, off the coast of Borneo, was also incorporated into the colony with effect from 1 January 1907, becoming a separate resolution within it in 1912. With the exception of Singapore, Christmas Island, and the Cocos Islands, these territories now form part of Malaysia.

History and Government

The establishment of the Straits Settlements followed the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of 1824 flanked by the United Kingdom and the Netherlands, through which the Malay archipelago was divided into a British zone in the north and a Dutch zone in the south. This resulted in the swap of the British resolution of Bencoolen (on Sumatra) for the Dutch colony of Malacca and undisputed manage of Singapore. The Settlements were mainly Chinese in population,

with a tiny but significant European minority. Their capital was moved from Penang to Singapore in 1832. Their scattered nature proved to be hard and, after the Company lost its monopoly in the China trade in 1833, expensive to administer.

Throughout their manage through the East India Company, the Settlements were used as penal settlements for Indian civilian and military prisoners, earning them the title of the 'Botany Bays of India'. The years 1852 and 1853 saw minor uprisings through convicts in Singapore and Penang. Upset with East India Company rule, in 1857, the European population of the Settlements sent a petition to the British Parliament asking for direct rule; but the thought was overtaken through events – the Indian Rebellion of 1857.

When a 'Gagging Act' was imposed to prevent the uprising in India spreading, the Settlements' press reacted with anger, classing it as something that subverted 'every principle of liberty and free discussion'. As there was little or no vernacular press in the Settlements, such an act seemed irrelevant: it was rarely enforced and ended in less than a year.

On 1 April 1867 the Settlements became a British Crown colony, creation the Settlements answerable directly to the Colonial Office in London instead of the Indian government based in Calcutta, India. Earlier, on 4 February 1867, Letters Patent had granted the Settlements a colonial constitution. This allocated much power to the Settlements' Governor, who administered the colony of the Straits Settlements with the aid of an Executive Council, composed wholly of official (i.e. ex-officio) members, and a Legislative Council, composed partly of official and partly of nominated members, of which the former had a narrow permanent majority. The work of administration, both in the colony and in the Federated Malay States, was accepted on through means of a civil service whose members were recruited through competitive examination held annually in London.

Penang and Malacca were administered, directly under the governor, through resident councilors.

Dindings and Province Wellesley

The Dindings, consisting of some islands close to the mouth of the Perak River and a small piece of territory on the adjoining mainland, were ceded through Perak to the British government under the Pangkor Treaty of 1874. Hopes that its excellent natural harbor would prove to be valuable were doomed to disappointment, and the islands, sparsely inhabited and altogether unimportant both politically and financially, were administered through the government of Perak.

Province Wellesley, on the mainland opposite the island of Penang, was ceded to Great Britain in 1798 through the Sultan of Kedah, on its northern and eastern border; Perak lies to the south. The boundary with Kedah was rectified through treaty with Siam (now Thailand) in 1867. It was administered through a district officer, with some assistants, answering to the resident councilor of Penang. Province Wellesley consisted, for the mainly part, of fertile plain, thickly populated through Malays, and occupied in some parts through sugar-planters and others occupied in similar agricultural industries and employing Chinese and Tamil labour. In relation to the a tenth of the whole region was sheltered through low hills with thick jungle. Big quantities of rice were grown through the Malay inhabitants, and flanked by October and February there was snipe-shooting in the paddy meadows. A railway from Butterworth, opposite Penang, runs into Perak, and thence via Selangor and Negri Sembilan to Malacca, with an extension via Muar under the rule of the sultan of Johor, and through the last-named state to Johor Bharu, opposite the island of Singapore.

The Governor's Wider Role

The Cocos (Keeling) Islands (which were settled and once owned through a Scottish family named Clunies-Ross) and Christmas Island, formerly attached to Ceylon, were in 1886 transferred to the care of the government of the Straits Settlements in Singapore beside with the addition of Labuan in 1906.

The governor of the Straits Settlements was also High Commissioner for the Federated Malay States on the peninsula, for British North Borneo, the

sultanate of Brunei and Sarawak in Borneo, and since the administration of the colony of Labuan, which for a era was vested in the British North Borneo Company, was resumed through the British government he was also governor of Labuan. British residents controlled the native states of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan and Pahang, but on 1 July 1896, when the federation of these states was effected, a resident-common, responsible to the (governor as) high commissioner, was placed in supreme charge of all the British protectorates in the peninsula.

Japanese Invasion and Dissolution

Throughout World War II, the Japanese invaded Malaya and the Straits Settlements through landing on Kelantan on 8 December 1941, and on 16 December, Penang became the first Straits Settlement to fall to Japanese hands. Malacca fell on 15 January and Singapore fell on 15 February, following the well-known Battle of Singapore. The Straits Settlements, beside with the rest of the Malay Peninsula, remained under Japanese job until August 1945.

After the war, the colony was dissolved with effect from 1 April 1946, with Singapore becoming a separate crown colony (and ultimately an self-governing republic), while Penang and Malacca joined the new Malayan Union (a predecessor of contemporary-day Malaysia). Labuan was briefly annexed to Singapore, before being attached to the new colony of British North Borneo.

Finance

The revenue of the colony in 1868 only amounted to \$1,301,843. That for 1906 was \$9,512,132, exclusive of \$106,180 received on explanation of land sales. Of this sum \$6,650,558 was derived from import duties on opium, wines and spirits, and licenses to deal in these articles, \$377,972 from land revenue, \$592,962 from postal and telegraphic revenue, and \$276,019 from port and harbor dues. The expenditure, which in 1868 amounted to \$1,197,177, had risen in 1906 to \$8,747,819. The total cost of the administrative establishments amounted to \$4,450,791, of which \$2,586,195

were personal emoluments and \$1,864,596 other charges. The military expenditure (the colony paid on this explanation 20% of its gross revenue to the British government through way of military contribution) amounted in 1906 to \$1,762,438; \$578,025 was expended on upkeep and maintenance of existing public works, and \$1,209,291 on new roads, streets, bridges and structures.

Anglo-Burmese Wars

First Anglo-Burmese War

The First Anglo-Burmese War (5 March 1824 – 24 February 1826) was the first of three wars fought flanked by the British and Burmese Empire in the 19th century. The war, which began primarily in excess of the manage of northeastern India, ended in a decisive British victory, giving the British total manage of Assam, Manipur, Cachar and Jaintia as well as Arakan Province and Tenasserim. The Burmese were also forced to pay an indemnity of one million pounds sterling, and sign a commercial treaty.

The war was the longest and mainly expensive war in British Indian history. Fifteen thousand European and Indian soldiers died, together with an unknown number of Burmese army and civilian casualties. The high cost of the campaign to the British, five million pounds sterling to 13 million pounds sterling (roughly 18.5 billion to 48 billion in 2006 US dollars), led to a severe economic crisis in British India in 1833.

For the Burmese, it was the beginning of the end of their independence. The Third Burmese Empire, for a brief moment the terror of British India, was crippled and no longer a threat to the eastern boundary of British India. The Burmese would be crushed for years to approach through repaying the big indemnity of one million pounds (then US\$5 million), a big sum even in Europe of that time. The British would create two more wars against a much more weakened Burma, and swallow up the whole country through 1885.

Causes

Through 1822, Burmese conquests of Manipur and Assam had created a extensive border flanked by British India and the kingdom of Ava. The British, based in Calcutta, had their own designs on the region, and actively supported rebellions in Manipur, Assam and Arakan. Calcutta unilaterally declared Cachar and Jaintia British protectorates, and sent in troops. Cross border raids into these newly acquired territories from British territories and spheres of power vexed the Burmese. Influenced that war was inevitable, Burmese commander in chief Bandula became a main proponent of offensive policy against the British. Bandula was part of the war party at Bagyidaw's court, which also incorporated Queen Me Nu and her brother, the lord of Salin. Bandula whispered that a decisive victory could allow Ava to consolidate its gains in its new western empire in Arakan, Manipur, Assam, Cachar and Jaintia, as well as take in excess of eastern Bengal.

In January 1824, Burmese sent in one of his top lieutenants Thado Thiri Maha Uzana into Cachar and Jaintia to chase absent the rebels. The British sent in their own force to meet the Burmese in Cachar, resulting in the first clashes flanked by the two. The war formally broke out on 5 March 1824, following border clashes in Arakan.

The British cause for the war was in addition to expanding British Bengal's sphere of power, the desire for new markets for British manufacturing. The British were also anxious to deny the French the use of Burmese harbours and concerned in relation to the French power at the Court of Ava, as the kingdom was still recognized to them. Symes's mission was fully equipped to gain as much knowledge as possible of the country for future British plans whereas previous envoys were concerned principally with trade concessions. Anglo–French rivalry had already played a role throughout Alaungpaya's endeavors of unifying the kingdom. The Burmese in these wars were advancing into smaller states not ruled through the British or the subject of expansionary goals through the British before the war began, and the British were not so much preoccupied through the refugee problem initially as through the threat posed through the French until further incidents forced their hand.

War

Western Theatre

The commander in chief of the Burmese army, Maha Bandula was supported through twelve of the country's best divisions, including one under his personal command, all totaling 10,000 men and 500 horses. His common staff incorporated some of the country's mainly decorated soldiers, men like the Lord of Salay and the Governors of Danyawaddy, Wuntho and Taungoo. Bandula's plan was to attack the British on two fronts: Chittagong from Arakan in the southeast, and Sylhet from Cachar and Jaintia in the north. Bandula personally commanded the Arakan theatre while Uzana commanded Cachar and Jaintia theater.

Early in the war, battle hardened Burmese forces were able to push back the British forces because the Burmese, who had been fighting in the jungles of Manipur and Assam for almost a decade, were more well-known with the terrain which represented "a formidable obstacle to the march of a European force". Uzana had already defeated the British units in Cachar and Jaintia in January 1824. In May, Burmese forces led through U Sa, Lord Myawaddy (in relation to the 4,000) fought their way into Bengal, and defeated British troops at the Battle of Ramu, 10 miles east of Cox's Bazar on 17 May 1824. Sa's column then joined Bandula's column on the march to defeat British forces at Gadawpalin, and went on to capture Cox's Bazar. The Burmese success caused extreme panic in Chittagong and in Calcutta. Crossways the eastern Bengal, the European inhabitants shaped themselves into militia forces. And a big portion of the crews of East India Company's ships were landed to assist in the defense of Calcutta.

But Bandula, not wanting to overstretch, stopped U Sa from proceeding to Chittagong. Had Bandula marched on to Chittagong, which unbeknown to him was lightly held, he could have taken it and the way to Calcutta would have been open.(The Burmese, because of the disparity in arms, could not have won the war in any case. But had they been able to threaten Calcutta, the Burmese could have obtained more favorable terms in the peace negotiations later on.)

Inside Burma

Battle of Yangon (May–December 1824)

Instead of fighting in hard terrain, the British took the fight to the Burmese mainland. On 11 May 1824, a British naval force of in excess of 10,000 men (5,000 British soldiers and in excess of 5,000 Indian sepoy) entered the harbor of Yangon, taking the Burmese through surprise. The Burmese pursuing a scorched earth policy, left an empty municipality, and instead chose to fortify positions beside an east-west 10-mile arc outside the municipality. The British forces led through Common Archibald Campbell took location inside a fortified Shwedagon Pagoda compound. The British launched attacks on Burmese rows, and through July 1824, had successfully pushed the Burmese towards Kamayut, five miles from Shwedagon. Burmese efforts to retake Shwedagon in September failed.

King Bagyidaw ordered a close to complete withdrawal from the western front—Bandula from Arakan and Bengal, and Uzana from Assam, Cachar and Jaintia—and meet the enemy in Yangon. In August, in the midst of monsoon season, Bandula and his army crossed the Arakan Yoma. Even in good weather, moving tens of thousands of men in excess of the 3,000-foot-high Arakan hills or 10,000-foot-high Assamese ranges, heavily forested and with only narrow footpaths, open to attack through tigers and leopards, would be hard. To do this at the height of the drenching monsoon season was a particularly hard task. Yet Bandula (from Arakan) and Uzana (from Assam) in a testament to their generalship and logistical skills, supervised to do presently that. The king granted both Bandula and Uzana the title Agga Maha Thenapati, the highest possible military rank. Bandula was also made the governor of Sittaung.

Through November, Bandula commanded a force of 30,000 massed outside Yangon. Bandula whispered that he could take on a well-armed British force of 10,000 head-on. Although the Burmese were numerically superior, only 15,000 of the 30,000 had muskets. The Burmese cannons fired only balls whereas the British cannons fired exploding shells. Unbeknown to him, the British had presently received the first shipment of the newest weapon in war that the Burmese had never seen—Congreve rockets. More ominously for the

Burmese, the speedy march through the hilly regions of Rakhine Yoma and Assamese ranges had left their troops exhausted.

On 30 November, in what turned out be the major mistake of his career, Bandula ordered a frontal attack on British positions. The British with distant superior weaponry, withstood many Burmese gallant charges at the Shwedagon fort, cutting down men through the thousands. Through 7 December, the British troops, supported through rocket fire, had begun to gain the upper hand. On 15 December, the Burmese were driven out of their last remaining stronghold at Kokine. In the end, only 7,000 of the 30,000 Burmese soldiers returned.

Battle of Danubyu (March–April 1825)

Bandula fell back to his rear base at Danubyu, a small town not distant from Yangon, in the Irrawaddy delta. Having lost experienced men in Yangon, the Burmese forces now numbered in relation to the 10,000, of mixed excellence, including some of the king's best soldiers but also several untrained and barely armed conscripts. The stockade itself stretched a mile beside the riverbank, and was made up of solid teak beams no less than 15 feet high.

In March 1825, a four thousand strong British force supported through a flotilla of gun boats attacked Danubyu. The first British attack failed, and Bandula attempted a counter charge, with foot soldiers, cavalry and 17 fighting elephants. But the elephants were stopped through rocket fire and the cavalry establish it impossible to move against the sustained British artillery fire.

On 1 April, the British launched a major attack, pounding down on the town with their heavy guns and raining their rockets on every part of the Burmese row. Bandula was killed through a mortar shell. Bandula had walked approximately the fort to boost the morale of his men, in his full insignia under a glittering golden umbrella, discarding the warnings of his generals that he would prove an easy target for the enemy's guns. After Bandula's death, the Burmese evacuated Danubyu.

Arakan Campaign (February–April 1825)

U Sa was left to command the remaining Burmese troops in Arakan after Bandula and the main battalions were ordered to withdraw from Arakan through Bagyidaw to meet the British invasion in Yangon in August 1824. Sa held on to Arakan throughout 1824 while the main focal point of the war played out in Yangon. After Gen. Archibald Campbell finally defeated Gen. Bandula in the Battle of Yangon in December 1824, the British turned their sights to Arakan. On 1 February 1825, an invasion force of 11,000 soldiers supported through a flotilla of gun boats and armed cruisers beside the coast and a squadron of cavalry under the command of Gen. Morrison attacked Burmese positions in Arakan. Despite their superior numbers and firearms, the British had to fight depleted Burmese forces for almost two months before they reached the main Burmese garrison at Mrauk-U, Arakan's capital. On 29 March 1825, the British launched their attack on Mrauk-U. (At the same time, Campbell also launched an attack on Bandula's positions in the Battle of Danubyu.) After a few days of fighting, the Burmese at Mrauk-U were defeated on April 1, coincidentally the same day Maha Bandula fell at Danubyu. Sa and the remaining Burmese forces evacuated and left Arakan. The British proceeded to inhabit the rest of Arakan.

Armistice

On 17 September 1825, an armistice was concluded for one month. In the course of the summer, Common Joseph Wanton Morrison had conquered the province of Arakan; in the north, the Burmese were expelled from Assam; and the British had made some progress in Cachar, though their advance was finally impeded through the thick forests and jungle.

Peace negotiations that began in September broke down through early October after the Burmese would not agree to British terms. The British had demanded no less than the complete dismemberment of the Burmese western territories in Arakan, Assam, Manipur and the Tenasserim coast as well as two million pounds sterling of indemnity. The Burmese would not agree to provide up Arakan and the big sum of indemnity.

Battle of Prome (November–December 1825)

In November 1825, the Burmese decided to throw everything they had in a one last-ditch effort. Starting in mid-November, the Burmese forces, consisted mainly of Shan regiments led through their sawbwas, threatened Prome in a daring circular movement that approximately surrounded the town and cut off communications rows to Yangon. In the end, the superior firepower of the British guns and missiles won out. On 1 December, Gen. Campbell, with 2500 European and 1500 Indian sepoy, supported through a flotilla of gun boats, attacked the main Burmese location outside Prome. On 2 December, Maha Ne Myo was killed through a shell launched from the flotilla. After Maha Ne Myo's death, the British dislodged the Burmese through 5 December.

The defeat in Prome effectively left the Burmese army in disarray. The Burmese army was in constant retreat from then on. Through February 1826, the Burmese were forced to accept the British terms to end the war. On 26 December, they sent a flag of truce to the British camp. Negotiations having commenced, peace was proposed to them in the Treaty of Yandabo.

Treaty of Yandabo

The British demanded and the Burmese agreed to:

- Cede to the British Assam, Manipur, Rakhine (Arakan), and Taninthayi (Tenasserim) coast south of Salween river,
- Cease all interference in Cachar and Jaintia
- Pay an indemnity of one million pounds sterling in four installments,
- Allow for an swap of diplomatic representatives flanked by Ava and Calcutta,
- Sign a commercial treaty in due course.

The first installment of indemnity was to be paid immediately, the second installment within the first 100 days from signing of the treaty, and the rest within two years. Until the second installment was paid, the British would not leave Yangon.

The Treaty of Yandabo was signed through Gen. Campbell from the British face and Governor of Legaing Maha Min Hla Kyaw Htin from the Burmese face on 24 February 1826. The Burmese paid 250,000 pounds sterling in gold and silver bullion as the first installment of the indemnity, and also released British prisoners of war. The war was thus brought to an end, and the British army moved south. The British army remained in the territories surrendered to it under the treaty and in the territories such as the Rangoon region which were occupied for many years in guarantee of the financial terms of the treaty.

Aftermath

The treaty imposed a severe financial burden to the Burmese kingdom, and effectively left it crippled. The British terms in the negotiations were strongly influenced through the heavy cost in lives and money which the war had entailed. Some 40,000 British and Indians troops had been involved of whom 15,000 had been killed. The cost to the British India's finances had been approximately ruinous, amounting to almost 13 million pounds sterling. The cost of war contributed to a severe economic crisis in India, which through 1833 had bankrupted the Bengal agency houses and cost the British East India Company its remaining privileges, including the monopoly of trade to China.

For the Burmese, the treaty was a total humiliation and a extensive lasting financial burden. A whole generation of men had been wiped out in battle. The world the Burmese knew, of conquest and martial pride, built on the back of impressive military success of the previous 75 years, had approach crashing down. The Court of Ava could not approach to terms with the loss of the territories, and made unsuccessful attempts to get them back. An uninvited British Resident in Ava was a daily reminder of the humiliating defeat.

More importantly, the burden of indemnity would leave the royal treasury bankrupt for years. The indemnity of one million pounds sterling would have been measured a colossal sum even in Europe of that time, and it became frightening when translated to Burmese kyat equivalent of 10 million. The cost of livelihood of the average villager in Upper Burma in 1826 was one kyat per month.

The treaty achieved its objective: Leave Burma crippled. Indeed, the British would create two more wars—much easier wars—against the much weaker Burmese in 1852 and 1885, and swallow up the whole country through 1885.

Second Anglo-Burmese War

The Second Anglo-Burmese War (5 April 1852 – 20 December 1852) was the second of the three wars fought flanked by the Burmese and British forces throughout the 19th century, with the outcome of the gradual extinction of Burmese sovereignty and independence.

Background

In 1852, Commodore George Lambert was dispatched to Burma through Lord Dalhousie in excess of a number of minor issues related to the Treaty of Yandabo flanked by the countries. The Burmese immediately made concessions including the removal of a governor whom the Company made their casus belli. Lambert, described through Dalhousie in a private letter as the "combustible commodore", eventually provoked a naval confrontation in very questionable circumstances through blockading the port of Rangoon and seizing the King Pagan's royal ship and thus started the Second Anglo-Burmese War which ended in the Company annexing the province of Pegu and renaming it Lower Burma.

The nature of the dispute was mis-represented to Parliament, and Parliament played a role in further "suppressing" the facts released to the public, but mainly of the facts were recognized through relative reading of these conflicting accounts in what was originally an anonymous pamphlet, *How Wars are Got Up In India*; this explanation through Richard Cobden remnants approximately the sole contemporaneous proof as to who actually made the decision to invade and annex Burma.

Richard Cobden made a scathing attack on Dalhousie for despatching a naval commodore to negotiate (gunboat diplomacy) and for raising the initial demand for compensation of £1000 to 100 times that amount, £100,000. He also criticized Dalhousie for choosing Lambert in excess of Colonel Archibald

Bogle, the British Commissioner of Tenasserim, who was much more experienced in Burmese social and diplomatic affairs. Dalhousie denied that Lambert was the cause.

War

The first substantial blow of the Second Anglo-Burmese War was struck through the Company on 5 April 1852, when the port of Martaban was taken. Rangoon was occupied on the 12th and the Shwedagon Pagoda on the 14th, after heavy fighting, when the Burmese army retired northwards. Bassein was seized on 19 May, and Pegu was taken on 3 June, after some sharp fighting round the Shwemawdaw Pagoda. Throughout the rainy season the approval of the East India Company's court of directors and of the British government was obtained as to the annexation of the lower portion of the Irrawaddy River Valley, including Prome. After the fighting, the British troops looted the pagodas for their gold, silver and valuable Buddha statues.

Lord Dalhousie visited Rangoon in July and August, and discussed the whole situation with the civil, military and naval authorities. He decided that to dictate terms to the Court of Ava through marching to the capital was not how the war should be mannered unless complete annexation of the kingdom was contemplated and this was deemed unachievable in both military and economic terms for the time being. As a consequence Major-General Godwin, who bitterly resented having to deal with the Royal Navy under the command of Lambert, a mere commodore, after the death earlier of Rear Admiral Charles Austen, the brother of the writer Jane Austen, occupied Prome on 9 October encountering only slight resistance from the Burmese forces under the command of Lord Dabayin, son of Gen. Maha Bandula who was killed in the First Anglo-Burmese War. Early in December Lord Dalhousie informed King Pagan that the province of Pegu would henceforth form part of the Company dominions.

Aftermath

The proclamation of annexation was issued on 20 January 1853, and thus the Second Anglo-Burmese War was brought to an end without any treaty

being signed. The war resulted in a revolution in Amarapura although it was then still described the Court of Ava, with Pagan Min (1846–1852) being overthrown through his half brother Mindon Min (1853–1878). Mindon immediately sued for peace but the two Italian priests he sent to negotiate establish the British 50 miles farther north at Myedè with a rich belt of the Ningyan teak forests already staked out within their territory and presented as a *fait accompli*. No treaty was ever signed although trade resumed flanked by Company Burma and the Kingdom of Ava until fresh hostilities broke out in 1885-86.

IMPERIAL IDEOLOGY: ORIENTALIST CONSTRUCTION OF INDIA AND THE UTILITARIANS

The Early Images

The very early images of India in the British mind were in terms of their own Western experience and their travels in the great voyages of detection. The early travelers to India, Edward Terry and John Ovington described, the Mughal rule in 1689 ‘yet another instance of Muslim despotism’. The early British, who had read in relation to the Ottoman and Persian empires in the great traveler Bernier’s writings, appear to have felt that a closer study of the Mughals would tell them very little that they did not know. It was whispered through people like Sir William Temple in the classical age, that Lycurgus and Pythagoras had been taught through the Indians.

Though, the common impression was that in 17th century India tradition of learning \ no longer remained. Terry argued that the Brahmins who were the ancient repositories of learning had degenerated. Other signs of this degeneration were detected through the British in their get in touch with the societies of the West coast of India. It was argued that they were ‘industrious, submissive, frugal and cowardly people’ who had rigid habits of mind. The caste system was regularly cited as an instance of their rigid mind. Through

and big these images were to persist. Though, with the establishment of more permanent stations, the British had to contend with further Indian realities.

Warren Hastings and the British Image of India

The prevalent impression that the Indians had degenerated tended to be reinforced through British experience in 18th century India. At the same time the early officers were keenly aware of India's past glory. To administer this country properly a thorough knowledge of India and its past was needed. Warren Hastings took this mission rather seriously. To fulfill this mission he was aware that he required a group of dedicated officers, who would rise above the opportunistic fortune hunters who came from Britain to India. For this purpose, he made strenuous efforts to work towards organizations of learning which would first acquire the knowledge of the golden past of India and then, perhaps, convey it to those who could be involved in the project of administering India. This vision, which has sometimes been described the Orientalist vision, was not confined to Warren Hastings alone.

William Jones

William Jones, an English Jurist, was to commit himself to rediscovering India precisely for this cause. Identifying with the Whig tradition of British politics, Jones set himself the task of creation India more intelligible to the British. Jones on coming to India realized that to understand India, individual initiative would not be enough. He slowly came approximately to the view that it would have to be an organized effort to combine scientific study with the labour and knowledge of a group of dedicated individuals. It was thus that the well-known Asiatic Society was shaped. The Society was to cover the task of unearthing knowledge in relation to the Asia both within and outside Asia.

It is here that Jones' efforts and Warren Hastings' vision were to coincide. The Society received full blessings of the Governor-General and an era of studying India from within secure quarters of its social, religious, linguistic and political characteristics began. This in itself was a departure

from the early travelers who would normally record impressions and go absent.

The Asiatic Society contributed in a major way through translating from Persian and Sanskrit works of Grammar, Puranas and the writings of Kalidasa. Secondly, the members of the Asiatic Society researched and published a big number of articles on Indian society and religion. As a result, Jones' contribution through the society was to 'infectiously spread the romantic fascination of India and her civilization throughout Europe.'

Hastings in Practise

Hastings on the other hand had more practical reasons for promoting the Asiatic Society. Through this time he had decided that the 'dual Government' recognized through Clive should, go and the East India Company should take up the responsibility of Bengal. But he was not in favour of introducing English laws and English ways in India. His main thought was to rule the 'conquered in their own way'. He felt that the rapid growth of the British rule had excited various prejudices. These, he felt, needed to be stilled. Secondly, he wanted to reconcile British rule with the Indian organizations. This inevitably meant more rigorous investigation into the 'manners and customs' of the country and an indepth analysis of the literature and laws of the Indians. It is for this purpose that Halhed, one of Hastings' lieutenants, drew up a list of religious and customary laws described the 'Gentoo Laws' which would help in understanding the procedure of furthering 'the conciliation of natives or ensure stability to the acquisitions'. This, Halhed maintained, would help further in enhancing the prospects of commerce and territorial establishment.

Institutionalization

The early quests of rediscovering the rich Indian past then were slowly being subsumed to the practical needs of the British rule. To enable the practical task of training and the orienting future officers to the goals of this task, in the tradition of Warren Hastings, Wellesley recognized the Fort William College at Calcutta in 1800.

The Fort William College basically impressed upon its students to study the Indian language so that the future administrator could take on the task of familiarizing themselves with the 'vernacular' of the people and with India's past in a more concrete fashion. For instance, studying Persian served very practical ends. Mainly of the Indian states used Persian as the language for maintaining official record and running the day to day business. Thus the vision of learning in relation to the India's past glory and the practical needs of the British administration were neatly dovetailed.

One should be careful in not reducing the steps taken to train the future officers to the visions of the Indian past held through the officers of the time. The Indian Residents who were posted at the courts of various submissive Indian rulers, combined both the knowledge and usage of Persian with the cultural life Styles of the court. To set up an identity with the Indian courtiers, the British Resident often donned the Indian dresses and maintained vast establishments like the court nobility. He would often adopt the manners and etiquettes of the court, while having a major say in the decisions of the ruler. The Indian rulers then maintained some type of cultural independence inspite of being politically subservient to the British.

With the consolidation of the conquests and the need to make a more integrated administrative structure, the British had to step in to realms of Indian organizations like law and landed property. In the meanwhile, the industrial revolution in Britain had forced the need of market and raw materials outside Britain for the industrialist on the minds of the policy makers in Britain.

Evangelicalism and other New Trends

The new needs of the British necessarily meant that the thought of retaining Indian organizations and laws had to be reviewed. If new products were to enter the market there was a need to make a taste for them. This meant the infusion of a new way of life and civilization, at least in the top crust of society.

In the early era of establishing organizations which exposed India's past, a neat compromise, of learning and the needs of the Company commerce

and administration had been made. That is, 'learn in relation to the Indian society but do not disturb it'. That this compromise was resented, is shown in the struggle of the Sreerampore missionaries, who wanted to get on with the task of 'reforming' the current degeneration of the Indian society. While the Sreerampore missionaries were to do this task quietly, respecting the Indian traditions, the later missionaries like Charles Grant were to be openly hostile to 'Indian barbarism'. This hostility, a hall- spot of evangelicalism, was combined with the desire to 'civilize' India. Bringing a Christian zeal into his mission, Grant was to propagate the policy of assimilation of India into the great civilizing mission of Britain.

This attitude was to go hand in hand with the expression of British liberalism, as for instance in Macaulay, the liberal British administrator's task was to 'civilize' rather than subdue. The merchant society supported this, firstly, because since they would benefit from the civilizing mission's laws to acquire property etc. in India, and then, under 'free trade' they could work out the troubles of creating a market for British goods amongst the Indians. Charles Grant saw a complementarily flanked by the civilizing procedure and material prosperity. It was thus that another liberal C.E. Trevelyan, in 1838, was to outline his vision of India as 'the proudest monument of British beneyolence'.

The Battle for Improvement

The thought of improvement was to take form in the late 18th and early 19th centuries as a part of the vision of Britain as a promoter of prosperity and culture. It was thus, that Cornwallis agreed to settling the revenue permanently on the landed class (Zamindars) in Bengal. Cornwallis's assumption was that since the main source of wealth was agriculture, the 'magic touch of property' will make capital and market in land. A more wealthy landed class with fixed obligation to the state and an English rule of law would make new men of enterprise in land who would also take trade forward. John Shore, who had seen the thought of Permanent

Resolution grow and had more experience of the countryside, while agreeing with Cornwallis's vision of improvement, suggested that the

improvement should be brought in relation to the through slow degrees through experimentally introducing innovations.

Preservation and Munro

In the middle of the critics of Cornwallis were Munro in the South beside with his well-known colleagues like Malcolm and Metcalfe. They establish the Cornwallis System as having no regard for Indian history or experience. They opposed the very thought that a political society could be built on principles derived from an alien English tradition. It was for this cause that they opposed Cornwallis's import of the English rule of law with its strict division of judiciary and executive powers of the government.

To Munro, politics was both experimental pragmatic. The brief era the British had spent in India, he thought, was too short for any permanent solutions. It was thus he argue periodic revision of the rate of ryotwari. He therefore argued that the foundation of India's stable heritage, the village societies should be conserved. And any law and order problem should be met with a system where the judiciary and executive were fused together. This he felt would enable the preservation of justice to the peasantry as well as the aims of the British rule. In row with this thought of preserving the varying heritage of India, Munro and his colleagues opposed a centrally imposed rule in India and 'favored diversity in the Indian government'.

The task of transforming the Indian mind was then to become more intricate. The task of education in the procedure was mooted through the liberal Macaulay as a prime responsibility of the British in India. But in the context of both the resistance of Orientalists, and pragmatic Anglo-Indians like Munro who wanted to preserve the Indian organizations and civilization the role of a western or an Anglicist education became a subject of immense controversy in the middle of the 19th century.

The Utilitarians

The Utilitarians were not to take the liberal detour to education for the task of 'civilizing' and 'improving' India. They went back to the vital question of reform of law and landed property to make circumstances where the market

could flourish. They whispered, under the guidance of Jeremy Bentham, that, a scientific and logical approach to these two troubles of law and landed property could make reforms which would satisfy the principle of 'the greatest, good of the greatest number'.

The Question of Law

The utilitarian thoughts were to have a fundamental power in molding the British attitudes towards India. The question of law as an instrument of change was mooted under Bentinck. It was possible, he whispered, for judiciary or law to be the instrument of changing Indian practices like Sati and female infanticide.

The governor-general has read with attention the petition which has been presented to him: and has some satisfaction in observing that the opinions of the pandits consulted through the petitioners confirm the supposition that widows are not, through the religious writings of the Hindus, commanded to destroy themselves; but that, upon the death of their husbands the choice of a life of strict and severe morality is everywhere expressly offered: that in the books usually measured of the highest power it is commanded above every other course; and is stated to be adapted to a better state of society; such as, through the Hindus, is whispered to have subsisted in former times.

Thus, none of the Hindus are placed in the distressing situation of having to disobey either the ordinances of the government or those of their religion. Through a virtuous life a Hindu widow not only complies at once with the laws of the government and with the purest precepts of her own religion, but affords an instance to the existing generation of that good conduct which is supposed to have distinguished the earlier and better times of the Hindu people.

The petitioners cannot require the assurance that the British government will continue to allow the mainly complete toleration in matters of religious belief; and that to the full extent of what it is possible to reconcile with cause and with natural justice they will be undisturbed in the observance of their recognized usages. But, some of these, which the governor-general is

unwilling to recall into notice, his precursors in council, for the security of human life, and the preservation of social order, have, at dissimilar times, establish it necessary to prohibit. If there is any one which the general voice of all mankind would except from indulgence it is surely that through which the hand of a son is made the instrument of a terrible death to the mother who has borne him, and from whose heart he has drawn the sustenance of his helpless infancy.

The governor-common has given an attentive consideration to all that has been urged through the numerous and respectable body of petitioners: and has thought fit to create this further statement, in addition to what had been before expressed as the reasons, which, in his mind, have made it an urgent duty of the British government to prevent the usage in support of which the petition has been preferred: but if the petitioners should still be of opinion that the late regulation is not in conventionality with the enactments of the imperial parliament, they have an appeal to the king in council, which the governor-common shall be mainly happy to forward.

With the coming of James Mill to the East India Company's London office, a systematic utilitarian effort was made to combat the Orientalist, Cornwallis and the Munro heritage. A total vision of political reform on the philosophical premises of utilitarianism was sought to be given a concrete form. We see a series of laws and penal codes enacted under the Benthamite principle of a centrally logically and coherently evolved system which would go down to the grassroots. In the procedure it would provide the direction to the Indian government to function 'with a united purpose.'

The Question of Land Revenue

Mill also supported a restructuring of the land revenue policy in a manner that would be constant with utilitarian economics. While, on the one hand this meant a direct get in touch with the mass of cultivators as in Munro's ryotwari resolution, on the other hand this meant taxing the landlord beside Ricardo's philosophy. This taxation would be in such a manner that the landlord would not enjoy undue benefit at the cost of manufacture and trade presently through virtue of ownership of land. This meant that landholder

would provide to the state as tax on land revenue a sure proportion of the net produce (i.e. the gross produce minus cost of farming).

This doctrine of rent was sought to be put into practice through officers like Pringle in Bombay. Elaborate survey methods were used to calculate the 'net produce' from land. Then tax rates were assessed. Though, in practice the revenue demand often went very high, sometimes as much as fifty to sixty percent of the produce. This led slowly to the abandonment of intricate calculations based on the rent doctrine. From 1840s purely pragmatic and empirical methods derived from the tradition of taxation in respective regions were beginning to be adopted.

But, the rent doctrine of the, utilitarian philosophy was not given up in theory. In spite of the purely pragmatic and empirical calculation of rent, the justification of rent theory for the calculation was still given. The justification of the theory though did have practical reasons as in excess of the after that decades the thought of defining rights and obligations of the tax paying cultivators permanently was relegated to the background. But then the scientific calculations of the utilitarianism were again paradoxically submitted to Munro like consideration of Indian heritage and traditions.

The Emerging Vision of The Empire

There was a streak of authoritarianism in English utilitarian thought which urbanized abroad into full-fledged despotism. Utilitarianism in India despite being born in the tradition of liberalism could never accept a democratic government in India. James Mill uniformly opposed any form of representative government in India then or in close to future.

The consolidation on the empire under Dalhousie was to take the paradoxes of the various types of perceptions of British India still more forward. Dalhousie took forward Mill's vision of belligerent advancement of Britain's mission, in his policy towards the native Indian States. Again, in the true Benthamite tradition he created 'all India' departments with single heads for Post and Telegraph Services, the Public works Department, etc. He was thus to provide fruition to the thought of efficient administration within the

framework of a unitary all India empire. This latter was in direct contrast to Munro's vision of India as loose federation of local entities.

At the same time Dalhousie was prepared to take a liberal stance in some compliments. For instance, he was to encourage the development of his legislative council into a forum for the Representation of non-official opinion. He also provided it with elaborate rules of procedure taken from the English Parliament. He even favored the admission of Indian members into the legislative council. He agreed with the Macaulay's view of diffusion of English education and beside with his colleague Thomason encouraged a system of vernacular education at mass stage.

Though this impulse to link the task of changing the Indian society to the tasks of law, landed property or education slowly declined. With the consolidation of law codes, revenue administration and education and the all India empire, the focus shifted to efficiency of governance. Pragmatism with rationality and efficiency now dominated the British administration. Utilitarian arguments were still used for governance, for instance in the change of law codes under Macaulay. But the overall spirit of reform declined.

The later British officers of our era were to emphasize that the British rule had always been governed through law. Though, it was argued then, for efficient administration force had to be used and there was no need to justify it through consideration of political change or reform. The utilitarian task of transforming India then was subsumed under the principle of an efficient and good government held up through the 'steel frame' of British administration.

REVIEW QUESTION

- What was the nature of Bengal polity?
- Why did the relationship become strained between the British and the Bengal Nawabs?
- What were the advantages that the British EIC had over their French counter parts?
- How did the British gain an upper hand over the French in the second Carnatic War?

- Explain the reasons for conflict between the Indian state and the British.
- What were the sources of weakness of the Awadh regime?
- Why did the East India Company thrust on the Awadh Nawab subsidiary Alliance?
- Why did the East India Company need to expand outside India?
- Why was Bengal important in the China trade?
- How did the officers of the Company justify the Afghan War?
- Did the Sreerampore Missionaries and Charles Grant agree with Warren Hastings way of dealing with India?
- How did Bentinck want to bring about a social change in India?

CHAPTER 4

Colonial Economy

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Mercantile policies and Indian trade
- The new land revenue settlements
- The commercialization of agriculture
- De-industrialization in India
- Economic impact of colonial rule
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this chapter you will study:

- How the East India Companies were structured as Joint stock enterprises of many investors?
- The nature of the trade of the English Company.
- The reasons why merchant capitalist enterprises turned towards **acquisition of territories and political power**.
- The meaning of the term 'revenue settlement'.
- The aims of the British in their various 'settlements'.
- The meaning of the term 'commercialization'.
- The connection between de-industrialization and the policies of the East India Company.
- The changes in the position of the Indian traders and bankers as the English East India Company and English private traders became dominant in India from the 1750's.

MERCANTILE POLICIES AND INDIAN TRADE

Structure of the East India Company

You necessarily have observed that today business enterprise is dominated through companies which sell stocks and shares in order to raise the capital they need in business.

These are joint stock companies as separate from business owned through a single proprietor or some proprietors in partnership. The East India Companies of

Europe were some of the earliest joint stock companies in the world.

What was so special in relation to these companies and how did the joint stock form of organisation provide them any advantage? To begin with, the joint stock structure, that is to say the collection of capital from a number of stock or shareholders enabled these companies to put together a much superior quantity of capital than was possible for a single proprietor or a few in partnership. Moreover, a joint stock company ensured stability of business

behaviors and policies in excess of a extensive era, sometimes for centuries; unlike the shorter life span of business run through a single proprietor. Consider also the information that in joint stock company there is scope for mobility of capital; in other words, the money invested in the shareholdings of one company could be taken out through the share owner (through selling his share to another) and put to other uses, including investment in another company. Thus capital was not tied up in one enterprise, but moved with greater ease to more profitable enterprises, thus ensuring the mainly efficient use of capital.

For all these reasons the joint stock company form of organising the business of East Indian trade was superior to and more efficient than any earlier form. Particularly for the trade with India the European countries needed this new form Of organisation because of the big amount of investment required, the uncertainty of business (ship-wreck, wars etc.), and the extensive waiting era flanked by investment and realization of profit (due to the extensive voyage through sailing Ships approximately the continent of Africa to India). In the early days the English merchants used to pool their money to buy or hire and equip ships to go on a voyage to India for these reasons. The logical culmination of this development was the base of the East India Company (1600) as a joint stock enterprise. In the beginning only a few very wealthy merchants of London were shareholders of the East India Company. But in course of the 18th century relatively smaller shareholders began to participate in and became owners of the new United Company of the Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies (founded in 1708). This new company sustained to be described the East India Company as of old.

East India Company's Monopoly

Another structural characteristic of the English East India Company was that it was granted a monopoly through the government of England. What was meant through this monopoly and why did the government grant it? 'Monopoly' in a common sense means the exclusive manage of trade with India and other countries on the Indian Ocean and further east up to China. In consequence only the East India Company (to the exclusion of any other

person or business firm) was legally entitled to trade with the above-said countries. This was a legal right conferred upon the East India Company through Queen Elizabeth 1 in the first instance and later through other monarchs. Why did the monarchs or governments do so in the 17th and 18th centuries? They gave this monopoly right to the East India Company partly because it was commonly whispered, under the power of the Mercantilist school of thought, that the state necessarily promote trade abroad to bring home wealth from foreign trade. The risky trade with distant countries was supposed to be particularly in need of monopoly system so as to ensure to the investors profits of monopoly and thus to encourage such investment. Moreover, the relatively wealthy English merchants in the Indian trade were influential in the monarch's courts and the government.

At any rate, the upshot was that the Government in England conferred a monopoly of trade on the East India Company. This was done through granting to the Company a 'charter, i.e. a deed or a written gram of monopoly rights renewed from time to time through the government. The instrument through which such a right was conferred on the company became recognized in late 18th and early 19th centuries as the 'charter act', passed through the English Parliament. (The French and Dutch East Indian Companies also enjoyed monopoly rights granted through their government.)

Now, it is one thing to declare such a government grant of monopoly, and it is quite another thing to create the monopoly (i.e. the exclusion of others) effective in information. What did the legal monopoly mean in actual practice?

Monopoly versus Free Trade

From the middle of the 18th century till 1813 the East India Company, particularly its top management, described the Court of Directors, had so struggle very hard to create the Company's monopoly rights effective, i.e., exclude others from entering the trade. This was no easy task. For one thing, the English East India Company's own employees were naturally not above the temptation to set up a private business beside with their official business, i.e. the Company's business. For another, there were always merchant and

adventures creation their way to India and managing to set up business firms of their own; these were described 'free merchants' or 'interlopers' (i.e. intruders occupied in unauthorized business). Both types of behaviors came in the way of the Company's monopoly.

As regard the first of these the private business of the servants or employees of the East India Company, the problem was that the self-interest of the bulk of the Company's employees including the top men in India would not allow the strict implementation of the instructions of the Company Directors to stop private trade. The level of salary till the beginning of the 19th century was low, and the practice of supplementing the salary with profits of private trade was, widespread. What is more, the Company servants were in the habit of passing off their own private trade commodities as part of the Company's export commodities in order to claim exemption from internal duties in Bengal. This, recognized as the "abuse of the dastak" (i.e. permit to trade duty free), became the subject of contention and a cause of disagreement, flanked by the Bengal Nawab and the English. In information the private trade interests of the Company's servants and the Company's official trade became practically inseparable in the last half of the 18th century.

