

**A
HISTORY
OF
MODERN INDIA
(1757—1947)**

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P R E F A C E

An attempt has been made in the following pages to give brief and analytical account of about two hundred years of Indian History (1757-1947). Here we will find how the British, coming as a trading company, gradually took over the political power and ruled over this country for two centuries. The period is a record of the political activities of the British statesman in India and also the significant growth of the constitutional progress that contributed to the framing of the present constitution of India.

All standard works on the subject have been consulted and so no Bibliography has been added.

Chapter I to Chapter VIII are in chronological order from the advent of the British in India to the end of the British rule over India. Chapter XI is an epilogue and hence is suggestive in nature. Chapter IX deals with the constitutional progress and Chapter X deals with British India's relation with the neighbouring states. These two chapters may entail some kind of repetition or gerrymandering. Students will find these two chapters in the present form useful.

The book is intended for the students of History of Indian Universities. The author will deem his labour amply rewarded, if it is found useful by those for whom it is meant.

ARUN BHATTACHAREE

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1

Introduction

Some Preliminary Observations—The British ruled over India from 1757 to 1947. The British people were foreigners like the Sakas, Kushanas, Greeks and the Hunas. Before we go to study the British rule it will be worthwhile to find out the factors that were responsible for the coming of the Britishers to India. By 1757 Britain became the greatest colonial power in the world. Her only competitor was France that was fast declining. It was a time when the strength of a country was determined by the size of colonies, she possessed. Thus Britain after establishing her colonies in America and Africa advanced towards Asia. As India was a rich country in Asia, the eyes of Britain fell upon India. But mere armed strength or desire would not bring conquest, if India was a powerful country at that time. It was the want of political

strength in India that facilitated the planting of British rule over India. We have seen in ancient period that the Sakas, Kushanas, Hunas and the Greeks who had come and ruled over India did so taking advantage of the political disunity of the country in the absence of a strong ruler. Likewise, the Britishers could come to India and establish their authority when the three formidable contemporary powers in India—the Mughals, the Marathas and the Afghans waned and declined so that there was no hurdle for the advance of the British into India. Thus as a background of the British rule in India we should have a glimpse of the contemporary ruling powers and the story of their decline that created the political vacuum and facilitated the growth of the British empire in India.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a record of the gradual break-up of the Mughal empire and the rise of the Marathas as a great political power. So long as Akbar the Great was the ruler, the Mughals were at the height of power. The orthodox religious policy of Aurangzeb which was one of hostility towards the Hindus weakened the political foundation of the country. It was at that time that the Marathas under the able guidance of Sivaji came to measure sword with the Mughals. As a matter of fact, in the process of the decline of the Mughal power the Marathas played a formidable role.

The death of Aurangzeb in 1707 rung down the curtain upon the chapter of the glories of the Mughals. His eldest son Bahadur Shah made a successful bid to temporarily revive the imperial fortunes. He reached some understanding with the Marathas and was successful in

defeating the Sikhs. But he was an old man and died within five years of his coming to power. The war of succession that followed removed from the scene some of the ablest rulers. It was in 1738 that the Marathas gave a stunning blow to the Mughal empire that was tottering with its creaky joints. In that encounter the Mughals were so badly beaten that they had to surrender the valuable province of Malwa. Almost at the same time the Persian adventurer Nadir Shah came to plunder in India and returned home with immense booty, the most conspicuous of which was the peacock throne. Kabul was lost to Nadir Shah in 1739. The province of Bengal was practically independent since 1740. Although the Mughals continued to rule for another fifteen years, that rule was more nominal than real. In 1743 Orissa was snatched away by the Marathas. By 1750 Gujarat and Sind attained independence. The independence of the Punjab and Oudh was taken over by the Afghans. This was the story of the disintegration of the country during the Mughal period. Thus in the struggle for power that was going on in the North in about 1760 the Mughals were conspicuous by their absence. The absence of the Mughals paved the way for the ascendancy of the British in India.

We have already noticed that the second dynastic force of the eighteenth century of India was the Marathas. Under the able guidance of Shivaji the Marathas became a terror to the Mughals. The decline of the Mughul Empire opened up opportunities for them to grow into a big power. Shivaji's son Sahuji wielded great influence and power and established a Maratha Empire. But the Maratha Empire could not be a substitute of the Mughal Empire, because

they lacked the unity of purpose and breadth of vision which was needed to build up the political unity of India. Their patriotism was rather a narrow-minded ellegiance to the old glory of Sivaji. After the invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali the Mughal Empire was totally discredited. It was an opportunity for the Marathas to establish a Hindu Empire as dreamt by Sivaji. But the Peshwa or Maratha ruler Balaji Baji Rao could not bring out the desired chestnut from fire. He gave up his father's plan of establishing a Hindu Empire in place of the Mughal Empire and thought of establishing a Maratha Empire instead. He never thought of organising all the Hindu resources in India against the Muslims in India. His army was two inadequate and so he had to augment it by recruit of non-Maratha mercineries which was not inspired by any higher ideal than plunder and loot. The army plundered the Rajput states at pleasure, overran the Doab, entered into an alliance with the Mughul Emperor. But the triumph was short-lived. Abadali reinvaded India in 1759, defeated the Marathas at the battle of Barari Ghat in January, 1760, recovered the Punjab and proceeded towards Delhi. The plundering habits of the Marathas alienated the Rajputs, Jaths and the Sikhs who did not cooperate with the Marathas in driving away Abdali. In the Battle of Panipat on January 14, 1761 the entire Maratha army was bottled out. The Marathas could not withstand the defeat in Panipat. As the battle of Plassey closed the independence of Bengal, the battle of Panipat rung down the curtain over the Marathas.

The other power that could repulse the coming of the British was the Afghans who

could rightly aspire for an empire in succession to the Mughals or the Marathas. But this did not happen. In 1757 the Afghan ruler Ahmad Shah took Delhi and came to measure sword with the Marathas in the Battle of Panipat (January 14, 1761) which struck a death blow to the Marathas. It was natural to expect that the Afghans would maintain their authority over India. But the Afghans lacked in the stamina of the Mughals. And the extreme heat of India became unbearable for the Afghan soldiers. It is also to be remembered that Ahmad Shah's hold over Afghanistan was not very strong so he left Delhi handing over the power to his vassal. Thus by the beginning of the nineteenth century it became clear that there was no power in India capable to withstand the growth of the British power so that the consolidation of the British rule was only a question of time. The country was left without a master. This opened up the fortunes and prospects of the British rule in India. This is truly said by Spear : "It was in this way that the British proved to be the residuary legatees of the unclaimed estate of Hindustan."

In the study of the history of India of this period we have to depend upon some sources that are described below.

Source of the study of modern Indian History : While the students of ancient Indian history lament over the policy and insufficiency of the source material, this is, however, not the case of the modern period in Indian history. The source material of the modern period are at the same time different from that of the ancient or mediaeval period. In the modern period archaeology obviously does not form a source. Again, the religious literature which is a

source of ancient India is absent in the modern period. Any way, the source material of the modern period may be divided under the following heads.

1. State Papers—The state papers or the documents of the Government are an important record for the study of modern history of India. The correspondence of the servants of the Company, the resolution of the Council and notes and despatches and other documents preserved in the National and State Archives constitute a mass of material and shed much welcome light for the study of the period under review. In addition, it is possible to obtain similarly valuable material in the archives of the Portuguese, French and Dutch governments. These supply the valuable information on the political and commercial relations between India and the west.

2. Private documents—It is not that public records are the only source of information. Various private and semi-official letters that were exchanged between the natives of India and the servants of the Company contain several important items of information. Such private materials came to play a great part in historical analysis from the middle of the eighteenth century.

3. Indigenous Writings—The indigenous writings include Persian, Marathi and Tamil works. They constitute another source of information for the study of modern Indian history. The most important Persian work is *Siyur-ul-Mutakharin*. This book is reckoned as the most important source material for the study of eighteenth century India. Apart from this, other valuable record of the indigenous works are the Maratha records edited by eminent scholars like

Sardesai, Rajwade, etc. The Tamil Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai deserve mention. The *Dubash* of Dupleix throws much welcome light on the rivalry between the English and the French in the Deccan.