As for the Free Merchants' their chief aim was to expand their business at the cost of the Company's business. Yet they were tolerated because the Company's servants establish them increasingly useful to enable the Company's servants to invest their savings and ill-gotten plunder. Sending money to England was also facilitated through the Free Merchants. As the Directors of the East India Company and conscientious Governors like Lord Cornwallis began to insist on the withdrawal of the servants of the Company from private trade, the Free Merchants obtained more capital from the Company servants. They acted so to speak as mediators of the Company Servants. Hence there urbanized a number of Agency Houses which later, in the last half of the 19th century, became recognized as Managing Agencies.

In the meanwhile the monopoly privilege of the EIC came under attack in England. The doctrine of Free Trade, promoted through economists like Adam Smith (Wealth of Nations, 1776), was inimical to monopolies. The

capitalists excluded from Indian trade through the EIC naturally lent support to the campaign for Free Trade. Capital accumulating in England wanted freedom from restrictions on investment. Moreover, the on-going Industrial Revolution brought to the fore in the last half of the 18th century industrial capitalist interest; the purely merchandising behaviors of the EIC, importing goods from India to England, diminished in importance in comparison with industrial manufacturing in England. There were strong lobbies in Parliament pressing for the abolition of the Company's monopoly.

In these circumstances the Charter Act of 1813 was passed abolishing the monopoly in Indian trade; another Charter Act in 1833 abolished the remaining part of the Company's privileged monopoly, that in the China trade. Thus, after more than two hundred years, the monopoly conferred on the EIC was taken absent through the government.

Nature of the Company's Trade

In information, the monopoly was entrenched upon, as we have noted. Though, in sure parts of India the Company and English private traders collectively enjoyed virtually a monopolistic location. This was, for instance, true of Bengal from the last decades of the 18th century.

When the essence of mercantile capitalist business was buying cheap, and selling dear, reduction of competition would be inevitably the aim of business. If you were aiming to buy cheaply you would discover it advantageous to have as few buyers in the market as possible; obviously that helps to buy cheaply. Likewise it helps to sell your goods dear if you have as few sellers as possible. That is what monopolistic business is in relation to the. Though, real life seldom matches the text book definition of a monopolist on a single buyer in the market. Circumstances approximating that situation may exist under special circumstances, for instance the use of coercion or force, legislation, or even warfare to eliminate competitors. All these means were used through the English East India Company in India.

The European East India Company's main business was to procure sure commodities like spices, indigo, cotton cloth etc. and export them to

Europe. Procurement of these goods in India initially took place under fairly competitive circumstances. A 17th century English Factory had usually to compete with local or 'country merchants' and foreign traders, including other European East India Companies. In course of the 18th century the Englishmen increasingly acquired a location of advantage:

- Other European East India Companies were marginalized; the military and political victories of the English Company.
- The weakness of the successor states and principalities since the decline of the Mughal Empire allowed the East India Companies to bully and bribe the local powers to grant Europeans special trade privileges.
- Artisans as well as peasants, e.g., weavers and indigo growers, were sometimes subjected to coercive practice from the last decades of the 18th century in order to procure goods at a cheap price or to persuade them to produce the goods for the Company. Through the end of the 18th century the location acquired through the English East India Company and the servants of the Company in private trade may be described as a communal monopoly in respect of the chief commodities of export to Europe.

Mercantile Business and Political Power

We have discussed till now some of the characteristics of mercantile capitalist behaviors, typified through the East India Company, but we have not touched upon one question. What motivated a company of merchants like EIC to launch on territorial expansion and what did it have to do with politics?

In the beginning of European trade with India there were only voyages to India through one or more ships from time to time. Though, it was not easy to procure big quantities of goods in India at short notice when a 'voyage' visited an Indian port. Therefore, it became necessary to set up Factories in or close to major sea ports or manufacture centres. You may note that these were not factories of today where things are actually produced; the word

‘factory’ in 17th and 18th century English meant foreign trading stations set up through a merchant Company. The officials posted there were described ‘factors’ who essentially salaried mediators were purchasing goods on behalf of the East India Company for export. Now the English as well as the other East India Companies wanted to protect the factories with a fort approximately it. After the decline of the Mughal empire set in, such protective fortification may have been needed in some regions and some local government tacitly or explicitly allowed acquisition of land and structure of forts through East India Companies. Though, the Companies began to exceed the limits of legitimate self protection and fortified and militarized their trading stations as centres of armed power demanding local governments. Fort William of Calcutta and Fort ST. George of Madras were prominent instances of this type. Thus, the fort provided a nucleus allowing the foreign merchants to spread their manage in excess of the neighbouring territory. The territorial claims of the Company sometimes had a legal foundation (e.g. the grant of zamindari rights, as in Bengal), but more often than not the real foundation of the territorial claims in the last decades of the 18th century was the military strength of the Company. You already know how the European Companies operated as one of the territorial powers from the middle of the 18th century.

The development of the English EIC from the Voyaga. system to factory system, from that to forts and eventually to the location of a territorial power helped in business; it was, not presently a fit of absent mindedness and an aberration from the proper task of merchants that led to the political hegemony of the Company that became the British Indian Empire. It was useful to have military power to back up coercion on the artisans (e. g the Bengal weavers) to produce goods at a cheap price, to bully the local merchants to create them subservient to English factors and private traders, and, of course, to eliminate other foreign merchants (particularly the French and the Dutch) from competing with the English. Moreover, a military and territorial power could extract from the local principalities and the local nobility “Protection money”, bribes etc, not to speak of plunder that warfare brought in. Finally, manage in excess of territories brought in revenue. The classic instance of this was the Dewani of Bengal from 1765. The Company’s

share of the land revenue of Bengal enabled it to reduce for several years the remittance of bullion from England. Bullion was needed to buy goods in India for export through the Company and it was, of course, desirable to reduce bullion export from England through raising cash in India to pay for exports from India. Thus the territorial ambitions of the East India Company made a lot of economic sense so distant as English interests were concerned.

These are some of the reasons why we see the Company playing such a salient role in Indian political history in the 18th century to emerge as the main territorial power through the beginning of the 19th century.

Rise of Industrial Capitalism and the Company's Mercantile Policies

In England in 1750, in relation to the 40 to 45 per cent of national income originated in the agricultural sector; through 1851 agriculture's share diminished to 20 per cent and through 1881 it came down to in relation to the 10 percent. The contribution of foreign trade to England's national income was 14 per cent in 1790; it increased to 36 per cent through 1880. This helps us measure the rapid pace of industrialization in England; that country was transformed in the last half of the 18th and early 19th century. As a result industrial manufacture foreign trade in manufactures became the mainstay of the English economy. In scrupulous the growth of English cotton textile industry obviously meant an end to the demand for Indian cloth in England. On the contrary, England was now seeking markets for her cotton textiles i.e., in the middle of other countries, India. Moreover, to create industrial goods, England needed now more raw material than before; for instance, England now, after her industrialization, would import raw cotton from, in the middle of other countries, India. Thus the whole foundation of economic connection flanked by England and India was dissimilar after the industrialization of England compared to what it had been in the era of merchant capitalism. in short, the Indian empire acquired through the merchant company had to fulfill a dissimilar role after the transformation of England into the first industrial capitalist country. The merchant company and their empire slowly veered towards a new role in the new scheme of things. In the era you are studying in this course, i.e. till 1857, only the beginnings of a new imperialism can be

seen. It is seen in the decline of the export of Indian manufactured goods to England. The value of cotton cloth exported from India to England declined from pound 1.3 million to only pound 0.1 million in the years 1815 to 1832. In the same era the import of cotton cloth from England increased approximately 15 times. In the previous century the mainstay of the Company's mercantile policy was to purchase cotton cloth in India for export. That procurement or purchase was naturally abandoned in the early decades of the 19th century. In the last days of the Company's trading career, in the 1820's, no cotton manufactures were exported through it to England; the only goods it exported were raw silk, salt petre or raw material for gunpowder, indigo an agricultural product, and (the only manufactured commodity) a small amount of silk cloth. As regards imports from England, the East India Company stopped it altogether from 1824, except for military stores etc. used through the Company itself.

The trade flanked by India and Europe passed from the hands of the Company to private traders; as you know, the Charter Act of 1813 fully opened Indian trade to the private traders.

Another great change in the Company's policies and finances took place in the first decades of the 19th century. This was the augment in non-commercial earnings, of the Company, i.e. what was described the Territorial Revenue which came from the land revenue and other taxes composed from territories conquered through the Company. At the same time the commercial earning declined because, as you already know, the Company's trade diminished in these years to the vanishing point. Thus from 1820's the Company depended approximately entirely on Territorial Revenue whereas up to the 1765 the only income had been from commercial profits. From 1765, the assumption through the Company of the Dewani of Bengal, territorial revenue began to augment and eventually outstrip commercial earnings. Thus the finances of the Company reflected its transformation from a merchant corporation to a territorial power.

Finally, one may note that it was the Company's deliberate policy to divert the revenue it composed to commercial purposes. This was a result of

the Company being simultaneously part of the government in Bengal from 1765 and a merchant company. A substantial portion of the revenue of Bengal was used in the purchase of goods for export to England, the so-described 'investment'. As a Committee of the English House of Commons put it in 1783, such 'investment' was not actually employment of trading capital brought into Bengal, but merely a means of "payment of a tribute". This was a major instance of what the Indian economic nationalists later described 'economic drain'. The territorial revenues also enabled the Company to raise money on credit (the so-described Territorial Debt) and to pay for military action for further territorial expansion.

THE NEW LAND REVENUE SETTLEMENTS

First Experiments in Land Revenue Management

After gaining manage of Bengal in 1757, the British thought that they would retain the administration recognized through the Nawabs of Bengal, but would use it to collect an ever-rising amount for themselves. Though, the rapacity and corruption of the Company's employees, and their continual interference in the administration led to complete disorganization, and was one of the causes of the terrible famine of 1769-70, in which it was estimated that one-third of the people of Bengal died.

From 1772 therefore, a new system was introduced: this was the farming system. Under this system the government gave out the collection of land revenue on a contract foundation. The contractor who offered to pay the main amount from a sure district or sub-division was given full powers for a sure number of years. Obviously, such contractors (they were described 'farmers' in those days), would try and extort as much as possible throughout the era that they held the contract; it would not matter to them if the people were ruined and the manufacture in the later years declined. After all, they would have made their profit. Extortion and oppression were the obvious results of such a system. Furthermore, several of the contractors had offered to

pay very big amounts, and later establish that they could not collect so much, even with great oppression. Finally, the system also led to corruption. As with several government contracts even today, profitable contracts on very easy terms were given to the friends and favorites and 'benamidars' of men in power, leading to loss to the government. In 1786 Lord Cornwallis was sent out to India with orders to clean up and reorganize the administration.

The Permanent Resolution in Bengal

Cornwallis realized that the existing system was impoverishing the country—its agriculture was in decline. Furthermore, it was failing to produce the big and regular surplus that the Company hoped for. And it was also becoming hard for the Company to get the big quantities of Indian goods that it planned to export to Europe, because, as Cornwallis observed, the manufacture of silk, cotton, etc. all depended on agriculture. When agriculture was decaying, handicrafts could hardly be wealthy. And both the London authorities and Cornwallis were agreed that much of the corruption and oppression originated in the information that the taxation had the character of an 'uncertain, arbitrary imposition'.

It was decided therefore, that the land-tax would now be permanently fixed: the government would promise never to augment it in future. Many effects were expected from this measure. It would reduce the scope for corruption that lived when officials could alter the assessment at will. Furthermore, now that the state would not demand anything extra if the manufacture increased it was hoped that landholders would invest money in improving the land as the whole of the benefit would approach to them. Manufacture and trade would augment, and the government would also get its taxes regularly. Finally, Cornwallis whispered that even if the land tax was fixed, government could always levy taxes on trade and commerce in order to raise more money if it was needed. In any case, the land revenue was now fixed at a very high stage - an absolute maximum - of Rs. 2 crore and 65 lakhs.

A Resolution with Zamindars

So we see that the land revenue was fixed permanently. But from whom was it to be composed? The Nawabs of Bengal had composed taxes from the zamindars. These zamindars were usually in manage of big regions: sometimes whole districts. They had their own armed forces, and were termed Rajas. But there were also zamindars who held smaller regions, and either paid directly to the State, or paid through some big zamindar. The actual farming was accepted on through peasants who paid the zamindars at customary rates fixed in every sub-division (or pargana). Oppressive zamindars often added extra charges described 'abwabs' on top of the regular land revenue rates.

Through 1790 British rule had greatly confused this picture. Some Zamindars were retained - others were replaced through contractors or officials. The old customary rates were ignored, and every abuse permitted, if it led to an augment in the revenues.

Through the time Cornwallis arrived on the scene, the situation was one of the complete confusion. The new Governor-General belonged to the landed aristocracy of Britain and was in favour of a resolution that gave the right of ownership to the zamindars, who, he hoped, would improve the land as English landlords did. But separately from this preference on his part, it was hard for the government to create the resolution with any other class.

To understand this you necessity bear in mind that there necessity have been in relation to the four or five million cultivating families in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa at that time. Collecting from them would have involved the preparation of detailed records of all their holdings, and the calculation of a tax on this foundation. This would take many years and a big staff to execute. In addition it would provide great opportunities for corruption. It was obviously much simpler to collect the revenue from a small number of big zamindars - and this was the arrangement made under the Permanent Resolution that was introduced in Bengal and Bihar in 1793. Every bit of agricultural land in these provinces therefore became part of some zamindari. The zamindar had to pay the tax fixed upon it: if he did so then he was the proprietor, the owner of his zamindari. He could sell, mortgage or transfer it. The land would be inherited through heirs in due course. If though, the

zamindar failed to pay the tax due, then the Government would take, the zamindari and sell it through auction, and all the rights would vest in the new owner.

The Location of the Cultivators

The actual farming of the land was of course, accepted on through the lakhs of peasants who were now reduced to the status of tenants of the zamindars; Cornwallis had also decreed that the zamindars should issue written agreements (described pattas) to each cultivator, and these should specify what the tenant was to pay. He apparently whispered that this would prevent oppression through the zamindars.

In practice, though, no such pattas were issued, and the peasants were wholly at the mercy of the zamindars.

This was not accidental. As we have noted earlier, the permanent assessment was the main sum that could be got from the land. It was a heavy and oppressive assessment. Just as to the estimate of a knowledgeable official, John Shore, if a piece of land produced crops worth Rs. 100, then Rs. 45 went to the government, Rs. 15 to the zamindar and only Rs. 40 was left to the cultivator. Such oppressive taxes could only be composed through oppressive methods. If the zamindars were not allowed to oppress the peasants then they would not be able to meet the demands of the State. Through regulations made in 1793, 1799 and 1812, the zamindar could seize, that is, carry absent the tenants' property if the rent had not been paid. He did not need the permission of any court of law to do this. This was a legal method of harassment. In addition to this the zamindars often resorted to illegal methods, such as locking up or beating tenants who did not pay whatever was demanded. The immediate effect of the Resolution was therefore, to greatly worsen the location of the actual cultivators of the soil, in order to benefit the zamindars and the British Government.

Effects of the Permanent Resolution

It may appear that the resolution was greatly in favour of the zamindars but we should not forget that they were also now obliged to pay a fixed amount through fixed dates every year, and any failure on their part meant the sale of the zamindari. Furthermore, several of the zamindaris were rated for big sums that left no margin for shortfalls due to flood, drought or other calamity. As a result, several zamindars had their zamindaris taken absent and sold in the decades immediately after the permanent Resolution. In Bengal alone it is estimated that 68 per cent, of the zamindari land was sold flanked by 1794 and 1819. Merchants, government officials, and other zamindars bought these lands. The new buyers would then set in relation to the trying to augment the rents paid through the tenants in order to create a profit from their purchases. Raja Rammohan Roy remarked that: under the permanent resolution since 1793, the landholders have adopted every measure to raise the rents, through means of the power put into their hands.

Though, several zamindars still establish it hard to pay the amount demanded through the British. One such zamindar, the Raja of Burdwan then divided mainly of his estate into 'lots' or fractions described patni taluqs. Each such unit was permanently rented to a holder described a patnidar, who promised to pay a fixed rent. If he did not pay, his patni could be taken absent and sold. Other zamindars also resorted to this: thus a procedure of subinfeudation commenced.

Slowly the population of Bengal increased, waste and jungle land came under farming. Rents also increased. On the other hand, the tax payable to government was fixed, so the location of the zamindars improved, and they were able to lead lives of indolence and luxury at the expense of their tenants. Only in 1859 did the State take some step to protect the rights of tenant: a law passed that year bestowed a limited protection on old tenants, who were now termed occupancy tenants.

Disillusionment with Permanent Resolution

When Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Resolution in Bengal he expected that the same system would be recognized in the other British territories as well. And the Government of Madras in information began to introduce it in the lands under its manage. Though, British officials soon began to doubt the virtues of this system, while its defects became more prominent.

A very significant defect, as distant as they were concerned, was that it left no scope for increases in taxation, while the expenditure of the Company, fuelled through repeated wars, sustained to expand. Lord Wellesley, Governor-Common from 1798 to 1806 actually diverted funds sent from England for the purchase of trade goods and used them for his military expenditures. So officials began to think of ways and means of rising the government's income. Some of the officials thought that in 1793 the zamindars had got off too easily, and this mistake should not be repeated in future. As early as 1811 the London authorities warned against the introduction of permanent settlements without 'a minute and detailed survey' of the land.

The Emergence of Alternative Systems

Meanwhile other ways of assessing and collecting the land-tax were being devised through British officials. Two officers, Munro and Read were sent to administer a newly conquered region of Madras in 1792. Instead of collecting from the zamindars, they began to collect directly from the villages, Fixing the amount that each village had to pay. After this they proceeded to assess each cultivator or ryot separately - and thus evolved what came to be recognized as the 'Ryotwari' system.

This early ryotwari was a field assessment system. This means that the tax payable on each field was fixed through a government officer, and then the cultivator had the choice of cultivating that field and paying that amount, or

not cultivating it. If no other cultivator could be establish; then the field would not be cultivated: it would lie fallow.

Land Assessment Linder Ryotwari

You can see that the officer fixing the tax, or settling the revenue, has a hard task. He has to fix the tax on thousands of meadows in a sub-division or district, and to fix it in such a way that the burden on each such field is almost equal.

If the burden is not equally distributed, then the cultivators will not inhabit the heavily assessed meadows, and cultivate only those with a light assessment.

Now, in fixing the assessment of a field, the revenue officer had to consider two things: one was the excellence of the soil - whether it was rocky or rich, irrigated or arid etc.; the other was region of the field. It followed, therefore, that this system depended on a survey, that is, a classification of it. Thus one acre of first class rice land should pay the same amount regardless of whether it was located in this village or that one. But how was this amount to be fixed?

Munro usually fixed it through estimating what the usual product of the land was—for instance—2600 lbs. of paddy per acre. He would then claim that the State share of this amounted to one third of this, or two-fifths of this, and thus calculate the amount that the cultivator had to pay the State. This, of course is the theory of ryotwari-in practice, the estimates were mainly guesswork, and the amounts demanded so high that they could be composed with great difficulty, and sometimes could not be composed at all.

The Adoption of Ryotwari in Madras

After some experiments with other ways of managing the land revenue, the Madras authorities were through 1820 converted to the ryotwari system, and its triumph was indicated through the appointment of Munro as Governor of Madras. Munro advanced several arguments in favour of this system. He argued that it was the original - Indian land tenure, and the one best suited to Indian circumstances. Its adoption was due, though, to one main

cause - it resulted in a superior revenue than any other system could have produced. This was because there were no zamindars or other intermediaries who received any part of the agricultural surplus-whatever could be squeezed from the cultivator went directly to the State. The Madras government was chronically short of funds, and such a system would naturally appeal to it. So, taking advantage of the rejection of the Permanent Resolution, it introduced the temporary ryotwari resolution.

Ryotwari Theory and Practice

We have outlined the ryotwari system as it was urbanized through Munro in the districts under his charge. After 1820 though, ryotwari was extended to mainly of the Madras Presidency in shapes quite dissimilar from those visualized through Munro. His ryotwari, you will keep in mind, was a field assessment, leaving the cultivator free to cultivate or provide up any scrupulous field. And, as we saw, the working of such a system depended upon the government carrying out a detailed measurement and assessment of each field. But after 1820 the system was extended to several districts where no surveys had ever been accepted out. No one knew how much land a peasant cultivated, or what its product might be. His tax came to be fixed on an arbitrary foundation, usually through looking at what he had paid in earlier years. This was recognized as a 'putcut' assessment.

Again, in theory the ryotwari allowed the ryot to provide up any field that he chose. But it soon became clear that if this was freely permitted the tax revenue of the State would fall. So government officers began to compel the cultivators to hold on to (and of course, pay for) land that they did not really want to cultivate. Since farming was not voluntary, it was always hard to collect the revenue, and so the use of beating and torture to enforce payment was also widespread. These methods were exposed through the Madras Torture Commission in 1854. After this sure reforms were introduced. A scientific survey of the land was undertaken, the real burden of tax declined, and there was no need to use violent and coercive methods to collect the revenue. Though, these improvements occurred after 1860- beyond the era that we are studying at present.

Effects of the Ryotwari System in Madras

There is hardly any doubt that the effects of this system upon the rural economy were distinctly harmful. The peasants were impoverished and lacked the possessions to cultivate new lands. The Government of Madras itself noted in 1855 that only 14 1/2 million acres of ryotwari land were cultivated, while 18 million acres were waste. It confessed: 'There is no room for doubt that an augment of farming would follow reductions of the Government tax.'

Separately from this depressing effect upon the rural economy, the heavy burden of taxation distorted the land market. Land in mainly districts of Madras had no value in the first half of the 19th century. No one would buy it, because buying it meant that the new owner would have to pay the extortionate land revenue. After paying it, he would have no income from the land, and obviously, in such circumstances, no one would purchase land.

The Ryotwari Resolution in Bombay

Ryotwari in the Bombay Presidency had its beginnings in Gujarat. The British began through collecting the land revenue through the hereditary officials described desais and the village headmen (Patel). Though, this did not produce as much revenue as the British wanted, so they began collecting directly from the peasants in 1813-14. When they conquered the Peshwa's territory in 1818 the ryotwari system on the Madras pattern was also introduced there, under the supervision of Munro's disciple Elphinstone. The abuses that characterised the Madras ryotwari soon appeared in the Bombay Presidency also, especially as the Collectors began trying to augment the revenue as rapidly as they could.

A regular measurement and classification of the land was commenced under the supervision of an officer named Pringle. This survey was supposed to be founded upon the theory of rent urbanized through the English economist Ricardo. This theory was hardly applicable to Indian circumstances, and, in any case, Pringle's calculations were full of errors, and the resulting assessment was distant too high. When the government tried to collect the amounts fixed through Pringle in Pune district, several of the cultivators gave

up their lands and fled into the territory of the Nizam of Hyderabad. This assessment thus had to be abandoned after some years.

It was replaced through a reformed system devised through two officers named Wingate and Goldsmid. Their system did not try to apply any theoretical rules: instead it aimed at moderating the demand to a stage where it could be regularly paid. The actual assessment of each field depended upon its soil and site. This new assessment began to be made in 1836 and sheltered mainly of the Deccan through 1865. Its effects upon agriculture were beneficial, and the cultivated region expanded as the new assessment was introduced.

Effects of the Ryotwari System in Madras and Bombay

We have seen how the Permanent Resolution recognized a few big zamindars in a location of dominance in excess of the mass of the peasants. The social effects of the ryotwari settlements were less dramatic. In several regions the actual cultivating peasants were recorded as the occupants or 'ryots', and thus secured the title to their holdings. Though, as we saw, the tax was so heavy that several peasants would have gladly abandoned at least some of their land, and had to be prevented from doing so. It was also possible for non-cultivating landlords to have their names entered as the occupants (or owners) of scrupulous holdings, while the actual farming was accepted on through their tenants, servants or even bonded labourers. This was particularly the case in irrigated districts like Thanjavur (in Tamil Nadu) where several of the 'ryots' held thousands of acres of land. There was no limit to the amount of land that a ryot could hold, so there could be great variation in wealth and status flanked by one ryot and another. Though, money-lenders and other non-cultivators were not much interested in acquiring lands because of the heavy taxes that came with them. Hence the small peasants, oppressed though they might be through the tax-collector did not have to fear expropriation through the money-lender or landlord.

Under the reformed ryotwari system that slowly urbanized in Bombay after 1836 and Madras after 1858 the burden of the land revenue was

somewhat reduced, and land acquired a saleable value. The purchaser could now expect to create a profit from owning land :the State would not take it all as tax. One result of this was that money-lenders began to seize the lands of their peasant debtors and either evict them or reduce them to tenants. This procedure led to considerable social tension, and caused a major rural Uprising in the Bombay Deccan in 1875.

The other Alternative Resolution: The Mahalwari System

The aggressive policies of Lord Wellesley led to big territorial gains for the British in North India flanked by 1801 and 1806, These regions came to be described the North-Western Provinces. Initially the British planned a resolution on the Bengal pattern, Wellesley ordered the local officials to create the resolution with the zamindars wherever they could, provided they agreed to pay a suitably high land revenue. Only if the zamindars refused to pay, or nor zamindars could be establish were the settlements to be made village through village 'giving the preference to the mokuddums, perdhans, or any respectable Ryotts of the village. Ultimately, the resolution was to be made permanent, as in Bengal. In the meantime, though, every effort was made to enlarge the revenue collection. The demand in 1803-4 was Rs.188 lakhs-through 1817-18 it was Rs. 297 lakhs.

Such enormous increases provoked resistance from several of the big zamindars and rajas, who had been approximately self-governing in the earlier era. Several of them were therefore driven off their lands through the new administration. In other cases the old zamindars could not pay the amount demanded, and their estates were sold through the Government. Increasingly, therefore, it became necessary to collect from the village directly through its pradhan or muqaddam (headman). In the revenue records the word used for a fiscal unit was a 'mahal', and the village wise assessment therefore came to be described a mahalwari resolution. It was though quite possible for one person to hold a number of villages, so that several big zamindars sustained to exist. Furthermore, as in Bengal, the confusion and coercion that accompanied the collection of the very heavy land tax created fine opportunities for the local

officials, and big regions of land were illegally acquired through them in the early years. Meanwhile, the Government established that its expenditures were always exceeding its revenues, and the thought of a permanent resolution was dropped.

Mahalwari Theory and Practice

In 1819 an English official, Holt Mackenzie, urbanized the theory that taluqdars and zamindars were originally appointed through the State, and the real owners of villages were the zamindars who existed in them, or constituted the village society. He argued that their rights and payments should be clearly recognized through a survey. His thoughts were embodied in a law, Regulation VII of 1822. This required that Government officials should record all the rights of cultivators, zamindars and others, and also fix the amounts payable from every piece of land. The Governor-General's orders:

It appears necessary to enter on the task of fixing in detail the rates of rent and manners of payment current in each village, and applicable to each field: and anything short of this necessity be regarded as a very imperfect Resolution.

In practice, this proved impossible to implement. The calculations made were often quite inaccurate, and the Collectors in any case slanted them so as to augment the revenue due to the Government. Distant from favoring the village societies, the new mahalwari often ruined them through imposing impossible tax assessments. In 1833 it was decided that the detailed effort to regulate all rights and payments should be given up, and that a rough and ready estimate of what the village could pay to the State was adequate. In later years, these estimates came to be guided through the rents paid through the tenants of village lands to the owners. From these rents the Resolution officer would calculate the theoretical amount that all the lands of the village or mahal would yield. Then some part - ultimately 50 per cent of this would have to be paid to the Government. All these calculations involved a big amount of guesswork: and, not surprisingly, the guesses tended to be on the high face, rising the amounts to be paid to the State.

Effects of the Mahalwari Resolution

One of the early effects was that the regions under the manage of the big taluqdars was reduced. The British officers made direct settlements with the village zamindars as distant as possible, and even supported them in the law courts when the taluqdars brought suits against them. But the so-described village zamindars were supported only because it was planned to extract the highest possible revenue from them. They were freed from taluqdar's claims only to subject them to a full measure of government taxation.

The result was often the ruin of the village zamindars. One officer accounted that in several villages of Aligarh:

- The Juma (land revenue) was in the first lay considerably too heavy; and in which the Malgoozars revenue payers appear to have lost all hope of improving their condition or of bearing up against the burden imposed on them. They are now deeply in debt, and utterly incapable of creation any arrangements for defraying their arrears.

The result of this situation was that big regions of land began to pass into the hands of money-lenders and merchants who ousted the old cultivating proprietors or reduced them to tenants' will. This occurred mainly regularly in the more commercialized districts, where the land revenue demand had been pushed to the highest stage, and where the landholders suffered mainly acutely from the business collapse and export depression after 1833. Through the 1840s it was not uncommon to discover that no buyers could be establish to take land that was being sold for arrears of land revenue. As in the Madras Presidency, the tax in these cases was so high that the buyer could not expect to create any profit from the purchase. Overall, therefore, the mahalwari resolution brought impoverishment and widespread dispossession to the cultivating societies of North India in the 1830s and 1840s, and their resentment expressed itself in popular uprisings in 1857. In that year villagers and taluqdars all in excess of North India drove off government official, destroyed court and official records and papers and ejected the new auction, purchasers from the villages.

THE COMMERCIALISATION OF AGRICULTURE

The Range of Commercialization

Markets have not always lived. In information, they are relatively new in human society. Several societies have organised manufacture, sharing and consumption without resorting to buying and selling, without the attendance of money and markets. Slowly, though dissimilar things begin to be bought and sold, and thus markets develop. This is the procedure of commercialization. In a society that is undergoing commercialization, sure things may begin to be sold before others-for instance, forest tribes may begin selling wood or honey and buying salt and iron even when other things are not bought or sold through them.

In the same way, when agriculture is commercialized, many dissimilar markets may approach into operation at dissimilar times. We shall try and create a rough list of these markets:

- Product markets-various agricultural products, such as wheat or rice or wool or ghee begin to be sold;
- Input markets-things needed for agricultural manufacture such as tools, seeds, fertilizers, bullocks, begin to be sold;
- Labour markets-when workers begin to be hired for money;
- Land markets-when farmers begin to buy and sell the land, or hire it for money;
- Market for money itself-as commercialization develops, the cultivators are often in need of money, to pay taxes or rents in cash to *buy* seed or bullocks, or even to feed themselves and their families. A market in loans grows up, and the 'price' of the loan is, of course, the interest that the borrower necessity pay.

Several other types of markets exist in a urbanized market economy, but we do not need to consider them. Thus we have seen that there are several types of markets, and some markets can function even where others do not exist. For instance, villagers may begin selling their surplus wheat or cotton

even at a time when land is held on the foundation of traditional customs and cannot be sold at all. Again, it is quite possible for some of the crop to be sold while another part is disposed of in customary, non-market ways - for instance given to the village priest or carpenter or smith. So commercialization is a slow procedure, not a sudden or dramatic event.

Commercialization before the British

Markets have been recognized in India from ancient times, and agricultural products were bought and sold in them. In the Mughal empire a big part of the land tax was composed in money from the cultivators, and this obviously meant that they were selling their products for money in order to pay the taxes. It has been estimated that this involved selling in relation to the 50 per cent of the agricultural produce.

So virtually everyone was involved in swap as a producer or consumer, usually both. Specialized merchants, money-lenders and brokers were to be establish, and there is even proof that some types of rights in land (zamindari rights) were bought and sold.

The Mughal empire broke up in the 18th century, and was succeeded through various local kingdoms. They sometimes composed lower taxes than the Mughals had done, but they also composed mainly in cash which designates that the commercial system sustained to exist.

Commercialization under the British

In the middle of the new powers that took advantage of the decline of the Mughals was the British East India Company. It acquired territories in South India, and also the rich provinces of Bengal, Bihar and coastal Orissa in the East. These regions possessed a rich agriculture as also flourishing trade and handicrafts, and the Company as well as its servants and employees planned to enrich themselves through this conquest. It is the methods adopted

through them that gave the commercialization under their manage its distinctive characteristics.

In order to understand this we have to seem at the nature of this new ruling power. It was a trading company based in Britain, which had been granted a monopoly of the Eastern trade through the British Government. Its aims and objectives would therefore be dissimilar from those of an Indian ruler, or even a raider like Nadir Shah.

The Company's Aims

The Company was mainly concerned with acquiring Indian goods for sale in Europe. Since there was little demand for British goods in India at that time, the Company had to bring gold and silver bullion to India to pay for its purchases. After the conquest of Bengal it hoped that it would no longer have to import this bullion into India: instead, it would collect taxes from its Indian subjects and use the surplus in excess of its local expenditures to buy goods that would be exported to Europe. Then there would be no need to send out gold and silver from Britain.

You can see that under such an arrangement India would, in a roundabout way pay a tribute to the Company in the form of goods to be sold in Europe. The Company would use its political power to create commercial profits for itself.

Implications of These Aims'

Now, you will see that for this aim to be realized the Company had to manage to do two things:

- It necessity collect taxes so as to yield enough not only to pay its military and administrative expenses in India, but also to give a surplus for the finance of its trade; and
- India should produce at low prices goods for which there was a demand in the West, so that the surplus revenues could be remitted in the form of these goods.

No sooner had the company acquired the Diwani (revenue manage) of Bengal in 1763 than the Directors in London wrote to their employees in India to 'enlarge every channel for conveying to us as early as possible the annual produce of our acquisitions' and to 'augment the investment of your company to the utmost extent that you can.' (The term 'investment' referred to the money spent in buying goods for export to Europe.) More than twenty years later, the Governor Common, Lord Cornwallis, had the same aims. The value of Bengal to the British, he stated, depended 'on the continuance of its skill to furnish a big annual investment to Europe'.

Effect of the Export Trade on Agriculture

When Indian rulers composed taxes, mainly of the money was spent within the locality or region, and so agriculture was little affected through foreign demand. Indian exports of handicraft and other goods more than sheltered imports from outside the country. Initially the British also concentrated on exporting Indian manufactures, like textiles, to the West. But a dangerous rival to Indian textiles appeared in the later 18th century, as a cotton mill industry grew up in Britain. These mills establish it hard to compete with the Indian products, and in the 1780s they launched an agitation, claiming that the East India Company was injuring them through its import of Indian fabrics.

The company realized that it needed to promote other rows of export from India, agricultural products were a safe row. They could not compete with British products, and might serve as raw materials for British industry. This strategy had been followed in the case of silk from the 1770s, but with the development of British industry this trend grew stronger. Furthermore, through the 1780s an indirect method of remitting the Indian tribute via China had began to take form. The British imported big quantities of tea from China, and had to pay for it in silver, as the Chinese did not want Western goods. Though, the Chinese bought Indian products like ivory, raw cotton and (later on) opium. If the British controlled this trade, then they would not need to send silver to China - the tea could be got in swap for Indian products that the British acquired in India. This system became recognized as 'triangular trade', with the three points being Calcutta, Canton, and London. Wealth circulated through the first two but gathered in the Company's treasury in the third.

So, to conclude. The East India Company was interested in producing a controlled commercialization of agriculture in order to give commodities for either the Chinese or the Western market.

The Selection of the Commercial Crops

The crops on which the company concentrated were indigo, cotton, raw silk, opium, pepper, and, in the 19th century, also tea and sugar. Of these, raw silk was used through British weavers; it could not be produced in Britain. The same was true of cotton, and it could also be sold to the Chinese. Opium, of course, was smuggled into China despite the Chinese prohibitions on its import. Indigo was a textile dye needed in the West. Tea farming was introduced in Assam from the 1840s so that Britain could manage its supply, and did not have to depend on China for it. None of these things we may note, competed with or replaced any British product. All of them also had another feature in general; they were all valuable in relation to their bulk, which is to say that their price per kilogram or per cubic meter was high.

At this time, we necessarily remember, all goods went in excess of land in carts pulled through horses or bullocks, and in excess of the sea in sailing ships. It took four months or more for a ship to sail from India to Europe, and the ships accepted distant less than contemporary cargo vessels. So the cost of transport was high. Now, if cheap, bulky goods had been accepted they would have become very expensive after the shipping cost had been paid. This would create them unprofitable for the Company to trade in. So it was necessary for the products to be profitable in relation to their weight, so that the transport costs did not eat up the profits.

The Commercial Crops

Now we will talk about some crops which had great commercial prospects.

Raw Silk

The Company was interested in this product approximately from the beginning of its rule. In 1770 the Directors wrote from London that Bengal silk, if properly made, could replace the Italian and Spanish silk that the British weavers were then using. So experts were brought in to improve the methods of silk creation in India, and to set up workshops (described 'filatures') where the cocoons were spun into silk thread for export. The

company through its mediators and officials also coerced the growers of the mulberry trees (on whose leaves the silk-worms feed), so as to stay the price of silk low, so as to allow the contractors to create big profits. Silk remained an significant export until the last decades of the 19th century.

Opium

We have already seen that the British establish it hard to pay for the tea that they imported from China. Though, they soon hit upon the device of selling the Chinese opium. Opium is an addictive drug, like nicotine and alcohol, and once a person has started taking it, he discovers it hard to provide up, and will pay high prices in order to get it. The British establish it highly profitable to smuggle opium into China

Opium had extensive been produced in India in small quantities. It was used a medicine as well as a narcotic. In 1773 Warren Hastings, searching for fresh sources of revenue placed its manufacture and trade under Government manage, and appointed contractors to handle the crop. Later on officials recognized as opium mediators were put in charge of it. The opium poppy could only be grown under a contract to sell to the Government at a price fixed through it. Any effort to evade this manage was severely punished. The price fixed was as low as possible, so as to yield a big profit to the State. The supply was also sought to be controlled so as to uphold a high price on the Chinese market. Great efforts were made to put down the self-governing producers of opium in the Malwa region of Central India-when they failed the company contented itself through imposing a heavy export duty on the Malwa opium. Thus we see that the development of opium as a commercial crop fulfilled both the objectives of the Company-it gave a big revenue in India, and also created a channel (via China) for the remittance of that income to London.

Indigo

This is a blue dye extracted from a tropical plant. It was used to color textiles. Up to the 1790s much of the Western supply had approach from the Caribbean colonies. But then, manufacture there declined, and Indian indigo establish a rising market. The company had been encouraging Europeans to

settle in its territory to produce indigo, and purchasing it from them for export. Manufacture increased rapidly. It was less than 5,000 factory mounds in 1788-9 and reached 133,000 mounds through 1829-30.

Indigo was grown under two systems of manufacture and ryoti. Under the first, the planter undertook the farming with their own ploughs and cattle, employing hired labour for the purpose. The plant was cut and taken to the planters' factory for the dye to be extracted. Under the ryoti system (also recognized as -asamiwar), the peasants cultivated the plant on their own land, and had to deliver it to the factory at a fixed price. Approximately all the indigo was produced under this system, as it had several advantages for the planter. To begin with, the price paid to the peasant was very low, and yet he could not refuse to grow the indigo. Refusal might lead to a beating or imprisonment and the destruction of the other crops on his land. To further strengthen the planters' powers, doctored accounts were maintained which showed the peasant to be in debt to the factory - a debt that was to be cleared through going on delivering indigo. Somehow, the debt was never cleared, but increased from year to year. The planters were Europeans, and maintained excellent dealings with the Magistrates and Government officers, so that no complaints against them were ever heeded through officials. So the peasants were compelled to go on rising this plant at a loss to themselves: their accumulated discontent finally establish expression in what were recognized as the 'Indigo Riots' in 1859-60. Thus we see that this significant commercial crop was grown under a system of outright coercion.

Cotton

If indigo was the significant commercial crop in Eastern India, raw cotton was that of Western India. A important export to China had urbanized through the 1780s, and the East India Company and Bombay merchants, who enjoyed its favour, sought to manage the sources of supply. Through 1806 substantial territory had been acquired in Gujarat, and the Company began forcing the cultivators to sell to them at a price lower than that Prevailing elsewhere. Now though, the Company came into disagreement with private

European merchants and were compelled to provide up the system and retire from this trade in 1833.

Pepper

Here again the political power of the Company was used to force down the price, and to prevent merchants from selling to the French or other competitors. Here again, the company was forced to hand in excess of to private British merchants in the 1830s.

Sugar

The sugarcane is indigenous to India, and gur and chini have been produced here for several centuries. It was extensively consumed within India. In the 1830s the indigo planters were faced with a fall in prices and sales, and so capital began to be invested in producing sugar for the London market, where import duties had been reduced and demand was rising. Big regions of land were given to European speculators who began setting up sugar plantations in eastern Uttar Pradesh. The local peasants had extensive produced gur for local consumption and sale to other parts of India, but they were now made to produce a thickened sugarcane juice (described rub) for delivery to the planters who processed it into sugar. As with indigo, the peasants received advances, and were then bound to deliver to the factory at a low, fixed price. Big profits, were made through the planters, and exports grew; in 1833-34 Calcutta had sent less than 1,600 tons of sugar to England, but through 1846-7 it sent in excess of 80,000 tons-a fifty fold augment. This prosperity was short existed, and when prices fell after 1848 mainly of the factories shut down, and exports approximately ceased. Indian-gur merchants and khandsaris then took the trade back into the old channel of sale to Mirzapur and central India.

Tea

In the 1830s the Company faced mounting hostility in China because of its insistence on smuggling opium. It feared that its lucrative trade in tea might be interrupted, and began to promote the farming of tea within its own territories in Assam. When the experiment proved successful, the gardens

were handed in excess of to a private company, the Assam Company. Other tea companies also set up gardens in the 1850s. Since there were no local labourers to be had, the tea gardens brought in indentured or bonded labourers from Chota Nagpur and elsewhere in big numbers. This is the only instance in which commercial crops were produced in big capitalist enterprises. Though, the expansion of tea, coffee and other plantations really occurred after 1860, and thus falls outside the era that we are studying now.

The Effects of Commercialization

We have now seen in detail how the dissimilar commercial crops were produced and sold. It will be obvious to you that each is dissimilar from the others in sure ways and it follows that the effects of commercialization will differ from time to time, lay to lay, and crop to crop. We cannot expect them to be exactly the same everywhere. Though, sure general characteristics, and sure general effects to exist: and it is on these that this part will focus.

Impoverishment

Let us start with the Indian economy as a whole. You will keep in mind that the substance of the British was to produce goods for export to Europe, so that funds could be accumulated in the Company's treasury in London. Private English businessmen also wanted to send money back so that they could ultimately retire to a life of comfort in Britain. The exports therefore served essentially to remit possessions out of India. It was the method through which the Indian 'tribute' was transferred to Britain. India received no imports in return for these exports. Obviously such a transfer impoverished India. The growth and export of commercial crops thus served to impoverish rather than to enrich India.

Instability

Agriculture in India was exposed to several hazards; drought, flood or other calamity could destroy the crops and ruin the farmers. But with commercial agriculture a new set of dangers appeared. The crops were now

going to distant markets. If the West Indian sugar crop was good, prices might fall in Calcutta, and the sugar factories in Azamgarh might pay the peasants less than they had promised, and maltreat them if they complained.

Likewise, Bundelkhand region (the northern part of Madhya Pradesh) began to grow a lot of cotton for the China market after 1816. The British officials claimed that the region thus became very wealthy, and increased the land tax. Though, the export declined in the 1830s, prices fell-but the taxes were not reduced. Both zamindars and peasants became impoverished, the land went out of farming, and finally in 1842 an uprising, recognized as the Bundela Rebellion broke out.