4. Writings of European Historians—

A large number of written material are left behind by the Indian officers who have left valuable account on the then life of Indian political and social condition. Their letters, diaries and memoirs provide us with important material for the reconstruction of Indian history. The reports left by these persons in their official and private capacity facilitated in lighting up many obscure aspects of Indian history.

THE ADVENT OF THE EUROPEANS IN INDIA

**Portuguese,
Dutch,
French and
English**

India had trade relations with Europe from time immemorial. In the fifteenth century the discovery of a new route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope ushered in an era of influx of European merchants of various nations to come to trade with India. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French all established in quick succession their trading centres in India. The commercial rivalries gave rise to political struggle among the four powers. This resulted in the expulsion of the Portuguese by the Dutch, the Dutch by the French and the French by the English. It will be proper to give a short description of the activities of the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French in India before we take up our task of the English and their establishing an empire on the soil of India.

1. The Portuguese in India—Of all the European powers the Portuguese were the first to land in India for trading purposes. In fact,

**Vasco da
Gama at
Calicut**

the Portuguese claimed monopoly rights over their so-called Eastern Empire and their swift caravels roamed the high seas from Ormuz in the Persian Gulf as far eastward as Malacca and the famed Spice Islands. It was Vasco da Gama who was the first European sailor who doubled the Cape of Good Hope and with his sailors reached Calicut on May 27, 1498 and opened a trading centre there. The Portuguese were the first Europeans to come to trade in India. At Calicut Vasco da Gama was warmly received by the local Hindu Raja known as the Zamorin, though the Muslim Arab traders tried to hamper him as far as possible. He succeeded in visiting Cochin. It has been rightly observed "perhaps no event during the middle ages had such far-reaching repercussion on the civilised world as the opening of sea-route to India." The Raja of Cochin welcomed the Portuguese. They were fortunate in the time of their arrival. The Delhi Sultanate in North India and the Bahamani kingdom in the Deccan were both declining and none of the states of India at that time possessed any navy or thought of developing naval power. So the only opposition that stood in the way of advancement of the Portuguese in India came from the Arab merchants who then controlled India's trade with the West. Vasco da Gama's second visit in 1502 led to a rupture with the Zamorin, because he had refused to exclude the Arab merchants in favour of the Portuguese. But the Portuguese trade with India increased by and by and they became the monopoly traders of India with the West.

The Portuguese also poked their nose in the political intrigues of various states of the Peninsular India. In 1505 the Portuguese succeeded in appointing a permanent Viceroy to look

Almedia first Portuguese Viceroy after the affairs of India. The first Viceroy Almedia (1505-1509) won a splendid achievement by crushing the combined Egyptian and Gujrathi fleet of Diu in 1508. His successor Albuquerque (1509-1515) opened up a new chapter in the Portuguese history in India. He initiated the plan of intermarriage between the Portuguese and the natives of India. He was

Albuquerque (1509-1515) determined to establish a Portuguese Empire in the East. He built fortresses in places that could not be colonised or conquered and where that too was not possible he induced the Indian princes to recognise the supremacy of the King of Portugal. In pursuit of this policy he captured Goa in 1510 from the Sultan of Bijapur, Malacca in 1511 and Ormuz in 1515. He was extremely unscrupulous in his methods and procured by poisoning the death of the Zamorin who had befriended the Portuguese when they had first arrived in Calicut. His policy of systematic and cruel persecution of the Muslims alienated Indian sympathy. In many respects his traits and achievements were similar to Robert Clive. He is truly regarded as the founder of the Portuguese power in India. The policy laid down by him became the guidelines for his successors. Bassein, Diu and the Island of Ceylon became Portuguese possessions. And in the middle of the sixteenth century when the Portuguese Empire in the East attained the climax of its grandeur, it was divided into three parts : (1) from Guardaful to Ceylon, (2) from Pegu to China and (3) all territories on the east coast of Africa.

But one thing to be noted is that the Portuguese did not enter into the interior of India and always remained satisfied with the coastal line. Thus there was never a 'Portuguese

**Portugal
could not
establish
an Empire
in India**

India' in the sense of British India. The seventeenth century saw the gradual decline of the Portuguese powers that began to lose to the Dutch and by 1739 the Portuguese pockets became confined to Goa, Daman and Diu.

**Causes of
the failure
of the
Portuguese**

In the struggle for power the Portuguese were destined to failure. There were various factors responsible for it. First, the Portuguese administration was totally corrupt. Secondly, the Portuguese were quite intolerant towards religion and forcibly converted the people into Christianity. Thirdly, Portugal was too little to attain success in both Brazil and India with her limited resources. Fourthly, the growth of new powers like the Marathas did havoc upon the Portuguese. Fifthly, with the coming of the Dutch and the English, the Portuguese could not withstand their advance in India. Lastly, when Portugal became unified with Spain, the latter became busy to exploit the resources of Portugal in Europe rather than these in India. To sum up, it was impossible for a small country like Portugal to upkeep her greatness for ever. Long distances, limited man-power inadequate resources, demoralisation of the army and competition from powerful maritime countries accounted for the downfall of the Portuguese empire.

**Importance
of Portuguese
rule
in India**

But the Portuguese were an enterprising people. For Portugal, the fifteenth century had been a period of ceaseless endeavour in probing the mysteries of the seas and in conquering their perils. The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Dias in 1487 and the discovery of the sea-way to India by Vasco da Gama in 1498 were indeed epoch-making events. The discovery of the sea lines the importance of the Eastern trade through its land routes promoted for the first time a

wider understanding of vastness and the variety and the splendour of the earth. It also contributed to the expansion of human knowledge and stimulated new ambitions and enterprises on an unprecedented scale. The conquest of the seas was the beginning of the global integration and the abounding industrialisation that were to change the face of the world and the fate of man in later centuries. Again, the contribution of the Jesuit scholars to the historical and geographical literature of the world is a heritage of inestimable value.

2. The Dutch in India—Portugal was eventually superseded by Holland, whose superior seamanship insured her domination of the East. She succeeded in conquering quickly one Portuguese settlement after another so that by the last quarter of the seventeenth century the Dutch occupied the pride of place so long occupied by the Portuguese.

**Formation
of the Dutch
East India
Company**

The Dutch East India Company of more precisely the United East India Company of the Netherlands was founded in 1602. It had large financial resources and also the backing of the State. The Dutch, like the English, were at first opposed by the Portuguese whose claim to a monopoly of trade in the East the Dutch contested in co-operation with the English East India Company and won their rights to trade. The Dutch Company, however, concentrated on settling in and trading with the Spice Islands from which they succeeded in excluding the English by the massacre of Amboyna in 1623. In India, however, the Dutch Company had not equal success. Its factories in Pulicut and Masulipatam never rivalled Madras and its settlement at Chinsura in Bengal was soon eclipsed by the English settlement in Calcutta. Finally in 1759

**The Dutch
Yielded to
the English**

the Dutch of Chinsura were defeated by the English at the battle of Niderra and made peace with the English by giving up all pretension to political power in Bengal as well as in the rest of India, though the Dutch East India Company continued to maintain a prosperous trade with India. In 1781 the Dutch lost their hold in Ceylon. The Dutch could not withstand the advance of the English and the Dutch remained interested and satisfied in the countries of South East Asia only.

**Formation
of the
English East
India
Company**

3. The English in India—The English came to India after the Portuguese and the Dutch. The destruction of the Spanish Armada in 1598 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I opened up for England a new gate for overseas colonies. The idea that England should trade in India was appreciated and accordingly Elizabeth granted a Charter on the last day of 1600 to “the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies” which vested them with exclusive trading rights. The East India Company which was thus formed traded at first with the spice Islands and it was only in 1608 that one of their trading vessels first reached Surat, under the leadership of William Hawkins with the object of trade in spices, silk precious stones, camphor, indigo and sulphur. This was the first great step on the path which was to lead Great Britain to the goal of her ‘wonderful eastern empire’. Hawkins went to the court of Emperor Jahangir to secure a right to trade in Mughal ports. The permission was, however, not granted. Again the hostility of the Portuguese prevented the Company from starting trade with India immediately. The English got the support of the Dutch East India

Early English Expeditions	<p>Company against the Portuguese with whom the two fought long and bitterly. In 1612 an English fleet led by Captain Best repulsed the Portuguese attacks and the English Company began trading at Surat. This victory increased the prestige of the English who were given the right of establishing a factory at Surat by an imperial <i>farman</i>. In 1622 the English captured Ormuz and this secured them against any opposition from the Portuguese. Earlier in 1615-18 Sir Thomas Roe as an ambassador of King James I to Emperor Jahangir Secured some privileges for the East India Company. He got the permission to set up some more factories at Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach. The most important gain came in March, 1640 when they acquired from the Raja of Chandragiri the site of modern Madras where they quickly built the fort St. George. In 1642 friendship was effected between the English and the Portuguese and this</p>
Acquisition of Madras	<p>amity facilitated the expansion of the English over Eastern India. The marriage between the English King Charles II with a princess of Portugal brought for the king Bombay as a dowry and he transferred it to the East India</p>
Acquisition of Bombay	<p>Company for an annual rent of £10 only, in 1668 Since then Bombay became the headquarter of western India under the Governorship of Gerald Aungier. In 1690, Job Charnock, 'a faithful servant' of the East India Company, at the invitation of Nawab Ibrahim Khan of Bengal laid the foundation of Calcutta. Thus within ninety years of its foundation the East India Company was in possession of three excellent</p>
Foundation of Calcutta	<p>harbours at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta each with a fort of its own. The fort of Calcutta was called Fort William after the name of the ruling king of England. The administration of Madras,</p>

Bombay and Calcutta was each under one Governor appointed by the Court of Directors and Court of Proprietors who managed the affairs of the East India Company from London.

The death of Aurangzeb the last great Mughal Emperor in 1707 opened up a vista of opportunities for the East India Company for further expansion in India. In 1691 Nawab Ibrahim Khan granted a *farman* to the East Indian Company exempting it from paying the custom duties in Bengal in return for an annual payment of Rs. 3000/-only, whereas other European companies had to pay 3 per cent as duties. This right was later on ratified by an imperial *farman* granted by Emperor Farruksiyar in 1715 in recognition of the medical Services rendered by Hamilton, a surgeon of the Company. The monopoly of trading right was seriously resented by other English companies in England and a rival body named 'The English Company Trading to the East Indies' was formed and it seriously threatened the existence of the old company. After prolonged quarrels both the bodies were combined together in 1708 with the name of 'the United Company of the Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies.' This united company came to be known as the East India Company that slowly and gradually by eliminating the offensive forces succeeded in establishing a political hold over Indian subcontinent. In this regard the English found strongest opposition from the French East India Company which will presently engage our attention.

4. The French in India—The French were rather late in coming to India. The Bourbon monarchy of France dreamt for a vast French Empire oversea. In 1611 a Company of

**Formation
of French
Company
for trades
in India**

**Progress of
the French
in India
under
Francois
Martin**

Merchants received from Lois XII a monopoly authority of trading in the East. But when Louis XIV became the king a new company of the name of *La Compagnie des Indes* was formed. This Company was given the authority to carry on trade in India. In 1667 the first French factory was established at Surat by Francis Caron who officiated as the director-General of the Company. Within two years another factory was installed at Masulipatam. The appointment of Francois Martin as the Director-General in 1672 gave a new life to the French Company in India. He is considered as the real founder of the French Company in India. He laid the foundation of Pondicherry which became the nerve-centre of the French political and commercial activities in India. Although at one stage the French were compelled to give up Pondicherry to the Dutch in 1693 four years later it was returned to the French by the Treaty of Ryswick that concluded the war of the League of Augsburg in Europe. The French were also able to establish other factories at Calicut, Mahe, Karikal and Chander-nagar. The death of Martin 1706 was an irreparable loss for the French. But in 1720 the French Company was converted into "Perpetual Company of the Indies" that added flesh and blood to the skeleton of the erstwhile French.

**ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY
IN THE DECCAN**

The tournament between England and France largely moulded the future and fate of India. Anglo-French rivalry is a very interesting episode in the study of the foundation of the British Empire in India.

The commercial rivalry between England and France gradually transformed itself into political rivalry between these two powers. The decline of the Mughal Empire wiped away any local authority to thwart the competition between these two powers. Ultimately England would carry the day and France would have to bid farewell to India. The two powers would measure swords in three wars known as the Carnatic wars.

When the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) began in Europe between England and France, the wave came to India and the two powers fell out. La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of Mauritius made a plan to attack in 1741 on the English pocket. But this could not be given effect to, as the French fleet was ordered by the Home Government to go to France. In 1745 the English prepared to capture Pondicherry. And the possibility of an armed conflict warned the Nawab of the Carnatic. Anwaruddin who prohibited any fight within his dominion. But La Bourdonnais turned a deaf ear to it and captured Madras. Anwaruddin could not remain a mere spectator to the re-fights and the English had always requested him to restore to them Madras which had been forcibly snatched away by the French. The Nawabs got a promise from the French General Dupleix to return Madras but when the promise was violated a battle was fought between Nawab's 10,000 and the French 5000 soldiers. Surprisingly the Nawab lost the battle which event is regarded as one of the decisive events in the history of India. As by that time peace was established between France and England in Europe by the Treaty of Aix-la-chapelle, a similar peace was established between the English

**Treaty of
Aix-la-
Chapella,
1748**

the French in India. Although the First Carnatic War was inconclusive, it proved the superiority of the western military techniques and proved the absence of imperial authority in India.

**The Second
Carnatic
War
(1749-54)**

But the truce did not last long. The English and the French authorities found it difficult to keep the vast army without any war and so they entered into negotiation with the princes of India to lend them their forces. The English Governor of Tanjore was the first to lend his English soldiers to the services of the Raja of Tanjore. Dupleix was also not failing in this task. Now the Anglo-French interest will be drawn to the disputes of succession in 1748 on the death of Nizam-ul-mulk, when the throne was contested between his second son Nasir Jang and his nephew Muzzafar Jang. The Nawab of Carnatic was the other bone of contention between Nawab Anwaruddin and Chanda Sahib. Now Chanda Sahib stretched his hand towards Muzzafar Jang. This offered opportunity for Dupleix to fish out in the troubled waters of the Deccan and so he immediately made common cause with Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib and killed Anwaruddin (1749). The English could no longer remain silent and made alliance with the opposite camp-Nasir Jang and Muhammad Ali, son of Anwaruddin. But Nasir Jang ultimately fell dead before the French when Muzaffar Jang was proclaimed the *Subahdar*. Thus by 1750 fortune smiled upon the French. But the advent of Clive now turned the table on the face of the French. He took Arcot and then Trichinopoly by surprise and killed Chanda Sahib. Thus Muhammad Ali became the undisputed ruler of the Carnatic and the French were driven out

**Disputed
succession
in the
Deccan
invited
foreign
intrusion**

**Arcot and
Clive**

**Recall of
Dupleix**

from the places except Pondicherry and Gingi. Although Dupleix was still determined to retrieve his lost glory, he was suddenly recalled by the Home Government. This resulted in a brief spell of peace in the Carnatic.

**Third
Carnatic
War
(1756-63)**

When the Seven Years War broke out in Europe, the two rival parties again took to arms. By that time the position of the English had been further strengthened after the victory over Plassey (1757). Immediately after the war the English seized Chandernagore. The French Commander Lally made an unsuccessful bid to capture St. David. His similar aim in Madras proved equally abortive. Now the English carried everything before, captured Masulipatam and in the following year decisively defeated the French at the battle of Wandewash. In 1761 the French had to surrender Pondichery. When peace was established in Europe by the Treaty of Paris, the Third Carnatic War also came to a close. This sealed the fate of the French power in India.