Uttar Pradesh also suffered in a similar way in the 1830s. The price of cotton and indigo fell, and as Professor Siddiqi describes it: 'Peasants were abandoning their lands, Zamindars had suffered losses. Money-lenders had been ruined because the loans they had made had not been repaid; several of them now refused to lend money to the cultivators. Land had depreciated in value: innumerable cases were accounted of estates being put up for sale and no buyers coming forward.' The situation in rural Bengal was also similar at this time.

This was not the result of coincidence. Flanked by 1830 and 1833 approximately all the big firms linked with the export trade and the finance of commercial agriculture in Bengal, Bihar and U.P. went bankrupt. The cause was that they had gone on despatching indigo to Britain even though prices were falling, because they wanted to get their money out of India. The Government made matters worse through sending out bullion to London, and thus causing a scarcity of money in India.

Businessmen who had borrowed to produce the export crops establish that they could not repay the loans, and went bankrupt. Finally, of course the worst sufferers were the peasants who had been drawn through force and persuasion into the manufacture of the commercial crops. Falling prices in London came to ruin cultivators in India. This is what we mean when we say the commercialization added a fresh element of instability to the rural economy.

The Various Markets

We saw in 16.2 above that commercialization is to be viewed in terms of dissimilar markets. We have also seen how markets for various products (silk, opium, indigo etc.) grew up. So the product market widened and enlarged itself. But what happened to the other markets that we had listed?

Strange though it may appear, the way that commercialization urbanized in India actually tended to check the appearance of the other markets. First of all, except in the case of tea, the crops were not produced through hired labour. As we saw in the case of indigo, the preferred system was one in which the peasant could be coerced into supplying the required product at a very low price (what was described the ryoti system). In such a system, earnings would be very small which was why the peasants had to be coerced into it. They could survive because they and their families could grow food on the rest of their land-but a landless labourer could not do this, and would have had to be paid more. So the planters and businessmen did not like to employ wage labour, and the labour market did not develop.

The effect on the input market was similar. The peasant had to use his own plough, bullocks, etc. to raise the commercial crop. But he was not paid enough for this —as that would reduce the planters' profits. He could bear the loss because these things were needed to grow his own food supply also, but as in the case with labour, no free market for these inputs could easily arise.

The growth of a land market would also be inhibited. You will realize that land cannot be consumed like rice or dal. When we buy land we seem forward to getting some income from its yield. But no one will buy it if he is not reasonably sure that he will be allowed to get this income - that an indigo planter or opium agent will not suddenly create some new demand on him. The fear of such action will obviously prevent outsiders from buying land and thus creating a land market. The hereditary cultivators may go on tilling the soil: after all, what alternative employment do they have? But the exacting regime of the tax-collector, the zamindar and the planter will check the growth of a market in land.

Finally, there is the credit market, the market for loans. Here also the effect of the system was to check its expansion. The indigo cultivators were

given loans through the planters as a way of tying them down. An English official observed: 'If a ryot once received an advance he could very seldom or never clear himself and thus becomes little better than a bond-slave to the factory'. No one else would lend to a man in this situation, for how the loan could be repaid? On the other hand, the planter himself did not want the advance repaid, because then the peasant would escape from his manage. Likewise, in the case of opium, the peasants took the advance to grow the crop at least in part because they feared that a refusal would anger the village headman and the Government. A free market, with the freedom for each individual to act in his own interest clearly did not exist.

Social Structure

It is sometimes whispered that commercialization necessarily results in rising inequality within the peasantry, with some becoming wealthy and employing wage- labourers, and others losing their land and forced to work for wages. This may happen if the markets are allowed to develop and function freely, and, in scrupulous, the market for land becomes active. Though, we have been that this was not the case in the commercialization that we are studying. The continual use of coercion and State power distorted the markets and prevented the appearance of a full labour market. Instead, commercial manufacture fastened itself on the existing structure of small peasant manufacture and impoverished it. Manufacture sustained to be accepted on through the peasant and his family on their little plot of land, but now the indigo planter or opium agent forced him to spot off a part of his land for a commercial crop, from which he earned little or nothing. The peasant was impoverished, but neither the method nor the organisation of manufacture were altered. The European businessmen establish it more profitable to use the small peasant household than to engage in big-level manufacture with hired labour.

DE-INDUSTRIALIZATION IN INDIA

What do we Mean through De-Industrialization

De-industrialization refers to the procedure of a sustained and marked industrial decline. The proportion of the national income generated through industry and the percentage of population dependent on it are commonly used as quantitative events of industrial growth or decline. An augment in these proportions suggests industrialization while a decrease designates industrial decline or de-industrialization. The whole question of the destruction of Indian industries and the realization of the country received a lot of attention both in Colonial India as well as in Britain through the various political and economic interest groups. The Indian Nationalists used the destruction of Indian craft industries under early British rule to substantiate their point that India was being exploited under British rule. The nascent free trader group in Britain attacked the East India Company's monopolistic manage in excess of India through criticizing the destruction of the country's traditional crafts under the Company rule.

The Pre-British Economy

The pre-British industrial sector in India has been described as exceptionally vibrant and buoyant through some observers and as stagnant and technically backward through others. The very limited quantitative data on significant indicators of industrial change such as output, productivity, capital investment and the size of the workforce prevent any conclusive assessment of pre-colonial India's industrial performance. Qualitative proof, though, does help us in forming a fairly reliable picture of the state of the industrial sector throughout this era.

In spite of a highly uneven sharing of income in Mughal India the demand in the home market for essential manufactured consumer goods appears to have been big in absolute terms and exhibited an rising trend. The rich nobility provided the market for the manufacture of high class luxury goods.

Cotton textiles which were produced virtually all in excess of India constituted the mainly significant manufacture. Dye stuffs (predominantly indigo) and sugar were the after that mainly significant commercial industrial products. The other important agro-based industries incorporated oils, tobacco, opium and alcoholic beverages. Although the mining industry was inadequately urbanized, India was self-sufficient in iron. Ship structure was another significant and developing industry.

In Mughal India, unlike pre-industrial Europe, there was no sharp division flanked by urban centres where industries were concentrated and the countryside which supplied primary produce. Industrial manufacture in India sustained to be a mainly rural based action.

The Mughal economy while marked through expanding demand and organizational growths grew very slowly. Relative stagnation in demand, a low rate of capital formation and the absence of rapid technological innovations contributed to the Mughal industrial economy as a whole rising rather slowly.

The Nature of Early Trade with Europe

Early European trade with India was heavily balanced in India's favour. The seventeenth century saw Indian cotton textiles rapidly displacing pepper and other spices to become the mainly significant Asian, import into the west. Through 1664, the English East India Company imported more than 750,000 pieces of cotton goods from India, which accounted for 73 per cent of the Company's total trade. In the following two decades the figure further increased to 1.5 million pieces with cotton textiles now contributing to 83 per cent of the total import value.

The marked expansion of Indian cotton textile exports substantially accelerated the growth of the textile industry 'which almost certainly provided employment to a sizeable part of the population.'

This unprecedented growth of Indian textile imports into Europe was accompanied through a steady inflow of bullion into India from the buyer nations, because India sustained to enjoy a positive balance of trade vis-à-vis these nations. It has been suggested that the Indo European trade of this era,

which has clearly tilted in favour of India could not have been sustained at the stage for almost three centuries without the detection of American mines. The increased European liquidity became a vital prerequisite for permitting the sustained financing of this trade with its highly adverse balance of payments.

Modern Western observers who were influenced through mercantilist thinking attributed the instability in national finances of Western countries to their markedly negative balance of trade. The shipment of big quantities of treasure to Asia through the European companies made them the focus of criticism.

European trade with India up to the early years of the nineteenth century was based upon the price differential flanked by Asia and the rest of the world. That is European merchants bought goods at a low price in India and sold them for a much higher price in the European, African and New World markets. The profits were based on the variation flanked by the purchase price and selling price.

The main problem which the European companies faced in their trade with India was the financing of their Indian purchases. Since there was no demand for British or European exports in India the purchases of Indian goods had to be financed through bullion payments.

Although estimating the magnitude of bullion exports to India through European companies has proved to be problematic European trade through the first half of the eighteenth century appears to have had a important impact on Indian foreign trade and industry.

The Fall Out of (he Early Trade with Europe

The same era witnessed the emergence of Bengal as a important commercial entity. European trade overtook 'country trade' in importance. The Indian secondary industry responded through rising localized manufactures to meet the increased demand. Though, the European traders do not appear to have stimulated new form of commercial and industrial

organizations. They latched themselves on to the existing organizations of commercial and industrial manufacture.

The expansion of Indian manufactured exports to Britain and other foreign countries though stopped through the first years of the nineteenth century. In the course of the first half of the nineteenth century India progressively lost its export market in manufactures. The commodity composition of India's foreign trade also underwent a radical change, with agricultural products gaining in importance and manufactures declining. This becomes clear from the table 4.1 below:

Table 4. 1: Commodity Composition and percentage share of selected Items in the total value of Indian exports-1811 to 1850-1

	Indigo	Piece goods	Raw Silk	Raw Cotton	Opium	Sugar	Total
1811-12	18.5	33.0	8.3	4.9	23.8	1.5	90.0
1814-15	20.0	14.3	13.3	8.0	NA	3.0	58.6
1828-29	27.0	11.0	10.0	15.0	17.0	4.0	84.0
1834-35	15.0	7.0	8.0	21.0	25.0	2.0	78.0
1839-40	26.0	5.0	7.0	20.0	10.0	7.0	75.0
1850-51	10.9	3.7	3.8	19.1	30.1	10.0	77.6

Trade After Battle of Plassey

In the pre-1757 era, 80 to 90 per cent of the East India Company's exports from India were financed through bullion imports. Slowly this situation started changing and throughout the era 1795 to 1812 the East India Company were importing into Bengal goods worth almost 33 per cent of the exports they made from Bengal.

The first six decades since the Battle of Plassey was a era dominated through the use of India through merchant capital. Throughout this era the East India Company began to set up manage in India and monopolized all British trade with the subcontinent.

After the assumption of the Diwani' of Bengal the pressure on the East India Company to export bullion into Bengal to finance its investments decreased. The Bengal plunder, profits from the duty free inland trade and the 'surplus' from Diwani revenues were not used to finance the Company's investments. The Company progressively abandoned free competition to secure its goods in the local markets. The producers of these goods were forced to supply their produce to the Company at low prices arbitrarily fixed through the Company. An observation through a modern commentator clearly highlights this point—"The roguery practiced in this department is beyond imagination: but all terminates in defrauding the poor weaver; for the prices which the Company's Gomastas, and in confederacy with them the Jachendars (examiners of fabrics) fix upon goods, are in all spaces at least 15 per cent, and some even 40 per cent less than the goods so manufactured would sell in the public bazaar or market upon free sale". (William Bolts "Thoughts on India Affairs", 1772).

The years flanked by the Battle of Plassey and 1813 saw the East India Company administration in Bengal in virtual anarchy. The English Company servants indulged in 'private' trade and started remitting their money to Europe mainly through foreign companies and clandestine English trade.

The Impact of the European Trade

The pre-1813 British use of India can be termed as use through merchant capital in a context of mercantilism. The East India Company's objective was to buy the maximum quantity of Indian manufactured goods at the cheapest possible price so that substantial profits can be made through selling these goods in Britain and other foreign countries. The reckless and anarchic attempts to augment their purchases while forcing down the price adversely affected the traditional Indian export industry, especially the cotton textile manufacture.

In the absence of reliable quantitative data on the various indices of indigenous industrial manufacture for this era, historians and economists have been forced to rely mainly on qualitative proof on British use of the Indian

economy and the disastrous impact that it had on the artisans and the agricultural population.

Separately from the shortsighted, anarchic use of the country's industries through the Company throughout this era, British textile manufacturers at home had begun to force the British Government to impose restrictive import tariffs and bans on the import of fine Indian textiles.

As early as 1720 the British manufacturing interests had successfully prohibited the importation of Indian silks and printed calicoes into Britain. The duty for home consumption of Indian calicoes and muslins was very heavy. In 1813 the Parliament again imposed an increased consolidated duty on home consumption of calicoes and muslins.

Thus we discover that in the era till 1813 Indian industry, especially the textile industry was being adversely affected in two ways. On the one hand the Company in its eagerness to depress the purchase price of cotton manufactures in India, virtually reduced the weavers to the status of indentured labourers, through forcing them to take advances from the Company and sell their products below market prices. Through the regulation of 1789, for instance, they were forced to pay a penalty of 35 per cent on the advance taken if they defaulted in supplying the goods. The rapacious private trade of the Company servants and the shortsighted policy of creation quick big profits severely affected the textile industry as well as the economy as a whole.

On the other hand, the East India Company, which had a monopoly on the trade with India itself became the focus of attacks from traders who had been excluded from having a share in the Indian trade as well as from the nascent British manufacturers who perceived the manufactures imported through the Company into Britain to be threatening their own industries.

The Company's own shortsighted use and the free trader inspired sanctions against Indian manufactured imports into Britain resulted in a progressive decline in the share of Indian cotton piece goods in the Company's investments from Rs, 92,68,770 in 1705 to Rs.90,51,324 in 1799 and to Rs.25,50,000 in 1810. The value of cotton piece goods

exported on Company explanation from Bengal declined from Rs.61,67,851 in 1792 to Rs.3,42,843 in 1823.

The shift in the commodity composition of Indian exports from manufactured goods to primary products since the early nineteenth century is accompanied through a complimentary augment in the share of manufactured goods in Indian imports (See Table 4.2).

Table 4. 2: Commodity composition of selected imports into India, 1828-1840

	Value	(%)	Value	<i>m</i>	Value	(%)	Value	(*)	Value	(%)
1828-29	4.2	7.8	11.8	22.0	8.6	16.0	4.6	8.6	2.6	4.9
1831-32	5.1	11.4	9.6	21.4	8.6	19.1	2.5	5.5	2.1	4.6
1834-35	4.1	9.7	8.9	21.0	6.0	14.0	3.4	8.0	2.2	5.2
1837-38	6.2	12.8	13.6	28.0	5.1	10.6	2.6	5.3	1.4	2.9
1839-40	7.5	13.3	18.3	32.3	6.1	11.0	3.1	5.5	1.2	2.1

De-Industrialization

Early nationalist economists such as R.C. Dutt and subsequently Madan Mohan Malaviya (in his dissent note at the Indian Industrial Commission) argued that India underwent de-industrialization; their proof was statistics of import of manufactures, particularly import figures of Manchester made cotton cloth. For instance Dutt showed that the value of cotton goods sent from England and its ports east of the Cape of Good Hope mainly to India, increased in value from 156 in 1794 to 108824 in 1813.

In the pre-1813 era it was the excessive use of the Indian industrial sector especially the textile industry through the monopolistic East India Company which led to the progressive degeneration of this industry. Forcible reduction of purchase prices in India was resorted to through the East India Company to augment the variation flanked by its buying and selling price and consequently augment its trading profits.

The import restrictions on Indian textiles in England further weakens this industry. The income of weavers and spinners were drastically reduced,

thereby restricting any possibility of capital accumulation and technological innovations in this traditional industrial sector.

While India's traditional manufacturing sector was being steadily weakened under the Company, in the same era Britain had begun its Industrial Revolution and was rapidly expanding its industries through revolutionizing its technology as well as organization beside principles of capitalist manufacture.

The rising British textile industry had all the advantages which were denied to its Indian counterpart. The British industry had a rapidly developing technological base, it had the advantages of economies of level and finally it was cautiously protected in its formative years from foreign competition.

Some historians have put forward the view that the export of British machine made yarn and cloth did not harm the indigenous textile industry because under British rule the growth of political stability, better transport facilities and market expansion led to increased per capita agricultural productivity; moreover, it is argued that cheaper machine-made yarn strengthened the indigenous handloom sector, while a growth in per capita real income and new economic behaviors compensated for the decline in earlier enterprises. Though, historical proof does not bear out these arguments. There is no proof whatsoever for a growth in the demand for cotton goods or a rise in per capita real income in the nineteenth century. Further, as Bipan Chandra has argued, the decline in the per unit price of cloth was much faster than that of yarn. This combined with the information that the ratio prevented any benefit accruing to the Indian weaver. Though, historical proof does not bear out these arguments. There is no proof whatsoever for a growth in the demand for cotton goods or a rise in per capita real income in the nineteenth century. Further, the decline in the per unit price of cloth was much faster than that of yarn.

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF COLONIAL RULE

Subordination of 'Native' Capital

The European system of merchant capitalist trade provided initially for an significant role for the Indian 'native' traders: they were needed for the procurement of goods for export. But, as the English East India Company began to acquire political hegemony and a dominant location as the chief buyer of export goods, the local traders' location was reduced to that of dependent mediators and, in some branches of trade, to the status of servants of the English.

In the middle of 18th century there were flourishing native business societies in several parts of India. These incorporated the Hindu, Jain and Bohra merchants of the Gujarat coast, the Khattris and Lohnas of Punjab and Sind, the Marwari banias of Rajasthan, the Moplas and Syrian Christians and Cochin Jews of present day Kerala, the Chettis and Komtis of Tamil and Andhra region, the Vaniks of Bengal, etc. Some of them, e.g. those in Gujarat or Kerala region, were prominent in overseas trade, and in various degrees all of them played in the internal economy some significant roles (in addition to their usual trade functions), in the pre- colonial era.

- They facilitated tax collection in cash through converting crops into money and sometimes also through paying, on behalf of the landlords or tax farmers, cash to the state in advance: often they were also guarantors of the tax collectors.
- The traders and bankers also facilitated remittance of revenue. For instance through means of a bill of swap or hundi the banking home of Jagat Seth paid the annual revenue payable through the Bengal Nawab to the Mughal emperor.
- Money-changing was an significant function performed through bankers, particularly the Sarrafs. This was an significant service not only to trade but also the state at a time when numerous local states each minted currency of its own and coins also came in from foreign countries through trade channels.
- The State depended heavily on the traditional trading societies for provisioning the army throughout the wars. From late 17th century, as

you know, warfare became quite frequent. For supply of food to the army on the march, for loan of money to pay the soldiers' wages, for sale of plundered goods, etc. the state depended on traders and banjaras (migrating dealers in food granules, livestock etc.).

- Finally the traders and bankers were vitally significant to the State and the nobility as source of loans throughout crises like warfare or the failure of crops, as well as other credit necessities in normal times.

Thus in the pre-colonial era there was secure interdependence flanked by the State and the traders and bankers. As the local States began to wilt before the onslaught of the British and the East India Company's tentacles began to spread in India, some of these rows of business began to secure for Indian business societies. For instance, the banking home of Jagat Seth ceased to be the state banker and repository of revenue in 1765 when the Company became Dewan of Bengal: the minting rights of Jagat Seth were slowly taken absent through the English: that banking home and other native ones also lost their European clients to English banks and agency houses of Calcutta.

There was much change in the location of the local traders throughout the late 18th century in the trade in commodities for export. We can see at the instance of Bengal trade in cloth, the leading export thing. Up to 1753 the English East India Company, like other European companies and private traders, depended on the Indian merchants to procure cloth: these merchants were described dadni merchants since they were the agency through which dadan or advance was given through the Company to the artisans or weavers. From 1753 the English Company began to replace the self-governing dadni merchants with gomastas who were mediators of the English and dependent on commission paid through the English as a percentage on value of cloth composed through these mediators. After the battle of Plassey the rising political power in the hands of the English enabled them to with in excess of to this new

gomasta system which reduced the Indian merchants to commissioned brokers. In 1775 a variant of this system, recognized as the 'contract system', consolidated the location of the English in relation to the Indian brokers.

Finally, in 1789 the system of 'direct agency' was introduced, dispensing with Indian middlemen altogether. Thus step through step Indian businessmen were reduced to a subordinate location (e.g. in salt, saltpetre business) or virtually excluded (e.g. in raw silk, cotton cloth) through the end of the 18th century.

The decline of export industries in the early half of the 19th century, restricted opportunities for Indian businessmen further. In the new rows opening up (e.g. jute and opium), a role subordinate to the English business houses was assigned to Indian businessmen. Petty money lending, internal trade in agricultural and artisanal products, the sale of imported manufactures—these were the regions of action of Indian businessmen in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century.

It is true, though, that within the in excess of all pattern of foreign capital's power in excess of Indian businessman, there remained spaces for the latter to do well in business and to accumulate capital. For instance, the business in raw cotton and opium in western India (commodities produced in big quantities in the princely states outside of Bombay Presidency), allowed considerable accumulation of capital in the hands of Indian businessmen; some of the Parsi businessmen in the first half of the 19th century became major exporters of these commodities. It is the capital accumulation which led to industrial investments in Bombay and the growth of a textile industry which challenged manchester's hold in excess of the Indian market in the early 20th century

Power—Market and the Producers

Let us now turn from the realm of traders to that of producers, the farmers and artisans. Very little is recognized of the trends in manufacture that could tell us in relation to the national income or in relation to the earnings of artisans and farmers. Though, we do know in relation to the way manufacture and marketing was organised in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. How was that affected through the behaviors of the English East India Company, its servants occupied in private trade and English 'free traders' and agency houses?

The essence of merchant capitalist operation is to 'buy cheap and sell dear'. It is good to have a monopoly to enable one to do that. It is even better to be able to use coercion and state power to do that really well. This was the beauty of the location of the East India Company as a government (since 1765 in Bengal and in some other parts of India where the Company extended territorial manage.

As you know, through the 1770's and 1780's there had urbanized a communal monopoly of the English Company and its servants occupied in private trade in respect of sure commodities, particularly cotton cloth in Bengal. That meant that artisans had no option but to sell their products to the Company and its servants. How was such a situation brought in relation to the? To a great extent this was the result of use of coercion. A classic instance is provided through the restructuration of the connection flanked by the weavers on the one hand, and the Company and the servants of the Company on the other, flanked by the 1750's and the 1780's in Bengal.

Up to the middle of the 18th century, the weavers appear to have enjoyed independence and freedom to sell their products to the English, the French or the Dutch or to Indian merchants. From the 1750's, the gomastas began to compel weavers to sell their products to the English. The elimination of the French and the Dutch from competition through military means helped the procedure. Extortion through fraudulent undervaluation of cloth and chicanery in the English Factories became general. The weavers were bullied and harassed through the Factors, through the agency of Gomastas, to accept advance and to produce cloth. In the 1780's this practice became systematized as the Khatbandi system: the artisans were indentured to sell exclusively to the Company under Regulations passed through the Bengal government.

Thus the artisans were reduced step through step to the location of bonded labourers through the denial of free access to the market, through the use of coercion, and through laws and regulations made through the Company's government. Another instance that you already know of is the manufacture of indigo: in the ryoti system the peasant was forced to cultivate and to supply indigo at a low price through the English indigo planters. To a lesser degree, opium was also produced under the threat of coercion.

Now, what is the result of this system of semi-monopoly and coercion? It creates a buyers' market, i.e. a situation where the buyer can dictate the price, the buyer being the English Company, its servants, and later, English traders, planters and agency houses.

It was, of course, to be expected that an English Factor in the later 18th century would pay the weaver as little as possible, or that the English Indigo planter in early 19th century would pay the indigo-grower ryot as little as possible, if the Englishman had the advantage of a monopoly location or coercive power. Lower prices paid to the weaver or the indigo farmer would inflate the profit margin of the English trader. Thus, parts of the artisans and peasants were producing under coercion goods which did not fetch a price that would allow more than subsistence to the producer.

Consider this situation where trading capital gets a nice profit margin without having to create any capital investment in the manufacture of cotton cloth or indigo or opium. Why should the trader invest his money in the manufacture procedure if he is creating good money merely through buying the product at a low price? And consider the producer who obtains such a low price that he cannot add to his capital stock, for he has scarcely any surplus after feeding himself and his family. How can the artisan or the weaver add to his capital stock, i.e. his tools and implements, if he is forced to sell his product at a price so low as to create accumulation of funds in his hands impossible? Then who will invest and add to the capital stock and generate higher manufacture with new tools and implements and machines? In other words who will invest in technological development and augment in productivity? The answer is, no one. Thus the scheme of things outlined above contains one of the explanations of the longstanding stagnation in technology and productivity characterizing 19th century India. In fairness one necessity add that Indian trading and money lending capital played the same role as that of foreign trading interests in this regard; the only variation was that the latter received more firm backing from state power in the initial stages of the establishment of this pattern.

In short, capital remained outside of manufacture procedure, leaving technology and organization of manufacture through and big where it had

been in the 18th century. It is of course true that there are variations from region to region, from industry to industry. In some cases the involvement of the capitalist was greater; e.g. in the raw silk industry in Bengal where wage employment was not uncommon, or in the nijabadi system where indigo planters employed people in farms owned through the planters. These are exceptional cases and affected only a small part of producers.

Municipality and Countryside

In the absence of other measurements of the prosperity and welfare of the people several historians have used the frequency and intensity of famines as a means of gauging economic condition of the people, particularly the condition of agriculture. As regards intensity of famines, the number of people who died in famines could have been a measure, but such figures are not accessible in mainly cases; further, there is no way one can separate in these figures starvation deaths from deaths due to epidemics which usually accompanied famines. We have, therefore, to depend Economic impact of on common accounts of famines, without the aid of statistics. colonial

Rule From the middle of the 18th century a number of major famines occurred in India. North India was affected through famines in 1759 (Sind), 1783 (present day Uttar Pradesh, Kashmir, Rajasthan), 1800-04 (U.P.), and 1837-38 (U.P., Punjab and Rajasthan). In Western India, present day Maharashtra and Gujarat, famine years were 1787, 1790-92, 1799-1804, 1812-13, 1819-20, 1824-25, 1833-34. Famines visited South Indian regions in 1781-82, 1790-92, 1806-07, 1824-25, 1833-34 and 1853-55. In Eastern India famines occurred relatively infrequently, but the famine of 1770 in Bengal was perhaps the mainly disastrous of all in this era, causing in relation to the one crore deaths i.e. one-third of the population of Bengal.

These famines occurred due to a variety of causes not all of which can be traced to British rule; in information, many of the famines mentioned above struck regions outside of British territories. In the 18th and early 19th centuries an significant factor was the devastation caused through frequent warfare flanked by the British and various local powers. In the part of the country

ruled through the British there was a tendency in the early days of British administration to push up land revenue demand to a high stage. Moreover, the British composed the revenue with greater rigor than was customary in pre-British days. They also refused to reduce revenue as a concession to farmers in a bad season. This inflexibility of revenue policy was certainly a major cause of the Bengal Famine of 1770, separately from failure of seasonal rains. English traders' and their mediators' behaviors might have contributed to the intensity of famines in some cases, e.g. speculation in grain trade through the Company's servants in 1770 in Bengal. In the early 19th century the forced farming of commercial crops for export in lay of food grains may have been a factor. The neglect of the British to uphold or expand the pre-British irrigation works, in the territories that came under their rule, exposed agriculturists to their old enemy, drought. From the middle of the 19th century the newly recognized Public Works Department began to pay some attention to irrigation necessities in British India. The revenue policy also became more flexible and from 1880 famine relief events were systematized. On balance it may be concluded that if skill to withstand occasional crop failure without heavy famine mortality is a measure of the prosperity and economic well-being of the agriculturist, the Attainment of British rule in that regard was no better than that of previous 'Unenlightened' administrations.

Turning from the country face to the towns and municipalities, we notice two trends, the decline and depopulation of old urban centres and, on the other hand, the rapid growth of new municipalities and towns. The latter development was due to the needs of British commerce and administration. The premier examples were the future colonial metropolises, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Simultaneously, several hitherto small towns grew in size as administrative centres or central spaces for the marketing of imported manufactures and exportable agricultural goods. The noteworthy characteristic was that the new urban growth was not oriented towards industrial manufacture, quite unlike the European pattern. Towns and municipalities which experienced growth in the first half of the 19th century were not spaces where productive behaviors were located - their population was occupied

predominantly in the service sector i.e. marketing, transport, administration etc.

There is no doubt in relation to the proof of decline or stagnation of older municipalities, e.g. the Mughal capital municipalities of Agra and Delhi, or local seats of power like Deccan, Murshidabad, Patna, Seringapatam, Hyderabad etc. This trend was partly due to the shift in the political centre of gravity absent from them to new colonial metropolises. It was also due to the decline in the trade marts located in them and re-channeling of trade to new routes and networks. De-urbanization appears to have been particularly marked in the heartland of Northern India, the region approximately Delhi, and in parts of Western India. Whether, in an all-India perspective, the decline of population in older municipalities was counterbalanced through population growth in new ones is a hard question to answer. Perhaps the answer does not matter in one sense: functionally the municipalities remained what they were in the pre-colonial era, vast pumping stations for the concentration of wealth from the countryside. The colonial metropolises were dissimilar only in that these were meant to pump out a substantial part of that wealth. That leads us to another significant characteristic of the colonial economy, the transfer of funds to England.

Transfer of Funds

If you take a look at the 17th and early 18th century explanation books of the East India Company, you would see that separately from trade goods it used to send to India big amounts of 'Treasure', i.e. gold and silver. This was to buy Indian goods for sale in Europe. The years after the battle of Plassey (1757) and the assumption of Dewani of Bengal through the Company (1765), saw a sharp decline in the import of 'Treasure' into India. Yet export of Indian goods to Europe sustained. How did the Company buy these goods in India? This was possible because the surplus revenue remaining with the Company (i.e. the land revenue composed minus the dues payable to the Nawab of Bengal) began to be used to buy goods in India for export. Therefore the Company did not need to bring silver and gold from England.

What did that mean? First, it meant that what the Company composed as a government in the form of taxes, the Company used as a merchant company to invest in its business. Secondly, it meant that the company was getting Indian goods for sale in Europe for nothing; or that the company was collecting a tribute from its territories in India in the form of goods for sale in Europe. It can be described a 'political tribute' - a 'tribute' because for this India obtained nothing in return and thus it was not normal trade, and 'political' because it was the Company's political power that enabled it to collect revenue to invest in its business. This is how there began the 'drain of wealth' or the unilateral (one-sided) transfer of funds.

The Company had a word for it: 'Territorial Revenue' e.g. the revenue surplus from Bengal. Face through face the Company's accounts showed 'Commercial Revenue', i.e. profits of business. As the Company's territory in India extended, the 'territorial revenue' expanded. The Company was able to use the territorial revenue from one region, e.g. Bengal, to pay for the military costs of acquiring other territories. Further, the territorial revenue was used to give the funds for the business which raked in 'commercial revenue'. It was a perfectly self-contained system, needing no funds from England. In information, the system was successful not only in financing the Company's exports to Europe, but also to finance the Company's investment in China to buy tea and silk. The latter branch of business involved export of silver to China which caused monetary troubles in this country.

This system operated in full swing from 1765 till 1813 when the Company's monopoly was abolished. In the after that two decades the business of the Company declined sharply and 'Territorial Revenue' became their mainstay. Private traders, both Company servants and non-officials, now took the lead in export business.

They had always been there, as you know, and had been remitting or sending out their profits to England in the form of goods through non-English or through the English Company through means of bills of swap. Thus, separately from the Company's explanation, on private explanation there was transfer of funds to England. Not all that was thus sent out to England was business profit; it incorporated earnings of Englishmen from plunder and lost

throughout wars, bribery obtained from local principalities, and fraudulent dealings with Indian business partners or underlings. A knowledgeable English businessman, G.A. Prinsep, calculated that flanked by 1813 and 1820 the yearly average private wealth sent out to England from Bengal alone was in relation to the Rs. 1 Crore and 8 lakhs.

So, profits of business and other private earnings shaped one part of funds remitted to England. Another part was the money paid to shipping companies, banks, insurance companies etc. in England. This amounted to in relation to the Rs. 57 lakhs in 1813-20 annually. A third channel of transfer of funds was the Company's remittance to England. This was to pay for the salary of the Company's employees in England, the interest on loans taken through the Company in England, dividends to the stockholders of the Company etc. This amount varied greatly, from one to three crores of rupees. This became recognized as 'Home charges' and was the sum total of the money sent to England through the Company's government after it stopped trading in 1833.

While the system to get funds out of India was being perfected, England was undergoing the Industrial Revolution. Wealth from India added to the capital accumulation England needed for industrialization; though, it does not follow that this was any more than one of a vast number of factors contributing towards England's industrialization. At any rate, industrialization in England radically changed the pattern of India's trade. At least that part of India's intricate trade history we should seem at, for it had significant consequences.

External Trade

Broadly speaking, the common trend throughout the eighteenth century was that Indian artisanal industries establish a steady market abroad, and from the early decades of the nineteenth century there was reversal of that trend. This was accompanied through augment in import of industrial manufactures and export of agricultural goods.

Let us begin with the years following the battle of Plassey. In the years 1758-61, the average value of cotton cloth exported from India through the English EIC was in relation to the Rs. 27.4 lakhs (416,000 pieces on the average); this was in relation to the 81 per cent of total value of average exports in those years. Raw silk, pepper and saltpetre accounted for the rest, less than twenty per cent of exports.

Now seem at the picture of export trade in 1850-51, i.e., at the end of the era we are studying in this course. In 1850-1851 the major export items were opium, raw cotton, indigo and sugar (accounting for in relation to the 30, 19, 11 and 10 per cent respectively of total exports in value). Thus India was now reduced to approximately totally an exporter of raw or processed agricultural goods. Of exports only 3.7% was cotton piece goods.

As regards imports into India, in 1850-51 big quantities of English factory manufactures were the major items; 31.5% of total value of imports was mill cotton cloth and 9% was cotton yarn, 5% woolen cloth, 16% metals etc. Particularly significant to note is cotton cloth and yarn. In 1850-51 India imported Rs. 1.13 crores worth cotton yarn and twist, and Rs. 3.37 crores of cotton cloth, described piece goods. Now seem at the picture only two decades earlier: cotton yarn import was only Rs. 42 lakhs, and cotton piece goods only Rs. 1.18 crores. in the year 1828-29. Thus in relation to the twenty years these imports from Manchester mills had gone up in relation to the three times. In the same era, the export of Indian cloth dropped to an insignificant quantity. There was a reversal of roles: India ceased being an exporter of cotton cloth and became an importer of cloth and yarn, while England stopped importing cloth from India and acquired an export market of that commodity in India. This reversal of the 18th century pattern and the establishment of the new pattern of commodity composition of Indian external trade began in the second and third decades of the 19th century To carry forward this procedure and to 'open up' India, England needed railways

Indian Railways and English Capital

Each age has its favourite phrases or catchwords. In 19th century Europe it was 'opening up' India, or China, or some other African or Asian country awaiting the wonders to be wrought through European capital and commerce. Opening up meant preparing a country for trade with European countries through removing barriers to trade: such barriers could be the objection of the Chinese government to entry of foreigners, or conflicting claims of various European powers, or absence of transportation system suited to the needs of Europeans. In India, after the abolition of the Company's monopoly privileges, opening up meant chiefly railway development.

The objectives are quite obvious; Railways would enable imported English manufactured goods to reach the interior of the country, facilitate the collection and export of raw materials and agricultural goods from the interior, allow an opportunity for the investment of English capital in railway companies operating in India.

To attain the first two objectives railways had to be laid in a sure pattern viz connecting the interior commercial centres with the sea ports, where imported goods came in and from where exported goods went out. These sea ports like Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Karachi were also the centres of European business and seats of political power. To serve the first two objectives, it would also be convenient to have a rate of freight charges which would allow cheap transport of manufactured goods from port municipalities to the interior, and of agricultural goods from the interior to port municipalities. Such a freight policy and alignment of railways became standard practice in the railway companies. Though, these were later growths; in the era you are concerned with now the main thrust of British policy was towards the third of the above said objectives.

The railway companies were set up in England as joint stock companies. English capitalists bought shares in these companies in the stock market in London. In order to encourage them to buy shares in a business remote from England and to make confidence in them, the Government of India offered a guarantee of at least 5% interest on their investments. Thus all

the Indian railway companies were in reality English companies protected through a 'guaranteed interest contract'.

The outcome was not good for India in a number of ways.

- A government guarantee of interest means that irrespective of profit or loss the interest had to be paid out of Indian tax payers' money to the English investors. This encouraged in excess of-expenditure and extravagance in railway construction and management.
- The guaranteed interest had to be paid in England in sterling, thus rising India's foreign swap expenditure in England described the 'Home Charges'.
- The English railway companies imported into India, the engines, the rails, the machinery and even the coal for the engines (coal was imported for a decade or so). In mainly other countries railway construction had encouraged auxiliary industries like the engineering industry; iron and steel manufacture, mining etc. (a chain of development described the backward linkage' effects). India was denied the benefit of such auxiliary industrial development due to the policy of the railway companies to import approximately all that was needed through them.

If the railway companies proved to be so expensive a burden on the finances of India, why did the Government of India agree to sponsor them and offer guarantees? Some of these reasons were strategic and political. Governor-General Lord Dalhousie wrote in a well recognized memorandum approving of the railway scheme: the railways would help the government to manage the distant parts of India, to move approximately the army to quell internal disturbance and foreign attack, and to guard the frontiers of India against Russia and other powers. There was pressures on the Indian and British government from interest groups who were economically and politically powerful; e.g. the promoters leading English capitalists interested in investing in these railway companies, the manufacturers of railway engines and machinery seeking a market in India, business groups hopeful of opening up a market for English manufacturers in the interior of this vast country.

While it is true that the arrangements worked out flanked by the English railway companies and the British Indian government in the 1850's contained characteristics detrimental to India's interest, the results incorporated some positive characteristics. The railways brought contemporary technology and their workshops urbanized new technical skills; the railways also served to unify the country and bring into existence a national market. A modern observer, Karl Marx, was not altogether wrong in thinking that the railways were precursors of modernization in some ways.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- What are the advantages of the joint stock companies?
- What do you understand by 'Monopoly of Trade'?
- What are the two essential steps that have to be taken in making a land revenue settlement?
- In what way did the Mahalwari Settlement differ from the Ryotwari Settlement?
- Why did the English Company plan for commercialization of Indian Agriculture?
- What is meant by de-industrialization and explain the impact of European trade on India's Industries.
- Explain the reasons for the change in position of the Indian merchants in the Colonial period

CHAPTER 5

Cultural Contours

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- The languages of modern India
- Literature in the Indian languages
- The spread of English education
- The Indian mind and western knowledge: growth of critical consciousness
- Review question

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you will get to know about:

- The changes in the languages of India.
- The developments in languages accompanied new polarizations which were occurring in the Indian society.
- About the nature of Indian literature at the turn of the 18th century.
- The changing relationship between colonialism and education.
- The characteristics of the indigenous system of education.
- The main concerns of the Indian mind in the colonial milieu.

THE LANGUAGES OF MODERN INDIA

Impact of the Transition from Mughals to British Paramountcy

The language of the Mughal ruling class in eighteenth century India was Persian. It was therefore the official language. As for the learned societies of the eighteenth century, they expressed their scholarly thought in the classical languages—the Hindus in Sanskrit, the Muslims in Arabic, and both Hindus and Muslims in Persian. The non-classical languages of the people of India, often described the ‘vernacular languages’ fell into two groups—

Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. Some of these vernacular languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam in the Dravidian group and the Sanskrit-based vernaculars of Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Hindustan, Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, Gujarat and Maharashtra—had well-urbanized poetical tradition. But prose literature in these languages was in an embryonic state. The vernacular languages were untarnished as yet to the expression of intricate and scientific thought. The replacement of the Mughal tradition through the British paramountcy in the time of Lord Wellesley and the policy in favour of English education in 1835, fostered significant changes in all these languages, in some earlier than in others: Bengali in the early nineteenth century, Marathi in the mid-nineteenth century, Urdu, Gujarati, Hindi, Assamese, Oriya, Sindhi, Telugu and Tamil in the late nineteenth century, and Kannada, Punjabi, Kashmiri and Dogri in the twentieth century. In each of these, languages vital changes were working at Maithili, etc. Out of this there slowly appeared a standard Hindi. In course of the nineteenth century, Khari Boli, the dialect spoken approximately Delhi and Meerut, came to vied the foundation of a standard language. The emergence of these standard blocs of language which did not exist before, has made possible the linguistic reorganization he states in self-governing India.

The Growth of Prose Literature

The standardization of writing and language was closely linked with the growth of a printed prose literature from approximately 1800. This gathered momentum as the spread of English education deepened the impact of the West on the vernacular literatures of India. More will be said of this later.

The Adoption of New Literary Shapes

The deepening impact of the West in turn brought to bear upon the vernacular literature the strong power of English literature. The literary shapes prevailing in Victorian England, such as the novel or the sonnet, had no exact equivalents in the vernacular literatures of India, which adopted them with

great enthusiasm. A historian of Malayalam literature states that in any assessment of modern Malayalam literature one conclusion is inescapable: all the present shapes and movements owe their origin to English literature. In his opinion the whole range of it—novel, short story, drama, essay, literary criticism, biography, history travelogue—is conceived after the English pattern, and poetic shapes also—the short source. This is as true of the other Indian languages as of Malayalam. Since the break from the old to the new, the history of these literatures is the history of these new shapes and movements, though it necessity be added that folk literature continues in its own channels unaffected through the imported shapes. "

Linguistic Development and Class Cleavages

The molding of the standard languages fostered the cultural leadership of the educated middle class and promoted political and social solidarity of a dynamic nature under their direction. Paradoxically, though, it also produced some social polarizations that increased the aloofness flanked by the new middle class and the lower parts of the population.

Bengali

This was so right from the time when the new prose was created and in which the intellectual action of the contemporary Indian Renaissance was accepted on. The first such intellectual prose literature—the Bengali writings of Raja Rammohan Roy (from 1815 onwards)—had as its medium a cumbrous, artificial language distant removed from the general speech of the people, and totally inaccessible to them. Though capable of expressing the mainly intricate rational and scientific thought in his hands, and though later on beautified and naturalized through such creative writers as Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Akshoy Kumar Dutt and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (a procedure completed through the appearance of Bankim's first novel *Durgesh Nandini* in 1865), this rich literature remained outside the reach of the general people of Bengal. Even while Rabindranath Tagore had begun writing the mainly

original poetry of contemporary India, the weavers, artisans and peasants of Bengal, impervious to the new literature, sustained to thrill to the songs of the folk singers. There was a rising aloofness flanked by the folk dialects and the language of the middle class. The Bengali language was split, in the nineteenth century, flanked by the formal, written literary language (described *sadhu bhasha*) and the spoken tongue, and though Rabindranath adopted a *Chalit Bhasha* (a language both spoken and written) in the 1920s, this too was the language of the middle class.

Gujarati

The phenomenon was not confined to Bengal. In his foreword to K.M. Munshi's history of Gujarati literature (1935), Mahatma Gandhi, to whom the book was dedicated, noted the distinction, in Gujarati as well as other languages, flanked by the language understood and spoken through the middle class and the language of the folk songs which constituted the literature of the people. He characterized the written literature of Gujarat as the literature of the commercially minded and self-satisfied middle class, and delivered the judgment that it was 'effeminate and sensuous in its tone. He also observed in this connection that the written Gujarati literature was untouched through the language of the masses of Gujarat: 'Of the language of the people we know after that to nothing. We hardly understand their speech. The gulf flanked by them and us the middle class, is so great that we do not know them and they know still less of what we think and speak.'

Tamil

To take another instance of what Mahatma Gandhi meant, in contemporary Tamil prose, too, the informal, spoken, colloquial language did not become the language of literature. Conversely, the formal literary language was not spoken as day-to-day informal speech through the Tamil speaker, not even through the educated intellectual Tamil (though his Bengali counterpart did so in part). In Tamil literature there was no analogy to the Bengali *Chalit*

Bhasha, a language that was spoken and written simultaneously through at least one part of the population, i.e. the middle class.

Instead, as Kamil Zvelebil has noted, there was the Tamil equivalent to the Bengali Sadhu Bhasha, i.e. the formal, written, literary language, spoken through no one; and then there were the various local and social dialects, the language of the Brahmans being separate from the language of the rest.

Communal Polarization in Language

These class differences in language were accompanied through communal differences as well, and here, the emergence of the standard language of literature widened the gulf flanked by the dissimilar parts of the population. Take Bengal, for instance, Curiously, even before the standard Bengali written language was fashioned in the early part of the nineteenth century, there had sprung up, in the latter part of the eighteenth century, a popular literature in what is described Dobhashi (Bengali heavily mixed with Arabic and Persian words) or Musalmani Bangla. The general Muslim people of small means patronized this literature. It was entirely in verse and there was no prose in it. The subject matter was Muslim theology and popular takes of the old and marvelous sort. The Dobhashi (otherwise recognized as Puthi) literature grew rapidly in the nineteenth century with the aid of the printing press, but it cut a Channel entirely separate from the literature of the predominantly Hindu middle class. It was curiously untouched through modernity of any sort.

The new Muslim middle class writers, such as Mir Musharraf Hussain, who started writing in Bengali in the latter nineteenth century, adopted the standard Bengali language and not Musalmani Bangla.

There was another twist to the situation in Gujarat. The standard Gujarati language of the nineteenth century was the product mainly of Hindu writers like Narmadashankar. The Parsis and Muslims of the region took no conspicuous part in fashioning it. Instead the literary energies of the minority societies flowed into the new 'Parsi-Gujarati', confined to novels and stories

of the 'shilling shocker' type, and emergence of tortured the language out of form.

Approximately the same time, Rabindranath Tagore, too, expressed his misgivings at the assertive attempts of some Muslim writers in the new Bengali prose to Islamize the language through adopting Arabic, Persian and Urdu words. This effort to distort the language (which necessity be distinguished from the old poetical Musalmani Bangla of 1750-1900) was not ultimately successful. (It is motivating to note that the Bengali language adopted in Bangla Desh today is closer to the language of Rabindranath than to that favored through the Muslim ulama of his own day.) But the aloofness of the poor Muslim society of Bengal from the Hindu middle class who created standard Bengali made it vulnerable to such attacks.

The same problem appeared in the deep south and in Hindustan. There was a polarization flanked by the Sanskritized Tamil of the Brahman and the Dravidian Tamil of the Non-Brahman. And there was the more catastrophic polarization of the vernacular language of Hindustan flanked by high Urdu and high Hindi.

The Polarization of Urdu and Hindi

The vernacular language of Hindustan, which the ruling Muslim elite of the medieval era variously referred to as Hindavi, Hindustani or Hindi, and in which some of them even composed poems at times (e.g. Akbar's courtier Faizi was the author of several Hindi couplets), was a composite language prevailing in excess of the whole of north India flanked by Punjab and Sind on the west and Bengal in the east. It was classified through Grierson into four separate language groups of dissimilar origin, each with many dialects:

- Rajasthani—Mewati, Marwari, Jaipuri, Malvi, etc.
- Western Hindi—Bangru (Haryana), Braj Bhakha (Mathura), Khari Boli (Delhi and Meerut), Kanauji (lower part of central Doubs), Bundeli (Bundelkhand and a good part of the Narmada valley), etc.
- Eastern Hindi—Baiswari or Awadhi, Bagheli; Chhattisgarhi, etc.

- Bihari—Maithili, Bhojpuri, Magahi, etc.

Emergence and Growth of Urdu

As Delhi was the headquarters of the Muslim soldiers from the days of the Delhi Sultans, it was from the dialect of this district and Meerut, recognized as Khari Boli (literally meaning ‘the rough speech’) from which the lingua franca of the camp urbanized.

The Turki word Urdu literally meant the camp, and the camp language spread into the Deccan as the Muslim soldiers moved in there. Eventually, a literary version of the lingua franca of the Hindustani camp, recognized as Rekhta or Dakkani, appeared in the Muslim kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda. In the Mughal Empire, though, the ruling elite, who were wedded intellectually to Persian, did not compose any works in the language of the camp. It thus remained a spoken tongue in the north, there being no literature in it there. The dialects of Hindustan in which poetry was mainly actively composed through both Hindus and Muslims were Awadhi and Braj Bhasha, and the dialect of Delhi and the lingua franca of the camp were not regarded as natural vehicles of written literature and poetry.

The situation changed when the Mughal Empire, which admitted only Persian as the language of learned discourse began to decline. Wali Dakkani of Aurangabad who was well recognized for his poems in Dakkani visited Delhi in 1700; in relation to the this time there was a trend in favour of their own vernacular language in the middle of the learned Muslim poets of Delhi who had hitherto only composed in Persian. They set in relation to the enriching and purifying it with the help of Persian. The ‘rough speech’ in Delhi especially that in use in the middle of the royal family courtiers, attendants and soldiers increasingly became the language for literary composition. The poets and scholars weeded out from this still undeveloped dialect a big number of plebeian Hindi words and enriched it through a ceaseless procedure of importation from Persian. Paradoxically the revolt

against Persian in favour of the mother tongue thus resulted, not in bringing Urdu closer to the indigenous element, but in widening the gulf flanked by it and the popular speech.

The early Urdu poets of the first half of the eighteenth century sometimes described their language Hindi, and sometimes Urdu. The distinction flanked by the two was still not entirely clear, Insha Allah Khan composed the tale Rani Ketki Ki Kahani (1801) in a simple, general Hindustani prose. When the Fort William College of the English opened a department for teaching the language in April 1801, it was named the department of Hindustani, through which they meant Urdu. The department also provided for the teaching of Braj Bhasha for the sake of get in touch with the Hindu population, and its head Gilchrist made a clear distinction flanked by Hindustani (i.e. Urdu) as a Muslim and Hindwi (i.e. Hindi) as a Hindu language : ‘Hindoos will naturally lean mainly to the Hinduwee, while the Mussulmans will of course be partial to Arabic and Persian, whence two styles arise, namely the court or high style and the country or pristine style...’ Gilchrist’s identification of Hindustani with Urdu was somewhat off the spot, and as Grierson later pointed out in the Linguistic Survey of India, Hindustani was a narrow sense the language of the upper Gangetic Doab (i.e. Khari Boli) and in a broader sense the lingua franca of India. As it was capable of being written both in the Persian and the Devnagari characters, Urdu came to denote the special variety of Hindustani in which Persian words occurred regularly, While Hindi slowly became confined to the form of Hindustani in which Sanskrit words abounded.

Growth of Standard Hindi

Gilchrist gave an impetus to the standardization of Hindi through directing two Bhaksha munshis in his department, Lallu Lal and Sadal Mishra, to write prose works in Hindi. Khari Boli, from which Urdu had also sprung, provided the foundation on which the Bhakha munshis (as the Hindi pandits were then recognized) were advised to develop the new prose. What the Fort William pandits created, though, was not really the purified Delhi and Meerut dialect, but a new literary dialect, through taking Urdu, purging it of words of

Persian and Arabic origin, and substituting for them words of Sanskrit origin. Gilchrist had a preference for Arabic and Persian words, but Price who later became head of the Hindustani department accentuated in 1824 that 'Hindee' words were approximately all Sanskrit while 'Hindoostanee' or Oordoo' words were for the greater part Arabic and Persian. Under English direction, the Hindi pandits of Fort William created a synthetic new product, an artificial language for quite some time to approach .

Thus Grierson noted with regard to standard or high Hindi in 1889; 'It has become the recognized medium of literary prose throughout Northern India, but as it was nowhere a vernacular it has never been successfully used for poetry. The greatest geniuses have tried, and it has been establish wanting at their hands. Northern India therefore at the present day presents the following unique state of literature—its poetry everywhere written in local vernacular dialects, especially in Braj, in Baiswari, and in Bihari, and its prose in one uniform artificial dialect, the mother tongue of no native-born Indian, forced into acceptance through the prestige of its inventors, through the information that the first books written in it were of a highly popular character, and because it establish a sphere in which it was eminently useful.' Standard Hindi did become a more livelihood language with its own poetry later on, but it took time.

The rising 'standardization' of Hindi and Urdu naturally made the gulf flanked by them wider than ever. In 1803 Hindi had been recognized beside with Urdu as a court language, but in 1837 this rule was rescinded and Urdu alone remained the language of the law courts. An agitation in favour of Hindi and Nagri in the late nineteenth century created much tension flanked by the Muslims and the Hindus. Munshi Premchand who wrote his well-known novels in both Hindi and Urdu said bitterly the year before he died: 'It was all the doing of the college at Fort William, which gave recognition to two styles of the same language as being two dissimilar languages. We cannot say whether there was some type of politics at work even then or whether the two languages had already diverged substantially. But the hand which split our language into two also thereby split our national life into two.'

Impact on Punjab

The repercussions were not confined to Hindustan proper, but spread also to the Punjab, where it had an adverse impact on the growth of the Punjabi literature. The Muslim poets of the Punjab had formerly written great poetical works in Punjabi. An outstanding instance was Waris Shah, who wrote *Hir Waris* (1766) in that language. The mainly well-known contemporary poet of the Punjab, Muhammad Iqbal, also wrote his first poems in Punjabi. But then his teacher Shamsul-Ulema Mir Hasan advised him to write in Urdu instead of Punjabi: Iqbal started writing in Urdu and Persian, and his own mother language was deprived of his genius. As communal separation became more pronounced, through and big the Punjabi Hindus and the Punjabi Muslims devoted themselves to Hindi and Urdu respectively.

Unity in Diversity

The underlying pattern of the development of the contemporary Indian languages cannot be grasped unless we stay in view their vital unity. As Jawaharlal Nehru said, their roots and inspiration were much the same and the mental climate in which they grew up was similar. All of them also faced the same type of impact from western thought and power. Even the languages of Southern India, with their dissimilar origins, grew up in similar circumstances. As Nehru put it, each of these languages was not merely the language of a part of India, but was essentially a language of India, on behalf of the thought and civilization and development of this country in its manifold shapes.

What is often not realized is the deep interconnections flanked by the various languages of India both before and after the emergence of standard or high shapes in the nineteenth century. Guru Govind Singh, the tenth guru of the Sikhs (1675-1708), composed his verses mainly in Hindi (Braj Bhasha), but some also in Persian and Punjabi. Again, Dayaram (1767-1852), the greatest poet of the era of transition from old to new Gujarati literature, traveled distant and wide, visited Gokul, Mathura, Vrindavan, Kasi and other well-known spaces of pilgrimage, and studied Hindi, Vraja, Sanskrit and the

old Gujarati Masters. He wrote several poems in Hindi, Vraja, Marathi, Punjabi, Sanskrit and Urdu, besides of course writing in his own language.

After the emergence of the standard languages, too, the interconnection flanked by them sustained to be deep. Contemporary prose urbanized in each of them under the same sort of western impact, and the successful novels in each language were studied through novelists in other languages. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee provided an early model, and later on Sarat Chandra Chatterjee's works were translated in virtually every Indian language and sold in thousands. A later instance in Rabindranath Tagore

The Growth of Prose

The main effort of the medieval writers in the vernacular languages had gone into poetry. That is not to say that prose was entirely lacking in this era. The Dravidian languages had a extensive but intermittent tradition of prose writing. A few of the Indo-Aryan languages also had some scattered specimens of literary prose. But Bengali, Oriya, Maithili, Sindhi etc., had virtually no prose literature. With some exceptions, only fragments of written prose are to be establish in the north Indian languages.

Examples of Early Prose

The clearest form of prose literature in the Indo-Aryan vernacular languages was the historical chronicle. These are, though, establish only in a few languages: the Buranjis of the Ahoms (in Ahom and later on in Assamese) the Bakhars of the Marathas (in archaic Marathi), and the Janamasakhis of the Sikhs (in mixed Hindi and Punjabi). The bardic chronicles of Rajputana were in verse, but there was one unique prose work in Marwari. This was the chronicle and gazetteer compiled in the seventeenth century through Muhanpta Naimasi, a minister of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur. The chronicle is recognized as Muhanota Nainasiri Khyata, which narrates the history of all the major Rajput clans; attached to it is a gazetteer of Jodhpur state, entitled Marwar Parganam ri Vigat, a scientific and statistical work, the

design of which was apparently inspired through the great Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal in the previous century.

The prose of the Buranjis, the Bakhars, the Janamsakhis and the Khyatas was archaic. There were occasional flashes of originality in such prose, but it was not capable of conveying contemporary, scientific thought.

The prose literature of the Dravidian languages had a longer ancestry and a more extensive character. The typical form of old literature in these languages was a genre recognized as Champu, a mixed form of verse and prose, also well-known in Sanskrit. But there was also more straightforward prose literature. To take a few examples:

- The Tamil commentaries on the classic poetical works of Tamil, such as Silappatigaram, were, with some exceptions, in concise, lucid prose. Such prose commentaries can be traced back to the eight century, and may be said to have lived even earlier.
- The Kannada Vachanas were the teachings of the Virashaiva preachers in simple unadorned prose dating from the twelfth century. This was a popular religious movement with an egalitarian social message, which shapes the foundation of the Lingayat society of modern Karnataka. Here is an instance of a vachana from their founder, Basavanna: ‘I have been like the bride who has her oil bath and who has put on the mainly splendid robes and worn the mainly charming jewels, but has not won the heart of her husband.’ i}i) The Telugu ruling class who were left stranded in Tanjore, Madurai and
- Pudukottai after the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire gave special attention to developing a literature of Kavyas written in clear Telugu. The Telugu poets of the ‘Southern School’ took as much pride in their prose works as in their political compositions. Thus the poet Samukha Venkata Krishnappa Nayak of eighteenth century Madura regarded his prose work, Jaimini Bharata, as a work of art, to be looked upon as of equal importance as his well-known poem Sarangadhara.
- Finally, we may mention the brilliant Tamil diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai, the diwan of the French Chief Dupieix of Pondicherry, which he started writing in 1736. It is a lively work written in a colloquial

language separate from high Tamil prose and it is full of motivating commercial lore and details of life in the French resolution.

It will be apparent from the above that Tamil, Kannada and Telugu prose had attained a fairly wide range before the dawn of modernity. All the same, the new prose that urbanized in these languages in the nineteenth century was very dissimilar and was not modeled on these earlier examples. On the whole, new prose in the scientific thought, could be adequately conveyed. The new prose also expressed the procedure of encounter flanked by Indian civilization and Western civilization.

The Beginning of the Western Impact

The year 1800 is regarded through Suniti Kumar Chatterjee as the pivotal one in the development of prose writing in mainly Indian languages. That was the time when the Baptist Mission Press of Serampore and the Fort William College of Calcutta started acting in conjunction to put forth a big volume of printed prose in many contemporary Indian languages.

It should be noted, though, that even earlier than this there had been a extensive, though in accessible, record of Catholic missionary action especially in the south, in connection with prose and printing. The Jesuit Missionaries who came in the wake of the Portuguese navigators and traders set up the first printing press in Goa in 1566. The two mainly significant printing establishments in the south were later set up at Ambalakkadu (1679) and Tranquebar (1712-13) and there was a stream of printed works issued through Catholic missionaries in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They translated the Bible, wrote Christian puranas, and compiled grammar and dictionary in the Dravidian languages. Especially well remembered is Father Arnos who came to Kerala in 1700, spoke and wrote Malayalam like a native, and left extensive poems in that language on Christian themes, such as the Messiah Charitram; as well as a Malayalam grammar and dictionary now lost. The mainly

motivating fruit of the Catholic missionary enterprise, though, was a couple of inventive Malayalam prose works through two native Christians who visited Rome in 1778—Malpan and his disciple Kathanar. Malpan wrote Vedatarkkam (Logic of Religion), the first Malayalam prose work to treat of social troubles, and Kathanar wrote the even more motivating Vartamana Pustakam (Book of News) and explanation of their perilous voyage and triumphant entry to Rome through a circuitous route traveling via the Cape of Good Hope, Brazil and Portugal. Though, the Catholic missionary enterprise in the Dravidian languages did not leave a permanent impact, and it was an inaccessible effort.

It may be noted that there was a smaller Portuguese missionary effort at writing Bengali prose, but it disappeared without leaving any trace on Bengali literature. The beginning of a systematic Western impact on the Indian prose literatures cannot be dated before 1800. In that year an significant conjunction took lay: the establishment of the Serampore Baptist Mission Press, which was the first major printing press in Northern India, and the founding of the Fort William College through Wellesley with the substance of teaching the Indian-languages to the officers of the East India Company, a task made urgent through the expansion of the Company's dominions all in excess of India throughout his administration.

At the Serampore Baptist Press, the dedicated missionary William Carey enlisted the help of Indian scholars to translate the Bible—Ramram Basu for Bengali, Atmaram Sharma for Assamese, Vaijnath Sharma for Marathi, etc. The Baptist Mission Press employed Bengali, Nagri, Persian, Arabic and other characters for printing. Flanked by 1801 and 1830 it printed works in relation to the 50 languages, including Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Khasi, Marathi, Punjabi, Oriya, Sindhi, Tamil and Telugu.

At the Fort William College, William Carey and John Gilchrist came to head the Bengali and Hindustani departments respectively, and they had a

host of Indian munshis under them teaching and writing in these and other vernacular languages. Gilchrist, whose department was measured more significant as it taught the lingua franca of the country, wrote the Hindi Dictionary (1802). Carey, who turned out to be a more versatile teacher, wrote grammars of Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi, Telugu and Kannada. The mainly significant part of the publishing programme of the College was the textbooks written through the munshis, for teaching the various languages. As there lived no much works, this was an original effort and it was the first significant effort in the Shaping of the new prose.

On the Whole, these grammars and prose works were rather artificial and they left no perceptible impact on the future literature, and the beginning of spontaneous literary composition in prose came later and had no demonstrable connection with the early efforts of the Baptist missionaries and the munshis of the Fort William College.

These growths were linked with the growth of English schools and colleges, the rise of the vernacular press, and the appearance of text book societies and learned land literary associations in the great metropolitan centres like Calcutta and Bombay.

The first of the new prose literatures, that in Bengali, was the product of the rising impact of organizations like, the Hindu College (1817) and the Calcutta School Books Society (1817), the circulation of newspapers like the Samachar Darpan (1818), Sambad Kaumudi (1821) and Samachar Chandrika (1822) and serious writing of Rammjohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Debendranath Tagore and Akshoy Kumar Dutt. The Aligarh Anglo-Muhammadan Oriental College (1877) of Saiyid Ahmad Khan created a dynamic new body of Urdu prose writings that incorporated the works of Nazir Ahmed, Shibli Numani and Hali. The time lag flanked by the respective growths in Bengali and Urdu was a consequence of the differential rate of Western power: the new Bengali literary prose flowered forth flanked by 1815-1865, while the new Urdu literary prose gathered momentum only in the

1870s. In flanked by them, Marathi prose modernized itself, mainly as a result of the impact of the new education imparted through organizations like the Elphinstone College of Bombay (1835) and the circulation of the Darpan (1831), Digdarshan (1841), Prabhakar (1842), and Jnanaprakash (1849). The final classical touch came with the Nibandhamala or essays of Vishnushastri Chipluukar (1874). In the middle of the Dravidian languages the earliest and mainly dynamic response to the challenge of the West was exhibited through Malayalam, which owed its new prose literature to the text-books written through Kerala Varma for the Text-book committee of Travancore in the 1870s and 1880s, and to the newspapers Keralamitram (1860), Kerala Patrika (1885) and Malayali (1886).

Consequences

The growths in the contemporary Indian languages had important consequences for contemporary Indian history. These may be summarized as follows:

- The development of standard vernacular languages brought social leadership to the educated middle class, because it was this new class which created the standard language in each vernacular. Through this means, the middle class could seize leadership of the social and cultural movements of contemporary India, and later on of political movements as well.
- At the same time the emergence of the standard language, which was the language of the middle class, created a aloofness flanked by that class and the masses of India, who clung to spoken dialects and folk literature.
- There were also differential linguistic growths which accentuated the differences flanked by the societies—Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsis, etc.
- All the same there appeared an educated middle class which was pan-Indian in its scope. In its hands, the new vernacular prose became the medium of rational, scientific thought. There sprang up a press and a

public and the growth of enlightened opinion through the medium of prose shaped the essential background to the shaping of the contemporary nation.

LITERATURE IN THE INDIAN LANGUAGES

The Poetical Heritage of Old India

Under the impact of the west and of English literature, there arose, in nineteenth immediately preceded it in the turbulent years of the Mughal decline and the English expansion. It necessity be stressed, though, that the devotional literature of Bhakti and Sufism which had flourished at an early time had an significant power on the poets of contemporary India.

In the old Sufi and Bhakti poetry the figure of the Beloved stood for God. But devotional poetry was not very feature of the eighteenth century which came under the power of a highly conventionalized style of erotic poetry. Here and there we do, though, encounter some great Sufi and Bhakti poets and singers in that age of turbulence: in Sind, Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit; in the Punjab, Waris Shah; in the deep south, the Telugu composer Tyagaraja who set his thousands of devotional poems to matchless Carnatic music.

The Sufi saint Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit and his Punjabi modern Waris Shah took Hindu folk tales of their own regions, the love stories of Sasui and Punhoon and of Hir and Ranjha; they embroidered into them a deeper Sufistic interpretation; and thus they produced the classics recognized as the Risalso of Shah Abdul Latif (died 1752) and Hir-Waris (1766). Both tapped the deep pathos of popular love stories to provide a spontaneous touch to Sufi preaching.

Hir Waris turns on an extra marital affair. The headman's daughter Hir is forcibly separated from the cattle-herd Ranjha through her kinsfolk and married off to a husband to whom she acts coldly. Her continuing attachment

to her lover who roams the country as a Jogi ends in a tragic series of deaths. She is killed through her dealings, and on hearing this Ranjha sighs deeply and his soul departs from his body. But as distant as Waris Shah is concerned, their souls are united for ever in heaven. He feels that true love on earth is symbolic of the Sufi's union with God.

Shah Abdul Latif embroidered upon many folk stories of Sind. Of these, the pathetic love story of Sasui and Punhoon, set against the background of the parched desert, is the mainly popular in the middle of the Sindhis. Shah Abdul Latif's treatment of the well recognized theme begins when Sasui's husband, a stranger from Baluchistan named Punhoon, is secretly taken absent through his kinsfolk at night on fleet-footed camels. The girl crosses the trackless desert of Sind, and the bare mountains of Baluchistan, alone in search of her husband. She loses her life amidst the sands in a quest that embodies for Shah Abdul Latif the devoted man's untiring search for God.

Shah Abdul Latif sees in Sasui's unremitting struggle into the last the hard path of the Sufi striving to obliterate the distinction flanked by himself and God. But he and other poets of his sort are something of an exception in that troubled age. The eighteenth century and the early part of the nineteenth century are marked through a conventional poetry in mainly of the Indian language, inspired not so much through deep devotion as through decadent eroticism.

The End of Old Poetry

The social crisis accompanying the decline of the Mughal Empire left a deep imprint on the literature of the age. A sense of decadence pervaded the literature of practically every major language in Northern and Southern India before the new prose and poetry appeared under the impact of Western power. This was especially true of the Urdu poetical literature that came into its own in the eighteenth century. From its birth in Delhi approximately 1700 it showed the signs of a profound moral crisis, indicating the misfortunes of the aristocratic Muslim society which patronized the poetry.

Urdu Poetry

Feature of the age was the Urdu genre of poetry described the Shaihr-i-Ashob (Lament of the Town) which described the decline of all the professions of a town and the triumph of the mean in excess of the noble. More specifically it conveyed the upsetting of the existing order of things (inqilab) and the overthrow of the formerly great through upstarts. Significantly the word 'inqilab' in the Shaihr-i-Ashob was used not in the sense of a revolution of creative potential, but rather in the sense of a revolution or overturn of the right order of things. Everything, a late eighteenth century Urdu poet of Patna named Rasikh said regretfully, is turned upside down. It appeared to him that the former ruling class of Mughal mounted warriors were now 'so afflicted through poverty that they do not command even a toy clay horse'. Another Urdu poet of Delhi, Sauda (1713-1780), who existed through the Iranian, Afghan and Maratha raids on his municipality, spoke in his Shaihr-i-Ashob of houses once alive with music 'now ringing with the braying of asses' and of deserted mosques with no light 'except the light of a ghoul'. He made fun in a qasida of the emaciated horse on which the impoverished Mughal nobleman was riding off to fight the Marathas. The showed it the corn bag and the servant beat it with a stick from behind, while a member of the crowd advised: 'Give it with wheels, or attach sails to it to create it move.' When the warrior establish the battle in relation to the to start, he took his shoes in his shoved the horse under his arm-pit, ran helter-skelter through the municipality, and stopped not till he had reached his home.

Wine (sharab) and woman (saqi, a euphemistic term for the courtesan) shaped an inseparable combination in the Urdu poetry of the age. The dissipation, luxury and sensuality of the declining aristocratic society was reflected in the predominance of the figure of the courtesan in the Urdu poetry of Delhi and Lucknow. No longer intent on the marriage of souls, the typical poet looked forward to a sensual union with the beloved, as is indeed made clear in the following verse from Insha Allah Khan, son of Mughal courtier of

Murshidabad and a displaced young men driven to Lucknow after the English take-in excess of in Bengal.

Love in Lucknow as Insha Allah Khan and other Urdu poets came to cultivate it in the latter part of the eighteenth century was a pastime, the accomplishment of a courtier too sophisticated and cultured to consider in feelings. The Hindi poetry of the age, too, exhibited symptoms that were similar. The Jagat Vinod of a Padmakar Bhatta (1753-1833), composed in the rich and luxurious court of Jaipur, reflects a world from which serious concerns are excluded and which exacts from those who live in it one duty alone, that of pursuing pleasure. Hindi poetry had undergone since the middle of the seventeenth century a extensive-term change from 'Bhakti' to 'Riti' (meaning on emphasis on rhetoric and poetics and also poetry of a secular and sensuous type composed just as to a cautiously cultivated technique). This school had lost its freshness through endless repetition and was barren at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Other Languages

The 'dictatorship of the Grammarian and the Rhetorician' was not confined to the language of Hindustan alone, and had affected Bengali, Gujarati, Telugu, Tamil and Oriya as well. K.M. Munshi talks of 'a weary' lifeless age in Gujarati literature at the secure of the eighteenth century, Mayadhar Mansinha speaks of 'the dark night of the Oriyas' in which voluptuous and ornate poetry flourished, and Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao describes as 'one extensive night' the era of Telugu literature flanked by 1630-1850.

The fall of the Hindu kingdoms of Orissa and Vijayanagara appears to have created in Penisular India the same type of social and moral crisis that the subsequent disintegration of the Mughal Empire produced in Hindustan. The Kavya style which flourished in Telugu came to depend more on hyperbole and exaggeration: 'One poet said that the turrets of the municipality seemed to kiss the sky. Another went a step further and imagined that they pierced the

vault. Yet a third outstripped these, describing them as emerging in the court of Indra.' The moral tone of the Telugu poetry of the age was not high Suka Saptati related the artful way in which society Women violated their marital vows and Bilhaniya related to a sexual intrigue flanked by a young daughter and her teacher. The same stories were to be establish in Bengali as Well presented in another garb and with superb technique through Bharat Chandra Ray (died 1760). The insecurity and turmoil of the age lent an underlying tone of darkness to its poetry. A profound sense of the evening tide dominated the songs of Kali the Mother composed through Ramprasad Sen in mid-eighteenth century Bengal :

Let us play, you said, and brought me down on earth
Under false pretence: O Mother, the play did not
Fulfil my wish. What was to be on this playground
Has been played out. Now at evening, says Ramprasad.
Gather up the child in your arms and let us go home.— Ramprasad Sen

The same sense of gloom permeated the Persian and Urdu poetry of Mirza Ghalib (1797-1869) who existed and wrote his incomparable ghazals in Delhi flanked by 1827-1857. He was the last great poet of the old world, a poet of the Mughal twilight, For him, livelihood in Delhi under the last of the Mughals,

Life is not journey with an end, there is
No rest in death,
We move not on, but slip and slide
On unsure, trembling feet.

With Ghalib, the old poetry shot forth its last ray of disappearing glory. Even while he was turning out Persian and Urdu ghazals in the set mould of Delhi, Michael Madhusudan Dutt and other Bengali poets of Calcutta were importing new shapes into Indian poetry through engrafting on to it from English poetry the blank verse, the sonnet and the contemporary individualistic epic.

The New Poetry

New shapes were adopted in Bengali poetry, Michael Madhusudan Dutt (1827-1873) gave form to the new Indian poetry with his Bengali epic in blank verse, *Meghnad Badh Kavya* (1861). Slowly every other language, including the Urdu language in which Ghalib left his heritage, was enriched through poetry of the new form. Ghalib's rebellious disciple, Hali (1837-1914), was one of the first to rebel against the convention of the ghazal. In the preface to his *Flow and Ebb of Islam* (*Madd-O- Jazr-e-Ismail*), better recognized as *Musaddas-e-Hali* (1879), he exposed the defects of the older erotic poetry pitilessly. His *Musaddas*, which expressed the new spirit of Islam under the power of the reformer Sir Saiyid Ahmed Khan, narrated the glories and decline of Islam. While giving trenchant expression to the aims and ideals of reformers, Hali also warned against losing one's roots in the craze for reform. He said in one of his verses:

For washing, O reformer: There is good reason left,
So long as any stain upon the cloth is still left;
Wash the Stain with a will : but do not rub so hard
That no stain upon the cloth—and no cloth be left.

While Altaf Husain Hali was establishing the new poetry in Urdu, Narmadashankar Lalshankar (1833-1886) and Bhartendu Harishchandra (1846-1884) were doing the same in Gujarati and Hindi respectively. Narmad and Bhartendu are remembered today mainly as the makers of contemporary Gujarati and Hindi prose, but they also brought a new spirit to the poetry in these two languages. Narmad, a social rebel, gave the stirring nationalist call to Gujarat—'Jaya Jaya Garabi Gujarat': (Hail, hail Glorious Gujarat:)—in his poem *Downfall of the Hindus* (*Hinduoni Padati*, 1864). Bhartendu Harishchandra left his poems mainly in Braj Bhasha, popularizing nationalism in Hindi. The Balasore trio—Phakir Mohan Senapati (1843-1918),

Radhanath Ray (1848-1908) and Madhusudan Rao (1853-1912)—did for Oriya poetry what Madhusudan Dutt had done for Bengali Poetry.

Following Dutt, they imported the blank verse, the sonnet and the individual epic into Oriya, and they expressed their love for the heritage and natural beauty of Orissa through the new genres. Likewise Lakshminath Bazbarua (1868-1938), the greatest figure in contemporary Assamese literature, set forth the glories of Assam in patriotic songs such as *A mar Janma Bhumi*, *Mor Desh* and *Bin Baragi*. Krishnaji Keshav Damle, better recognized as Keshava Suta (1866-1905), recognized the new romantic lyric in Marathi poetry from approximately 1885. He was the greatest poet of nineteenth century Maharashtra. Like Hali, Bharatendu and Narmad, Keshava Suta also expressed in his poetry a new spirit of activism and social regeneration that contrasted strongly with the dark and despondent tone of Ghalib earlier in the nineteenth century.

But it was Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) who best represented the new spirit in India. It was he who accomplished the naturalization of the humanist and rationalist values of the West in Indian literature. He did not create any forced version of foreign models: instead, the power of the Upanishads and of Kalidasa, of Vaishnava lyricism and the rustic folk songs, were organically blended in his poetry with Western powers. This attainment brought him world-wide recognition, and in 1913, the Nobel Prize. He was not merely a poet; he wrote novels, short stories, plays, essays and literary criticism, all of which reached maturity in his hands. In due course his writings influenced the various Indian languages through direct reading or translations from the Bengali original. It may be truly said therefore that with him contemporary Indian literature came of age.

‘What was the new spirit that Tagore embodied? It will be apparent at once when we seem at his challenge to the doctrine of Maya (Illusion)—the philosophical foundation of India’s age-old ‘other worldly’ civilization. It may be noted that some of the medieval bhakti poets had not accepted the doctrine of Maya. Tagore was indebted to that poetic tradition; but his assertion that the world was real went much further and it contained a scientific and humanistic core of benefits. It expressed itself in his love of his country, but it was not narrow of patriotism. His patriotic ideal, which embraced the whole of humanity and was inspired through the spirit of cause and freedom, establish

expression in a well-known poem of the Gitanjali which won him the Nobel Prize:

**Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
by narrow domestic walls
Where words come from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into
the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening
thought and action
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.**

In a word, Tagore imparted the universal-spirit of progress and cause to the literature of his country, and he did so in a uniquely Indian manner, not forgetting God and the eternal truth.

The age in which he existed and worked saw the rise of many other poets who enriched Indian literature with their distinctive poetical works. Subramanya Bharati, the greatest poet in contemporary Tamil, was greatly encouraged through his instance.

Bharati's Kuyil Pattu, a collection of songs of love, may be taken to be the counterpart to Tagore's Gitanjali; he also wrote Swatantra Pattu, an equally influential collection of songs of freedom. The three great modern Malayalam poets, Kumaran Asan, Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer and Vallathol Narayana Menon, also exuded the same new spirit. Together they created what a historian of Malayalam literature calls the 'golden age of romantic poetry' in that language.

In the middle of other contemporaries of Tagore necessity be mentioned Bhai Vir Singh, a Sikh poet whose Punjabi masterpiece, Rana Surat Singh (1905), depicts a widow's spiritual journey in search of her dead husband; Narsinhrao Divatia, a Gujarati poet who wrote an incomparable

elegy on his son's death (*Smarana Samhita*) in 1915; and the Hindi poets of Chhayavad, Jai Shankar Prasad, Nirala and Sumitra Nandan pant, who were inspired through Tagore and the European symbolists to introduce a mystic and romantic subjectivity in the Hindi poetry of the 1920s.

The explanation of contemporary Indian poetry would remain partial without a reference to Mohammed Iqbal, who furrowed a course dissimilar from that of Tagore. Throughout the prolonged crisis that overpowered the Turkish Caliphate in the second decade of the twentieth century, he appeared as a poet of Pan-Islamism in the Urdu language. Later he wrote many works in Persian which gave him a sure recognition in the Islamic world outside India. With *Bal-e-Jibril* (1935) he returned to Urdu again. Although at first an outspoken nationalist, he came through 1930 to advocate a separate homeland for the Muslims in India. He died in 1938, leaving behind a poetical heritage rich in spirituality and informed through the spirit of Islamic revivalism.

Growths on the Stage

The stage brought a new dimension to Indian literary action in the nineteenth century. It did not exist before. The thought caught on when the European society in Calcutta performed English plays on the stage. Before this, there were folk performances of various sorts under the sky—Kathakali in Kerala, Yakshagana in Karnataka and Andhra, Yatra in Bengal and Orissa, Ras Lila in Braj, etc. Combining song, dance and bits of acting, these were performances without a formal theatre. There was no drama proper, except for survivals of classical Sanskrit drama here and there. In sure parts of the country, for instance in Orissa and Kerala, Sanskrit drama was still to some extent a livelihood tradition. When plays on the stage were first attempted in the nineteenth century, Sanskrit drama, especially Kalidasa's *Abhijana Shakuntalam*, provided a source of inspiration in many provinces.

Western Power

Though, Western plays, which caught the imagination of the Indian middle class, made them acquainted with thoughts of drama ruled out in the classical Sanskrit play: especially the thought of tragedy, of sad endings and violent deaths on the stage. That this was a new notion, and a valid one, was acknowledged through G.C. Gupta, who wrote the first original Bengali play in 1852. Justifying the sad ending of the play, he referred to the great English poet named Shakespeare. ‘Writers in our country’, he wrote in the preface to the play, ‘used to think that if they did not cap the enacting of a sad event in a person’s life with a happy ending, they would in verity commit a sin’. But he advocated a departure from this concept on the ground of the deeper reconciliation and happiness reached through the plumbing of sadness

This was not the Indian audience’s first acquaintance with plays of Western type. A Russian visitor to Calcutta, named Gerasim Lebedeff, translated an English play into Bengali, and had it enacted on the stage in 1795. Even earlier than this, Christians of Central Kerala, ever since coming into get in touch with the Portuguese, had produced plays that exhibited some of the characteristics of western drama. But these were in accessible productions, and had no power on the development of dramatic literature from approximately the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the middle of the first original plays influenced through Western notions were the tragic play mentioned before, named Kirtibilas, and Taracharan Sikdar’s Bengali comedy of the same year (1852), entitled Bhadrakuma, which followed both Sanskrit and Western notions of comedy in developing the Puranic theme of Subhadra’s elopement with Arjuna. In Marathi, the first full-fledged play was Prasannanaraghava (1851). The first Urdu play, Anant’s Indar Sabha (1853), is said to have been enacted in Lucknow through Nawab Wajid Ali Shah, his courtiers and his concubines. It is based on an inconsequential tale of a fairy’s love for a man, the latter’s imprisonment through god Indra, and how the fairy rescued her beloved in the guise of a jogan.

Maturity

These were early beginnings, full of the shortcomings to be expected in such initial efforts. The man who raised contemporary Indian drama to the status of literature was the well-known Bengali poet, Michael Madhusudan Dutt. His first play, *Sharmistha* (1859), was based on a Mahabharata tale. Within a few months of this he wrote two modern social plays of a satirical character and finally he wrote the tragic masterpiece, *Krishnakumari* (1861), based on the dispute flanked by the rival princes of Jaipur and Jodhpur for the hand of the peerless princess of Udaipur, who was driven to commit suicide in order to save her father's home from ruin. His modern, Dinabandu Mitra, wrote the celebrated play *Niladarpan* (1860), on the oppression of the indigo planters in Bengal. This play created a sensation and its translator, Reverend J. Extensive, was sentenced to prison on the charge of sedition. In the middle of notable early plays in other languages may be mentioned Ranchhodbhai Udayram's tragic Gujarati play, *Lalita-duhkha-darsaka* (1864) in which a cultured girl married to an illiterate rake is driven to commit suicide; Ramashankara Ray's great historical play, in the Oriya language, *Kanchi Kaveri* (1880), dealing with a heroic and romantic episode in the career of King Purushottama Deva of Orissa; and the short social play in Kannada through Venkataramana Shastri, entitled *Iggappa Heggadeva Vivahaprahasana*, dealing with the social evil of the sale of girls in the marriage market.

Plays were enacted at first through amateur groups, usually in the mansion of some notable family. Michael Madhusudan Dutt's tragedy, *Krishnakumari*, was staged in the Sobhabazar Raj home of North Calcutta in 1865. The first public theatre, named the National Theatre, was set up in Calcutta in 1872. Soon there were many rival Calcutta theatres and professional troupes. In Bombay, the other great centre where the professional stage flourished, the Parsi society, realizing the commercial possibilities of the theatre, set up many companies in Bombay and soon extended their behaviors to many parts of Western and Northern India. These were itinerant companies, going on a round of the leading municipalities of India and attracting big plebian crowds to gaudy and dazzling plays in which the actors acted with

sweeping gestures and a shrill declamatory style. Naturalism had no lay in such theatre and thus produced seldom attained the dignity of literature. The development of the professional stage had through early 20th century brought in relation to the a split flanked by literary drama and popular drama in every part of India.

The Rise of the Novel

The novel was a new genre in Indian literature. Beside with the short story, it appeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century under the rising power of English literature upon Indian literature. In classical Sanskrit literature, Banabhatta's prose romance, *Kadambari*, came closer perhaps to the form of the novel than other tales. Such tales abounded, both in Sanskrit and in Persian, but these were without the realism and the specific time-and-lay context required through the novel. In the contemporary Indian languages, the rise of the novel was contingent upon the prior emergence of prose literature at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

New Narratives

As prose appeared, there was also appeared prose narratives of a somewhat new variety in the first half of the nineteenth century. These shaped the tentative overtures to the emergence of the full-fledged novel. *Alaler Gharer Dulal* through Pyarechand Mitra, which is sometimes cited as the first novel in Bengali, was a satirical social sketch published in 1858. A series of sketches built approximately a dissolute young zamindar, it had a good deal of social realism, but it did not have the sort of urbanized plot feature of the later nineteenth century novel. In 1862, Bhudev Mukhopadhyay published two romantic historical tales in Bengali. He entitled it *Aitihasik Upanyas* (Historical Fiction). The word 'upanyas' later on became the general word for 'novel' in many north Indian languages. This was the first time it was used in the sense of a romantic work of fiction. Prose romances approaching to the form of the novel appeared in Marathi approximately the same time :

Muktamala (1861) through Lakshman Moreshwar Halbe and Manjughosha (1868) through Naro Sadasiv Risbud.

Even earlier than this, didactic tales of a contemporary character had appeared in more than one contemporary Indian language. These were tales with a social message. The earliest tales of this variety shaped part of Christian propaganda in India. Phulmani- O-Karunar Bibaran (1852), written in Bengali through Hannah Catherine Mullens, and Yamuna Paryatan (1857), a Marathi work through Baba Padamji which recounts the sufferings of a Hindu widow who converts to Christianity, belong to this variety. Some critics identify these two works as the first novels in Bengali and Marathi respectively, but neither possessed any depth of characterisation, nor even a closely woven plot. Other didactic works followed, written through Christian, Muslim and Hindu authors propagating a social message with up of a story. Nazir's Ahmad's Mir at- ul- Urus (1969), a didactic narrative contrasting the lives of a good sister and a bad one, is recognized as the first novel in Urdu. Pandit Gauri Dutt's Devrani Jethani ki Kahani, published after that year in Hindi, had an approximately identical theme. Subsequently, the Tamil Christian author, Samuel Vedanyakam Pillai, wrote the first original novel in Tamil, Prathapa Mudaliar Charitram (1879), in order to preach such moral virtues as 'filial affection, fraternal affection, conjugal affection, chastity, universal benevolence, integrity, gratitude, etc.'

Bankim's Age

With Bankim' Chandra Chatterjee's first original work in Bengali Durgesh Nandini (1865), the novel came of age in India. The first full-fledged novel in any Indian language, it is set against the background of the Mughal Afghan war for the possession of Bengal, with a romantic love triangle as the main focus of interest (a young Rajput common of the Mughal army, the daughter of a local lord of the castle whom he marries, and a noble Pathan princess who sacrifices everything for love of him). Chatterjee's incomparable novels, set mostly in a historical context, followed one after another. Ananda-Math (1882), set against the background of the Sannyasi rebellion in Bengali, contained the well-known nationalist song 'Bande Mataram'. Rathasthan

(1881), with the Rajput rebellion against Emperor Aurangzeb as its theme, was another stirring historical novel. Chatterjee's modern, Romesh Chunder Dutt, wrote many historical novels under his power, of which the two mainly well-known are *Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat* (1878) and *Rajput Jivan Sandhya* (1879).

The historical novel came into vogue in other Indian languages, too. The cause is that, modern society in the late nineteenth century afforded little scope for love and heroism on explanation of numerous social restrictions. In consequence, tales of heroism and love had to be set in a historical context. The first romantic historical novel in Marathi, Ramchandra Bhikaji Gunjekar's *Mochangad* (1871), is built approximately a hill fort in Maharashtra which Shivaji captures eventually. Later on, Harinarayan Apte had great success in Maharashtra with his historical novels: *Mysorecha Vegh* (1890), *Gad Ala Pan Simha Gela* (1903), *Suryodaya* (1905-1908), etc. C.V. Raman Pillaj's great historical trilogy in Malayalam—*Martanda Varma* (1891), and *Dharmaraja* and *Rama Raja Bahadur*—evoked the time of troubles in eighteenth century Kerala in authentic detail.