Causes of the French failure—There were various causes responsible for the failure of the French in the contest with the English.

**France was
weak in
navy**

First, the strength of England lay in her command over the sea. As the naval power largely determined the fate of a war at that time. As Roberts rightly remarks, “the position of the English in India was saved by their sea power.” We also know that the mastery of England in the waters war largely responsible for the success of England over Napoleon. Thus England had a sweep chance of victory over France because of England’s greatness at waters.

Secondly, the French leaders like Dupleix, Lally and Bussy lacked in leadership to carry

French leaders were not competent on the war to a successful end. None of them was so capable as the British General Clive. He was like George Washington who had himself alone won the war against America.

The French gave more emphasis to commercial gains to territorial gains Thirdly, the fundamental mistakes of the French were that they were primarily concerned with commercial gains and the territorial gains were of secondary nature. But the English soil gave all stress on territorial gains. Company the moment they found the Indian congenial.

Strategical mistakes of France Last, but far from being the least, was the strategical mistakes of the French. They began with the Deccan or Pondicherry as the foothold to expand their sway. Dr. V.A. Smith rightly said, "Neither Alexander the Great nor Napoleon could have won the Empire of India by starting from Pondicherry as a base and contending with the powers which held Bengal and command of the sea."

His career in India **An estimate of Dupleix**—Dupleix undoubtedly occupies a high place among the statesmen sent from France to India. It was his dream to build up a vast French Empire in India. As the Governor of Chandernagore (1731-41) and then as Governor-General of Pondicherry (1741-54) he got all opportunities to study Indian politics. After a critical observation of the political condition in India he came to the conclusion that the success of the French Company lay in the rivalry among the Indian states. He was a clear-sighted and determined patriot who decided to realise his dreams by intervening in the dynastic disputes of Hyderabad and the Carnatic. The long drawn out wars of succession in the Carnatic gave him an opportunity to fish out in the troubled waters

Intervention in Indian politics

Achievement of Dupleix

by putting one against the other. Thus he successfully placed Chanda Sahib on the throne of the Carnatic. He equally succeeded in putting Muzzaffar Jang on the throne of the Deccan. It appeared that the French influence in the Deccan became undisputed

But when he was at the height of power, he was recalled by the Home government in 1754. This recall virtually rung down the curtain upon the French fate in India. He was so much over-confident of his plan and success that he did not keep the Home government informed of it. This kept the French Government really ignorant of the happenings of India. Roberts made a glowing tribute to him "Even if we give up the old uncritical estimate, we need not deny his real claims to greatness. His political conceptions were daring and imaginative. He raised the prestige of France in the East for some years to an amazing height, he won a reputation among the Indian princes and leaders that has never been surpassed and he aroused a dread in his English contemporaries which is at once a tribute to his personal power and a testimony to their sagacity."

Nadir Shah—Nadir Shah got the throne of Persia in 1736. He was an invader of India. He at first captured Kandahar and Kabul in 1738 and then made his march to India in early part of 1739. The Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah failed to secure the assistance of the Rajputs and most of the Muslim nobles betrayed the emperor by entering into treasonable correspondence with Nadir Shah. As a result, Nadir Shah easily defeated the Mughal army in February, 1739 and entered Delhi on March 20. The city was left at the mercy of the invaders and in one day 30,000 citizens of Delhi

were killed and a large portion of the city was burnt. The province of Kabul and the entire territory west of the Indus was annexed to his empire. He left Delhi on May 16, 1739 leaving the country 'bleeding and prostrate'. He carried with him 30 crores of rupees in cash in addition to the jewels, pearls, diamonds and the pea-cock throne, the Kohinur, 1,000 elephants, 7,000 horses, 10,000 camels, a bevy of beautiful girls from the Mughal harem, 200 builders, 100 masons and 200 carpenters. His booty was so rich that he suspended all taxes in Persia for three years. He, however, could not enjoy the riches. He was killed on June 2, 1747.

Third Battle of Panipat—The Third Battle of Panipat was fought between Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan invader and the Marathas under the leadership of Balaji Baji Rao who had come to the rescue of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. Abdali easily out-generated the Maratha General Sadasiv Rao Bhao. The invader was helped by Shuja-uddaulah, the Nawab of Oudh and Najib Khan, a prominent Muslim leader. The Maratha army was totally routed and after a hard-fought battle Sadasiv Rao Bhao along with the Peshwa's young son were killed. It was a disaster for the Marathas who had to give up all hopes of establishing a Maratha Empire after the fall of the Mughal Empire. The Maratha Confederacy soon broke down into pieces. Ahmad Shah Abdali had to return home to suppress the mutiny in his army and thus he could not establish his authority in India. The losses suffered by the Marathas, the eclipse of the imperial powers of the Mughuls and the ineptitude and lack of cohesion among the Indian Muslims created a Vacuum which was

to be filled in by the British. Thus the Third Battle of Panipat facilitated the growth of the British power in India


Madhava Rao—Madhava Rao was only 17 years old when he succeeded to the Peshwa-ship after the death of his father Balaji Baji Rao and under the shadow of the Third Battle of Panipat. Initially his uncle Ragunath Rao or Raghova was his regent but he soon began to rule independently. He tried to retrieve the old glories of the Peshawas. He twice defeated the Nizam and twice repulsed the advance of Hyder Ali of Mysore all of whom acknowledged his suzerinity. His greatest achievement was reconquest of Malwa and Bundelkhand, exacting tributes from the Rajput chiefs, crushing the Jats and the Rohillas, reoccupying Delhi and restoring the imperial throne to the fugitive Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. It seemed that the Marathas had gained their lost prestige in the Battle of Panipat but all hopes were belied because of the sudden death of the Peshwa in 1772. It is in this connection that Grant Duff observes, "The plains of Panipat were not more fatal to the Maratha Empire than the early end of this excellent prince".

Comte de Ially—Ially was a French general of Irish parentage who succeeded Dupleix in accordance with the wishes of the French Government. He reached Pondicherry in 1758 and captured Fort St. David from the British with electrifying quickness. But barring this success he had no other triumph in India. He was brave free from corruption but was hot headed and intolerant of other's advice. He made an unsuccessful attack on the Raja of Tanjore to compel him to clear up a debt and thus lowered the prestige of the French He

made an attempt to besiege and possess Madras and summoned Bussy from the Nizam's court at Hyderabad. The siege of Madras failed. As Bussy was recalled from Hyderabad, it declined the French influence in Hyderabad. The Northern Circars which had been so long under the French also went to the possession of the English. His final defeat was in the battle of Wandiwash in 1760 which compelled him to surrender Pondicherry in 1761 to the English. He was taken a prisoner and was sent to England. In France serious charges were brought against him and Lally left England for France on parole. In France he was found guilty and was executed in 1763.

Marquis de Bussy—Bussy was a great French General and he played a significant role in the Anglo-French war in the Carnatic. He carried out the order of Dupleix to escort the new Nizam Muzaffar Jang to his capital at Aurangabad. On the death of Muzaffar Jang and at the accession of Salabat Jang, Bussy became the adviser and guide of the new Nizam and he directed his administration with high efficiency for seven years. In 1753 Bussy asked Nizam Salabat Jang to give him the revenue of the Northern Circars for the payment of his troops to save the Nizam's authority against all his enemies. When the Third Anglo-French War broke out Bussy was recalled from the Nizam's court by Lally in 1758. This vacated the French influence over the Nizam's court. In the battle of Wandiwash the Northern Circars were taken away by the English and Bussy was made a prisoner. Later on he was released whereupon he went to France. He came to India again in 1783 to assist Haidar Ali against the English. But at that time Bussy was an

old and sick man and Haidar died before his arrival. Bussy went back to France and spent the last days of his life with the wealth that he had amassed as the adviser of Nizam Salabat Jang.