Several of these historical novels had the heroic deeds of the Rajputs and the Marathas as their theme, with Muslim characters being sometimes shown in an unfavorable light. The historical novels that appeared in Urdu drew their inspiration, through way of contrast, from the historical glories of Islam, both within and outside India. The leading Urdu novelist, Abdul Halim Sharar, wrote many novels exhibiting the great superiority of Islam in its heyday in excess of non-Muslim, especially Christian, powers. The first of these, *Malik-ul-Aziz Vaijana* (1888), was his rejoinder to Scott's 'talisman, which he measured to be biased against Islam; in vicarious revenge, Sharar had King Richard's niece, Varjana, fall, in love with Saladin's son, Malik-ul-Aziz. *Mansur Mohana* (1890) was written to exonerate Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni from charges of looting and destruction. *Flora Florinda* (1897), set against the background of the excesses of the Christians in Moorish Spain, portrays a Muslim girl presented through the Christians. Sharar's stories were

usually built approximately a romantic affair flanked by a captain of the Saracen army and a high born maiden of the invaded land.

To set novels successfully in the modern social context made greater demands for realism on the art of the novelists. Bankim Chandra showed the way with his two major social novels, *Bishabriksha* (1873), and *Krishnakanter Will* (1878). These works had a depth of characterization that set the standard for Indian fiction for several years to approach. O. Chandu Menon's Malayalam novel, *Indulekha* (1888), sought to combine romantic love with realistic social detail. Govardhan Ram's vast Gujarati novel, *Saraswati Chandra* (4 parts, 1887, 1892, 1898, 1900), had a romantic and sentimental interest, but in this work the hero and the heroine decided at the end not to marry each other as the girl was a widow and the idealistic lovers were unwilling to hurt the sentiments of their society. Hari Narayan Apte's big Marathi novel, *Pan Lakshant Kon Ghetu* (1890), was a more realistic work dwelling on the injustice and violence of Orthodox Hindu society towards widows. Mirza Hadi Ruswa's *Umrao Jan Ada* (1899) a distinguished Urdu Novel with a courtesan as the protagonist, recounted her story in the first person with extra ordinary detachment and objectivity.

The beginning of the twentieth century accentuated the tendency towards psychological realism, which Rabindranath Tagore consciously projected as the main thrust of his weighty novel, *Chokher Bali* (1903); this was followed through his even better work, *Gora* (1910), a huge novel of the new aspirations and ideals that had stirred Bengali society in his youth. The portrayal of modern society in authentic detail was also the distinguishing spot of the two widely acclaimed novelists who started writing soon afterwards: Sarat Chandra Chatterjee and Munshi Premchand. Their works bore the strong imprint of the nationalist movement that stirred twentieth century India. But it was the depth of their social and psychological observation, climaxing with Chatterjee's *Grihadaha* (1920) and Premchand's *Godan* (1936), which made them the leading writers of fiction in their own time.

THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH EDUCATION

Colonial Education

It is essential to understand the dynamics of connection flanked by education and colonialism in order to understand the development of education under colonial rule. Authors like Martin Carnoy and others have argued that education in a colonial country is intended through the colonial rulers to legitimise their power and to serve their own economic needs.

Economic and political manage in excess of the colonial country is essential for the survival of colonial rule and education is used to achieve this goal. Effort is made to develop through education a new set of values and justification of the colonial rule. Thus education loses its self-governing identity and becomes subordinate to political power. Colonial education no doubt brings changes and cultural transformation in a colonial country. New thoughts and experiments undoubtedly enrich the existing knowledge. But the colonial country has to pay a heavy price for it. The real beneficiaries of colonial education are a selected few who had a specific role assigned meant for better manage of the colonial country rather than its development. The ultimate outcome of this policy might be dissimilar but the desired objective is to 'manage' not to 'change' the colonial country.

In the background of this view of several social historians concerning the dynamics of connection flanked by colonial rule and education we shall seem at the development of English education in India. Though, before we approach to the beginnings of English education, let us take a seem at the indigenous system of education in the early 19th century.

Indigenous Education

The information that we gather from early British records gives us a very rough thought in relation to the indigenous system of education in late 18th and early 19th century India.

There were 'Madradas' and 'Maktabs' for the Muslims and 'Tols' and 'Patshalas' for the Hindus. These ranged from the centres for higher learning in Arabic and Sanskrit to lower stages of institution for schooling people in Persian and Vernacular languages. Lack of scientific and secular learning was

one of the major limitations of the centres for higher learning in those days. Though, several Hindus attended Persian schools because Persian was then the court language and there were also Hindu teachers in Persian schools. Whether it was a 'Tol' or a 'Madrasa' there were sure general characteristics in the indigenous system of education.

- Schools were usually run with the help of contribution from Zamindars or from local rich men.
- In the curriculum the main emphasis was on classical language like Sanskrit, Arabic or Persian and subjects of classical Hindu or Islamic tradition like Grammar, Logic, Law, Metaphysics, Medicines, etc.
- Though Sanskrit learning was the exclusive domain of the Brahmins, from the reports accessible of the early 19th century we discover that the non-upper castes and the scheduled castes had also representation in the lower stage schools.
- Women were usually debarred from the formal education system.
- In the absence of printing press till 19th century oral tradition and memory of the teachers shaped the foundation of knowledge and information, supplemented with handwritten manuscripts.
- The state had little or no role in school education though kings would patronize people well-known for their learning.

Besides the centres for higher learning which were basically the domain of upper castes there was a big number of elementary schools. Mainly of the villages in India had this type of elementary schools. These were each run through an individual teacher with the monetary help of the village Zamindars or local elite. These schools used to teach the students elementary arithmetic and vital literacy to meet the needs of day- to-day life. Students from dissimilar parts of society, except the very backward disprivileged castes, attended these schools.

Thus, the education system that lived in India in the early 19th century had its own merits and demerits. The elementary schools provided the opportunity for vital education to rural people and its curriculum was secular in approach and responsive to practical needs. Almost certainly in the higher

centres of learning (Tols and Madrasas) too much emphasis on niceties of grammar, philosophy and religion narrowed down the scope of expansion of secular and scientific knowledge. The colonial rulers discarded the indigenous system and replaced it through a system of education of their own. The potentiality that the indigenous system had as a means of mass education, was destroyed.

Debate on Excess of Education Policy

Till the second half of 18th century the English East India Company did not face any dilemma in relation to the its role in the promotion of education in India. It was basically a commercial corporation, so its vital objectives was trade and profit. Before acquisition of territorial power the Company had no role in education, though, there were attempts through the missionaries to set up charity schools and to promote learning. But things began to change with the British job of Eastern India in the second-half of 18th century. Within the official circle as well as outside of it there was a rising debate in relation to the what should be the role of the company in the promotion of learning in India.

Immediately after the acquisition of political power in India the company officials wanted to uphold neutrality or non-intervention in the sphere of religion and civilization of the indigenous society. The cause behind it was partly the fear of adverse reaction and opposition to their role through the local people. Though, constant pressure from dissimilar quarters, the Missionaries, the Liberals, the Orientalists, the Utilitarians compelled the company to provide up its policy of neutrality and to take the responsibility of promotion of learning.

The second significant point approximately which the opinions were sharply divided was whether the company should promote western or oriental learning. In the initial stage the company officials patronized oriental learning. It cannot be denied that some of the Englishmen had the genuine desire to acquire and promote oriental learning.

In this context we may mention the establishment of the 'Calcutta Madrasa' through Warren Hastings (1781), the Benares Sanskrit College' through Jonathan Duncan (1791) and the 'Asiatic Society of Bengal' through William Jones (1784). Those who were in favour of continuation of the existing organizations of oriental learning and promotion of Indian classical tradition were described "Orientalists". The argument put forward through the Orientalists was that usually there was a prejudice in the middle of Indians against European knowledge and science, so there might be complete rejection of western knowledge. Some of them were also interested to explore the classical tradition and civilization of this ancient culture. But even if we acknowledge the genuine desire of the Orientalists were guided through some practical thoughts. They wanted to teach the British officials the local language and civilization so that they would be better at their job. This was the prime objective behind the base of the Port William College at Calcutta in 1800. The other motive was to develop friendly dealings with the elites of the indigenous society and to understand their civilization. This was the main cause behind the establishment of the 'Calcutta Madrasa' and the 'Benares Sanskrit College'.

Development of English Education

As we have seen in the earlier part, the beginning of English education can be traced only to the early 19th century. Before that the efforts made through the missionaries or through individuals were very limited in nature. We may mention in this connection Schwartzs schools in Tanjore, Ramnad and Shivganga, the Baptist Missionaries in Serampore, the London Mission Society, the American Methodists in Bombay, etc. They had pioneering contribution in contemporary education. These missionary behaviors and the mounting pressure through some Englishmen like Charles Grant and William Wilberforce compelled the Company to provide up its policy of non-intervention in education. For the first time the British Parliament incorporated in the Company's charter a clause that the Governor-Common in Council is bound to stay a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees per year for education.

But the company used this finance mainly to promote and encourage Indian language and literature. The importance of the Charter Act of 1813 was that the Company for the first time acknowledged state responsibility for the promotion of education in India.

In 1823 a Common Committee of Public Institution was set up to seem after the development of education in India. Mainly of the members of this committee belonged to the Orientalist group and they strongly advocated the promotion of oriental learning rather than the promotion of Western education. Though, as we have discussed in the earlier part, dissimilar parts both in England and in India created mounting pressure on the Company to encourage Western education. Macaulay, the President of the Common Committee of Public Instruction and Lord Bentinck, the Governor Common, took the face of the Anglicists and Bentinck gave his ruling that “the great substance of the British Government in India was henceforth to be the promotion of European literature and science in the middle of the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.”

Some of the significant points of the resolution that Bentinck announced in 1835 were as follows:

- Persian was abolished as the court language and was substituted through English.
- Printing and publication of English books were made free and accessible at a comparatively low price.
- More finance was provided to support the English education, while there was curtailment in the finance for the promotion of oriental learning.

Auckland who came after Bentinck as the Governor-Common also whispered in the need for the promotion of English education in India. He recommended the opening of more English colleges in Dacca, Patna, Benares, Allahabad, Agra, Delhi and Barreilly. The Common Committee of Public Instruction was abolished in 1841 and its lay was taken through a Council of

Education. The after that major landmark in the development of English education in this era was the Wood's Despatch of 1854. Sir Charles Wood, the president of the Board of Manage, in 1854 laid down the policy which became the guiding principle of the education programme of the government of India. The Despatch categorically declared:

- “The education that we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its substance the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short of European knowledge.”

The major recommendations of the Despatch were as follows :

- The creation of a department of public instruction in each of the five provinces of company's territory,
- The establishment of university at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras,
- The establishment of a network of graded schools—high schools, middle schools and the elementary schools,
- The establishment of teachers training organizations,
- The promotion of vernacular schools,
- The introduction of a system of grants-in-aid for financial help to the schools, etc.

In 1857 three universities were recognized in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The establishment of universities and the opening of education departments in the provinces provided a vital structure to contemporary education in India, in information Wood's Despatch provided the model for the further development in education in India.

Beside with this official initiative to promote western learning in India, there was initiative through the missionaries and some individuals to promote Western education. In Bengal some of the significant colleges were recognized through the Christian missionaries. These missionary organizations did play a role in spreading western knowledge, though their vital substance was to draw people to Christianity. Besides the missionaries some individuals played a important role to promote English education in Calcutta. The Native School and Book Society of Calcutta was recognized to open schools in

Calcutta and to train up the teachers for the indigenous schools. The establishment of Hindu College (later Presidency College) in Calcutta through David Hare and a group of local Hindu notables facilitated the promotion of secular education in the middle of Indians. David Hare was against the teaching of religious thoughts and Sanskrit and Arabic languages. J.E.D. Bethune who was an ardent advocate of women's education founded a girls' school in Calcutta. In the middle of the Bengalis, Vidyasagar supported the promotion of women's education. All these organizations obtained a positive response from the local people who strongly pleaded to the British for further expansion of educational opportunities.

Likewise in Bombay and Madras also missionary schools were recognized, in Bombay notable growths were the Native Education Society and the Elphinstone Institution which played a role similar to the Hindu College of Calcutta. In Madras the Christian College was founded in 1837 and the Presidency College in 1853. In Uttar Pradesh the first English-medium college was founded at Agra in 1823. Thus through 1850s we discover that in mainly of the provinces in India the foundation of contemporary education was laid down through the British.

An Appraisal

The discussion shows how slowly the English education urbanized. The government promoted this system while neglecting the indigenous system of education in the 19th century. The spread of English education in India was a extensive procedure and before 1857 its spread and depth were limited. Nonetheless the changes that came in education upto 1857 deserve a secure scrutiny. There was no doubt that the new education broadened the horizon of knowledge. Specially the establishment of printing press and easy availability of books removed the traditional barriers and made education accessible to more people. The thoughts of the western thinkers influenced the younger generation of the indigenous society and they began to question the existing traditional values, A new spirit of rationalism urbanized.

Though, these positive contributions have to be balanced against the grave limitations of the education system that urbanized under colonial sponsorship. The English education system totally ignored the importance of mass education. In the indigenous system the elementary schools provided vital education to a wide part of society. But in the new education the emphasis was to educate a selected few. The Anglicists thought of filtering down education from elites to masses did not work in practice. This system did not give equal access to education to all and this led to the perpetuation of the backwardness of socially backward castes and societies. The existing divisions in the society widened.

Secondly, in spite of advocacy of western science and technology, in the curriculum of schools and colleges the emphasis was on western literature, philosophy and humanities. Technology and natural science were neglected and without such knowledge the intellectual advancement as well as economic development of a country was hampered.

Another aspect of this new education was the subordination of education to political power. Whether it was Orientalist or Anglicist the vital substance of their education policy was to strengthen colonial rule. The Orientalists wanted to do it through indigenization and the Anglicists wanted to do it through westernization. The vital purpose of the education policy was inseparable from the political interests of the colonial government.

Thus we have seen that education became an issue of debate in the middle of various schools of thought. The education policy in the first half of 19th century was a product of this conflict of opinions. On the whole, the colonial administration was keen to promote an education policy which served its own interests.

THE INDIAN MIND AND WESTERN KNOWLEDGE: GROWTH OF CRITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

After the Crisis

The need to respond to the changed situation in the wake of the crisis of the Mughal empire created an urge to describe and defend identities all in excess of India. A new political situation brought troubles of adjustment and definition for the Indian mind. These troubles had to be dealt in the initial phases from within the possessions offered through religion and tradition. This was to throw up a number of competing sects and their leaders, whose public debates strengthened an awareness of religion and cultural identity.

Here we have the instance of Bengal where the movements of Faraizis, Muhammadiyas advocated a return to past 'purity' of Islam in dissimilar ways. Given the social location of peasant and artisan classes who were attracted to such movements, these movements inevitably strayed into regions of economic disagreement. Hence peasant-landlord conflicts acquired a religious color. An significant figure in this context was Titu-Mir whose rebellion was crushed when it turned anti- government.

Though, separately from the politico-economic characteristics, the debates and differences flanked by these various groups were equally significant. These debates raised and clarified the issues of religion in returning to past 'purity'. A similar role was played through disputations and discussions flanked by the Namdhari and Nirankari followers of Sikhism in Punjab. In Orissa and Madhya Pradesh the Satya Mahima Dharma and the Satnamis focused on the issue of purity of religion amongst the lower castes and tribals. A part of Nadars in the south opted for an alternate religion i.e. Christianity for understanding and establishing their identity.

With the exception of the Nadar Christians all other movements raised issues specific to the core of their religion. In doing so a procedure of society mobilization was attempted which incorporated methods as diverse as society kitchens (as amongst the Nirankaris) to mass prayers (as amongst Bengal & Bihar Muslims). Issues such as the lay of women in the society, caste or manners of worship were debated and settled with reference to the past and a concept of 'purity'. Thus, separately from the educated urban middle class

reformers and thinkers at the stage of the general people vital issues of cultural identity were stirring into life issues often framed in the religious idiom.

A New Mentality

It is widely recognized that the impact of Western education and intellectual interchange was a critical extensive-term force in the creation of the new, contemporary Indian civilization and mentality as it appeared in the nineteenth century. The new or renaissance mentality was conspicuously dissimilar from that of the Mughal twilight.

In contrast, was the nineteenth century mentality, the components of which were both secular and religious and which aimed at a synthesis of tradition and modernity. The result was a new point of view, a new set of values that underscored both religious experience and reform as well as secular literary expression. Hence a greater and more abiding faith in a Dharma that was monotheistic, in God rather than ritual, in love and devotion rather than religious practice. The new mood was reflected in literature as well which tended to record keener emotional experiences, exploits and adventures of the human spirit and a more sympathetic perception of the connection flanked by man and woman. The notions of justice and cause received wider currency as modern intellectuals and ideologues advocated a more presently, rational and critical reordering of the universe. The gamut of experiences which is often collectively described as the awakening or renaissance started in Bengal at the beginning of the nineteenth century but later elsewhere. The chronology of the awakening differed from region to region but beneath the diversity, lay one general emotional content perceptible mainly of all in the outcrop of local literature.

The interrelation flanked by western impact and the Indian Renaissance has shaped the subject matter of much debate. One row of argument is that an inert and degraded Indian society was modernized through the civilizing mission of the west. J.N. Farquhar, a Christian missionary observed, "The stimulating force are approximately exclusively Western viz., the British Government, English education and literature, Christianity, Oriental research, European science and philosophy, and the material elements

of Western culture.” A second row of thought is that Western thoughts and administrative practices could not create any great headway against hard and intricate Indian realities. The procedures of change were thus partial and inconclusive. A third view is that Western thoughts and practices were the instruments of the colonization of Indian society with which could achieve only a false and superficial modernity.

The procedure was, though, more intricate than what any of the above interpretations suggest. It needs to be stressed that the Indian critical awakening was not merely a secular cultural phenomenon but was also a religious reformation in more ways than one. Socio-religious shapes and literary-artistic movements shaped one organic whole. Secondly, the civilization of the renaissance was deeply indigenous, and modernity in India was not a weak and distorted caricature of models from the West. It was as Tagore saw it, synthesis in which the eternal, ever changing Indian culture successfully absorbed new elements. In the light of contemporary knowledge, India looked back critically on her past and recreated herself through synthesizing the elements which she selected from that past and her selective borrowings from the great outside world. The procedure itself was not without precedent—such introspective readaptations like the medieval Bhakti movement had occurred in the past. Yet the movement accommodated elements that were novel and readily identifiable as Western.

Western impact on the Indian mind was a propelling force that drove dominant within Indian society to the surface, starting a critical spirit of self-enquiry, chronological sequence of the development of the new mentality has thus to be in the context of the new political and social environment that accompanied the establishment of the Company’s political rule. Western impact or M.G. Ranade referred to as foreign manure was mainly channelled through such as the educational system, educational and cultural societies, law missionary enterprise and the press. These agencies had the direct consequence of disseminating western thoughts and fostering the emergence of a new category i.e. the Indian middle class—in a new milieu. Besides these formal there was the ‘atmospheric power’ referred to through Syed Abdul Latif, d through British administration. Besides formal agencies of change,

Western thoughts had been penetrating the minds of the people through byways and Western channels, mainly significant of these unseen channels was Western literature which enjoyed popularity in the middle of the urban middle classes in the mid-nineteenth century. Though, not to suggest that it was Western impact alone that changed society. It was primarily an element that accelerated changes that were both Hindus and Muslims of India. As M.G. Ranade pointed out, "No foreign graftings can ever thrive and flourish unless the tender plant on which grafting is to be made first germinates and sends its roots deep into its own soil. When the livelihood tree is thus nourished and watered, the foreign manure may add flavor and beauty to it."

Early Origins of the New Mentality

Indian mind did not have deep and genuine get in touch with Western thought until 1820s and 1830s when two rival social circles in Calcutta had approached into subsistence—the 'progressive' circle headed through Dwarkanath Tagore and Raja Rammohan Roy and the 'conservative' circle headed through Radhakanta Deb. This the social and intellectual history of Calcutta where the 'rebirth' may be said taken lay, began when Rammohan finally took up residence in Calcutta in Even earlier, approximately 1805 the Raja had published from Murshidabad his work. Tuhfatul Muwahhiddin which elicited a great deal of debate' While details of the debate need not detain us, it is significant to stay in mind that the disputants appealed to logic and cause, and Rammohan in scrupulous to inductive there are several things for instance, several wonderful inventions of the people Europe and the dexterity of jugglers, the causes of which are obviously not and appear to be beyond the comprehension of human power, but after a keen or instructions of others, those causes can be recognized satisfactorily." This inductive cause only may be a sufficient safeguard for intelligent people against deceived through such supernatural workings. Thus Rammohan on the way to lending the importance of scientific observation. He questioned all revelations not provable. The extraordinary thing in relation to the these debates was that the Raja yet read and accepted either Locke or Newton.

The second and related point to note is that all disputants in the debate accused one another of violating the good of society thereby implicitly adhering to the notion of utility. Rammohan condemned all religious rites that were detrimental to social life and did not lead to the amelioration of the condition of society. In his view, the value of religion lay in the fear of punishment in the after that world.

Rationalism in Bengal thus in a sense predated the formal Western impact which was primarily a catalyst accelerating the pace of change.

Western Knowledge and its Impact

The emerging ethos of enlightened rationalism assumed in Bengal an institutional form for the first time in the Hindu College of Calcutta (1817). Well to do Bengalis, some orthodox, joined with some non-official Europeans to set up the college. Rammohan, regarded as a founding father of the college, kept himself deliberately aloof for fear of antagonizing more orthodox Hindus like Radha Kanta Deb who became the patron of the college. But the inherent and incipient radicalism of the liberal Bengali youth could hardly be restrained as they rallied round the college teacher Henry Louis Vivien Derozio. The subsequent expulsion of Derozio did not restrain the rising tide of rationalism which sustained to prevail with rising strength.

The establishment of the Hindu College was followed through the founding of the School Book Society and the School Society which played a key role in improving school education in Calcutta. They printed new text books, opened new types of schools which held annual examinations, laying the foundations of a new educational system. The choice of subjects of study and their emphasis was new—English, Mathematics, Geography and Natural sciences. The establishment of other higher organizations of learning like the Bishop's College, Oriental Seminary, the Calcutta Medical College and the Indian newspapers contributed considerably to the creation of a new, rational and more critical public opinion.

In Bombay, a similar function was performed through the Elphinstone College which in several compliments was the counterpart of Calcutta's Presidency College. It originated in the desire of the rich native citizens of

Bombay to erect an apposite memorial to their departing Governor, Elphinstone. A finance was composed in 1821 for the purpose of instituting a number of professorships. Two English Professors, one of natural philosophy and the other of common literature arrived in 1835 and launched the Elphinstone High School, it assumed the name Elphinstone College. The college was instrumental in creating an “intelligentsia” in Bombay which sustained contemporary social and political movements in Western India. In the middle of the professionals who graduated from the college were Dadabhai Naoroji, Mahadev Govind Ranade. K.T. Telang, Phifoze Shah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale and D.K. Karve. Thus it was no accident that the early crop of Bombay nationalists came from the portals of Elphinstone College. In Madras municipality, the Presidency College became an significant centre. The Muslims of North India after having lagged behind for more than half a century, in the 1870s led through Sayyid Ahmed Khan joined forces to design and set up at Aligarh the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College, a private British style educational institution that would not simply be a transplant of an English model but would remain an indigenous creation. The implications of the new educational system were distant reaching. While on the one hand, the new organizations subsequently contributed to an articulation of political sentiment, there was more immediately the creation of a new intellectual milieu best represented in modern literature as well as in modern treatises on socio-religious matters and public pronouncements. Popularisation of western literature influenced indigenous literary and intellectual effort that tended increasingly to lay stress on new currents of rationality and romanticism.

New Rationalism

In Bengal and Maharashtra, in the 19th century rational assessment of current needs and received traditions both indigenous and alien, became the hallmark of intellectual enterprise. Rammohan's modernity is well recognized to be repeated here in detail. All his initiatives were inspired through a liberal ideology informed with a belief in man's right to freedom. His classic statements against the practice of sati did cite references from the Scriptures,

but the clinching arguments were grounded firmly on rational principles. A similar concern for rational thought informed through human value marked the Raja's pronouncements on socio-cultural as well as religious issues. His well-known plea for state support to western instead of oriental education seeking an enlightened system of instruction 'embracing mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry and anatomy with other useful sciences', letters defending the freedom of the press in India were all singularly inspired through a faith in cause and rational argument. This abiding concern for cause and rationality was shared through several others. Derozio in scrupulous encouraged his students to think for themselves as a result of which, the young western educated Bengali questioned not any scrupulous religion or religious tradition, but the tradition of belief without rational argument itself. Akshay Kumar Dutta, editor of the *Tatva Bodhini Patrika* wrote many didactic works where, without denying the subsistence of God, Dutta sought arguments in its favour in the grand book of Nature itself. His subsequent work on Indian religions was a critical sociological examination of religious sects in a spirit of Rational and enlightened enquiry. In all these deliberations, Comte's positivism and utilitarian doctrines constituted significant powers. Tom Paine's *Age of Cause and Rights of Man* and Macaulay's *Essays* were widely read and assimilated as was Mill's *Subjection of Women*. From these were derived new notions of cause, justice and utilitarian concerns of welfare. Admittedly, reasoned justice were not foreign to Indian philosophy: cause, for instance was integral to both Vedantic and Islamic philosophy. But cause as imported from the West was wider than logic. Educated Indians came to appreciate that Europe had conquered the world of knowledge because of the 'purity of its strenuous exercise of cause'. Europe thus infected India with the curiosity to discover the inner workings of all phenomena through observations and experiment. Cause had therefore to be empirical and scientific for it was cause alone that showed the way to progress. Cause was allied to progress and progress implied an activist philosophy of life. Thus Tagore extolled a world "where the mind is without fear," and where "knowledge is free".

The notion of justice which was allied with that of cause was a new feature of contemporary Indian civilization. The individual with his conscience appeared. Man owed it to himself and to God that he abide through the voice of individual conscience. Conscience extended from the religious sphere to social protest. The development of social protest was apparent in the proliferation of plays after the Mutiny—Nil Darpan, Jamindar Darpan, etc. The sphere of protest extended as intellectuals guided through conscience re-examined the whole base of traditional society and sought to redress the abuses that had crept in. Conscientious protest evolved eventually into political nationalism. Bankim too graduated from rational enquiry to a profoundly emotional patriotism, note the passion for the motherland in Anandamath.

The new rationality in Maharashtra was represented in the writings of many intellectuals; but it is the Nibandahmala of Chiplonkar that deserves first mention. The power, of the new education was rapid and profound as the careers of the early Bombay intellectuals illustrate. Sardar Gopal Hari Deshmukh (1823-83) passionately advocated the necessity of purging Indian society of outdated ritual, glaring inequalities and grievous disabilities imposed on women. K.T. Telang also took a militant row on social reform. He wrote extensively on political and social issues drawing inspiration from western ideologues like Spencer and Mill. M.G. Ranade and Gopal Krishna Gokhale also personified the new spirit that was animating the mind of Maharashtra in the 1880s under the impact of British rule.

The New Romanticism

Romanticism like rationality was the second distinguishing current that flowed into the contemporary Indian Renaissance. The popularity, appeal and accessibility of Western literature influenced indigenous literary enterprise. The works of Walter Scott, George Elliot etc. made a powerful impact. This was apparent in both the form and content of vernacular literature in India. Rise of prose shapes—fiction, drama, biography and history, essays and literary criticism were perhaps the mainly significant consequences. New

matter was put into these new shapes. An altered nature of the perception of man and woman, of their connection, emphasis on the human spirit were the distinguishing hallmarks of the new fiction that stemmed in the vernacular particularly Bengali. Thus Bankim's first novel *Durgeshnandini* (1865) had striking similarities to Scott's *Ivanhoe*. Though, romanticism did not remain Western in a limited sense, as novelists began to tap indigenous sources of romance. Western concepts merely initiated change that were eventually accepted on in derived from changing perceptions of the new connection of man and woman. An instance is Bankim's *Kapalkundala*. The great historical novels of R.C. Dutta—*Maharashtra Jivan Prabhat* (1878) and *Rajput Jivana Sandhya* (1879) also testified to the new spirit of the age.

From 1903 onwards, a new wave commenced with Tagore's *Chokher bali* that recognized social and psychological realism, the dominant trend. His heroines were special women who spoke for themselves and had an abiding sense of honor and self sacrifice for higher thoughts, the new wave gained in strength in the 20th century.

Similar trends were represented in other local literature as well. In Tamil, the break came with the writings of Subramanya Bharati whose *Kuyilpattu* were unique expressions of love and compassion. Bharati also dedicated much of his verse to the service of the mother land. Compassion was also the essence of the Gujarati poetry of Narsinhrao Divatia's masterpiece, *Smarahana Samhita* (1915), which was written on the occasion of his son's compound of compassion, self surrender and sense of union—which had inspired the *bhakti* movement of an earlier age. Kumaran Asan, the Malayali poet too in his *Outcast Nun* expressed the same sentiment:

**It is in love that the world takes birth
Love nurses it to growth; his fulfilled bliss
Man finds in the bonds of love; love itself is love
The moment of death is when compassion dies.
Outcast Nun (1922)**

The love inspired protest which Kumaran Asan put in the mouth of the Buddha was restated in a message of Swami Vivekananda in his well-known saying:

“Where are you looking for God when he is present in every Human being before your eyes? One who loves others serve God.”

In conclusion, one necessity emphasize that the development of critical consciousness in India was as much a reformation as it was a renaissance. It was a procedure that absorbed new elements adapted itself to new needs and restated itself in new terms.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Was the development of Indian languages in this period uniform?
- What was the impact of the Western attempt to develop Indian languages?
- With the decline of Mughal empire what were the changes which took place in the Indian literature?
- Discuss the official policy of education between 1835 to 1857.
- Write a critical note on the effect of English education in India.

CHAPTER 6

Impact of British Rule: Polity and Society

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Constitutional development (1757-1858)
- Administration and law
- Social policy and Indian response
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter you will:

- Become familiar with the important constitutional developments in the first century of British rule.
- Able to various ideas and elements that went into the making of the British administrative policy.
- Learn the factors which shaped the colonial social policy.

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT (1757-1858)

Background

Establishing the sovereignty of the Crown in lay of the Company was yet too bold a step to be taken. That would have directly put an enormous mass of patronage in the hands of the government. Again it would have caused much bitterness in India and in the middle of European nations. The wise step was to subject the Company to manage on the foundation of current doctrines of constitutional law.

A select committee of Parliament was appointed in April, 1772 to enquire into the state of affairs in India. In August the Company begged the Government for a loan of £ 1,00,000. It was surprising that although the

servants of the Company composed wealth, the Company faced serious financial crisis.

The problem before the British Government was to describe the connection of East India Company and its possessions with the British Government. Another problem was to determine the way the Company's authorities in Britain were to manage the big number of officials and soldiers working for it in distant absent India. The question of providing a single centre of manage in excess of far spread British possessions in Bengal, Madras and Bombay was also causing great concern.

The form of the connection of the East India Company and its possessions with the British Government was mainly significant because it was closely linked with party and parliamentary rivalries in Britain. English statesmen were politically ambitious and English merchants were commercially greedy. Bengal had yielded rich possessions into the hands of the Company. Fabulous wealth brought home through its officials caused jealousy in the British nation. Merchants, the rising part of manufacturers and newly risen 'free enterprisers' were striving to have a share in the profits of Indian trade and wealth coming from India. Why should East India Company alone enjoy this? They wanted to put an end to the monopoly of trade held through the Company. With this end, they criticized the way the Company administered Bengal.

Several political thinkers and statesmen of Britain were afraid that the Company and its powerful rich officials would lower the standard of morality of the English nation and augment corruption in British politics. The seats in the Home of Commons were bought through the Company for its mediators. It was feared that the Company, with the help of money brought from India, might achieve dangerous supremacy in the British Government.

A new School of economists who were advocating free trade condemned exclusive companies. Adam Smith in his book, 'Wealth of Nations' wrote that exclusive companies were causing harm both to countries which set up them and the countries that they govern.

The East India Company's location was unique at home. King George-III patronized it. It fought with the help of its friends in Parliament. The

Parliament decided on a compromise. A balance was worked out. The British decided to manage the Company's Indian administration in the interest of Britain's influential elite class as a whole. The Company was allowed to continue with its monopoly of Eastern trade. The Directors of the Company were given the manage of Indian administration.

The Regulating Act, 1773

In these circumstances, the Parliament passed its first significant Act in 1773, described the Regulating Act to manage the Company's Administration. The Act made changes in the constitution of the Company at home; the whole of the territories in India were subjected to some degree of manage.

The provision was made in a very efficient manner for the government to stay supervision in excess of the Company. Changes were made in the Constitution of the Court of Directors of the Company. It was required that it should submit to the Government all communications in relation to the civil and military affairs received from Bengal and revenues of India.

In the field of executive government, the status of Governor of Bengal was raised to Governor Common. His Council would consist of four members. The Governor Common in Council was given the power to superintend and manage the presidencies of Madras and Bombay in matters of war and peace. In this body was vested the civil and military administration of the presidency, and government of all the territorial acquisitions and revenues in the kingdoms of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

The Governors of Madras and Bombay were required to send regularly, to the Governor Common, information linked with government, revenues, or interests of the Company. The Governor Common in turn was under the direct manage of Court of Directors and kept it fully informed of the affairs concerning the interests of the Company.

The Act also provided for the establishment of a Supreme Court of Justice at Calcutta to provide justice to Europeans, their employees and citizens of Calcutta.

Legislative powers were granted to the Governor Common and Council to create rules, ordinances and regulations for the civil government of Fort William and subordinate factories.

The Regulating Act did not work smoothly in practice. Its defects and weaknesses were exposed when it was put to working. Supervision of the British government was ineffective. The Governor Common had to face the opposition of his council, who united against him. He had no power to override them, though in case of an equal division he had a casting vote. Disunity of the Council prevented it from solving external and internal troubles of a serious nature. They had to often face deadlocks which impeded smooth working of the administration. The President of Madras and Bombay were under the common controlling power of the Governor Common and Council proved inefficient in actual working.

Pitt's India Act, 1784

Pitt's India Act was passed in August, 1784. The purpose was to remove defects in the Regulating Act. Its essential plan was the same. Company's public affairs and its administration in India were to approach directly under supreme manage of the British Government. The right of the Company to territorial possessions was though not touched, so it essentially meant a compromise.

The Act recognized a Board of Manage consisting of six commissioners, including, two Cabinet ministers. The Board of Manage was to guide and manage the work of the Court of Directors and the Government of India. They were to manage all matters of civil and military Government of the British territories in India. A secret committee consisting of three Directors was appointed to take the lay of the Court of Directors in political and military matters.

The Constitution of the Company's government in India was revised. The Act recognized the principle that the government of India be placed under the Governor Common and a Council of three, so that if only one member of the Council supported him, he could have his way. The Governor Common was given a casting vote. The Act clearly stated that the Presidencies of

Madras and Bombay were to be subordinate to the Presidency of Bengal in all matters of war, diplomatic dealings and revenue.

The Governor Common and council were made subordinate to British Government. They were forbidden to declare war and enter into any treaty without the sanction of the directors or the secret committee.

Pitt's India Act is significant in several characteristics. The President and the board were destined to be the future Secretary of State for India and his council. It helped in uniting India through giving supreme power to Governor Common in excess of the Governors of Presidencies.

Through reducing one member of the Executive Council of the Governor Common his location was strengthened. The Governor Common and Governors were given the power to override their councils. The possessions of the Company in India came under the supremacy of the British Parliament.

The Act laid the base of a centralized administration—a procedure which reached its climax towards the secure of the nineteenth century. Parliament's manage in excess of East India Company was tightened, a trend which remained conspicuous till the Crown directly took in excess of the Government of India in 1858.

The Act had several defects too. It had divided power and responsibility. The Governor Common had two masters, the Court of Directors and the Board of Manage. Out of this disagreement of power appeared the view of the primacy of the man on the spot. Cornwallis accordingly stretched his power to the widest possible limit. The actual state of affairs were not recognized to the Home Government. This gave Governor Common an opportunity to act in his discretion even on matters of importance.

The Government of India was to be accepted on till 1857 just as to the framework given in the Pitt's India Act. Cornwallis, when appointed Governor Common, insisted on having the power to override his council in significant matters such as safety, peace and interests of the Crown in India. The Act of 1786 gave him the powers he asked for. The offices of the Governor Common and the Commander-in-Chief were to be united in the same person.

Declaratory Act of 1788 gave full powers and supremacy to the Board of Manage. This was a step towards transfer of powers of the Company to the Crown.

Charter Act of 1793

The Charter was to be renewed in 1793. Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Manage, was in favour of renewing the Charter and allowing the Company to retain its political privileges and responsibilities. Cornwallis also supported this stand. The Charter of the Company was renewed for 20 years and it was declared that it would be allowed to continue with the possession of all territories for the after that 20 years.

The Governor Common's and Governors' powers to overrule their council were emphasized and explained. This power had been given specially to Cornwallis in 1786. Governor Common's manage in excess of the Presidencies was strengthened. He was allowed to issue orders and directions to any Government and Presidency of India throughout his absence from Bengal without previous consultation with his council. He could exercise all executive power vested in the Central Government.

A regular code of all regulations that could be enacted for the internal Government of the British territory in Bengal was framed. The Regulation applied to the rights, persons and property of the Indian people and it bound the Courts to regulate their decisions through the rules and regulations contained therein. It also required that, "all laws relating to the rights of the person and property should be printed with translation in Indian languages and prefixed with statements of grounds on which they were enacted, "so that the people should become well-known with their rights, privileges and immunities.

The Act of 1793 thus laid the base of government through written laws and regulations in British India in lay of the personal rule of the past rulers. The interpretation of regulations and written laws was to be done through the Courts. The concepts of a civil law, enacted through a secular human agency and applied universally, was an significant change.

Indians were not given positions where they could share the power or power. Indians were excluded “to satisfy the demand of English men for lucrative jobs.”

Charter Act of 1813

Enquiries into the Company’s affairs were ordered before another renewal of the Charter due in 1813. In 1808, the House of Commons appointed a Committee of investigations. Its statement on judicial and police arrangements was submitted in 1812. The government decided to allow British subject’s access to India with their ships.

The Home Government had specifically directed the Government of India not to follow the policy of conquests. But aggressive policies in India resulted in acquisition of territory. Lord Wellesley and Marquis of Hastings followed an imperialistic policy. The Company’s power had spread to the whole of India except Punjab, Nepal and Sind. Company requested for financial help from the Parliament due to overspending in wars and setback in trade. There was also a lot of agitation against continuance of commercial monopoly through the East India Company. Self-governing merchants demanded ending of the same. They wanted a share in the trade with India. The teachings of Adam Smith and his school were through then dominating the politics of Britain. Benthamite Reformists, the Evangelicals and the Traditionalists tried to power British politics and policies towards British India. Their foremost interest was to safeguard the stability of the Empire.

The Act of 1813 renewed the Company’s Charter for 20 years, but it asserted the sovereignty of the British Crown in excess of the Indian territories held through the Company, Company was allowed to have territorial possessions for another 20 years.

The Company was deprived of its monopoly of trade with India. It was allowed to continue with its monopoly of trade with China for 20 years. The Indian trade was thrown open to all British merchants.

Charter Act of 1833

The Industrial Revolution had made Britain a manufacturer of cotton textiles and other factory goods. A vast country like India could consume a big number of manufactured goods and give raw materials as well. Industrialists were keen to conquer the vast Indian markets. The East India Company served the ends of British imperialism. Their restrictive policies had led to the ruin of indigenous industries. Laissez Faire had become the vital philosophy of the new industrial policy in Britain. There was a popular desire to free trade from restrictions and monopolies.

When it was time for the renewal of the Charter in 1833 there was widespread agitation for abolition of the Company and take in excess of administration through the Crown. A Parliamentary enquiry was held.

The political atmosphere in Britain was full of enthusiasm for reforms. The well recognized Reform Act was passed in 1832. The country was enjoying the prosperity achieved with the Industrial Revolution. It could afford to adhere to the policy of free trade. Slavery was abolished in the whole of the British empire.

The Act of 1833 was a great landmark in the constitutional history on India. The monopoly of tea trade with China was abolished. The Company was to have only political functions. India was to pay the Company's debts. Its shareholders were guaranteed a dividend of 10.5 per cent per annum. The union of the trader and the sovereign was finally dissolved, the Indian possessions of the Company were to be held in trust for the British Crown. The President of the Board of Manage became the minister for Indian affairs. The Directors were to act as expert advisors of the President of the Board of Manage. The Board of Manage was invested with power to superintend, direct and manage the affairs of the Company relating to the Government or revenues of the Indian territory which vested in the Company in trust for the English Crown.

Governor Common of Bengal became the Governor Common of India. The Governor Common in Council was to manage, superintend and direct the civil and military affairs of the Company. Bombay, Bengal, Madras and other

regions were subjected to complete manage of the Governor Common in Council. Central Government was to have complete manage in excess of raising of revenues and expenditure. Expenses of Provincial Governments, creation of new offices, and obedience of all members of the Government of Bombay, Madras were under strict manage of the Central Government.

Through the Act of 1833, the Governor Common in Council were given the power to legislate for the whole of the British territories in India. These laws were applicable to all persons, British or Indian foreigners or others and to the servants of the Company. They were enforceable through all courts in India.

The Act added one more member to the Executive council of the Governor Common, the Law Member, whose work was fully legislative. He had no vote in the Council and he was to attend meetings, on invitation. But he practically became a regular member of the council. Lord Macaulay, the Law member, influenced the educational policy of the government for a number of years.

The number of members of the Presidency Councils was reduced to two. Bombay and Madras were to stay their separate armies under the Commanders-in-Chief. They were to be under the manage of the Central Government.

The Act provided for the codification of laws in India. There were many type of laws before 1833. There were the English Acts, Presidency Regulations, Hindu Law, Muslim Law, Customary Law etc. Through this Act the Governor Common was empowered to appoint the Law Commission to study, collect and codify various rules and regulations prevalent in India. The Indian Penal Code and Codes of Civil and Criminal Law were enacted through the efforts of Indian Law Commission.

Part 87 of the Act declared, “that no native or natural born subject of the crown resident in India should be through cause only of his religion, lay of birth, descent, color or any of them be disqualified for any lay in the company’s service.” It was a momentous declaration. Lord Morley later described it as the mainly significant India Act passed through the British Parliament till 1909. This was not of much practical importance, since nothing

was done and Indians remained excluded from higher posts in civil and military service.

The Charter Act of 1833 made no provision to secure the nomination of Indians to the covenanted services of the company. Yet the clause proclaiming on discrimination was of great importance for it became the sheet-anchor of political agitation in India towards the end of the century.

Charter Act of 1853

Politically conscious Indians made efforts to bring to an "end the reactionary government of the East India Company. Raja Rammohan Roy went to Britain and represented India's case before the Parliamentary Select Committee. The Bombay Association and the Madras Native Association sent petitions on similar rows. But there was strong opposition to it from leaders of dissimilar parties, ministers, president of the Board of Manage and Company's Directors. They favored the renewal of the Charter.