2

Beginning of England's Political Power

We have noticed that England coming to India with the prime motive of trade and business, slowly and gradually got embroiled in Indian political life. By eliminating the French from the tournament, the English came to exert themselves and eventually captured political power.

When the East India Company established a factory at Hughli in 1651, it marked the beginning of British ascendancy in Bengal. It was here in Bengal that the Company would transplant its foot for a vast empire known as the British Empire in India. Bengal offered the best items of trade cotton goods, silk, yarn, sugar etc. which had a great demand in European market. It was therefore expedient for Surman to purchase the right of trade in Bengal in exchange of an annual payment of Rs. 30,000/-.

**Bengal, a
congenial
place for
British
ascendancy**

The death of Aurangzeb reduced the Mughal Empire into pieces and the local governors under the designations of Nawabs raised their heads all over the country. In Bengal a similar Nawab became a virtual ruler. In 1719 Murhid Kuli Khan, the Nawab of Bengal annexed Bihar and under his son Orissa became a part of Bengal. The post of Nawab of these provinces became hereditary and the only link with Delhi was an annual payment of Rs 52 lakhs. When Alivardi Khan became the ruler of Bengal (1740-1756) he kept the Britishers under firm grip and there was no danger of Bengal's political authority being transferred to the Britishers. A man of ability and shrewd political wisdom he compared Calcutta to a 'hive of bees' which was profitable to its owner if undisturbed but a source of danger when disturbed.

**English
Company in
Bengal in
the days of
Alivardi**

But the 'bee-hive' was to be disturbed and a war became essential when Sirajuddaula, the grandson Alivardi Khan became headstrong Nawab. He was a self-willed, impulsive and youth. His coming to the throne brought direct clashes with the English. The English were equally responsible for such a dispute. They instigated the Nawab's political opponents and skilfully managed them in their hands. They provoked the Nawab to take action by violating the trade privileges offered to them. Thus the Nawab was left with no alternative than siezing the factory of Cossimbazar and taking possession of Calcutta. The Governor Drake and many prominent Englishmen fled away and Fort William fell to the hands of the Nawab on June 20, 1756. It is rumored that the Nawab killed 123 English men suffocating in a small chamber which came to be known as the 'Black Hole Tragedy'.

**Causes of
conflict**

**Capture of
Calcutta by
the Nawab**

**English
recovered
Calcutta**

**Battle of
Plassey,
June 23, 1757**

Now the English gave their full attention to Siraj. The Government of Madras lost no time to despatch a strong army under Clive and Watson and their united efforts succeeded in recapturing Calcutta from the hands of the Nawab (January, 1757). It thus so happened that the Nawab was compelled to give back all earlier trade rights to the English by signing the Treaty of Alinagar. But Clive was not satisfied with it. He wanted political power and he intrigued in the politics of Bengal. His eyes fell upon Mir Jafar who had the ambition of becoming the Nawab by replacing Siraj. Thus he was soon played into the hands of Clive. In this way a conspiracy was made between Clive and the opponents of Siraj and a battle was made ready at Plassey, where the two forces met on June 23, 1757. This ended the dream of the Nawab and there was an end of political independence of Bengal. From the military point of view Plassey was of little significance, though from the point of view of subsequent significance it marked the opening of a new chapter in the history of British India. It closed the chapter of the independence of Bengal. Thus the Battle of Plassey is one of the most momentous battles in the history of India and also in that of England. It laid the foundation of British sovereignty in India, which made Great Britain a leader of the world for generations. It paved the way for British supremacy over Bengal and eventually over the whole of India.

Alivardi Khan—Alivardi Khan's ancestry is shrouded in mystery. He was the *Naib Nazib* or chief of the finance department in Bihar then a part of Bengal at the time of the death of Shuja-Ud-din, the Nawab of Bengal (1725-39). Shuja-ud-din was succeeded by his son Sarfaraj

Khan. It was a time when Nadir Shah had invaded and sacked Delhi and threw the entire administration in utter confusion. Alivardi fished out in the troubled waters and by corrupt practices got his appointment from the Delhi court as the Nawab of Bengal. Supported by his brother Haji Ahmad and the unscrupulous wealthy banker Jagat set he rose in revolt and defeated and killed in the battle of Giria in 1740 his rival Nawab Sarfaraz Khan and occupied the throne of Bengal, and he ruled over Bengal from 1740 to 1756 practically as an independent ruler and did not pay any revenue to Delhi. Although he got the office of Nawab by treachery, he was possessed of good qualities of a soldier and administrator since his early life. He showed a strict neutrality towards the British and did not allow them to violate any time peace of the land. But his concern was more for the Marathas who would attack Bengal almost every year. He treacherously killed the Maratha General Bhaskar Pandit. He was not successful in keeping his country free from the onslaught of the Marathas. He was compelled to sue for peace in 1751 by ceding to them a part of the revenue of Orissa and by making a promise of an annual payment of twelve lakhs of rupees as *Chauth*. Peace was established and the Nawab died at the old age of eighty whereupon his daughter's son Sirajuddaula became the Nawab of Bengal.

Sirajuddaula—Sirajuddaula was the last independent Nawab of Bengal. He ruled from April 1756 to June, 1757. He was hardly twenty when he got the throne of his grandfather. The judgment of Siraj was inaccurate and would suffer from immaturity and his character was full of blemishes and he was surrounded by self-seeking

ambitious and intriguing courtier. However, he was not a monster of cruelty or immorality as he was painted by the English opponents. Nor was he an ardent patriot who sacrificed his life for the independence of Bengal as held by his over-zealous countrymen. He acted for his selfish personal gains and he failed as he did not have steadiness of purpose. He was a man of courage and was ever willing to fight. He fought well and killed his opponent Shaukat Jang. He had genuine cause of grievance against the British in Calcutta for building fort without his permission. His attack on Calcutta was well planned out and splendidly executed and Calcutta soon fell him when most of the Britishers fled away from Calcutta down the river and the captives were kept in a cell called the Black Hole of which Siraj was not aware and yet much blame has been put upon him for the Black Hole Tragedy. But Siraj could not follow his success and could not destroy the fleeing British or the fugitives. Nor did he take any step to keep Calcutta safe so that Clive and Watson recovered Calcutta in January, 1757 without any opposition. The British again transgressed his Sovereignty by attacking and seizing the French possession of Chandernagore. Siraj even made treaty with the British at Alinagar but the British in utter disregard of the treaty entered into conspiracy with the disaffected courtiers of the Nawab. Siraj went on arms against the British and was defeated mainly because of the treachery of his greedy courtiers at the battle of Plassey on June 23, 1757. Siraj fled to Murshidabad where no body came to his rescue. He was captured and beheaded by the supporters of Mir Jafar. Clive, Watson, Mir Jafar and the Company conspired to bring about his

downfall, but Siraj, though met with his fall, he did not deceive any friend or enemy. This was the silver line of his unsupportable character.

Black Hole Tragedy—Black hole is the name given to a small room in the old Fort William at Calcutta when many British who were captured and made prisoner at the fall of Calcutta before the victorious attack of Sirajud-daula. The hole was of the size of 18 feet by 14 feet and 10 inches. According to V.Z. Holwell, who had been in charge of the defence of the fort, the number of the English prisoners confined in the Black Hole were 146 of whom 123 died in suffocation during the night. It was condemned by the British as an act of atrocity for which they blamed Siraj. It is difficult to prove that so many persons could be housed in such a small hole. At all events Siraj was personally totally ignorant of this event and so the blame put upon him is not justifiable at all.