Through the Act of 1853, separation of the executive and the legislative functions was accepted a step further through the provision of additional members of council for the purpose of legislation.

The Law Member was made a full member of the Executive Council of the Governor Common. The consent of the Governor Common was made necessary for all legislative proposals. In this framework the central legislature was completed.

Central Legislative Council was to consist of one representative each from the Provinces. Events concerning a province were to be measured in the attendance of representatives from that province. The Chief Justice of Supreme Court of Calcutta was to be the ex-officio member of the Council. Two more civilians might be nominated through the Governor Common, but this power was never exercised.

The Council in its legislative capability was to consist of 12 members. These incorporated the Governor Common, Commander-in-Chief, four members of his council and six legislative members.

All vacancies in India were to be filled in through competitive examinations. Lord Macaulay was appointed the President of the Committee.

The number of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18. Six of them were to be nominated through the Crown.

The Company was allowed to retain possessions of the Indian territories “in trust for Her Majesty, her heirs and successors until Parliament shall otherwise give.”

The “Legislative Councilors” were neatly distinguished from the “Executive Councilors” and through doing so, legislation was for the first time treated as a special function of the government requiring special machinery and special procedure. The business of the Council was mannered in public. The procedure it adopted for transaction of business was much the same as in the British Parliament. Questions were put, papers were demanded and information was asked for and Government was criticized for its lapses and excesses.

Sure misgivings were raised in the minds of Home authorities lest a representative system might not pave its way into the fortress of their autocratic machinery. The authorities in Britain felt when the Council which consisted of British officials only, showed boldness and inquisitiveness and pried into the field of the Executive. Its petitions for redress of grievances were presented as defiance of the parental power of the Home Government and public rejection of sure bills offended the authorities in Britain. No Indian element was associated with the Legislative Councils.

In practice the Legislative Council threatened to alter the whole structure of the Indian Government. It had urbanized into “an Anglo-Indian Home of Commons.”

Government of India Act, 1858

As the Charter Act of 1853 did not provide the East India Company the right to govern India for another 20 years, it gave an opportunity to the Home Government to step in and take the lay of the East India Company in India. This procedure was hastened through the happenings of 1857, or the so described ‘Mutiny’.

Whigs and Tories had joined hands to complete without delay the procedure of extending crown government in excess of India. Lord

Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, declared his Government's decision to assume directly the Government of India through the British Crown. John Stuart Mill prepared, a dignified and weighty petition which was presented through the Company against the Government decision to both the Houses of Parliament. But no petition could any longer stem the tide of mounting criticism against the Company's administration. Lord Stanley, President of the Board of Manage introduced a bill for the 'Better Government' of India which became an Act of Parliament in August 1858.

The Government of India passed from the hands of the English East India Company to the crown. The armed forces of the company were transferred to the crown.

The Board of manage and court of Directors were abolished. Their lay was taken through the Secretary of State of India and his India Council. They were to govern India in the name of her majesty. The Secretary of State was to sit in Parliament. He was a cabinet minister of England and as such was responsible to Parliament. Ultimate power in excess of India remained with Parliament.

The Act created an India council of fifteen members. It was to advise the Secretary of State who could overrule its decisions. Approval of the Council was essential in financial matters. Mainly of the members of the India Council were those who had retired from Indian services.

The Secretary of State was given the power of sending and getting secret messages and dispatches from the Governor Common without the necessity of communicating them to the India Council. The Secretary of State was to present to the Home of Commons periodically statement on the moral and material progress of India.

The Government of India in its dealings with England was guided through the directions laid down through the Secretary of State in Council. All matters concerning legislation, land revenue, public works, railways, jobs, new expenditure and policies were rigidly scrutinized and controlled through the Secretary of State. The Rules and Regulations made in India through the secretary of state were to be laid on the table of the Home of Commons.

The Governor General became recognized from now as the Viceroy or Crown's representative. In matters of policy and its execution the viceroy was increasingly reduced to a subordinate location in relation to the British Government. The Government of India was finally directly controlled from London.

ADMINISTRATION AND LAW

The Background

The vast territories of India were controlled through a huge administrative structure, and various branches of which were held together through a set of laws. Before we go into the details of this structure, let us see at the background to these administrative innovations. These changes in the field of administration and law were a product of sure thoughts which had gained currency in 19th century Britain. These administrative change also catered to sure British interests in India. Let us see at both these characteristics.

British Thinking on Administration

The administrative and legal system introduced through the British did not take form overnight and did not evolve in a vacuum. It was spread well in excess of eighty years, was implanted through a series of events and acts, and was based on the initiative taken through several British officers and thinkers. A number of its provisions and schemes continue even today. It did not evolve in a vacuum but should be seen against the background of intellectual movements in the late 18th and early 19th century Britain, which looked upon the British administration of India as one of its major concerns.

One of the earliest powers that can be seen is the thought of improvement. This power, apparent at the earliest in Cornwallis, looked at the creation of English style aristocracy in land as the best means of developing India. This aristocracy, recognized through Cornwallis as the Zamindars was looked upon as trustees who would encourage the growth of trade and

manufacture under them. This coupled with English style institution of law and administration—where the substance was to separate revenue and judicial function of administration would effectively ensure the improvement of India under the landed aristocracy.

Whereas Cornwallis worked mainly with the thoughts and perceptions which came before utilitarianism, Macaulay was a liberal who had grown up in interaction with both the missionary zeal of evangelicalism and the emerging pragmatism of 1830s and 1840s. Thus we see him take up the codification of laws with vigor. Though, though he approved of this aspect of institutionalism, he did not at all agree with their goal of reforming India.

Flanked by the concern of Cornwallis and Macaulay came the intellectual current described 'utilitarianism' with James Mill, Jeremy Bentham, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill as were its major exponents showed a special interest in the Indian question, and were mainly responsible for the type of administration and judicial system that came into being in India. The utilitarians reflected on how to govern and manage India and their thoughts slowly gained acceptance in Britain perhaps because they represented and combined the interest of the British merchants, manufacturers and missionaries. What were their thoughts on India and prescription for the Indian problem?

- Indian society was seen through them as totally devoid of the values of rationalism and individualism, which were seen as the essential principles for structure a contemporary society.
- A traditional and decadent society like India could be improved through proper legislation, which would impart "human justice" as against "divine justice" practiced in traditional societies. This meant that "British administration with its principles of justice and uniformity could convert India into progressive and dynamic society.
- Though in this scheme the instrumentality of education was rejected through Mill.
- And so was the Indianisation of the Government structure. Given their character, Indians were seen unfit in the task of their in excess of

‘modernization’. Mill therefore dismissed the thought of giving any power and responsibility to Indians. Utilitarians prescribed a contemporary machine of government, run through the British.

In other words, from the 19th century onwards when information in relation to the India began trickling into the European societies, there began a debate in the middle of thinkers, scholars and officers on the Indian problem and its solution. In the middle of them the utilitarians, with their well defined structure of thoughts, a set of followers, their keenness on India, and the readymade applicabilities of their concerns (of taxation, shapes of government and administration of justice) to India, proved to be the mainly outspoken and effective. In 1819, James Mill was admitted into the executive government of the East India Company. This made it easier for the utilitarian thoughts to be implemented in the Indian situation. Their thoughts can be summed up in the format of troubles and prescribed solutions.

Troubles

- Indian society was backward, decadent, retrograde and despotic. There was degradation of the several through the few and absence of any security for the individual and his rights.
- This resulted in poverty, therefore crime
- Servility and superstition was (feature of Indian people)
- Solution
- Advancement of society through the establishment of a good government with good laws and sound administration.
- This would lead to freeing of individual initiative from despotism, customs and communal ownership (which Mill saw a sign of a primitive society and inhibiting the creation of a civil society).
- This would provide a free and full scope for capital and labour and lay due emphasis on individual rights and ownership (as against communal ownership, feature of Indian society).
- Towards the same and it was necessary to legally describe and protect individual right in land.

To put it briefly, the utilitarian thinking was an advocacy of a 'Rule of Law'. Laws were to be scientifically defined and embodied in a written form in codes. They were to be implemented through the creation of a body of local courts to create law accessible to every man. Only this could make an individualist competitive society.

British Interests

Through now you necessity have become well-known with British thoughts on law and its connection with the society. But at the same time, it would be wrong to overlook the interests, which were also at work behind the introduction of British administration and law in India. It suited the British necessities in India to have a uniform system of administration. And the British need for a new administration and laws varied with the changes in the British interest in India and the combination of interest groups in Britain.

As you are aware, the imperial interest in India did not remain the same throughout. They changed throughout the dissimilar stages of the British rule. They also represented the interests of dissimilar social groups in Britain in dissimilar stages. Throughout the first stage of the British rule in India till 1813, British interests lay mainly in

- The East India Company's monopoly of trade with India, and the elimination of other European competitors,
- The manage in excess of financial possessions, through taxation,

Both these objectives could be fulfilled without having to disturb the existing organizations and administrative tools. British rulers at this stage were not very dissimilar from that of traditional rulers, interested mainly in the appropriation of agricultural surplus. No effort was, therefore, made to make a uniform administrative structure or even to renovate the old one at this stage. No vital changes were introduced in the judicial system and administration. Whatever little changes were made in the field of administration were only made at the top of the structure of revenue collection and were connected to

the objective of smooth revenue collection. A contemporary judicial system or a uniform administrative structure for India was not seen as necessary at this stage, since it was not measured relevant for the fulfillment of British objectives throughout the first stage of British rule in India.

This scenario changed considerably after 1813. As you are aware, the British economy and society were going through a major transformation, caused mainly through the Industrial Revolution. The mercantilist trading corporations were now giving way to the Industrial bourgeoisie which had become the dominant force in the British society. The East India Company was slowly losing its monopoly in excess of Indian trade. The British interests in India no longer represented the interests of the company but of the Industrial capitalist class. The interests of the British industrialists through in using India as

- A market for their manufactured industrial good,
- A source of raw material (like Jute, Cotton etc.) for their industries, and food grains, opium etc. for export.

All this required much greater penetration into Indian economy and society and manage in excess of Indian trade not only with Britain but with other countries also. India was now expected to play a new role. It was perhaps not possible to perform the new role with the traditional administrative organizations. They had to be changed and transformed to suit the new necessities. And hence started the procedure of transforming Indian administration the details of which you will study in the after that part. Likewise, the whole legal structure had to be overhauled to promote contemporary business, make a market economy, free commercial dealings and to regulate the various economic transaction smoothly with the help of contemporary laws.

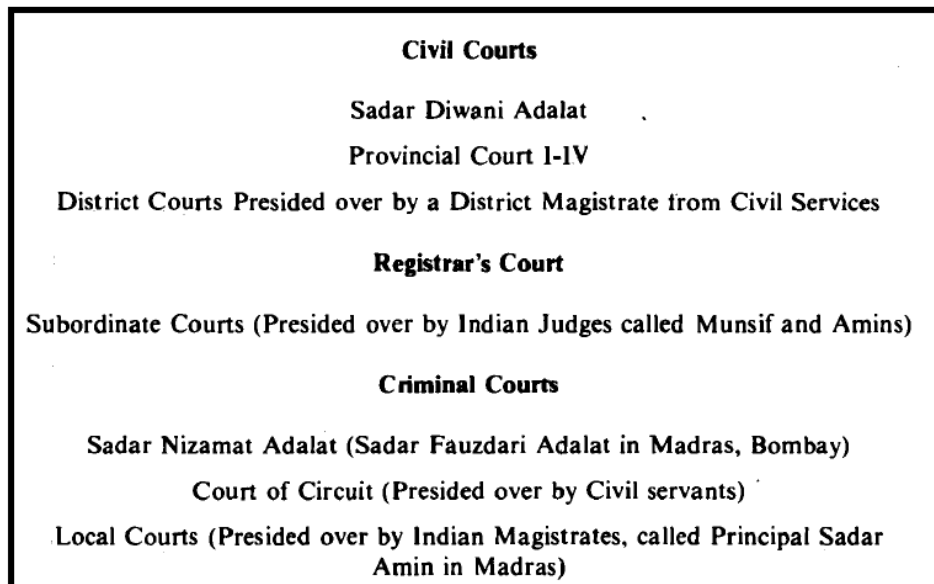
Institutional Framework

Having discussed the dominant British thoughts on the question of law and administration, let us now see at the framework of administrative organizations that evolved in the 19th century were incorporated into this framework.

The Judicial System

The structure of an adequate structure of administration started taking form from 1793 under Cornwallis, and sustained, with interruptions, down the 19th century. Throughout Cornwallis Governor Generalship significant changes were made in all the branches of administration including the judicial system. These changes involved a divorce of revenue from civil administration, i.e., the separation of judicial from executive functions and the multiplication of judicial courts.

The separation of civil and revenue administration meant, that the collector hitherto the holder of judicial and revenue responsibilities was now deprived of his judicial functions and concerned mainly with revenue. The collection of revenue and the administration of justice were now to be accepted out through separate officials appointed for that purpose. There was now a collector responsible for the collection of revenue and a judge Magistrate with civil and criminal jurisdiction, Broadly the structure of the new judiciary was something like this:



This system of a hierarchy of courts was tried and implemented first in Bengal which had assumed the states of a Laboratory for the British rule where they could create experiments in the field of administration, and they extend it to the rest of the country. The Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat shaped the top of the pyramid and were situated in Calcutta. Below these were the provincial courts of appeal (in the case of civil courts) and the courts of route (in the case of criminal courts) which were recognized in the towns of Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna. Below these were the registrar's courts and all those were presided in excess of only through the Europeans. The participation of Indians was confined to subordinate positions such as Munsifs, Amins; the Qazis and the Pandits who merely advised the judges on the existing Mohammedan and Hindu laws.

Thus was laid the base of a new judicial structure in India. In years that came this structure grew and evolved. Several changes are made in it and it was subsequently applied to other parts of India. Let us at this stage seem at some of the significant characteristics of the judicial structure urbanized in India in the 19th century.

One significant characteristic of the system of law that was erected was that enough tolerance was displayed toward the existing traditional and religious laws. The criminal courts did not altogether abolish the Muslim criminal law but applied it in a somewhat customized form, so as to create it

less harsh. Likewise the civil courts also did not do absent with the customary laws which had been followed through the local people. Evidently at this stage the East India Company was not bent upon an overhauling of the system. Only a partial modification was attempted. The existing organizations of justice and also revenue appropriation were not dismantled.

Another characteristic of the new judicial system was the establishment of a whole network of laws through the procedure of enactment of laws and codification of old laws. This was well in keeping with the 19th century British passion for the codification of laws. The traditional system had been based on 1) customary laws based on traditions and social practices, 2) religious laws based on Shastras and Shariat, and 3) laws flowing from the will and power of the rulers. As against this, the British created a new system of laws. They introduced regulations, codified the existing laws and systematized and the laws were now open to judicial interpretations and subsequent amendment. Through the Charter Act of 1833, all law creation power was vested in the Governor-General-in-Council. In the same year, a Law Commission was appointed. Headed through Lord Macaulay, it prepared the Indian Penal Code which was applicable throughout the country. Thus there came into being, for the first time, a set of laws which incorporated into its fold every Indian.

The two main theoretical principles underlying the whole judicial system were the notions of the Rule of Law and Equality before law. The Rule of Law for India was an integral part of utilitarian thinking on Law. They posited the Rule of Law as the possible solution to the three main troubles:

- Tremendous discretionary power in the hands of the individuals who were likely to misuse it;
- Lack of definition of individual rights, and
- The subsistence of a big body of unwritten laws without any clear direction.

The Rule of Law meant that the administration was now to be accepted out strictly just as to sure laws which defined the rights, privileges and

obligations of the people, and not just as to the personal desires of the rulers. It also meant that in theory at least, nobody was above law. Even the official and those who supervised law, were in theory, accountable to the same set of laws and could be brought before a court of law for violating any law. The law once formulated, could lay restrictions on the actions of the rulers. Though, the laws formulated and interpreted were such that they contained enough space for the oppression of the people. As it happened, various bureaucratic misdeeds, did not require a violation of law, they could be done well within the legal rights of the officials. Despite the theoretical principle of “rule of law”, there remained domains of action, e.g. through the police or army, which remained unaffected through restrictions which should have followed from the principles. A great deal of extra-legal sustained to be exercised through the police and civil-servants. In information, under the Rule of Law, legality itself became an instrument of power and oppression.

Equality before law meant that in theory all the citizens irrespective of their caste, status etc. were now placed at an equal footing in the eyes of the law. The concept of equality before law did not of course, contain Europeans into its fold. Separate courts and laws were set up for them. In criminal cases they could be tried only through the European Judges. In reality total equality before law could not perhaps be implemented. But it did bring in relation to the a national equality in the middle of Indians.

In practice, the Indian people had to pay a heavy price for the undeniably laudable principles of the Rule of Law and Equality before Law. Justice became very expensive and therefore out of reach for mainly people. Now the stamp fee had to be paid which was very costly. It cost Rs. 1,000 to start action in a court on a property worth Rs.50,000. Moreover, the new laws were quite complicated and mainly people could not understand or interpret them. Lawyers, therefore, had to be employed and that added to the expenses. To seek justice people now had to approach to the district towns or the provincial centres. Also the legal procedure usually became very lengthy and sometime law suits dragged on for years. To take one instance a zamindari in Madras went into litigation in 1832 to settle some inheritance and debt suits. The Judgment was finally delivered only as late as in 1896 i.e. after 64 years.

Though, the judicial system introduced in India did have the merit of saving in motion the procedure of the unification of India. Now it was possible to conceive of India, in judicial terms at least, as one unit. The British formulated and used the thought of legality as an instrument of controlling India. But later, in the 20th century, the same instrument of legality was to be used through the leaders of the national movement to defend civil liberty and right to challenge government power within the limits of law.

Administrative System

The main aim of the British administration in India was the maintenance of law and order and the perpetuation of the British rule. A fairly adequate body of written laws had already been created to facilitate the tasks of the administration. The three main pillars of the British administration in India were

- The Civil service
- The Army, and
- The Police.

The Civil Service

The main job of the civil service was to translate law into action and the collection of revenue. The term 'civil services' was used, for the first time through the East India Company mainly to demarcate its civilian employees from their military and ecclesiastical counterparts. The service was initially only commercial in nature but was later transformed into a public service.

From the very beginning it was a graded post—the gradations being—Apprentices, writers, factors, junior merchants then finally senior merchants. It was from senior merchants that appointments for higher services including the Governor were made. This system of grading sustained till 1839.

The appointment to these services was the sole prerogative of the court of Directors of the East India Company. These nominated civil servants indulged in corruption, bribery and illegal private trade. Cornwallis tried to check this corruption, arising out of policy of patronage practiced through the

court of Directors. He imposed sure restrictions on the civil servants (like forbidding private trade) but increased their salaries as a compensation. For instance, the collector of a district was to be paid 1500 a month, besides one per cent commission on the revenue composed from his district. At this stage, the company's service was perhaps the highest paid service in the world.

All this, though, failed to solve the twin troubles of corruption and inefficiency. Lord Wellesly, who arrived in 1798 took important steps in this direction. He introduced the thought of a suitable training for the civil servants in India. He felt that the base of the training of the civil servants should be laid in England and further training imparted in India. This was founded the Fort William College in Calcutta on 24 November 1800, where the civil servants were to receive training in literature, science and languages in India. After five years, an East India College was recognized at Hailybury for imparting two years, training to young officers for the civil services. Indian Civil Services for the after that fifty years or so remained the product of the Hailybury College.

The method of recruitment, though, remained through the system of patronage in the hands of the court of Directors who were free to nominate their sons and nephews for the services.

The thought of 'competition' for recruitment (as against nomination practiced earlier) was introduced for the first time through the Charter Act of 1833. But it was to be a very limited competition and could be termed as nomination-cum-competition for recruitment. The Court of Directors were to first nominate four times the number of civil servants required. These nominated candidates had to go through a competitive examination, through which one fourth could ultimately be selected to join the coveted Civil Services.

But slowly the demand for open Public competition started gaining ground. The Charter Act of 1853 ultimately took absent the power of the court of Directors to create nominations and made a provision for open competition. For regulations concerning age, qualification and subjects for the competitive examination a committee was appointed headed through Macaulay which was to submit its recommendations to the Board of manage. Subsequently the

college at Hailybury was abolished in 1858 and the competitive examinations became the sole responsibility of the Civil Service Commission. This competitive examination was to be held annually in England and it was therefore, virtually impossible for an Indian to compete in it.

In late 19th century there began a demand that the competition examination should be held in India.

The officers of the civil services were employed both in the manage officer and the district. The chief Officer in the district was the collector who was initially responsible exclusively for the collection of revenue. He had the power to decide all disputes related to the boundary and the rent. He was assisted through a Tehsildar who was an Indian. After the reforms of 1831 the offices of the Magistrate and the local chief of Police were also transferred to him. This gave him total power in the district. Given the big size of some of the districts, a post of Deputy Collector, placed flanked by the Collector and the Tehsildar in the hierarchy was also created after 1831. This was soon converted into an uncovenanted post which meant that experienced Indians could be employed as Deputy Collectors.

The Indian Civil Services in years to approach, urbanized into one of the mainly efficient and powerful civil services in the world. Its members played a very crucial role in the framing of the British Policies in India and also in maintaining and running the mighty British empire in India. After 1947, self-governing India inherited this system of Civil Services, which continue in its essentially original form even today.

The Army and the Police (lh3)

Very little need be said in relation to the other two pillars of British administration. The bulk of the Company's army consisted of Indian soldiers. In 1857 the Indians constituted in relation to the 86% of the total strength of the Company's army. The main cause for this big share of Indians, lay in the expenses involved in maintaining an exclusively British army. Also, given the Company's expansionary policy company's need to uphold a big army. How Company to rely on an army mainly India. Though, the officers of the army, as in other branches of administration, were exclusively British. The highest an Indian could reach was the post of a Subedar.

The army played a crucial role in the expansion of British dominions in excess of the Indian rulers. Though, after the conquest in excess of India was in excess of and the rivalry with foreign powers eliminated. Keeping India under subjection became the main task of the army. A secondary task was to fight England's wars with the Russian, or the French or with Indian neighbouring countries.

Police, the third Pillar of the British administration was created through Cornwallis. So distant, the function of the Police was performed-through Zamindar through their armed retainers. They were now stripped off their power, their armed retainers were disbanded and in its lay, a police force was set up. This force was entirely at the command of the government of the East India Company. This force was grouped into Thanas, headed through a Daroga who was an Indian. These thanas were initially under the common supervision of the District Judge. Later the post of District Superintendent of Police was created to head the police organisation in the district. Finally the organisation of the police force was handed in excess of to the civil service and the collector in the district also controlled the police. The main task of the police was to handle crime and also to prevent conspiracy against the British rule. Later, in the 20th century the police was employed in a big way to suppress the rising national movement.

Extent of Indian Participation

One noticeable characteristic of the judicial and administrative reforms introduced through the British was the absence of Indians from responsible offices. This was well in harmony with the utilitarian thinking on the Indian question represented mainly through Mill. Moreover Cornwallis, the initiator of these reforms in India did not appear to have much faith in the efficiency and sincerity of the Indians. The field for their employment was therefore, narrowed to subordinate positions such as the Amin and Police Daroga. This policy of excluding Indians was applied to approximately every branch of the government like army Police, Civil Services, judiciary and engineering. In information it had officially been laid down in 1793 that all higher posts in administration worth a salary of 500 a year or more could be held only through

an Englishman. This was so mainly because the British were influenced that an administration based on British thoughts, organizations and practices could be firmly recognized only through Englishmen. The dominant British thinking of that time seemed to be in favour of providing good administration for the Indians, not one run through them.

Though, after 1813 under Hastings, there started the procedure of the gradual Indianisation of the lower branches of services, mainly the judiciary. As the judicial system was made more extensive, more Indians were incorporated in it. The argument given was that if justice had to be made in the vicinity accessible then local people should be involved in it. Bentinck advocated the inclusion of Indians on the grounds of orienting administration to the local needs, which could only be defined through the Indians themselves.

A major cause for Indianisation was the expenses involved. The wars fought under Hastings, especially the Anglo Burmese war produced a financial crises. This crises was compounded with the need to create administration more extensive. The extension of the covenanted services (services held through the Englishmen) was virtually impossible. So, on the one hand there was the need to create the administration more extensive. And on the other hand, was their inability to bear the cost of the extensive administration, through British standards. The only way out was to recruit Indians in big numbers to fill subordinate posts as they were cheaper and easily accessible compared to Englishmen. This did not threaten the British aspirants for the lucrative Indians posts, as they did not want to compete for the subordinate jobs in India.

It was mainly for this cause that the claims of the Indian people for a share in administration were being public ally recognized, and the British Government was also providing the justification in terms of justice, moral-obligation, and local needs etc. A regulation of 1831 placed in the hand of the Indian Judicial officers a big share of the judicial responsibility. Bentinck was succeeded through Auckland who increased the power and salary of the Indian Judges.

But it necessity be remembered that the top posts, involving decision-creation power were reserved strictly for the British till the late 19th and early 20th centuries when the Indians started creation an entry into the coveted civil services.

SOCIAL POLICY AND INDIAN RESPONSE

Historiography of Colonial Policy Formation

The study of colonial policy becomes significant to understand the state's intervention in society. Early British officers and subsequent Indian nationalist economists like R.C. Dutt, who commented on British policies in India, in spite of their opposing views shared sure general assumptions. Both viewed the colonial state as a monolithic entity which had the power to effect transformations in Indian society if it chose to. Following from this assumption it was logical to focus on the upper stages of the state machinery to understand the direction and nature of state policy.

Later, Marxist writers such as Rajni Palme Dutt in their study of British policy formulation focused on the necessities of the metropolitan economy. Another noticeable stream in the historiography of this subject has focused on the multiple ideological powers on colonial policy makers as the dominant determinant of policy formulation. More recent studies at the local and district stages have tried to counter the earlier preoccupation with the monolithic colonial state as the prime variable in the framing of policies. These works attribute great significance to local power configurations in determining the final outcome of state policies.

Early Social Policy of the British

The term social policy covers wide range of policies pertaining to law, education, family, criminality, status ranking, social information gathering and various other similar types of state intervention for the communal life of

the governed population with the substance of regulating it. Given the very wide coverage of the term 'social policy' and the information that some of these regions have already been sheltered in earlier Units, we shall concentrate in this Unit on British attitudes towards sure Indian attention and action in early colonial era. It may be mentioned at the outset that mainly of our discussions refer mainly to Bengal. Being the headquarters of the Company's government in India and its early subjugation to British rule, Bengal provided a laboratory where the government urbanized several of its early state policies. Bengal was also the region where there lived a substantial number of educated middle class people who played a role in evolving a social policy. The economic behaviors of the British in Calcutta and the spread of western education in the middle of its upper classes contributed to the exhilaration of social and cultural life in the municipality. The Western educated Bengali elite, therefore, actively discussed and responded to British policies, separately from trying to form its formulation.

Warren Hastings, the first Governor-Common of India, was in favour of creating an English bureaucracy, which would be well versed in Indian languages and responsible to Indian traditions. In 1784 Hastings noted that "Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained through social communication with people in excess of whom we exercise dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the stage: it is the gain of humanity " For Hastings the mastery in excess of traditional Indian languages provided the key to understanding India and communicating with the subject population. With this end in mind he drafted a proposal for creating a professorship in Persian at Oxford. Civil servants were encouraged to learn Persian and Hindustani before coming to India. Since the Company took official action on the issue of language training only as late as 1790, Hastings as an immediate solution, gathered approximately himself a group of civil servants who were dedicated to the study and translation of Indian texts on law and jurisprudence. To encourage such action, Hastings offered attractive financial inducement for translation exercises. Under his patronage Bengali became the first Sanskrit based vernacular to be studied systematically through

Englishmen. Nathaniel Halhed, a secure aide of Hastings compiled and translated into English a set of Hindu customary and religious laws. In 1788 he published a Grammar of the Bengali Language.

Hasting's efforts at reproducing Company documents in Indian languages promoted the beginning of printing and publishing in Calcutta. Warren Hastings was also instrumental in founding the Asiatic Society which was to help in 'rediscovering' the early traditions of Indians. The establishment of the Calcutta Madrasa was another step in this direction.

The cultural and social policy throughout Hasting's governor generalship has often been explained as one inspired through the ideology of British Orientalism. It necessity be kept in mind that this ideology also fitted in with the necessities and limits of the British empire in India. Knowledge in relation to the subject population, their social customs, manners and codes were essential prerequisites for developing. Permanent organizations of rule in India, Hasting's policy to rule the conquered in their own way and resist Anglicization reflected a combination of Orientalist conceptions and elements of political pragmatism. Early British official reports on the circumstances of the Malabar on the West Coast exhibit the tendency to view native social practices sympathetically even when they differed from Western norms. For instance late 18th century reports describe the Nair custom of matriliney and polyandry without contempt. Company officials accounted on polyandry amongst Nair women, explaining it as a consequence of the marital profession of the Nayar males. Later in the nineteenth century matrilineal inheritance came to be viewed as 'unnatural' and Nayar female polyandry was condemned as 'concubinage' and 'immoral'.

Changes in Colonial Social Intervention

Since the end of Hasting's tenure as governor-common the attitude and policies of the Indian Government slowly and hesitatingly but progressively moved in the direction of cautiously intervening in Indian social organizations. Orientalism which was the feature characteristic of Hastings era now came to

be criticized through a variety of ideological streams which shared the belief that Indian society needed urgent modernization and westernization. The Evangelical challenge led through William Wilberforce and Charles Grant (who later became the President of the Company's Board of Manage) asserted that Hinduism was based on superstition, idolatry and the tyranny of the priests. Their avowed objectives were to modernize Indians through Christian missionary proselytization. The 'Radicals' headed through Jeremy Bentham, James Mill and John Stuart Mill based their thoughts on utilitarian notions of cause and science. They advocated happiness of the greatest number rather than liberty as the aim of good government. The protection of individual life and property were seen as the means to achieve this goal.

These contending ideologies provided the ideological determinants of policy formulations. Pragmatic thoughts of not provoking wide scale resentment and revolt acted as severe constraint in the wholesale application of Western ideals on India. We shall now turn to detailed study of some specific instances of governmental intervention in social practices.

Infanticide

The first traditional social custom which was suppressed through the British Indian government was the practice of infanticide. Female infanticide was prevalent in several parts of India. The difficulty and expenses incurred in marrying girls amongst the Rajputs, the Jats, the Mewatis and the Rajput Rajkumars of Benares gave rise to the practice of killing female infants through starvation or poisoning. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benares was the first official who tried to curb this social evil. Instead of unilaterally abolishing infanticide through legislation Duncan met the local Rajkumars and influenced them that the killing of female infants went against the tenets of Hindu scriptures. Duncan knew that in the prevailing social system female children were an economic liability to their families and he promised monetary compensation through the Government if the Rajkumars abandoned this practice.

Reverend Ward in his book *A View of the History, Literature and Religion of the Hindoos* gives a detailed account of the practice of infanticide in Bengal. William Carey, a missionary in the College of Fort William vehemently argued for abolishing these customs. A member of the Governor Common's Council who was sympathetic to the Serampore Missionaries pointed out these social evils to Wellesley. Carey after consulting Hindu pundits submitted a petition to the government for immediately suppressing these practices. Approximately the same time the Calcutta magistrates sent a letter to the Vice-President-in-Council stating that infanticide had never enjoyed sanction under the Mughal or the British governments. They also mentioned that no public opposition was encountered when the police prevented infanticide.

Ultimately a law banning infanticide was enacted as Regulation VI of 1802.

The abolition of infanticide which appears to have been effective in Bengal did not result in any important opposition through the public. Almost certainly its limited practice in Bengal and the absence of religious sanction allowed the British to stamp it out easily. The banning of infanticide in other parts of India does not appear to have been effective, as this practice sustained even after its prohibition.

In the case of suppression of infanticide the initiative for change came for local stage officials and missionaries. The Governor Common gave his assent only after ascertaining the views of the Hindu pundits and the unlikely possibility of such a measure causing public hostility.

Sati

The after that important state intervention in Indian social life was the suppression of widow burning or sati. This practice was widespread in all the three Presidencies at the beginning of the 19th century with the superior number of accounted incidents being in the lower districts of Bengal (See Table 6.1).

**Table 6.1 Officially Reported Incidents of Sati in the Lower Provinces
1815-1823**

Division	No. of incidents
Calcutta	3379
Dacca	408
Murshidabad	198
Patna	425
Benares	875
Bareilly	140
Total	5425

Widow burning was practiced not only through the Brahmans but also other castes. Though, in proportion to the total population the incidence of Sati was very limited. For instance throughout the 1825 cholera epidemic when more than 25,000 people died, the total number of widow burnings amounted to only 63 in Bakarganj district of Bengal.

As early as 1795 Colebrook tried to demonstrate that this practice constituted a departure from the authentic Vedic tradition. Though Sati had been a vogue from very ancient times in India, a number of Indian rulers including Akbar, Jahangir, Guru Amardas, the Maratha chief Ahalyabai, the Peshwas, the King of Tanjore and the Portuguese in Goa tried to discourage this practice.

No Sustained and systematic effort was made to suppress this inhuman practice till the 19th century. While the other European companies in Bengal had banned widow burning in their territories, the Calcutta Supreme Court disallowed it only in one part of the municipality.

The government's early attitude towards this practice can be seen when in 1789, Brooke, the collector of Shahabad disallowed an act of Sati. Referring the case of Governor-Common Cornwallis, he noted "The rites and superstitions of the Hindu religion should be allowed with the mainly unqualified tolerance, but a practice at which human nature shudders cannot permit without scrupulous instruction" Cornwallis replied asking him not to employ coercive methods and try and persuade the people to stop this practice. In 1797 the Midnapore District Magistrate who stopped the burning of a child

widow was asked through the Governor Common to avoid coercion and use persuasion.

Led through William Carey, the Serampore Missionaries mannered a survey on widow burning in the vicinity of Calcutta. Carey got the pundits employed through the college of Fort William to collect Hindu shastras containing information on Sati. After studying these he concluded that whereas Hinduism did not forbid it, it did not create it obligatory either. Carey then sent a memorial to Wellesley for curbing Sati. In 1805 Wellesley asked the Judges of the Nizamat Adalat to discover out to what extent the practice of Sati was based on Hindu religion. The Pundits of the court declared that forcible burning of widows was not permitted. The court also noted that Sati being widely practiced and popular in the middle of Hindus, any measure to abolish it would result in considerable dissatisfaction amongst them.

In 1813 after some vacillation the government fixed the minimum age for a widow to become Sati at sixteen years and declared that a mother of a child less than three years could not become Sati unless another person undertook to seem after the child.

In 1819 and 1821 two Judges of the Supreme Court pleaded for an immediate suppression of Sati arguing that such a measure would not result in any serious public resentment. This plea was rejected through the government. In 1821 Lord Hastings refused to authorize the total abolition of Sati fearing it would incite religious fanaticisms. Hasting's successor Lord Amherst was against the prohibition of Sati because he feared that such a measure would have immediate adverse repercussions on the sepoys of the army. The Bombay government and Charles Metcalfe in Delhi were also not in favour of immediately suppressing this custom.

While the government dithered in excess of this issue the Westernized Bengali intelligentsia led through Rammohan Roy actively agitated for the abolition of Sati. In 1818 he sent a petition to the government urging them to abolish this practice and counter orthodox Hindu demands against prohibition. A vigilance committee was organized to strictly implement the age restrictions on the practice of Sati. Rammohan occupied in a polemical debate with the supporters of Sati such as Kasinath Tarkavagish (1819), wrote pamphlets and

newspaper articles to rally public opinion against this customs. He used his journal Sambad Kaumudi to further his campaign, with papers like Samachar Darpan and Bangadut supporting him. The Samachar Chandrika became the organ of his orthodox Hindu opponents.

Meanwhile the Christian missionaries attracted English public attention to the evils of Sati and the urgent need for its prohibition through the government, in Britain. The Parliament instructed the Indian government to publish all the accessible information on Sati.

In spite of the mounting demand for its abolition in India and Britain the parliament, and the company authorities in England did not want to take any decision themselves, not knowing what reaction it would produce in India. Finally it was left to Bentinck, the Governor-General to legislate against Widow burning in December 1829.

The abolition of widow-burning through the government did not result in any visible disaffection or resentment in the middle of the Indians. As in the case of infanticide, the initiative for banning widow burning came mainly from the Western educated Indian intelligentsia, Christian missionaries and individual officers. The marked procrastination through the Company's government in abolishing it was mainly due to its extreme fear of inciting a violent Indian reaction.

Slavery

Slavery was another institution which came under attack in British India. Slavery as a system of labour use was prevalent in India till its abolition in 1843. The extent and economic significance of the slave labour in common economic terms, though, varied greatly from region to region. In Bombay and Calcutta slaves constituted an article of trade; Arab traders brought slaves from Arabia and Africa for sale. In order to survive famines, such as the one in 1803, a big number of poor offered themselves in the slave market.

In Madras, unlike the other two presidencies, predial slavery was very significant. This form of slavery was very important in the region's

agricultural manufacture. Malabar, Coorg and Canara were the chief regions where widespread predial slavery lived.

Procrastination was once again the mainly apparent characteristic in the Government of India attitude towards the abolition of slavery. As early as 1774 the Government was concerned in relation to the this practice. Evangelical propaganda against slavery fed through Wilberforce helped in focusing public attention in Britain on the evils of slavery in India. Though Britain abolished slave trade in her dominions in 1820, the Company in India acknowledged the legality of slavery on the grounds that it was a traditional practice with religious sanction.

The Charter Act of 1832 directed the Indian Government to ameliorate the condition of slaves “as soon as extinction shall be practicable and safe, and should prepare drafts of laws and regulations for the purposes aforesaid.”

This led to the appointment of the Indian Law Commission of 1835. Though its primary task was to frame a Penal code, the law commission drew up an anti-slavery Statement in 1841. The Law Commission requested the government that some of its members be permitted to conduct local stage enquiries into the practice. The government refused this request.

In 1839 the Law Commission submitted a Draft Act whereby inflicting corporate punishment on slaves was made a penal offence. Before taking any action on the Draft Act the Commissioners discussed the possibility of such a measure exciting public disaffection. Regulation X of 1811 (prohibition of import of slaves through land), Regulation IV of 1832 (prohibition of inter provincial movement of slaves) and the practical abolition of slavery in Delhi were reviewed and seen to have had no hostile repercussions. Many members of the commission were against immediate passing of the Act and letters were sent to ascertain the views of the Bombay and Madras governments on the issue. The Bombay government did not feel the need for any special law and the Madras administration also doubted the expediency of such an Act.

Under pressure of parliamentary opinions, the law commission was again asked to frame a new Act which after considerable delay on the part of the Indian Government was passed as Act V of 1845, abolishing slavery in India.

The impact of the Act suppressing slavery was though very limited. The mainly crucial provision in the Act merely stated that no claim to the labour of a slave was to be recognized in a British court of law and that a government official could no longer force a slave to return to his master.

The more significant factor in the decline of slavery was the generation of sources of alternate employment in the later 19th century in plantation and public works.

The British Policy and the Indian Response : An Assessment

The suggests important shifts in British attitude towards Indian traditions and civilization. The changing servitor role of the Indian colony and the pragmatic political thoughts of the Indian government produced the context which defined the direction of state policies in India.

The conscious attempts at state intervention in India's social practices and customs were very limited in their impact. Though, the colonial government through altering the political configuration of pre-colonial India did trigger off important structural social changes. The British consciously denied political power and privileges to the pre-colonial ruling Indian groups while recognizing their social and caste status.

Education was also an significant instrument of social changes, perhaps more effective than legislation.

The small Western educated Bengali intelligentsia occupied in debates with the state on policy matters, responded to policy changes and independently tried to bring in relation to the social changes in Bengal. This groups of intelligentsia which incorporated personalities like Rammohan Roy and Keshub Chandra Sen were impressed through Britain's progress and influenced that Indian society needed urgent social change. At the same time the resisted Anglicization as well as Christian missionary attempts to convert Indians.

Intellectuals like Rammohan Roy offered to their countrymen a reformed Indian religion, vedantism, free of superstition and priesthood. The Brahmo Samaj, which was their organizational form coupled Hindu reformation with an adoption of progressive Western values. Unfortunately the

Brahmos and the Bengal reformist groups could not extend their campaign beyond the restricted Western educated urban Bengali population. The message of social reform, though, spread slowly to several parts of India and brought in relation to the reform movement under Indian initiative, self-governing of governmental support.

It may therefore be reiterated that the pragmatic thoughts of the British Indian government acted as a strong check to the translation of reformist thoughts into state policies in India. Social and religious organizations were an region in which the government intervened with great caution. Even the policy of limited state intervention in social affairs suffered a total reversal in the era after the 1857 revolt. From then onwards social reform was left mainly to indigenous initiative.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Why did the British Government decide that the affairs of the East India Company should no longer remain outside their control?
- Which important source of profit did the East India Company lose in 1833?
- Why did the British go in for administrative reforms in the 19th century?
- What was the cultural and social policy of the British during Warren Hastings Governor Generalship?

CHAPTER 7

Social and Cultural Change

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Reform movement – I
- Reform movement – II
- Social discrimination and disprivileged groups
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After studying this chapter you should be able to learn about:

- The purpose of development of new ideas aiming at multi-dimensional change of society.
- The overall impact of these new ideas on the existing socio-cultural-religious beliefs in India.
- The methods advocated by the 19th century intellectuals to implement their ideas of reform.
- The issues and ideas which were raised during the reform movement.
- Learn about various forms of social discriminations in different parts of India.

REFORM MOVEMENT - I

Eastern India

In Eastern India the first important step to eradicate the social evils was taken through Rammohan Roy. The procedure of reform that started with Rammohan was accepted forward through men like Derozio, Debendranath Tagore, Vidyasagar, Keshab Chandra Sen and others in the 19th century. Here, we would talk about the thoughts of these reformers on various socio-religious issues and the differences in their approach.

Thoughts of Rammohan Roy

Rammohan Roy has been aptly described as the Father of Contemporary India. A multi-faceted personality as he was, he touched upon almost every aspect of national life and struggled for the regeneration of Indian nations. He learned many languages and was an erudite scholar of his times.

He published his first philosophical work, *Tuhfat-ul Muwahhiddin* in 1805 in which he analyzed the major religions of the world in the light of 'cause' and 'social comfort'. He denied that religion was merely a matter of faith outside cause and attempted to expose the myth of miracles associated with it.

Rammohan's reform behaviors were accelerated after he settled down in Calcutta in 1817. He started the Atmiya Sabha and accepted on constant struggle against the and social malpractices. He denounced idolatry and advocated monotheism. He blamed the Brahman priests for perpetuating religious evils through keeping people ignorant in relation to the true teachings of the indigenous scriptures. To educate the people he published the Bengali translation of some of the scriptures and profusely wrote in defense of monotheism. His translations into and writings in the vernacular promoted the growth of Bengali language.

Rammohan Roy remained a rationalist throughout the whole era of his intellectual life. In *Tuhfat* his rationalism was in full bloom. Even in his later writings cause retains its rightful lay as the touchstone of reality. Although later he sought the support of the scriptures that was to promote reform of Hindu society.

In 1828 he recognized a new society, the Brahma Sabha which later came to be recognized as the Brahma Samaj. His primary purpose was to rid Hinduism of its evils and to preach monotheism. It incorporated the best teachings of other religions and acted as a powerful platform for the advocacy of humanism, monotheism and social regeneration.

Rammohan was very pained at the prevailing social degeneration. In scrupulous he was concerned with the pitiable plight of women in society. He launched a crusade against the evil practice of Sati, the burning of a widow on

her husband's funeral pyre. His agitation bore fruit finally in 1829 when Lord William Bentinck, the Governor-General of India, enacted a law against that practice. Though, the solution which he put forward for the livelihood widows was not widow-marriage but ascetic widowhood.

He condemned polygamy, early marriage and opposed the subjugation of women and their inferior status in society. He related their troubles to the root cause of absence of property rights. To him, female education was another effective method to free Indian society from social stagnation.

He propagated the introduction and spread of contemporary education which could act as a major vehicle for the dissemination of contemporary thoughts in the country. For its promotion he provided enthusiastic support to David Hare who, beside with several Indian notables of Calcutta, founded the well-known Hindu College in 1817. He also ran an English School in Calcutta at his own cost. In 1825 he founded the Vedanta College which offered both Indian and Western learning.

Rammohan laid stress on India's need for Western scientific knowledge, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Anatomy and other useful sciences. He understood the causes underlying the development of Western intellectual progress and wanted Indians to acquire the fruits of Europe's progress. His goal was the fusion of the best in the East and the West.

Rammohan took up not only social and religious troubles but also political and economic issues of the times. He stood for the Indianisation of services, trial through jury, separation of powers flanked by the executive and the judiciary, freedom of the press, and judicial equality flanked by Indians and Europeans. He criticized the Zamindari system for its oppressive practices.

Rammohan was a progenitor of nationalist consciousness, and ideology in India. His every effort of social and religious reform was aimed at nation-structure. Through his reform he wished to lay the foundations for the unity of Indian society, divided into divergent groups. In scrupulous he attacked the rigidities of the caste system which, just as to him, had been the source of disunity in the middle of Indians. He held that the monstrous caste

system created inequality and division in the middle of the people on the one hand, and 'deprived them of patriotic feeling' on the other.

Rammohan was an internationalist, libertarian and democrat in his orientation. He took active interest in international affairs and wanted amity in the middle of nations. His concern for the cause of liberty, democracy and nationalism led him to cancel all his social engagements when he came to know of the failure of the Revolution in Naples in 1821. Through giving a public dinner he celebrated the success of the Revolution in Spanish America in 1823.

Whatever his limitations, Rammohan Roy was certainly the first luminous star on the Indian intellectual firmament of the nineteenth century. In 1833 this great Indian passed absent leaving behind his thoughts and the message of modernization for others to pursue.

Young Bengal

In relation to the this time new and radical thoughts began to be propagated through a group of young Bengali intellectuals recognized as the Young Bengal. This movement was mainly initiated through an Anglo-Indian teacher of the Hindu College, Henry Vivian Derozio (1809-1831). A free thinker and a rationalist, he helped promote a radical and critical outlook in the middle of his students who questioned all power, loved liberty and worshipped truth. His followers recognized as the Derozians attacked old and decadent customs and traditions, and began to question the whole fabric of Hindu society and religion. The Derozians, the followers of Derozio, were staunch rationalists; they measured everything with the yardstick of cause. Derozio was dismissed from the Hindu college in 1831 because of his radical views, and shortly afterwards he died of cholera at the young age of 22.

Debendranath and Keshab Chandra

In the meanwhile the impetus to reform given through Rammohan had lost much of its momentum. Debendranath Tagore, father of Rabindranath Tagore, again put life into it. In 1839 he recognized the Tattvabodhini Sabha to carry on Rammohan's ideals self-governing of the Brahma Samaj. It aimed

at counteracting the rapid progress of Christianity in India and advocated the development of Vedantism. Under the aegis of the Tattvabodhini Sabha emphasis on indigenous language and civilization became much more pronounced. Bengali texts in all subjects were published. A Tattvabodhini Press was recognized and in 1843 the Tattvabodhini Patrika, a journal of the organisation was started for the propagation of thoughts. Debendranath Tagore became a Brahmo in 1843 and he reorganized the Brahmo Samaj in the same year.

Another great intellectual associated with the Brahmo Samaj was Keshab Chandra Sen. Keshab laid stress on female emancipation. He emphasized universalism as against Debendranath's stress on national Hindu identity. Despite doctrinal differences in the middle of themselves the Brahmasamajists collectively contributed to the propagation of Rammohan's thoughts and changing Bengal's society. They denounced priestly intermediation in religious matters and stood for the worship of one God. They supported widow-marriage, monogamy and women's education.

Vidyasagar and Vivekananda

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar — A great Sanskrit scholar. Vidyasagar became the principal of the Sanskrit College in 1851. He introduced the study of western thought in the Sanskrit College and opened its gates to non-Brahmin students. He wrote a Bengali Primer and helped evolve a separate contemporary prose style in Bengali.

His great contribution, though, lay in the field of female emancipation. Widow- marriage was the specific social issue he devoted his whole life to. His agitation for legalizing the re-marriage of widows fetched support of the enlightened parts from various parts of the country and finally such a law was enacted. Under the supervision of Vidyasagar the first legal Hindu widow-marriage in the middle of the upper castes in India was celebrated in 1856. Through his endeavors almost 25 widow marriages were solemnized flanked by 1855 and 1860. This was certainly a major breakthrough in the history of radical social reform, and was a great advance from Rammohan's thought of

ascetic widowhood. He promoted the higher education of women for their common uplift. As Secretary to the Bethune School, founded in Calcutta in 1849, he was instrumental in leading the movement for women's education. He also campaigned against child-marriage and polygamy.

The last of the great thinkers of 19th century Bengal who created a stir in Hindu society was Narendranath Datta, recognized as Swami Vivekananda. His guru or spiritual preceptor was Ramakrishna Paramahansa (1834-1886). Ramakrishna stressed universalism in religions and denounced religious particularism. Though, his primary concern remained with religious salvation and not social salvation.

His message was popularised inside and outside India through his well-known disciple, Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902). Vivekananda condemned the caste system and people's obsession with rituals and superstitions. In 1896 he founded the Ramakrishna Mission to carry on humanitarian and social work. The main motto of the Mission was to give social service to the people, and it accepted on its mission through opening schools, hospitals, orphanages, libraries, etc. in dissimilar parts of the country.

Western India

In western India the main focus of reform movement was on social thoughts rather than religious and philosophical. Throughout nineteenth century there urbanized a common awareness in the middle of the various lower castes against several shapes of social discrimination. Thinkers like Vishnubawa Brahmachari, Jyotiba Phule, Ranade and others played very important role in the development of this social awareness.

Early Stage of Nineteenth Century

The first soundings of intellectual revolt in Maharashtra were heard in the early decades of the 19th century. In the middle of the early intellectuals who initiated and led the movement, the mainly prominent were Bal Shastri Jambhekar (1812-1846), Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1814-1882) and Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhadkar (1816-1847). Gopal Hari Deshmukh better

recognized as 'Lokahitwadi' (1823-1882) and Vishnu Bhikaji Gokhale (1825-1873), popularly recognized as Vishnubawa Brahmachari, for he remained a life-extensive bachelor.

Jambhekar was the pioneer of the intellectual movement in Maharashtra. He laid its foundations through his numerous writings, in the early 1830s. Dadoba gave it an organisational form; he founded the Paramhansa Sabha in 1840, the first reform organisation of nineteenth century Maharashtra.

Bhaskar Pandurang distinguished himself as the militant nationalist critic of the colonial rule in India. It was he who first articulated the exploitative character of the British rule in India. He wrote in 1841 a series of eight extensive letters in the Bombay Gazette, one of the oldest newspaper in the Presidency, and exposed almost every aspect of colonial power.

The main contribution of Lokahitwadi was in broadening the scope of the movement. In the Prabhakar, a Marathi Weekly, he wrote his hundred letters, the well-known 'Shatapatren', flanked by 1848 and 1850. This constituted the magnum opus of the early intellectual endeavors in Maharashtra. These letters taken together are all-encompassing in dimension; there is hardly any aspect of the society which is left Untouched.

Brahmachari was against caste distinctions and whispered in the oneness of humanity. Although himself a Brahmin, he employed a Muslim cook and ate food Served through anyone. He thus openly challenged the rigidity of the caste system and worked for an equitable social order.

In Bengal the movement had begun with a religious and philosophical note, in Maharashtra strictly social issues came to inhabit a prominent lay in the scheme of reform. The early intellectuals of Maharashtra were not essentially religious thinkers, concerned with the philosophical subtleties. Their approach was much practical in nature. For instance, the Paramhansa Sabha's principal objective was the demolition of all caste distinctions. Each new recruit to the Sabha had to undergo initiation ceremony, and take the pledge that he would not observe any caste distinctions. He had to eat a slice of bread baked through a Christian and drink water at the hands of a Muslim. The Sabha was, though, a secret society; its meetings were mannered in the

strictest secrecy for fear of facing the wrath of the orthodox. The challenge to the caste system and other social evils thus remained limited to the participation of its few members only.

Later Stage of Nineteenth Century

The reform movement gained strength throughout the second half of the century. A host of towering personalities appeared on the intellectual scene. The mainly notable in the middle of them were Vishnu Parashuram Shastri Pandit (1827-1876), Jyotiba Phule (1827-1890), Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar (1837-1925), Narayan Mahadev Permanand (1838- 1893), Mahadev Gobind Ranade (1842-1901), Vishnushastri Chiplunkar (1850-1882), K.T. Telang (1850-1893), Ganesh Vasudev Joshi (1851-1911), Narayan Ganesh Chandavarkar (1855-1923) and Gopal Ganesh Agarkar (1856-1895).

Pandit began his public career with the advocacy of widow-marriage. He was a leading figure in the sphere of the agitation for female emancipation. He started the Vidhava Vivaha Uttejaka Mandal (Society for Encouragement of Widow Marriage) in 1865 and worked as its Secretary. He set an instance through marrying a widow in 1875. Phule, born in the Mali caste, appeared as a champion of the depressed parts of the society. He was the first Indian to start a school for the untouchables in 1854. He also championed the cause of the liberation of Indian women. In 1851 he and his wife started a girls' school at Poona.

Through his profound scholarship Bhandarkar earned the title of 'Maharshi' for himself. In the teeth of conservative opposition he allowed and arranged the marriage of his widow-daughter in 1891. He was one of the very few to strongly advocate Hindu Muslim unity. Paramanand, writing under the pen name of the 'Political recluse', was one of the constructive critics of the British administration, besides being a great social reformer.

Ranade was a man of several-sided action. A product of the Elphinstone College, Bombay, he was Judge of the Bombay High Court

throughout 1891-1901. He held that the caste distinction was the main blot on Indian social system. He realized that social reform movement could not move the people unless it assimilated religious reform. Under his guidance the Paramhansa Sabha was reorganized in 1867 under the name Prarthana Samaj. He guided the movement in Maharashtra with intellectual strength and pragmatism till the end of his life. The Prarthana Samaj preached monotheism and denounced priestly power and caste distinctions. Its behaviors also spread to South India through the efforts of the Telugu reformer, Veeresalingam.

Chiplunkar started his well-known Nibandhmala in 1874, a monthly Marathi magazine, devoted to the cause of social reform. He died very young at the age of 32. Telang was instrumental in introducing compulsory primary education in Bombay. He was the first Indian Vice-Chancellor. Joshi greatly recognized himself in the sphere of politics. He provided a brilliant critique of the economic policy of the British government. He was, though, one with other intellectuals in emphasizing education to be the mainly effective agent of social change.

Chandavarkar, basically a philosopher, was a great leader of the Pranhana Samaj. Agarkar was an iconoclast and uncompromising rationalist. He was very pungent in his denunciation of any blind dependence on tradition or false deification of India's past.

Other reformers in Bombay were Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji and S.S. Bengalee. In 1851 they Started a religious association described the Rehnumai Mazadayasan Sabha. It stood for the modernization of Parsi religion and social customs. It launched a struggle for the introduction and spread of education in the middle of women, grant of a legal status to them and for uniform laws of inheritance and marriage for the Parsi society.

North India

The social and religious reform in North India was spearheaded through Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) who founded the Arya Samaj in 1875. Swamy attacked idolatry, polytheism, Brahmin-sponsored religious rites and superstitious practices. He stood for adult and inter-caste

marriages and female education. Though, his bent towards the Vedas which he regarded as infallible gave his teachings an orthodox hue.

The Arya Samajists played a progressive role in furthering the cause of social reform in North India. They worked for the improvement in the condition of women, advocated social equality and denounced untouchability and caste-rigidities. Although the Vedas were venerated as infallible, the reforms advocated were the product of contemporary rational thinking.

The movement for reform arose relatively later in the middle of the Indian Muslims — only after the 1860s. Sayyid Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) urged the Muslims to reject the decadent medieval thought, and to imbibe contemporary scientific knowledge and outlook. He condemned the custom of polygamy, and advocated removal of purdah and spread of education in the middle of women. He taught tolerance and urged the people to develop rational outlook and freedom of thought.

He was greatly concerned with the promotion of contemporary education for which he worked throughout his life. In 1875 he founded the Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College in Aligarh for the spread of Western education. Later this urbanized into the Aligarh Muslim University.

He viewed the Quran as the mainly authoritative and rational religious text for the Muslims. He respected all religions and spoke against religious fanaticism and bigotry. Some of his followers desisted from joining the emerging national movement and whispered that the two societies might develop beside separate paths.

South India

In the South of India a leading light of the social reform movement in the early stages was Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848-1919). Unlike several of his contemporaries in the social reform movement in Calcutta or Bombay, Veeresalingam was born in a poor family; through profession he was a school teacher for the major part of his life. Prolific in writing, he produced a big number of tracts and pamphlets on social reform in the Telugu language. Hence he is claimed to be the father of contemporary Telugu prose literature. His missionary zeal on issues like re-marriage of widows, female education

and usually on the upliftment of women and removal of social vices, made him the father-figure of the later generation of Andhra social reformers.

In what was then described the Madras Presidency the response to the all-India wave of social reform was given a distinctive hue through the attendance of caste associations and caste mobility movements of various types. Through the turn of the century a number of caste association began to play a important role in 'reform movements' which were often not unconnected with the social elevation of the caste concerned. This was to be observed in the case of, for instance, the Kongu Vellala Sangam of the Gounder Caste in Tamil Nadu, the Vokkaliga and Lingayat Associations in Mysore, the S.N.D.P. Yogam of the Iravas of Kerala, etc. The caste leaders of the caste movements shaped an elite, often in non-traditional careers, who stressed a general heritage of caste members and pushed forward changes in social and ritual practices. A notable characteristic was that caste associations, originally concerned with internal reforms, slowly graduated into the form of strong political forces. We cannot pursue here this course of development which matured in the 20th century.

REFORM MOVEMENT - II

Vision of the Future

The ultimate substance of the reform movements as a whole, was the attainment of social happiness, the well-being of the people and national progress. For social salvation the intellectuals emphasized truth, equity and justice to be the governing values of future Indian society. M.G. Ranade wrote:

- "The development that we seek is a change from constraint to freedom, from credulity to faith, from status to contract, from power to cause, from unorganized to organised life, from bigotry to toleration, from blind fatalism to a source of human dignity."

Method of Reform

The intellectuals placed a very high premium on knowledge. Ignorance was viewed as a curse and attributed to as the root cause of the prevalence and doggedness of superstitions and obscurantism in Indian society. Illiteracy in common and in the middle of women in scrupulous was held responsible for national degeneration and backwardness. The spread of education was, therefore, accorded a primary location in the scheme of reform. Almost all the intellectuals held education to be the panacea for all troubles. The conviction in the instrumentality of knowledge as the mainly effective agent of social transformation and national regeneration was an important characteristic of nineteenth century thought.

The principle underlying the British educational policy was mainly guided through the needs of the British colonialism. The educational organizations that urbanized throughout the nineteenth century under the British emphasized a classical and arts curriculum, not science or technology. The British educational policy was not geared to the needs of the material advancement of the country. Consequently, science education was given a very low profile. The educational programme of the intellectuals, on the contrary, aimed at the material development of the country.

They stood for the extinction of the privileges of the higher castes in the existing educational arrangement. They were opposed to the monopoly of learning through the upper castes and classes, and proposed the spread of knowledge to all the segments of society. Their constant concern remained how to create popular education an actuality. To realize the objective of mass education Parmanand advocated free and compulsory education up to the primary stage.

Almost all the reformers laid stress on the growth of Indian vernaculars. It was deemed necessary to realize the goal of popular education. They held that English as a medium of instruction could not be an effective instrument of any meaningful advance. The role of English education, therefore, be confined to aiding and enriching the indigenous languages. In

other words, it was to be an aid and never an instrument of social change, Ranade took the colonial policy to task for its neglect of the Indian vernaculars.

Another important concern of the intellectuals was female education. It was emphasized as the 'root of all reform' and social advancement. Illiteracy in the middle of women was viewed as one of the major causes of their pitiable plight and the common backwardness of the society. They advocated not only primary education in the middle of the nineteenth century intellectuals who first conceived of educating women for employment and professions, and stressed the expanding of women's role outside the home.

In retrospect, the educational programme of the intellectuals was diametrically dissimilar from the British educational policy. The latter was administration-oriented, while the former was people and society-oriented.

The information of rising poverty in the middle of the masses caused through the colonial rule itself, ruled out the possibility of realising the thought of mass education into a social reality. The scheme of mass education received little support and initiative from the new Indian middle class.

Nature of the Movement

The targets of the severest intellectual attack were the existing socio-cultural evils and malpractices such as obscurantism, superstitions and irrationality imbedded in the society.

The intellectuals did not, though, attack the social system as a whole; their attack centered only on the perversions and distortions that had crept into it. They did not advocate a sharp rupture in the existing social structure of the country. They did not stand for structural transformation; changes were sought within the framework of the very structure. In a word, they were advocates of reform and not exponents of revolution.

The upliftment of the location of women, late marriage, monogamy, widow-marriage, elimination of caste distinctions, monotheism, etc., did not signify any revolutionary change in the society. Even they themselves were not unaware of the reformist nature of their thoughts and endeavors. The course they delineated for transformation was to be evolutionary, and not

revolutionary. Almost all whispered in the gradual transformation of society. Thus, change and stability both constituted the vital elements in their scheme of social transformation.

The intellectual movement in India was an urban phenomenon; it originated and greatly operated in the urban regions only. The main means used for the propagation of thoughts and for the creation of favorable public opinion were the urban communication channels such as the press, lectures, and sabhas, propaganda network.

Despite being a localised affair, it was, though, not local in its inspirations and aspirations. Although their behaviors remained confined to sure urban pockets, the intellectuals extended their vision to comprehend the troubles of dissimilar regions and the country as a whole. Moreover, they made conscious attempts to undermine the notions of provinciality and local distinctions.

Social Questions

Almost all the intellectuals came to a general conclusion that the condition of women in India was deplorable and wretched. Their plight was viewed as a highly pressing problem of the time.

The existing practices of child-marriage, enforced widowhood, polygamy, female seclusion and prostitution were the root cause of women's subjection and use. Just as to them, child-marriage was at the root of other social evils and injustices. It was child-marriage that often resulted in early widowhood and promoted polygamy. Polygamy was viewed as the 'fertile source of evil, moral as well as physical, and a relic of barbarian and primeval necessity'. The issue of Sati after its abolition in 1829 was solved through legislation, but several other troubles remained.

The intellectuals held that the practice of enforced widowhood and polygamy signified cruel crimes against humanity, it was based on human degradation and denoted barbarity and low stage of social development. Lokahitwadi lashed:

- “Enforced widowhood is a murder of a livelihood human being. It involves the killing of human passions, feelings and emotions. You are butchering your own daughters in cold blood. Should not your blood boil with rage?”

Rammohan, Jambhekar and Lokahitwadi stood somewhat separate from others on the question of women's emancipation. Rammohan singled out the absence of property rights to them as the root cause of their subordinate location in society, and demanded the grant of such rights to them. Jambhekar and Lokahitwadi sought a permanent solution to their troubles not in monogamy and widow-marriage but in equal sharing of rights to women on par with men. the demand for the equal rights to women on par with men. was one of the mainly important characteristics of nineteenth century thought. Almost all the intellectuals emphasized the spread of education in the middle of women to be a necessary precondition for their liberation. The question of women was viewed on humanistic grounds. Their emancipation was, therefore, not the emancipation of simply the women but that of the humanity. Though, their humanism was coupled with the concern for national and social development. Just as to them, the subordination of women signified social degeneration and national backwardness. The amelioration of their condition was, therefore, viewed as essential for the progress of the society and the country as a whole.

Caste was another issue under attack. It was seen as a divisive factor 'weakening the bonds of humanity' and deterring the growth of national consciousness in India. It was viewed as a contributory factor in causing social stagnation and retardation of progress. They, therefore, tried to build a social order free from caste rigidities.

The social degeneration was greatly attributed to Brahmin bigotry, their effort to perpetuate the condition of ignorance in the middle of the people. Denouncing the Brahmin dominance Phule and Chandavarkar in scrupulous advocated the upliftment of the lower castes and depressed classes.

The battle against Brahmanism was, though, not confrontationist in nature. They consciously tried to avoid caste-hostility.

There was a general realization in the middle of 19th century reformers that without social reform as the foundation society could not progress, social reform was measured a stepping-stone into political independence, economic development and the attainment of national strength and vigor. It had a broader objective of 'removing all obstacles towards growths in all departments'.

Religious Thoughts

The 19th century thinkers denounced idolatry, polytheism and priestly intermediation in the religious matters of the people. These intellectuals' attack on the existing Hindu belief system was, though, diametrically dissimilar from the attack of missionaries on the Hindu faith. The intellectuals denounced religious malpractices for the purpose of reformation; the missionaries denounced Hinduism essentially for that of proselytisation.

Rammohan Roy challenged the intellectual rationale of conversion into Christianity. He argued that if Hindu religion was corrupted or lacking in rationality, so was Christianity. He pointed to some practices in the Christian faith such as adoration of idols, crucifixes, miracles and the notion of Trinity. He came to the conclusion that on comparison the monotheism of the Vedanta was superior to Trinitarianism in Christianity. Dadoba also attempted to expose the contradictions inherent in the Christian faith. He wrote:

- "The Christian doctrine of Holy Trinity does not reconcile with the unity of God, which all the Christian missionaries so promptly proclaim to the heathens in India. I could no more consider in the mystery of a Trinity in Unity or of a Tri- personal God, as it is described, than I could consider in three apples in one apple, the very notion being paradoxical on the very face of it".

Vishnu Bawa Brahmachari used to provide lectures on the sands of the Chaupati in Bombay on what he thought were superior characteristics of Hinduism compared to Christianity; he opposed proselytisation through Christian missionaries.

We are not concerned here with the truth or falsity of these doctrines, but we necessarily note one thing: these intellectuals' attack against conversion and Christian power was theological in nature, and not communal. It was not directed against the Christian society nor was it planned to make communal tension or animosity.

Religion had, in information, a very important lay in the nineteenth century thought. It was. The realization of the interconnection flanked by religion and society and the significance of the former to the healthy development of the latter that the intellectuals emphasized.

Religious reform was therefore taken to be the precondition of progress and enduring social change. Chandavarkar held that the material life and religious life were the two interrelated characteristics of the same subsistence, and a healthy social growth was not possible if it was not counter balanced ;through an enlightened religion.

This, though, does not imply that the social reform in the nineteenth century was secondary to the 19th century thinkers' religious concern.

These intellectuals whispered in an organic connection flanked by religion and social life and advocated the renovation in the whole society. Ranade wrote:

- "Growth is structural and organic, and necessity take slow effect in all parts of the organism.... The whole subsistence requires renovation. The liberation that has to be sought is not in one department of life, but it is an all-round work. You cannot have a good social system when you discover yourself low in the level of political rights nor can you be fit to exercise political rights and privileges unless your social system is based on cause and justice. If your religious thoughts are low and groveling, you cannot succeed in social, economic or political spheres. This interdependence is not an accident but is the law of our nature."

It would be erroneous, therefore, to call the intellectual awakening a religious movement and to view the intellectuals as religious reformers. In information, it was their concern for the promotion of social and material advancement of the society that distinguishes the nineteenth century movement from the medieval Bhakti one. In the Bhakti Movement religion weighed supreme; in the nineteenth century awakening society gained pre-eminence.

Use of Scriptures

The intellectuals, particularly throughout the second half of the 19th century, tried to seek the support of scriptural sanction for reforms. They cited and reinterpreted the pages of Hindu scriptures to justify the reform they advocated on scriptural grounds. Agarkar was perhaps the sole exception to this common trend.

K. T. Telang wrote:

“The Shastras have silently seen changes occurring in the society against their regulations. As to the caste system, we have departed from the rules of our own old scriptures. They (scriptures) recognised only four castes at first. In our present circumstances, the number of castes into which the Hindu community is divided is four thousand more than four.”

Thus we discover that on the one hand the intellectuals sought the support of the scriptures where desirable for the reforms they advocated and, on the other, reinterpreted the very scriptures to justify deviations from them. In information, the scriptures were sagaciously used through them just as to the need and desirability felt for furthering the cause of reform.

Link with the Past

A noteworthy tendency in intellectual thought was to view the existing social evils and practices as later deviations, and distortions. The Vedic era of Indian history was viewed through several thinkers of 19th century as the ideal type of society free from the socio-cultural anomalies of the present times.

Some of them wrote that widow- marriage and monogamy shaped part of Vedic Social life.

Their links with the past was, though, not revivalist in nature. Ranade clearly stated:

- “In politics no one would now advocate a return to the autocracies and personal despotism of former days; nor again the industrial sphere would it do to stick to the old primitive methods in our attempts to improve the old or start new industries. So, too, neither in the social sphere would mere revival meet our requirement.”

In other words, they did not stand for an outright replication of the past but its revision in accordance with the needs of the present. Chandavarkar wrote:

- “I too venerate the past, for without it we would not have had the present. But it is the vital past that we necessity care and not break absent with from. Nothing that is of the past has a right to live if it stunts our growth and numbs our caliber. We cannot break from the past if it is vital. But what is wanted is not presently a word for the past. Rather we have to put in a word for the present. The ideal of power is one of our social ideals that need to be revised, not revived.”

Limitations

In terms of impact, extent and achievements the 19th century intellectual endeavors we have described could not achieve any spectacular success. Caste distinctions remained strong and the religious and social practices did not die absent.

Child-marriage and enforced widowhood remained as pressing a problem as ever. Reform in practice in any case affected a very small minority. The masses remained almost untouched through the thoughts of the intellectuals. There was certainly a type of mass approach in their writing in

the vernaculars. But despite their best endeavors to appeal to the masses, their appeal for all practical purposes remained confined to the urban middle classes, particularly the educated parts.

Given the situation of widespread illiteracy in the rural regions and because of the absence of contemporary and diversified communications network, they were doomed to have a very limited audience, mainly urban-based. Thus even in terms of its practical appeal the movement remained urban, besides its other limitations.

Moreover, they had undertaken the mainly hard task of modern public life, that is, the problem of socio-cultural reform. In cultural issues feelings and traditions are involved to a very big extent. Traditions die very hard. Caste and customs proved to be hard to eradicate from Indian consciousness. In political and economic matters logic is and can be an 'instrument of power', but where feelings and traditions are the authorities, logic is approximately impotent. It is really very hard to bring in relation to the changes in the extensive recognized customs and traditions and deeply rooted prejudices.

The growth of the awakening throughout the era of colonial power posed sure inherent limits on the success of the movement. British rule did not make a wider social audience capable of appreciating the vital modernity of their thoughts. The information of widespread illiteracy remained a great obstacle to the realization of their goal. Their intellectual thoughts and behaviors could not, therefore, stir the minds of the common public. Bhandarkar wrote, 'the lamp has been lighted but the light is flickering'. Their contribution lies in lighting the lamp; it flickered for reasons beyond their manage. Assessing their own role Chandavarkar said in 1886:

- "It is enough for us, it should be enough for us, if we are able to say that we have not remained idle or inactive, but have done something, even if that something be very little to carry the work of social reform a little further than we establish it and helped our successors to carry it further."

The intellectuals did have sure concrete gains to their credit. It was greatly due to their constant endeavors that abolition of Sati and legalization of widow-marriage were achieved throughout the nineteenth century. There was much intellectual fervour, prolonged agitation and acute discussion throughout the controversy in excess of the age of Consent Bill. Such debates, even if they failed to bring in relation to the any concrete change immediately, raised the stage of consciousness. Their effort did set afoot the procedure of the undermining of the hold of superstitions and bigotry in the society, though slow the procedure was.

Another important contribution of the intellectuals lay in the realm of female education. The pace with which the number of girls was rising in the schools designates the onset of the trend of women emerging out of social seclusion imposed upon them. Female education was no longer deemed dangerous through the rising number of people. The significance of such development can be ascertained through the information that throughout the subsequent era women started taking part actively in public and national life. In information, Mahatma Gandhi could bring them into the vortex of the national movement in the twentieth century mainly because the groundwork was already prepared through the nineteenth century intellectuals.

Prelude to Nationalism

The thoughts and behaviors of the intellectuals were directly or indirectly related to the task of nation-structure and national reconstruction. The social reform movement, as a matter of information, was not an in accessible phenomenon; it was loaded with wider national political and economic thoughts.

At the cultural stage they attempted to distinguish the essential from the secondary, the positive from the negative, the progressive from the reactionary in order to locate and describe what may be described a 'national civilization'. It is usually within civilization that we discover the first seed of

opposition which leads ultimately to the structuring and development of the liberation movement. Intellectuals like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Bhaskar were in the middle of the first to give a critique of the colonial rule. Lokahitwadi was the first to seem for Swaraj. He pointed out as early as the late 1840s:

- “The British rule in India is not eternal; we shall also become wise through learning Western science and technology, and we should endeavour to excel and beat them in their own ground. It is only then that we shall begin slowly to demand power. In order to remove our discontent the British might part with some power. The more power they provide the more will it whet our appetite for it and the British may begin to oppose our demands. If they do so we may perhaps have to do what the Americans did when they drove absent the English from their land.”

Here Lokahitwadi's political distant-sightedness is noticeable in his chalking out in a way the actual course of the Indian National Movement which was not yet born.

SOCIAL DISCRIMINATION AND DISPRIVILEGED GROUPS

Pre-Colonial Social Discrimination and the Colonial Impact

There is no doubt that social backwardness and disprivilege emanating from social discrimination predates colonialism. The hierarchical division of society with assigned ranks, functions and distinctions under the varna system constituted the structural framework which regulated economic and ritual connection. Viewed from the economic angle, the jatis were hereditary, closed job groups and was almost certainly related to efforts to eliminate competition and ensure security of employment and income. Moving up within this hierarchical structure was not totally ruled out but it was unusual. Two fixed points marked the extreme ends of the hierarchical orders Brahmins on the

one end and untouchables at the other. Mainly of the marginal groups belonged to the lower orders and were forced to live a precarious subsistence.

Through the time colonial rule made its attendance felt in the second half of the eighteenth century, the situation had become somewhat fluid, though not to the extent of eliminating social discrimination. But as India became a colonial appendage to a capitalist world economy, new economic relationships began to take form. The policy of de-industrialization deprived the rural artisans of their hereditary occupations and, in course of time, undermined the foundation of a non-competitive and hereditary system of economic organisation at the rural stage. The service castes establish it hard to get their payments in the way they got under the jajmani system. In its efforts to maximize the revenue collection the company resumed various shapes of rent-free tenures resulting in the impoverishment of those service groups who were dependent on them. The insistence on contract, enforced through law and law-courts, meant that those who had access to the new system could thereby manipulate its levers and consolidate their location in society. Viewed in this light, the colonial rule denied several of the subordinate social groups their means of subsistence and, in course of time relegating some of them to the degraded stage of 'criminal tribes'. But at the same time, through undermining the old economic foundation of social organisation colonial rule fuelled an already developing tendency towards mobility. It also indirectly rendered possible the growth of lower caste protests in future. While pliable elements in the middle of the rural elites were successfully accommodated within the framework of the British revenue system, the intransigents were rendered powerless through the destruction of forts and disbandment of local militias under British rule. In course of time the dominant groups in dissimilar parts of India consolidated their location through manipulating the institutional framework of the colonial rule.

Local Variations: South India

What then was the location of subordinate groups who were subject to social discrimination? The nature of discrimination differed from region to region in the early years of the nineteenth century. In big parts of the Madras

Presidency the bulk of the agricultural labourers, belonging to low caste groups, were said to have been reduced virtually to circumstances of slavery. This was apparent from the first major survey of the circumstances of agricultural labourers undertaken through the Madras Board of Revenue (1818). The Madras Presidency was divided in three major regions. Of these, the Telugu region was relatively free from bondage system. But in the Tamil country — especially in the wet districts — and in the Malabar and Kanara region, a big portion of the laboring class existed in a state of bondage. In districts like Chingleput and Tanjore, the condition of the untouchable's castes described Pallans or Paraiyans was really deplorable. Here the old Hindu organizations were reinforced through the British legal system, giving a fresh lease of life to power and power of sure higher castes. There was a group of Brahman landowners, forbidden mainly types of manual labour through the rules of their caste, who were letting their lands to tenants or employing hired labourers to do the task they could not do themselves. What is motivating in all this is that what some historians call agricultural servitude was sanctioned through caste system. Likewise, in Malabar the Cherumans, corresponding to the Paraiyans in Tamilnad, were approximately exclusively treated as slaves. Buchanan, in course of his travels in early years of the nineteenth century, establish that in Palghat through distant the greater parts of the work in the meadows was performed through Cheruman slaves. They could be sold, mortgaged and rented out. From Malabar Buchanan moved to Kanara where he establish an equally harrowing situation. Men of low caste occasionally sold their younger dealings into slavery in discharge of debts. In short, accessible evidences on South India suggest that agrarian bondage was quite widespread in the early years of the nineteenth century.

Case-studies of some select subordinate groups outside the agrarian sectors illustrate the same procedure of social discrimination at work. A recent survey of the Nadars of Tamilnad demonstrate that in the early nineteenth century they were counted in the middle of the mainly oppressed caste. They were economically differentiated flanked by higher ranking Nadars and lowely Shanars or toddy-tappers. Various disabilities were heaped

upon the Shanars. They were, of course, forbidden entry into temples. Wells were strictly forbidden to their use: they were denied the right to carry an umbrella, to wear shoes, golden ornaments, to milk cows, to walk in sure streets: and their women were forbidden to cover their breasts. Indeed, a Nadar could not even approach a Brahmin within twenty-four paces. A few Shanar families, who settled as minorities in regions north of Tirunelveli, confronted even more humiliating circumstances. They were even denied the service of barbers and washermen used through the caste Hindu of the villages. Slowly, in the middle of the main body of Shanars appeared a mobile body of traders who traded country liquor and jaggery sugar. When the Poligar Wars ended in 1801 both the trading and toddy-tapping Shanars moved on northwards to the Maravar country and settled in 'Six Nadar Towns of Ramnad'. But in the vicinity dominant castes of the region, the Maravars, Tevars and Kallars associated them with the lowly, polluted, toddy-tapping Shanars. It is not surprising that the Nadars constituted a fertile ground for conversion to Christianity. They would be in the forefront of the later day anti-Brahman movement in the region.

Western India

Farther up the western coastline of India there was another striking instance of institutionalized social discrimination in South Gujarat. Recorded in the early nineteenth century British records as Halipratha, it was a formalized system of lifelong and often hereditary attachment of the low-caste Publas to the Anavil Brahmans who owned the best and the main lots of land. In some regions the attached farm servants also incorporated a part of Kolis described gulam kolis. The condition of service was not contractual. It usually began when an agricultural labourer wished to marry and establish a master ready to pay for it. The debt thus incurred attached the servant to the master for life. It increased in the course of years thereby rendering repayment virtually impossible. The Hatis were not sold though their service could be transferred to another master. The ritual power of the high caste Brahmans in excess of low caste Dublas was consolidated in an exploitative connection of

an all-encompassing nature. The master had the right to the labour of the servant and his wife as maid in the household.

In Maharashtra the idioms of dominance and discrimination were no less pronounced. In eighteenth century Maratha kingdom, Brahmanical dominance was backed up through the state power of the Peshwas. There was a strong connection flanked by Maratha polity and caste system through the regular requisition of forced labour from artisans and menial castes through the authorities. In the directly administered (swarajya) regions of the eighteenth century Maratha kingdom, the state took an active role in maintaining and enforcing ritual and economic characteristics of caste society. In 1784 the government formulated rules of worship at the holy spaces of Pandharpur which explicitly stated that the untouchables were not allowed to go close to their own shrine secure to the main temple. "The lay is so narrow and crowded that the visitors are touched to one another and the Brahmins are opposed to this. Therefore the untouchables should perform worship from close to the stone lamp (in front) of the image of Chokhmela or from a nearby untouchable hamlet..." In another instance the Mahars of the Konkan region demanded some Brahman priests of the lay to officiate their marriage ceremony. Despite the support from the local officials this demand was turned down with a heavy hand. The state offered the untouchables to have their marriage officiated through their own priests and warned, "if they trouble the Brahmin priests in future, no good result will approach out." In other words, the Maratha state power mediated caste connection in the region and ensured the Brahmanical hegemony in society. Baji Rao II, himself a Chitpavan Brahman, distributed generous sums of money to big number of Brahman scholars in Pune, to enable them to devote their time to religious scholarship.

When the Company took in excess of the administration after the fall of the Marathas, the state's active support of the Hindu religious values was withdrawn. This, of course, did not immediately signify any major change in the condition of the lower castes. As the Company's administration engrafted itself on the Indian society, it depended on Indian subordinates at the lower

stages. The upper castes, in view of their earlier access to educational opportunities, gained a strategic mediatory location flanked by the Company's government and the superior masses of western Indian society. This effectively buttressed their already dominant location in society. But the relatively stagnant location of the lower castes and untouchables made them fertile grounds for missionary propagation. In western India in the nineteenth century the missionaries did their utmost to persuade their audiences that the Hindu religion had deprived them, as shudras, of their real rights in matters of education and religion. There was a preponderance of higher castes in common and Brahmans in scrupulous in administration, distant in excess of their numerical proportions in the population as a whole. "Distant from breaking down inequalities in western Indian society, British rule looked as though it might reinforce them through adding to the older religious power of Brahmans, a formidable new range of administrative and political powers." Critical observers like Jotirao Phule and his followers drew the natural inference that a rejection of the religious power of the Brahmans and of the hierarchical values on which it was based, shaped the precondition for any real change in their condition.

Northern and Eastern India

The foregoing survey of social discrimination in some selected region is not meant to suggest that elsewhere in India the condition of the lower orders of society was any better. Our purpose was to highlight some glaring instances of power. In information, some recent surveys of the Chandals in Bengal, the Doms in Bihar, the Bhuinyas in south Bihar or the Chainars in big parts of northern India illustrate how these groups were subjected to similar procedures of rigorous discrimination. The Namasudras of Bengal, earlier recognized as Chandals, shaped marginal groups, relegated to the stage of Antyaja. The barbers, washermen and sometimes even the scavengers refused their services to them. In the social feasts, they were required to sit at a aloofness from the rest and clear up their own dishes. It has been shown that their lowest location in the purity-pollution level corresponded to their inferior

economic status vis-à-vis men of the higher castes. The Maghaiya doms, like the Lodhas of south western Bengal, were marginalized to such an extent that they were ultimately branded as criminal tribes. The Bhuinya oral traditions which record the memory of their subordinates to the mostly Brahman maliks, keep in mind their incorporation in the Hindu caste hierarchy as a ritually impure caste. They were initially treated as Kamias providing labour services to the high caste Maliks ultimately ending up as a type of bonded labour. The Chamars, including Mochis are establish in every part of India, though they are mainly numerous in the UP and in the bordering region of Bihar on the east and of the Punjab on the north-west. They occupied an utterly degraded location in the village life. Separately from their customary profession, they were often described upon to perform beggar services through the landlords.

In concluding this part let us recapitulate its vital points. First, there was a very strong linkage flanked by caste and ritually governed entitlement to possessions. This obviously implied that low ritual status went together with precarious subsistence. Moreover, this was an subsistence wrapped up through multiple badges of low status. Second, while mainly of these practices predate colonial rule, the latter, in turn, precipitated sure changes in the location of subordinate social groups on dissimilar parts of India. Notable in the middle of these was the disintegration of the relatively non-competitive structure of the village society.

Stability and Change in Colonial India

Viewed in retrospect, the first century of the British rule may be termed as a era of gestation. Throughout this era two apparently contradictory growths were taking lay. Social discrimination which prevailed in myriad variety of shapes in dissimilar parts of India, initially got a new lease of life. The upper caste elites consolidated their location in several dissimilar ways. After some initial reverses in some regions, they adjusted themselves with the new revenue system. They adroitly utilized the new opportunities for administrative and political power through the use of their skills. A high degree of literacy rendered them very useful to the new regime. Their rising familiarity with the Anglo-Indian law and the functioning of the law courts

gave them advantage in excess of their low-caste subordinates. Those who could master the language of court of law establish a new opportunity waiting for them. Finally, the early British attitude of studied non-interference in social matters of the Indians precluded the possibility of any major structural change in society through legislative and other means backed through state-power.

But throughout the same era a very dissimilar type of development was taking form which, in course of time was to undermine the ritual and social hegemony of the upper caste elites. The caste system allowed for mobility at the intermediate stages While preserving the top and bottom stages fixed. The information that upward mobility was not entirely ruled out gave a sure strength and resilience to the system as a whole.

Interestingly, though, in course of the first century of the British rule, the bottom stage also began to stir. Some of the idioms of social and ritual dominance which the lower orders had, under the weight of tradition, internalized in excess of time, came to be Seriously questioned. Initially, of course, there was predictable opposition from the dominant upper castes. But the material foundation of the caste bound system of discrimination began to change. The penetration of market forces at the rural stage offered some opportunities in some regions which ran contrary to the job based jati system. In some regions it was even possible for members of submerged caste to emerge as zamindars, taluqdars or subinfeudated tenure holders. There was a marked tendency in the middle of several of them to “sanskritize” their behaviour. It has been pointed out that acquiring symbols of sanskritization need not be taken as meek emulation of the upper castes. It also meant the appropriation of sure symbol and sure codes of conduct which had been the exclusive preserves of the upper castes. In some societies missionary behaviors opened up new possibilities of educational and consequently material advancement. In the changing perspective, the ideology of hierarchically divided society failed to carry conviction especially in the middle of the victims of social discrimination. There were indications of the emergence of a new consciousness as a result of which what had earlier been implicitly accepted as ‘duty’ came to be construed as ‘disprivilege’.

A New Consciousness; Some Local Examples

The articulation of this new consciousness, though is a intricate phenomenon and therefore can hardly be reduced to simple formulations. Reference has already been made to the growth of sanskritizing tendencies in the middle of some caste groups. There were others who establish in Christianity a means to escape from the grim realities of their precarious subsistence. In Travancore education and Christianity had given the Nadars hope of a release from their sufferings under the dominance of the Nair landlords. In response to pressures from the Christian Nadars and the missionaries, the government issued a proclamation in 1829, permitting native Christian women to cover their breasts in the manner of the Syrian Christians and the Mopla Muslims. This triggered off the well-known breast cloth controversy' which culminated in the Royal Proclamation of 1869.