Battle of Plassey—It is a battle between the East India Company led by Robert Clive and the army of Bengal led by Nawab Sirajuddaulah on June 23, 1757. It was not a fair battle. It was lost by the Nawab because of the treachery of Mir Jafar, a leading General of the Nawab. The battle began in the morning with the victory of Siraj but ended in the midday with the defeat of Siraj. It was nothing more than a skirmish. Although as a battle, it was insignificant, its result was stupendous. The victorious English with their *protege*, the treacherous Mir Jafar went to Murshidabad where Siraj had fled to. Soon Murshidabad fell and Siraj was beheaded. Mir Jafar was made the Nawab of Bengal on such promise of wealth to Robert Clive that soon the treasury became empty and the new Nawab was made absolutely dependent

on the English who thus virtually became the master of Bengal. The resources of Bengal contributed largely to the strength of the English in their fights with the French in the Carnatic. Thus Plassey was an suspicious outpost for the progress of Britain in the East.

Mir Jafar—Mir Jafar who got the throne of Bengal at the backing of his English master was naturally a puppet in the hands of the Company. Thus Mir Jafar was to satisfy the English bosses by giving the Zamindari of 24 parganas and one crore of rupees in cash. This was but natural, because he got his position at the mercy of the British. It was as a reward for his perfidy that Mir Jafar was raised to the Nawabship “by a private arrangements says, Roberts, “made with Mir Jafar before Plassey it was stipulated that £400,000 should be given to the army and navy and £120,000 (afterwards apparently increased to £150,000) to the select Committee of six persons.” The foolish stooge believed that by so heavily brining the kingmaker and his colleagues, he would succeed in ‘purchasing immunity from his obligation to the Company’. Mir Jafar did not possess the needed talent to administer and his treasury was on the verge of bankruptcy. Mir Jafar was now confonted with the other problems of the invasion of the Dutch who made their appearance in the Ganges. But Clive came to the rescue of Mir Jafar and the Dutch were beaten back at Bidderra. When Ali Gohour, the eldest son of the Mughal Emperor Alamgir revolted against his father and advanced as far as Patna, a naw challenge was thrown upon Mir Jafar. This was capacity repulsed by Clive. Thus Mir Jafar was the Nawab only in name. The real ruler was Clive. Bengal could not expect to enjoy

**English
influence on
the increase**

peace and prosperity so long as it was exposed to the dual government of the *de facto* and *de jure* rulers. Reduced to the position of a figure-head, Mir Jafar sank into dull indifference towards his duties and obligations, while the Company, whose interests were still primarily commercial, drained the province of its resources aggrandising its trade in some of the most valuable commodities. "By investing themselves," says Sir Alfferd Lyall, "which political attributes without discarding their commercial character, they produced an almost unprecedented conjunction which engendered intolerable abuses and confusion in Bengal." Clive was in fact largely responsible for bleeding the rich province of Bengal white.

**English
wanted to
remove Mir
Jafar**

But the relation between Mir Jafar and Clive gradually became strained. But as he was running short of fund, his interest in the government began to decline. The English Company now looked for an alternative successor who was Mir Kasim. He promised to pay more than Mir Jafar. Thus Mir Jafar was overthrown. The deposition of Mir Jafar was undoubtedly a breach of solemn treaty and it tarnished the moral character of the English people.

Mir Kasim—After the overthrow of Mir Jafar the new Nawab chosen by the English was Mir Kasim who was more talented, vigorous and ambitious than Mir Jafar. He ruled from 1760 to 1763. But his desire to assert himself would lead to a clash with the English and this would ultimately overthrow him. It is to be remembered that the *farman* of 1717 granted the English Company the right of trading in Bengal. But after 1756 the ser-

**Abuse of
trade
privilege by
the English**

**Patna
seized**

**Battle of
Buxer,
October
22, 1764**

**Importance
of the Battle
of Buxer**

vants of the Company also illegally claimed the same privilege for their private trade. The protest by the Mir Kasim fell in deaf ears of the Company. The Nawab took a strong step by abolishing the transit duties that put the Indian and English traders on an equal footing. This created fury among the English so much so that Mr. Ellis, the English agent at Patna even captured the city of Patna. But the Nawab soon recaptured the city and kept under guard all English residents there. The English took up arms and defeated the Nawab's army in the battle of Katwa, Gheria and Udaynala. The Nawab fled to Oudh to make a common cause with Shuja-ud-dala, the Nawab of Oudh and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam to form a Confederacy against the English. But in the battle of Buxer on October 22, 1764 the three powers were badly defeated by the English. The battle of Buxer was a significant event in the rise of British rule in India. While the Battle of Plassey was not a fair trial of strength and mainly one of treachery, in Buxer the game was rather fair and straight. Secondly, at Plassey only the Nawab of Bengal was defeated, but in Buxer the Nawab of Oudh and the Mughal Emperor were defeated. The shackle of British rule that was put in Plassy was tightened in Oudh. After this victory the English Company took over all the internal affairs of Bengal.

CLIVE'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

Clive had been absent from India for some time and came back in 1765 for the second time and this administration of Clive is known as the Second Administration (1765-67). Reports had gone to England that there had been constant corruption in the Company during the absence

His Objects

**Measures
adopted by
Clive to
remove
corruptions**

**Political
settlement**

**Company
got the
Diwani of
Bengal,
Bihar and
Orissa**

**Defects of
the Dual
government**

of Clive and so he was chosen for a second term. Now Clive's objects were two—to comb the Company from the corruption and to give the Company a better legal footing. To enforce the first aim Clive got a personal undertaking from the numbers of the Company forbidding them to receive presents or to carry on any trade on private basis. To make a cut in the expenditure of the Company he did away with the system of double *batta* which was an amount received by the military officers even in times of peace. But the more important work of Clive was earning for the Company a better legal and political status. He wrote in despatch from Madras : 'We must become Nawab in fact !' For that purpose he was determined to give a clear meaning with regard to the relation between the Nawab of Bengal and East India Company and the Company with the Emperor of Delhi. Thus he successfully persuaded the Nawab to practically grant the Company the Nizamat *i.e.*, military power and criminal justice in February, 1756. Within six months the Emperor Shah Alam granted to the Company the *Diwani*, *i.e.*, civil justice and revenue collection of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in exchange of an annual payment of Rs. 26 lakhs. Thus it was a double government—the Emperor was the ruler only in name and the Company in fact. Clive, however, did not directly take over the administration and he instead left the administration into the hands of the two Deputy Nawabs who were to be appointed by the Nawab with the approval of the Company. They were given the charge of Bengal. This dual administration had defects more than one. It made the Company's nominee all powerful but responsibility was not with them. This

absence of responsibility gave rise to abuses of power and corruption. Yet, Clive did not like to directly take over the administration. There were two considerations. First, the Company had not so many persons to shoulder the responsibility and powers. Secondly, a direct take-over of the administration would invite jealousy of the European powers. Thus despite all defects the dual administration was most expedient for that time.

An estimate of Clive—Robert Clive is one of the greatest personalities of history who by their sheer personal abilities rose to the height of power. He began his career as a junior clerk at Madras. The growing hostilities between the English and the French Companies opened up an opportunity for the ambitious youth to give up pen and take to sword to win all or lose all. Clive executed with brilliant success his audacious plan for deflecting Chanda Sahib from laying siege to Trichinopoly by attacking Arcot, the capital of the province. The expedition itself was a pitiful affair. It consisted of a small number of men, but the determination with which Clive marched towards his goal, amidst rain and storm, unnerved the defenders of Arcot, who found greater wisdom in flight than in facing such a resolute enemy. Clive entered Arcot on September 12, 1751, without opposition, and showed the same determination and resourcefulness when defending the fort. His defence of Arcot 'was a feat of arms immediately famous', but it would have been impossible except against an enemy of the most 'blackguardly character.' Later, his victory over the French at Kaveripak, accomplished through night attack, completed the discomfiture of his country's rivals. This

action, it is claimed, 'changed the balance of the French and English influence in India'. His gallant defence of Madras from the attack of La Bourdonnais spoke for his military skill and made a good publicity for him in the defence of Arcot against Chanda Shahib. This turned the face of the English from failure to success. It led to the overthrow of Dupleix's bid for French supremacy in the Deccan.

It was in Bengal that Clive rendered the most permanent contribution to the cause of the Company. He revised the lost gains of the English at Calcutta after it was forcibly occupied by Siraj-ud-daulla. The art of conspiracy that he employed in overthrowing the young Nawab in the battle of Plassey show the diplomatic genius in him. In recognition of his services he was conferred by the British Government peerage in 1760. The situation in Bengal demanded the return of Clive from England to Bengal and his second administration (1765-67) is a record of reforms of which the most important is the purchase of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, by which he became the ruler of these provinces. The Dual Government that he introduced was a need of the hour to avoid responsibility and at the same time to avoid Europe's greed over the English gains in Bengal.

Robert Clive's grateful countrymen have smothered him with superlative praise, describing him as the greatest British soldier since Marlborough. Whether he deserves the praises so lavishly bestowed upon him is a matter of opinion, but there is no doubt that he was largely responsible for saving the situation for the English at a time when the French enjoyed

a plentitude of power and prestige in South India. The Dual government that he introduced in Bengal was a need of the hour to avoid responsibility and at the same time to avoid Europe's greed over English gains in Bengal.

It is true that Clive was a most unscrupulous statesman and after his return to England the House of Commons accused him of malpractice of a sum of £234,000. But the same House admitted "that Robert, Lord Clive at the same time rendered great and meritorious services to his country". It is true that he took to falsehood and treachery with Mir Jafar, Mir Kasim and all whom he used as cat's paw to bring out the chestnut from the fire. But in spite of all his shortcomings there was the stamp of greatness in all the words and actions of Clive. His indomitable courage in crisis and wars and his splendid oratory in debates justify what Lord Macaulay said. "Our island has scarcely ever produced a man more truly great either in arms or in council." He was the founder of the British Empire in India. Can England forget the great services rendered by Clive ?

Diwani of Bengal—The word *Diwan* means collector of revenue. So *Diwani* means the power to act as the collector of revenue. The Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II in 1765 granted to the East Indian Company the *Diwani* of Bengal in consideration of the latter's cession of Allahabad and the surrounding area which they had secured from the Nawab of Oudh after their victory in the battle of Buxar in 1764. This legalised the East India Company to collect revenue of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on condition that they would pay rupees twenty six lakhs annually to the Mughal Emperor and

rupees fifty three lakhs (later on reduced to thirty two lakhs) annually to the Nawab of Bengal. This gave the Company a legal footing in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa of which political authority they had acquired, of course, by force in the battle of Plassey. The East India Company actually did not collect the revenue until 1772 and when they took the revenue collecting measures they practically took up the entire civil administration. Thus after the Battle of Plassey the Company became the *de facto* rulers of Bengal and from 1772 they became the *Diwan* or the revenue-collector and the *British* continued to act as the *Diwan* until 1877 when Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India.

The Dual System of Clive—The Treaty of Allahabad of 1765 put an end to the war between the East India Company on the one side and Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal, Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Oudh and Emperor Shah Alam II on the other side. By this treaty the Emperor conferred upon the East India Company the *Diwani* of Bengal on the undertaking that the Company would pay to the Emperor 26 lakh of rupees annually and Rs. 53 lakhs (later on reduced to 26 lakhs) annually to the Nawab of Bengal. This amount was necessary to meet the expenditure of the administration. The remaining amount was to be the Company's Profit. This created an odd type of administration. While the Company was responsible for the collection of the revenue, the civil and criminal administration was in the hands of the Nawab and both the Company and the Nawab were under the tutelage of the Emperor. This system regularised to a large extent the financial position of the Company and also gave it a legal status in

Bengal. But the administration did not improve, because the Nawab was deprived of the revenue of the state. This ultimately broke down the state-machinery and the common people became helpless prey to the rapacity of the officials of the Company and the Nawab. This resulted in the outbreak of the great famine of Bengal in 1769-70 which took lives of one third of the population of Bengal. This tragedy exposed the glaring defects inherent in the Dual System of Clive. The Dual System was abolished in 1772.

Battle of Buxar—It was a war between the East India Company on the one hand, and Nawab Shujauddaulah of Oudh and Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal and Empror Shah Alam II on the other. In this battle held on October 22, 1764 the Company bottled out the combined forces of the opponent. The Company agreed to return Allahabad and Kora taken from the Nawab of Oudh. In return the Company was granted the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the condition that the Company would pay to the Emperor rupees twenty six lakhs annually and to the Nawab of Bengal fifty three lakhs (later on reduced to thirty two lakhs) annually. The net result of the treaty was that the Company got a legal status in India and it gave the Company a foothold to consolidate its position.

Watson—Watson was one of the important British soldiers who came with Clive in India. He was a naval officer of the Company. He came to India in 1754 and was employed in the waters of Madras. In 1756 when Clive had a tough task in recapturing Calcutta which was seized and possessed by Siraj-ud-daula, Watson was the need of the hour. Watson rushed to Bengal and easily recaptured Calcutta in

January, 1757 and a few days later occupied Hughli. In March, 1757 he sailed up the Ganges and bombarded the French fort at Chandernagore from his ships. Chandernagore fall [to Watson's feet. Clive used him as his partner in the intrigues in Bengal but Watson refused to put his signature on the faked copy of the treaty meant for Omichand. The signature was forged by Clive. Waston was a great admiral and a successful warrior. Unlike Clive he was not so immoral as to forge the signature of others. Herein lay the difference between Clive and Watson.

3

England's March towards Ascendancy in India

**Condition
of Bengal at
the time of
Hasting's
taking over**

After Clive Warren Hastings took over the administration of Bengal in 1772. In accordance with the terms of the Regulating Act of 1773 he became the Governor General of India and he retained that post till his retirement in 1785. When he took over, the condition of Bengal was very bad. The servants of the Company indulged in corrupt practices and thus the moral life of the Company was missing. Moreover, the position of the Company was at stake because of the growing power of the enemies of the Company—the Marathas and Mysore under Haider Ali. Thus Hastings' was beset with an arduous task. So Hastings first concern was to revitalise the British administration by effecting

suitable reforms-administrative, revenue, commercial and judicial.

Clive's dual administration abolished **Administrative reforms**—The axe of Hastings first broke down the 'Dual Government' of Clive which proved to be a total failure. He abolished the posts of Deputy Nawabs and took up on behalf of the Company the direct responsibility of the administration of Bengal. He empowered the Company itself as the Dewan for collecting the revenue of the state. He shifted the treasury of the Company from Murshidabad to Calcutta. He also made a drastic cut in the pension of the Nawab.

Change in the collection of revenue **Revenue reforms**—To make the revenue system effective Hastings made appointment of a committee known as the Committee of Circuit which was given the task of undertaking regular tours to make an on-the-spot-study of the revenue administration. He abolished the earlier system of collecting revenue through the Amirs and he gave the task to a new set of officials designed as collectors. They were to be assisted in the task by suitable local officers. He made a settlement of revenue for a period of 5 years to the highest bidders. But as the system of 5 years settlement proved unsuccessful, the old practice of one year term was to be revived. A Board of Revenue was established at Calcutta to supervise the working of the revenue officers. He adopted various other steps to protect the interests of the *raiyats* from the arbitrary works of the landlords and the Revenue Officers.

Commercial reforms—The servants of the Company who were entering into private trades were forbidden to do so. He reduced the number of the custom offices and thereby

Changes in the system and rate of customs made a considerable saving in the state fund. He equally made a reduction of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent in the customs on all goods except salt, tobacco and betel-nut. This economic drive earned for the Company an additional revenue and thus under Hastings the ruined financial structure of the Company rejuvenated.

Changes the judicial system **Judicial reforms**—It is said that the greatest achievement of the administration of Warren Hastings was the establishment of judicial courts. On the basis of the suggestion offered by the Committee of Circuit he created two courts in each district known as the *Mufassil Dewani Adalat* and the *Faujdari Adalat*. While the former was entrusted with the civil justice and was presided over by the Collector, the latter was concerned with administration of criminal justice under the presidency of a *Qazi* or the *Mufti* who interpreted the law and gave judgment. It was also provided that there should be a *Sadar Dewani* and *Sadar Nizamat Adalats* with appellate jurisdiction at the presidency of Fort William. While the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* was presided over by a President assisted by two members of the Council, the latter held its session under a chief officer of justice appointed by the Nazim.