This has been regarded as the first major movement in the middle of the depressed classes to remove the badge of servility. But regions and in the middle of the society groups where proselytisation was not quite successful, the missionary polemic against Hindu social practices informed the thoughts of several of the indigenous reformers. Moreover, the humanist content in some Indian social reformers' critique of hidebound Hindu society raised the stage of common social consciousness. What was historically more significant though was the spirited effort on the part of some lower caste groups to improve their location through themselves. Although mainly of such attempts lie beyond the time frame of this paper, some early indications may still be noted. Despite local variations in the mode of expression and mobilization, there were some general characteristics. A relatively wealthy group in the middle of some of the submerged castes took the lead in regulating the social behaviour of their caste brethren. Having done that, they then began claiming higher ritual status which was usually resisted through the upper castes. It is at this stage that the ground was prepared for an imminent caste disagreement. Occasionally one discovers sects promoting caste solidarity and thereby

helping the procedure of mobilization. The gradual introduction of electoral politics and the census operations from the last quarter of the nineteenth century gave a distinctly political touch to the lower caste movements.

A wealthy part in the middle of the Namasudras of Bengal, comprising mainly of landowners and rich peasants, initiated the move to sanskritize their caste behaviour and asserted the claims of a higher status. This was predictably thwarted through higher castes. Undaunted through this rebuff, the Namasudra leaders displayed an attitude of defiance to the social power of the higher castes, organised their caste brethren within the Matua sect and embarked on a policy of protest. Interestingly, while demanding the moral power of the higher castes, the Namasudras were effusive in their protestations of loyalty to the Raj. In due course the Namasudra protest urbanized a distinctly 'separatist' overtone. In Tamilnadu, the mercantile upper stratum of Ramnad Nadars set up 'general good funds', which was used, inter alia, for the welfare of the society. They also began to sanskritize their manner of life and asserted a high kshatriya status. Towards the secure of the nineteenth century they became powerful enough to challenge the ban on temple entry and in 1895 forced their way into the Sivakasi temple. This was followed through retaliatory attacks on them which was ultimately taken to the courts. Although the judgement went against the Nadars, they gained a good deal of sympathy. Moreover, through litigation and intermittent rioting a sense of communal solidarity was fostered. This solidarity was to yield good dividend in the present century. In Travancore, the low caste Iravas had extensive been subjected to higher caste power. Through the end of the nineteenth century there appeared a sizeable number of educated youth who were deeply satisfied with the treatment meted out to them. Influenced through Sri Narayana Guru and the SNDP. Yogam the Iravas soon made the temple entry issue a point of the society. The Mahars of Maharashtra, like many others claimed Kshatriya status and demanded preferential treatment from the government. They began to organize themselves under Gopal Baba Walangkar towards the end of the nineteenth century and ultimately appeared as the core group in Ambedkar's movement.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Explain the Rammohan Roy's views on religion and the conditions women in India.
- Discuss the major trends of socio-religious reform movements in Maharashtra during the 19th century.
- Explain the limitations of the reform activities undertaken by the Indian intellectual in the 19th century.
- What are the various forms of social discrimination existed in South India?

CHAPTER 8

Popular Revolts and Uprisings

STRUCTURE

- Learning objectives
- Peasant and tribal uprisings
- Revolt of 1857—causes and nature
- Revolt of 1857—course and aftermath
- Review questions

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

In this chapter you will get to know:

- The background to the tribal and peasant movements which took place before 1857.
- Examine the impact of the land revenue settlements in the core areas of the revolt.
- Assess the role of religious sentiments in the revolt.
- The intensity of the revolt even after the fall of Delhi in September 1857.
- Colonial policy towards princes and Muslims.

PEASANT AND TRIBAL UPRISINGS

Peasant and Tribal Uprisings: Origins

In pre-colonial India popular protest against the Mughal rulers and their officials was not uncommon. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed several peasant uprisings against the ruling class. Imposition of a high land revenue demand through the state, corrupt practices and harsh attitude of the tax collecting officials, were some of the several reasons which provoked the peasants to rise in revolt. Though, the establishment of colonial rule in India and the various policies of the colonial government had a much

more devastating effect on the Indian peasants and tribes. Some of the changes in Indian economy brought throughout this era were:

- Promotion of British manufactured goods in Indian markets leading to destruction of Indian handloom and handicraft industries.
- Vast transfer of wealth from India to England (Drain of Wealth).
- Popular Revolts
- and Uprisings
- British land revenue settlements, a heavy burden of new taxes, eviction of peasants from their lands, encroachment on tribal lands.
- growth and strengthening of use in rural society beside with the growth of intermediary revenue collectors and tenants and money-lenders.
- Expansion of British revenue administration in excess of tribal territories leading to the loss of tribal people's hold in excess of agricultural and forest land.

The overall impact of these changes on the peasant and tribal society was very destructive. The appropriation of peasants surplus through the company and its mediators, the rising burden of taxes made the peasants totally dependant on the mercy of the revenue intermediaries and officials, the merchants and the money-lenders. Moreover, the destruction of indigenous industry led to migration of big level workers from industry to agriculture. The pressure on land increased but the land revenue and agricultural policy of the government allowed little scope for the improvement of Indian agriculture.

While the British economic policy led to pauperization and impoverishment of the Indian peasantry, the British administration turned a deaf ear to the peasant's grievances. British law and judiciary did not aid the peasantry ; it safeguarded the interest of the government and its collaborators—the landlords, the merchants and the money-lenders. Thus being the prey of colonial use and being deprived of justice from the colonial administration the peasants took up arms to protect themselves. The grievances of the tribal people were not dissimilar from those of the peasants.

But what made them more aggrieved was the encroachment through outsiders into their self-governing tribal polity.

Some Significant Uprisings

The simmering discontent of the peasants and tribal people broke out into popular uprisings in dissimilar parts of India at dissimilar points of time in the first hundred years of British rule. Whatever may be the immediate cause of each uprising through and big these protest movements were molded through a shared experience of oppression in various shapes, including colonial oppression. We would talk about in brief some of the significant uprisings of this era.

The Sanyasi Rebellion, 1763-1800

The East India Company's official correspondence in the second half of the eighteenth century referred several times to the incursion of the itinerant Sanyasis and Fakirs, mainly in northern Bengal. Even before the great famine of Bengal (1770) small groups of Hindu and Muslim holymen traveled from lay to lay and made sudden attacks on the store houses of food crops and property of the local richen and government officials. Though the Sanyasis and Fakirs were religious mendicants, originally they were peasants, including some who were evicted from land. Though, the rising hardship of the peasantry, rising revenue demand and the Bengal famine of 1770 brought a big member of dispossessed small Zamindars, disbanded soldiers and rural poor into the bands of Sanyasis and Fakirs. They moved approximately dissimilar parts of Bengal and Bihar in bands of 5 to 7 thousand and adopted the guerilla technique of attack. Their target of attack was the grain stocks of the rich and at later stage, government officials. They looted local government treasuries. Sometimes the wealth looted was distributed in the middle of the poor. They recognized an self-governing government in Bogra and Mymensingh. The modern government records describe these insurrections in their own way, thus:

- “A set of lawless banditti recognized under the name of Sanyasis and Fakirs, have extensive infested these countries and under the pretence

of religious pilgrimage, have been accustomed to traverse the chief parts of Bengal, begging, stealing and plundering wherever they go and as it best suits their convenience to practice. In the years subsequent to the famine, their ranks were swollen through a crowd of starving peasants, who had neither seed nor implements to recommence farming with, and the cold weather of 1772 brought them down upon the harvest meadows of lower Bengal, burning, plundering, ravaging in bodies of fifty to thousand men.”

One noticeable characteristic of these insurrections was the equal participation of Hindus and Muslims in it. Some of the significant leaders of these movements were Manju Shah, Musa Shah, Bhawani Pathak and Debi Chaudhurani. Encounter flanked by the Sanyasis-Fakirs and the British forces became a regular characteristic all in excess of Bengal and Bihar till 1800. The British used its full force to suppress the rebels.

Peasant Uprising of Rangpur, Bengal, 1783

The establishment of British manage in excess of Bengal after 1757 and their various land revenue experiments in Bengal to extract as much as possible from peasants brought unbearable hardship for the general man. Rangpur and Dinajpur were two of the districts of Bengal which faced all types of illegal demands through the East India Company and its revenue contractors. Harsh attitude of the revenue contractors and their exactions became a regular characteristic of peasant life. One such revenue contractor was Debi Singh of Rangpur and Dinajpur. He and his mediators created a reign of terror in the two districts of northern Bengal. Taxes on the Zamindars were increased which actually were passed on from Zamindars to cultivators or ryots. Ryots were not in a location to meet the rising demands of Debi Singh and his mediators. Debi Singh and his men used to beat and flog the peasants, burn their houses and destroy their crops and not even women were spared.

Peasants appealed to the company officials to redress their grievances. Their appeal though remained unheeded. Being deprived of justice the

peasants took the law in their own hands. Through beat of drum the rebel peasants gathered big number of peasants, armed with swords, shields, bows and arrows. They elected Dirjinarain as their leader and attacked the local cutcheries and store houses of crops of local mediators of the contractors and government officials. In several cases they snatched absent the prisoners from the government guards. The rebels shaped a government of their own, stopped payments of revenue to the existing government and levied 'insurrection charges' to meet the expenses of the rebellion. Both Hindus and Muslims fought face through face in the insurrection. Ultimately the government's armed forces took manage of the situation and suppressed the revolt.

The Uprising of the Bhils, 1818-31

The Bhils were mostly concentrated in the hill ranges of Khandesh. The British job of Khandesh in 1818 enraged the Bhils because they were suspicious of outsiders' incursion into their territory. Moreover, it was whispered that Trimbakji, rebel minister of Baii Rao II, instigated the Bhils against the British job of Khandesh. There was a common insurrection in 1819 and the Bhils in many small groups ravaged the plains. There were similar types of insurrection quite often through the Bhil chiefs against the British. The British government used its military force to suppress the rebels and at the same time tried to win them in excess of through various conciliatory events. But the British events failed to bring the Bhils to their face.

The Rebellion at Mysore, 1830-31

After the final defeat of Tipu Sultan the British restored Mysore to the Wodeyar ruler and imposed on him the subsidiary alliance. The financial pressure from the company on the Mysore ruler compelled him to augment revenue demands from the Zamindars. The rising burden of revenue ultimately fell on the cultivators. The corruption and extortion of local officials added to the existing miseries of the peasants.

The rising discontent of the peasants broke out into an open revolt in the province of Nagar, one of the four divisions of Mysore. Peasants from other provinces joined the rebellious peasants of Nagar and the rebel peasants

establish their leader in Sardar Malla, the son of a general ryot of Kremsi. The peasants defied the power of the Mysore ruler. The British force regained manage of Nagar from the rebel peasants after strong opposition and ultimately the administration of the country passed into the hands of the British.

The Kol Uprising, 1831-32

The Kols of Singhbhum for extensive centuries enjoyed self-governing power under their chiefs. They successfully resisted all attempts made through the Raja of Chota Nagpur and Mayurbhanj to subdue them. British penetration into this region and the effort to set up British law and order in excess of the jurisdiction of the Kol Chiefs generated tensions in the middle of the tribal people.

As a result of British job of Singhbhum and the neighbouring territories, a big number of people from outside began to settle in this region which resulted in transfer Of tribal lands to the outsiders. This transfer of tribal lands and coming of merchants, money-lenders and the British law in the tribal region posed a great threat to the hereditary self-governing power of the tribal chiefs. This created great resentment in the middle of the tribal people and led to popular uprisings against the outsiders in the tribal region. The rebellion spread in excess of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau and Manbhum. The target of attack was the settlers from other regions whose houses were burnt, and property looted. The insurrection was ruthlessly suppressed through the British militia.

The Faraizi Disturbances, 1838-51.

The Faraizi sect was founded through Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur. Originally Faraizi movement was fuelled through the grievances of rack-rented and evicted peasants against landlords and British rulers. The Faraizis under Dudu Miyan, the son of the founder of the sept, became united as a religious sect with an egalitarian ideology. His simple way of teaching and belief that all men are equal and land belongs to god and no one has right to levy tax on it appealed to the general peasants. The Faraizis set up parallel

administration in some parts of Eastern Bengal and recognized village courts to settle the peasant's disputes. They protected cultivators from Zamindar's excesses and asked the peasants not to pay taxes to the Zamindars. They raided the Zamindars' houses and cutcheries and burnt indigo factory at Panch-char. The government and Zamindars' forces crushed the movement and Dudu Miyan was imprisoned.

The Mappila Uprisings, 1836-54

In the middle of the various peasant uprisings that posed serious challenge to the colonial rule the Mappila uprisings of Malabar inhabit an significant lay. Mappilas are the descendants of the Arab settlers and converted Hindus. Majority of them were cultivating tenants, landless labourers, petty traders and fishermen. The British job of Malabar in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the consequent changes that the British introduced in the land revenue administration of the region brought unbearable hardship in the life of the Mappilas. Mainly significant change was the transfer of 'Janmi' from that of traditional, partnership with the Mappila to that of an self-governing owner of land and the right of eviction of Mappila tenants which did not exist earlier. In excess of-assessment, illegal taxes, eviction from land, hostile attitude of government officials were some of the several reasons that made the Mappilas rebel against the British and the landlords.

The religious leaders played an significant role in strengthening the solidarity of the Mappilas through socio-religions reforms and also helped in the development of anti-British consciousness in the middle of the Mappilas. The rising discontent of the Mappilas broke out in open insurrections against the state and landlords. Flanked by 1836 and 1854 there were in relation to the twenty-two uprisings in Malabar. In these uprisings the rebels came mostly from the poorer part of the Mappila population. The target of the rebels were usually the British officials, Janmis and their dependents. The British armed forces swung into action to suppress the rebels but failed to subdue them for several years.

The Santhal Rebellion, 1855-56

The Santhals were inhabitants of the districts of Birbhum, Bankura, Murshidabad, Pakur, Dumka, Bhagalpur and Purnea. The region of maximum concentration of Santhals was described Daman-i-koh or Santhal Pargana. When the Santhals cleared the forest and started farming in this region the neighbouring Rajas of Maheshpur and Pakur leased out the Santhal villages to Zamindars and money-lenders. Gradual penetration through outsiders (described dikus through the Santhals) in the territory of the Santhals brought misery and oppression for the simple livelihood Santhals. In *Calcutta Review* of 1856 a modern writer depicted the condition of the Santhals in the following words:

- “Zamindars, the police, the revenue and court alas have exercised a combined system of extortions, oppressive exactions, forcible dispossession of property, abuse and personal violence and a variety of petty tyrannies upon the timid, and yielding Santhals. Usurious interest on loans of money ranging from 50 to 500 per cent; false events at the haut (weekly market) and the market; willful and uncharitable trespass through the rich through means of their untethered cattle, tattoos (small ponies), ponies and even elephants, on the rising crops of the poorer race; and such like illegalities have been prevalent.”

The oppression through money-lenders, merchants, Zamindars and government officials forced the Santhals to take up arms in order to protect themselves. Initial protests of the Santhals were in the form of robbery and looting of Zamindars and money-lenders houses. But violent suppression of these behaviors and harassment of Santhals at the hands of police and local officials made them more violent. The rebel Santhals establish their leaders in two brothers, Sidhu and Kanu, who were whispered to have received blessings from the gods to put an end to the ongoing oppression of the Santhals and to restore "the good old days". Many thousand Santhals armed with their traditional weapons of bows, arrows, axes assembled and took the decision to provide an ultimatum to the Zamindars and the government officials to stop oppression immediately. They decided to get back manage of their lands and

to set up their own government. The authorities though paid no serious attention to this ultimatum. Ultimately the grievances of the Santhals flared up in open armed insurrection against the local government officials, Zamindars and money-lenders. The insurrection spread rapidly in the whole Santhal Pargana. Big numbers of low caste non-Santhals also came out in support of the Santhals. The government and Zamindars started counter-attacking the insurgents. The heroic struggle of the Santhals ultimately failed because of British superiority of arms. i

Nature of Popular Movements before 1857

Peasant and tribal movements have been interpreted differently through dissimilar schools of historians. The historians with sympathies towards the British and the recognized order often regarded these uprisings as a problem of law and order. The range of troubles faced through these tribals and peasants from the pre-colonial to the colonial times were often overlooked as possible causes for these uprisings. The rebels were often portrayed as primitive savages resisting “culture”. The Nationalists tended to appropriate the peasant the tribal history to the purposes of the anti-colonial struggle ignoring sure other facets of the oppressed people’s struggle. Those more sympathetic to the cause of the tribals and peasants though tended to negate very often the logic of peasant and tribal protest in terms of the people’s own experience. It is also necessary to understand the domain of peasant and tribal action in its own terms. This effort has scarcely begun yet.

Leadership

In the movements we have studied above the question of leadership, i.e., who led these movements becomes significant. Movements in this stage of our history tended to throw up leaders who rose and fell with the movement. The context in which these movements arose gave very little scope for a leadership to create an entry from outside the immediate context of the rebellion. This is quite in contrast to the times of the national movement where leaders from various parts of upper strata consciously, or sure ideological premises, made an intervention into the peasant and tribal movements.

The leadership of these movements often devolved upon men or women who were within the cultural world of the peasants they led. They were able to articulate the protest of the oppressed. The Faraizi rebellion illustrated how holymen as leaders were on the one hand trying to return to a past purity of their religion and on the other, also addressed the peasant's troubles. Thus the notion that all land was god's land the everyone had an equal share in it, mobilized the oppressed peasants and also invoked the sanctity of 'true' religion.

Participation and Mobilization

Some characteristics of the peasant and tribal protest movements demonstrate a sure stage of political and social consciousness. For instance, it has been pointed out that the rebels against Debi Sinha in 1783 attacked Kacharis in a definite recognition of where the political source of the peasant's oppression lay. Likewise the Kols in 1832 did not attack the tribal population in a clear recognition of who their allies were. In course of the development of a movement it sometimes broadened its ambit to contain issues beyond the immediate grievances which started off a protest movement. For instance the Moplah rebellions in the nineteenth century Malabar started as struggles against the landlord but ended up as protest against British rule itself. Protest of the oppressed also often involved redefinition of the connection of the oppressed to the language, civilization and religion of the dominant classes. This may take the form of denial of the convention of respect and submission in speech or the destruction of spaces of worship or of symbols of power or oppression. Thus protests took myriad shapes in several spheres, from everyday life to organised insurgency.

In so distant as protest movements, took on the character of public and communal acts, the peasants and tribal participant's methods have some specific characteristics. Being public and open these rebellions were political actions, dissimilar from crime. In spite of the effort of British officials to portray them as criminals, the rebel's mode of action tell another story. For instance the Santhals gave ample warning in advance to the villages they attacked. The legitimacy for such public declarations often came from a higher

power. The Santhal leaders Sidho and Kanho for instance claimed in information that it was the 'thakoor' (local god) who himself would fight the white soldiers. It was this public legitimacy which allowed the Rangpur rebellion's leaders to impose a dhang-kharcha (levy for insurrection) on the peasantry. The public legitimacy ultimately allowed public conference, scheduling, assembly and attack. As Sido Santhal put it "all the pergunnais and manjees consulted and advised me to fight". Likewise the legitimacy to fight expressed itself in the grand ceremonies of a rebel march. For instance the leaders of the Santhal rebellion were accepted in a palanquin and their followers wore festive red clothes. Then the public character was reinforced through drawing on the corporate labour action. For instance the Santhal tribals for whom shikar or hunting was the main society action for obtaining food, often characterised a rebellion as a shikar. But now the shikar gathering was used for wilder political purposes and this was reflected in behaviors like burning, wrecking and destruction of recognized targets to create a political point.

What was the underlying bond uniting the rebels against the perceived enemy? These often lived in varying degrees of tensions flanked by class, caste or ethnic and religious groups. In Mapilla rebellion for instance religion forged a bond flanked by the poorer and more affluent parts of the peasantry to make grounds for a fight against landlord oppression. Likewise ethnicity created bonds of solidarity. For instance in 1852 the Dhangar Kols of Sonapur who were the first to rise in that region were promptly given support through the Larka Kols of Singhbhum where no disturbances had yet taken place. Solidarity in the protests above was reinforced through society mobilization, forcing the vacillators to join the rebel ranks and a harsh attitude towards the traitors.

Protest movements of the oppressed peasants and tribals did not emerge in a full-blown form. In the early stages they are forms of social action which the state several times seem upon as plain crime. Mainly often in the British official records this transition from crime to rebellion is ignored and the two are seen as the same. Also obscured is the information that crimes ranging from starvation, thefts to murder spring from the violent circumstances of

livelihood in the countryside. Often an insurgency was preceded through the rise in the rate of rural crimes. For instance in 1854, a year before the Santhal rebellion, a number of dacoities were committed against the local money-lenders. The Santhal leaders later justified them on moral grounds to the British court saying that their complaints against the money-lenders were never heeded through the officials.

The local spread of rebellions of tribal and peasant societies was influenced, if not determined, through that society's perception of the region they belonged to, the geographical boundaries within which that society existed and worked as also the ties of ethnicity. For the Santhals it was a battle for their 'fatherland' which had been grabbed through the outsiders. Their fight then was for this land which belonged to them in the good old past and was now snatched absent from them. Sometime ethnic bonds extended the territorial limits of a tribal group as we saw in the case of Larka and Dhangar Kols who came together in rebellion.

Likewise the peasants and tribal people's conception of their past went into the creation of the consciousness of the rebellious and the insurgent. We have already seen that their notions of their own past inspired rebels to struggle to recover circumstances that prevailed before they fell upon bad times, before their oppressors acquired power in excess of them. The Faraizi and Santhal rebellions give particularly apt examples. This did not necessarily mean that the protest movements were backward looking; it symbolizes an effort to construct an ideal to strive for.

REVOLT OF 1857—CAUSES AND NATURE

Background of the Revolt

It was the action of the sepoys of the British army that precipitated the revolt of the people. Here we focus first on the grievances of the sepoys of the Bengal Army, the impact of colonial rule and then the details of this land revenue settlements, to set up the extent to which they explain the revolt of 1857.

The Army

On 29th March 1857 in Barrackpore close to Calcutta, there took place a disturbance when a sepoy, Mangal Pandey killed one of the European officers. This disturbance was easily suppressed but in the after that few week's disturbances in the army gathered momentum. The mutiny of the Meerut sepoys who killed their European officers on 10 May 1857 and crossed in excess of to Delhi on the 11th to appeal to Bahadur Shah II, the pensioner Mughal emperor, to become their leader, led to the revolt of 1857. Approximately half of the 2,32,224 sepoys of the East India Company rebelled. The bulk of the sepoys were upper caste Hindus from the North Western Provinces and Awadh. Almost one-third came from Awadh, thus forming a homogeneous group within the army. In excess of the years the upper caste sepoys had established their religious beliefs in disagreement with their service circumstances:

- In 1806 the replacement of the turban through a leather cockade caused a mutiny at Vellore.
- in 1824 the sepoys at Barrackpore refused to go to Burma because crossing the sea would mean loss of caste,
- in 1844 there was a mutinous outbreak of the Bengal army sepoys for being sent to distant absent Sind. Crossing the Indus was perceived as causing loss of caste.

Closer to the revolt of 1857 there had been reports of bone dust in the atta (flour) ration. The cartridges of the Enfield rifles (introduced approximately January 1857) which had to be bitten off before loading were reportedly greased with pork and beef fat. This seemed to confirm fears in relation to the their religion being in danger. In addition there was professional discontent:

- an infantry sepoy got only seven rupees per month,
- and a cavalry sawar 27 rupees, out of which he had to pay for his uniform, food and the upkeep of the mount

- there was racial discrimination in matters of promotion, pension and terms of service,
- annexations had deprived the sepoys of batta (extra pay) for foreign service
- there were fears of being edged out through new recruits from Punjab.

The Colonial Context

To examine the revolt of 1857 it is significant that we shift our focus to the nature of colonial rule as it had an adverse effect on the interests of approximately all stages of society.

- Indians were excluded from well paid, higher administrative posts. Racial discrimination in this regard was mentioned in many rebel proclamations.
- Artisans and handicraftsmen were hit both through the promotion of British manufactured goods and the loss of patronage due to the annexations of Indian states.
- The land revenue settlements meant loss of estates to the landholders and heavy revenue assessments for dissimilar strata of rural society.
- Every year the proprietary rights of landlords and peasants came under sale laws for arrears of revenue or even simple contract debts.
- In many spaces these proprietary rights were bought up through banias who were mostly outsiders.

There was thus antipathy towards the revenue as well as the judicial systems introduced through the colonial government as will become apparent from our consideration of the pattern of the revolt of 1857.

Land Revenue Settlements

Much of the controversies concerning the nature of the revolt of 1857 revolve on the outcome of the land revenue settlements of the North Western Provinces and Awadh and the circumstances of the talukdars and peasants in both regions. Let us now look at them.

North Western Provinces

A key figure of the resolution in this region was Holt Mackenzie, Secretary in the Territorial Department. His proposals embodied in regulation VII of 1822 had a bias against talukdars and favored direct settlements with village zamindars and pattidars in order to preserve village societies. In the 1840s his proposals were worked upon through R.M. Bird, Head of the Revenue Board and James Thomason, Lt. Governor of the North Western Provinces. The bias against talukdars sustained in what came to be described the Thomaspnian Resolution. With the precise definition of property rights from approximately 1840 there was rising investment in them through outsiders thus leading to the transfer and partition of joint holdings. The outcome of the revenue settlements in the North Western Provinces can be summed up thus:

- Due to the anti-talukdar bias approximately all talukdars establish themselves stripped of the bulk of their estates within less than a decade. This left several lineage taluqs dismantled.
- Even the village zamindars (individual/joint), the planned beneficiaries, pressed with heavy assessments, if not reduced to tenants, were on the brink of bankruptcy and at the mercy of creditors. Even as late as 1852-3, 104,730 acres were sold for arrears in one year in the North Western Provinces.

Awadh

In Awadh which was annexed in February 1856 the summary resolution of 1856-7 was made on the Thomasonian pattern mentioned above and produced the following results:

- While the overall assessment was reduced (in spaces through 37%), there was over assessment in pockets, varying from 28 to 63%.
- Some talukdari estates were reduced through in relation to the 44-55%.
- Before British annexation there was a system of grain sharing of the peasant with the talukdar, after the former's subsistence needs were satisfied; the British introduced a system of fixed revenue demand in money terms which sometimes meant over assessment, and

particularly so in years when harvests were bad or price were low; thus peasants suffered.

It may be mentioned that there were in relation to the 14,000 petitions from the Awadh sepoys in relation to the hardships relating to the revenue system.

Annexations

Through 1818, with the defeat of the Marathas and the conclusion of subsidiary alliances the East Indian Company made claims to the status of paramount power. Throughout Dalhousie's tenure many states were annexed through the enforcement of his doctrine of lapse: Satara (1848), Nagpur, Sambalpur and Baghat (1850); Udaipur (1852) and Jhansi (1853). The failure of the Rani of Jhansi to get him to reverse the decision despite her offer to stay Jhansi 'safe' for the British, ranged her against the Company in 1857.

In February 1856 when Wajid Ali Shah refused to hand in excess of the administration to the East India Company, Awadh was annexed on grounds of misgovernment. Though, British attendance since 1765, had already begun the drain and dislocation of the Awadh economy. Company and European traders siphoned absent its economic possessions, thus eroding Awadh's administrative viability.

The British had seen Awadh not presently as a source of additional revenue but a field for the investment of private capital for the farming of indigo and cotton and as a potential market. There was widespread outrage against the annexation of Awadh because:

- The king had been deported to Calcutta,
- There was wholesale disarming of the talukdars and demolition of their forts,
- The disruption of the court meant unemployment for retainers and the army and an end to patronage of artisans producing luxury items,
- The land revenue settlements intensified this discontent.

Significantly, rebel propaganda was directed against British annexations in north and central India.

Religion and Civilization

Before the revolt of 1857 there had been a rising suspicion in the middle of orthodox Hindus and Muslims that the British were trying to destroy their religion and civilization through social legislation. Examples of this were seen in the abolition of sati, the legalization of widow remarriage, the 1850 law enabling a convert to Christianity to inherit ancestral property, etc.

This anxiety was expressed explicitly in many rebel proclamations. A proclamation issued in Delhi indicated that the English intended to destroy the religion of the sepoys and then force conversion to Christianity on the people. Thus the preservation of religion became a rallying cry in the revolt which was seen as a war of religion through the sepoys as well as those in the countryside.

This does not mean that religion was all there was to the 1857 revolt but it undoubtedly shaped the expression of grievances. The defense of religion and the fight against the British were seen as being closely connected to each other and a struggle in which both Hindus and Muslims had an equal stake. Bahadur Shah's proclamation accentuated the standard of Mohammed and the standard of Mahavir.

The Nature of the Revolt: Debate

Flanked by the 1950s and 1960s historians focused much of their attention on whether the revolt was a sepoy mutiny, national struggle or a manifestation of feudal reaction. Let us sum up the essential arguments of this earlier debate.

Sepoy Mutiny

Anxious to minimize Indian grievances, for several years, British historians had maintained that the revolt had been nothing more than a sepoy mutiny. Hence the name. Such accounts usually narrated:

- Details of the greased cartridges,
- The behaviors of rebel sepoys,
- The British campaigns of 1857-8 that suppressed the revolt.

Not only was the rebellion of the people made light of, but the civil rebellion was attributed to merely the selfish interests of landholders and princes. In essence, this interpretation ignored the colonial context in which the revolt had occurred and of which it was a reflection.

National Struggle or Feudal Reaction?

With the emergence of nationalist agitations against the colonial government the revolt of 1857 came to be looked upon as part of that struggle and the focus shifted from the greased cartridges to the oppressions of the British. V.D. Savarkar's *The Indian War of Independence of 1857* published anonymously in 1902 remained banned in India approximately till the end of British rule.

Though, many works coinciding with the centenary year of the revolt argued variously:

- That the absence of a common plan of rebellion went against such an interpretation,
- That the leaders were not imbued with national sentiment and 'would have put the clock back',
- That 1857 was not the inauguration of a freedom movement but 'the dying groans of an obsolete aristocracy'.

On the other hand there were objections to the restrictive use of the term 'national' and the implicit minimization of the anti-imperialist content of the revolt and of the proof of the Hindu-Muslim unity throughout 1857-8. More recently it has been noted that though the rebel mission may not have been 'national,' their political horizon was not restricted to their ilaqas. Also that the aim of the rebels was not so much an effort to set up a new social order as to restore a world that was well-known i.e. the traditional world of hierarchy, lineage, patronage and deference.

Web of Motives

Through the 1970s historians had moved absent from the debate in relation to the whether to name it a 'sepoy mutiny' or 'national revolt' etc. to examining the social roots of the revolt of 1857 through detailed region wise studies, mainly of which concentrated on the North Western Provinces and Awadh. Some studies have discounted the relation flanked by the land revenue settlements and the revolt through arguing that

- Talukdar participation in the revolt cannot be attributed to the Thomasonian resolution alone, because, for instance, some enterprising talukdars who had made good their loss of land from commercial crops (cotton and indigo) showed no tendency to rebel.
- Also the resentment against the bania (who profited from enforced sales) was rarely the sole or even primary cause of rural rebellion. In information the principal elements of revolt in Saharanpur and Meerut came from castes and regions where the mahajan hold was lightest and the land revenue heaviest.

Participation of the talukdars in 1857 has been explained thus: the unexpected anarchy created through the revolt provided a convenient region in which pre-existent caste (Rajputs vs Jats and vice versa/Ahirs vs Chauhans and vice versa) and family antagonisms were fought afresh. In other words the institutional innovations of the Thomasonian era were but 'a single strand in the web of motive' that led some talukdars to remain loyal and others to rebel.

Against Generalization

It has also been suggested that the roots of the revolt lay (a) in the pockets of relative poverty caused through ecological factors such as poor and thirsty soil and (b) severe' revenue assessments which assumed that all occupied land was capable of arable farming. Those hardest hit through this combination, for instance, the Gujars and Rajputs in the North Western provinces, were more predisposed to rebel. Also that resistance came from groups such as Gujars of Saharanpur and Rajputs of Etawah and Allahabad

who had preserved their social cohesion. Less homogeneous village bodies remained passive.

Though, the focus of variegated political response in dissimilar geographical sub-zones led to the argument that the revolt of 1857 was 'not one movement but several', that it is impossible to generalize.

Elitist Movement or Popular Resistance?

In this part we will deal with the question of elitist or conversely, popular character of the revolt. Some historians are of opinion that throughout the revolt, the talukdars were the decision makers and that much of the form of the revolt was determined through the attendance or the absence of a thriving magnate element committed to British rule. For instance, in Aligarh the heavily assessed Jats and Rajputs were held back through resident magnates. No such, brakes could be applied through the absentee magnates in the Doab below Kanpur. Likewise the talukdars who rebelled accepted their peasants with them.

Almost certainly this overstates the role of talukdars and underestimates mass participation. It has been pointed out that initiative could and did approach from several quarters other than landed magnates. There were instances of non-magnate leaders such as Khairati Khan, Shah Mal and Maulvi Ahmadullah-Shah being accepted as leaders. Admittedly more work is required on the role of rural society below that of the village elite. Though, it is clear that peasants and clansmen could, and often did, act outside magnate initiative and in many regions they insisted on continuing with the revolt even after their talukdars made peace with the British.

In the case of Awadh there was united action flanked by talukdars and peasants (based on commonality of interest preceding the annexation of Awadh) which explains the revolts popular character. There was close to universal participation through big and small talukdars (74% fought the British in south Awadh). 60% of the fighting force was the common rural population. Almost certainly 3/4 of the adult male population of Awadh participated in the revolt. The depth of the popular resistance is apparent from the number of spears, swords and firearms seized from even ordinary homes.

REVOLT OF 1857—COURSE AND AFTERMATH

Course

In 1857 there were some 45,000 European and some 232,000 regular troops in India. The bulk of European units were concentrated as an army of job in the

On May 11 the Meerut Mutineers crossed in excess of to Delhi and appealed to Bahadur Shah II, the pensioner Mughal emperor to lead them and proclaimed him Shahenshah-Hindustan.

Through the first week of June mutinies had broken out in Aligarh, Mainpuri, Bulandshahr, Etawah, Mathura, Lucknow, Bareilly, Kanpur, Jhansi, Nimach, Moradabad, Saharanpur etc.

Through mid-June and September 1857 there had been mutinies in Gwalior, Mhow and Sialkot and in Bihar, in Danapur, Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Bhagalpur, and Nagode and Jabalpur in central India.

Through September-October it was clear that the revolt would not spill crossways the Narmada. North of the Narmada the main axis of the revolt was represented through the river Ganga and the GrandTrunk Road flanked by Delhi and Patna.

The Revolt of the Army

It is significant to note that a mere chronology of the mutinies conceals their pattern of diffusion. The mutinies traveled down the Ganga from Meerut and Delhi with a time gap flanked by the various stations required for news to travel from one lay to another.

There were rumors that 30th May 1857 was the day fixed for a total destruction of white men all in excess of north India.

Presently as news of the fall of Delhi had precipitated the revolt of the army and civil population, the fall of Lucknow in end of May set off uprisings in the district stations of Awadh.

There is proof of a sure element of coordination and communication (response to preappointed signals etc.) in the middle of the mutinous regiments and in their actions though the coordinators themselves remained anonymous.

The transmission of rumors (in relation to the rebel and British action) and panic (in relation to the religion), which acted as springboards of action was facilitated through the information that several soldiers were recruited from the same region, Awadh.

The pattern of the mutinies was the destruction of houses used or existed in through the British and the government treasures and jails.

In Awadh the sepoys claimed that Telinga Raj had arrived.

The Revolt of the People

Chapatis were passed from village to village throughout the winter of 1856-7; it had dissimilar meanings for dissimilar people. Though through no means a cause of the disturbance, it was perceived as a message of an imminent holocaust.

Rumours of greased cartridges, flour polluted with bone dust, and forcible conversion to Christianity transformed popular grievances against the British into a revolt.

In many spaces people composed, conferred and planned their attack on government and bania property. People of neighbouring villages, after linked through kinship and caste ties, got together to create such attacks. Sadar stations were often attacked through people from anything flanked by 30 to 60 villages.

The pattern of attack was the same everywhere. Scores were settled with tax collectors, court officials, policemen and banias. Treasuries were looted, prisoners set free and bungalows set on fire.

Clearly the rebels gave priority to political thoughts and did not hesitate to destroy economic possessions. For instance, the coal mines in Kotah were damaged, canal locks were destroyed to prevent a British battalion reaching Bulandshahr through boat. Likewise numerous attacks were also made on railways and factories through the United Provinces' rural poor who were dependent on them for their livelihood.

In the course of the suppression of the revolt what struck the British was the extra ordinary solidarity in the middle of rebels. Mainly often pecuniary rewards could not induce betrayal, nor could they play off Hindu against Muslims.

Rebel Organizations

That the revolt of 1857 went beyond overthrowing the British is borne out through the organisational efforts of the rebels:

- Immediately after the capture of Delhi, a letter was sent to rulers of all the neighbouring states of present day Rajasthan soliciting their support,
- In Delhi, a court of officers was set up. Of the 10 members 6 were from the army and four from other departments. Decisions were taken through majority vote.

Such attempts at organization were made at other centres too. We have supportive details from Awadh where Birjis Qadar, a minor, was crowned price through consensus, immediately after the British defeat at the battle of Chinhat on 30th June 1857. The rebels laid down circumstances such as:

- Orders from Delhi were to be obeyed
- The wazir would be selected through the army and
- Officers of the army would be appointed after the consent of the army.

The Awadh rebel executive structure comprised two separate decision-creation bodies:

- One consisting of bureaucrats and court officials to see to organization and payments,
- The 'military cell' composed of sepoys or rebel soldiers and a few court officials.

It is important that at this early stage of the revolt, approximately July 57, there was no talukdar in any significant decision-creation body. In

information orders, were issued to talukdars and zamindars, with promises of land or revenue, asking them to join the revolt to end British rule.

Notwithstanding occasional divisions in the rebel ranks, as for instance flanked by the followers of Birjis Qadar and Maulvi Ahmadullah in Awadh, it is the efforts to uphold a semblance of organisation that is extra ordinary .

Guidelines were laid down for sepoys and commanders for their operations. Efforts were made for the regular payment of rebel troops either through the conversion of ornaments into coins or granting remission of revenue to talukdars to enable them to pay the troops.

Suppression

In accessible outbreaks that had occurred in as distant spaces as Peshawar, Singapore, Kolhapur, Chittagong and Madras were put down with ease. Through early July with the core region of the revolt emerging clearly, the British moved in to mop it up. In relation to the 39,000 troops were shipped, on request from London to aid the suppression operation. Through the end of November 57 troopships crammed the Hughli.

Through mid-August the mutineers were driven out of Arrah, Gaya, and Hazaribagh in Bihar. Delhi fell on 21st September after an attack with heavy casualties. Thereafter several rebels shifted to Lucknow. In Awadh, Lucknow was the chief focus of fighting. Rebels were supplied with ammunition from the districts and a workshop was set up in Faizabad to repair heavy guns. Several talukdars fought personally. Just as to one estimate 100,000 of the who died in Awadh were civilians. After the fall of Lucknow in March 1858, the rebels dispersed into the countryside and enclaves of resistance appeared to the south and south-east and the west and north-west of Lucknow. Till September-October 1858 the rebels whispered that one combined, well planned attack could still dislodge the British from Awadh and tried to coordinate campaigns in this direction.

- Prominent in the middle of the leaders of the revolt were
- the Rani of Jhansi who died fighting in June 1858,

- Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, Baji Rao II, who led the mutiny at Kanpur and escaped to Nepal in the beginning of 1859,
- Kuer Singh of Arrah who had carved a base of himself in Azamgarh and Ghazipur and died fighting in May 1858.
- Begum Hazrat Mahal who escaped to Nepal,
- Maulvi Ahmadullah who accepted on the revolt approximately the borders of Awadh and Rohilkhand till his death in June 1858,
- Tantia Tope, uprooted from his base on the Jumna at Kalpi, reached Gwalior in June 1858, crossed the Narmada in October and was captured and put to death in 1859.

For more than a year the rebels had struggled with limited supply of arms and ammunitions and a poor system of communication. Several sepoys were amazed at the possessions of the British and had expected that the British would need French help to put them down. On their part, the British surrounded Awadh, tackled Delhi and the Jumuna region, and then concentrated on Awadh,

Aftermath

The suppression of the revolt of 1857 was accomplished through a two pronged approach of military strategy and the submission of talukdars. The reassertion of British manage was thereafter reinforced with princely support based on an assurance of non-interference in adoption question.

Landlords

In the North Western Provinces the British made widespread confiscation and redistribution of land. Some partial figures illustrate that land assessed at Rs. 17 lakhs Was confiscated and land assessed at Rs. 9 lakhs was given in reward. In creation land rewards it was the superior landholders who were preferred.

After the fall of Lucknow a proclamation was issued confiscating proprietary right in land in the whole of Awadh except six specific estates. Some 22,658 out of 23,543 villages were restored to talukdars in return for

submission and loyalty in the form of collection and transmission and loyalty in the form of collection and transmission of information.

Village proprietors in Awadh were to remain under-proprietors or tenants-at-will. There was, though, fierce opposition to the talukdari resolution in the middle of the villagers in many Awadh districts in 1859-60. Faced with agrarian strife the government had to limit the rental demand of the talukdars against inferior holders to a fixed amount (1866). It was also decided that under proprietary rights enjoyed at any time throughout 12 years prior to annexation were to be protected.

Princes

It may be recalled that the British policy of annexing states had been one of the several accumulating grievances as is apparent both from the leadership provided to the rebels through the Rani of Jhansi, Nana Saheb and Begum Hazarat Mahal, and the proclamations of the rebels.

At one point throughout the revolt Canning had observed that had it not been for the 'patches of native government' like Gwalior, Hyderabad, Patiala, Rampur and Rewa serving as 'break-waters to the storm of 1857' the British would have been swept absent.

Therefore, the Queen's proclamation of 1858 declared that the British had no desire to extend their existing territorial possessions. To perpetuate dynasties Canning dispensed with the doctrine of lapse and allowed all rulers the right of adoption.

Territorial and monetary awards were bestowed on princes who had remained loyal i.e. those of Gwalior, Rampur, Patiala and Jind. In 1861 a special order of knighthood, the star of India, was instituted, of which the recipients were the rulers of Baroda, Bhopal, Gwalior, Patiala and Rampur.

Though, if the princes were given security from annexation it was made clear that in the event of 'misgovernment' or 'anarchy' the British would step in to take temporary charge of a native state.

The Army

A despatch from Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India to Canning in 1861 sums up the thrust of British policy towards the army in the post-mutiny years. 'If one regiment mutinies I should like to have the after that regiment so alien that it would be ready to fire into it.' Soldiers from Awadh, Bihar and Central India were declared to be non-martial and their recruitment cut down considerably. Sikhs, Gurkhas and Pathans who assisted in the suppression of the revolt were declared to be martial and were recruited in big numbers.

Briefly, society, caste, tribal and local loyalties were encouraged so as to obstruct the forging of the solidarity that was apparent in the middle of the sepoys from Awadh in 1857.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

- Do the peasant and tribal movements of our period demonstrate certain level of consciousness? How?
- Comment briefly on the changes in agrarian society in the North Western Provinces and Awadh on the eve of the revolt.
- What was the nature of the 1857 revolt?
- Comment briefly on the geographical extent of the revolt of 1857.
- Explain British attitudes towards the Muslims after the revolt.

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