The network of reforms initiated by Warren Hastings was to centralise the control of the Company over the whole of Bengal and effect a strong grip over the administration.

Hastings' Relation with the Marathas—With the passing away of Madhav Rao there was an end of the great Peshwas. This also gave rise to internal dissensions in the Political life of the Marathas. The next Peshwa, Narayan Rao was done to death at the instance

**Dissension
in the
Maratha
life**

of his uncle Raghunath or Raghoba who dreamt of becoming the Peshwa. In 1773 he got the coveted post but was soon faced with a rival in the person of Madhav Rao Narayan, the son of Narayan Rao. Now the political rivals of Raghoba under the leadership of Nana Fadnavis supported the claim of Madhav Rao Narayan and proclaimed him as the Peshwa.

**Treaty
between
Raghoba
and
Bombay
Govern-
ment**

This internal dissension invited foreign intervention. Raghoba took the help of Bombay Government and made a treaty at Surat in 1775 by which Raghoba surrendered Salsette and Bassein to the English in return for military assistance to be given to him by the Company. The English attacked Salsette and defeated the Marathas at Adas on May 18, 1775. This agreement was made without the knowledge or approval of the Governor-General. The Governor-General conveyed his disapproval of the treaty and declared the war as "unauthorised and unjust", and signed instead a new treaty known as the Treaty of Purandar in 1776. It confirmed the Company's possession of Salsette and gave a generous pension for Raghunath who was to give up his dream of Peshwaship and had to take shelter in Gujarat. Now the Treaty of Purandar was reversed by the Directors of Company who on the other hand, upheld the Treaty of Surat and the action of the Bombay Government. This gave a new fillip to the Bombay government for a renewed alliance with Raghunath and so they sent an army of 30000 strong to meet the troops of the Peshwa Madhav Rao Narayan and Nana Fadnavis. But at Wadgen the British were humbled to purchase peace. By the terms of the convention they abandoned the cause of Raghunath. But Warren Hastings did not accept the treaty and

**Treaty of
Purandar**

**Treaty of
Surat
upheld**

**Convention
of Wadgen**

**Hastings
recovered
the British
possession**

despatched a heavy army under the command of Goddard with instructions to carry on the war against the Marathas. Now the British troops met a heavy opposition consisting of the Nizam, the Marathas and Haidar Ali. But Hastings showed his cool brain, firm determination and rare courage. He bought off the Sindhia and purchased the neutrality of the Nizam. Hastings had the capability of capturing Ahmedabad in 1780 and he made a treaty of friendship with the Gaikwad of Baroda and incorporated Gwalior within British India. The hostilities came to a close by the Treaty of Salbai in 1782. The treaty made the provision that Raghoba was to be given pension, Madhav Rao Narayan was to be acknowledged the rightful Peshwa and the English authority in Salsette was to be an undisputed fact. According to Dr. V.A. Smith this treaty was to be recognised as one of the landmarks in the history of India, because it assured peace with the formidable power of the Marathas for twenty years and marked the ascendancy of the English as the controlling, although not yet the paramount, government in India.

**Rise of
Haidar**

**The enmity
with the
Marathas**

Hastings and Haidar Ali—Under Haidar Ali the emergence of Mysore as a powerful kingdom is an important event of the eighteenth century history of India. He began his life as a Naik and rose to the position of the ruler of the Mysore State by his extra-ordinary abilities. As soon as he sat on the throne he began a career of conquest. But the warlike activities brought him into clash with the Marathas. As long as Madhav Rao guided the destinies of the Marathas, Haidar failed to make any remarkable success; and rather met reverses. But the death of the great Peshwa

in 1772 opened up chance for Haidar who succeeded in extending his authority as far south as Coorg and Malabar.

**His other
enemies
Nawab
of Arcot
and the
English**

**Alliance
with the
Nizam**

**First Anglo-
Mysore
War**

It is not that the Marathas were the only enemies of Haidar. He found an enemy in Muhammad Ali of Arcot, an ally of the English. Moreover, he became involved in the boundary dispute with the East India Company. This enmity resulted in his quarrel with the Nawab of Arcot and his English defenders. The war is known as the First Anglo-Mysore War that began in 1767. But the Nizam soon left Haidar and came to terms with the English when Haidar was left in the lurch to carry on the war single-handed. Despite such odds Haidar fought with great vigour and was within five miles of Madras. The English authority took alarm and instantly concluded peace on the terms of mutual restoration of prisoners and territories. The English gave the additional undertaking in 1769 to defend Haidar in case he was attacked by any other power.

**English
violated the
terms of
the Treaty**

**Renewed
conflict
with the
English**

Hardly two years passed since the peace, Haidar Ali was involved in conflict with the Marathas who directed raids into the territories. Haidar reminded the English of the provisions of the Treaty of 1769 and asked for military assistance as stipulated in the treaty. But the Madras government turned a deaf ear to his cause. Handicapped by such a difficulty, Haidar was forced to conclude peace with the Marathas by paying them a large sum of money. Haidar temporarily digested the treason of the English and waited for the moment opportune to wreck vengeance upon them. The opportunity came quickly enough when as a sequel to the participation of France in the War of American independence against

**Second
Anglo-
Mysore War**

England, the English in India declared war against France and took possession of the French settlement of Mahe. It was a port on which Haidar depended for the supply of goods. His protest was, however, not cared for. In no time Haidar joined the Nizam's fold which was opposed to the English. Although the Nizam lost interest in the war Haidar carried it still further. He defeated an English Brigade and occupied Arcot. But the British recovered their lost gains. Before the conclusion of the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84) Haidar met with his death in 1782.

**Tipu
continued
the war
started by
Haidar**

Haidar's son Tipu was the worthy son of a worthy father and he would try to complete the task left incomplete by his father. Although the truce between England and France deprived Tipu of French assistance, he carried the war single-handed. The war was carried on till 1784 when it was closed by the Treaty of Mangalore which is a very important event in the administration of Warran Hastings.

**Treaty
between the
Rohillas
and the
Nawab of
Oudh**

Hastings and the Rohillas—The Rohillas who would live in the north-west of Oudh, entered into a treaty in 1772 with the Nawab Wazir of Oudh. They were forced to shake hands over Oudh, because of the common danger of invasion from the Maratha power. It was agreed that in case the Marathas attacked Rohilkhand, the Nawab of Oudh, as per the terms of the Treaty, would come to the help of the Rohillas and would receive from them a sum of Rs. 40 lakhs as the price for this help. As apprehended, the Marathas directed an attack but withdrew on the approach of the British and Oudh troops. When the Nawab demanded the promised money, the Rohillas did not pay. The Nawab now looked for help

**Hasting
came to the
help of the
Nawab**

from Warren Hastings and asked him to lend the services of an English Brigade to help him to conquer Rohilkhand. The Nawab gave the promise that he would pay to the Company the cost for the war and a subsidy. Hastings accepted the offer and sent a brigade to assist the Nawab. Thus with the help of Hastings the Nawab succeeded to crush the Rohilas and annexed Rohilkhand to his dominion.

**Criticism
of the policy
of Hastings
towards the
Rohillas**

The policy of Hastings towards the Rohilas was subjected to severe criticisms. This was one of the charges on which he was later on impeached by the British Parliament. Hastings' policy was definitely immoral. He did not hesitate to crush the Rohillas who were never enemies of the Company. Again, he reduced the English army to the status of hired troops in consideration of payment. Hastings violated the principle of the Company not to engage in Indian warfare.

Famous immoral works of Hastings

Hastings and Chait Singh—Hastings showed freocity of temper in his dealings with Chait Singh, the Raja of Banaras. The status of Chait Singh in his relations with the Company Government was not clearly defined in any of the treaties concluded with him. But whether he was a prince in his own right, or a mere tributary, he was certainly entitled to just and humane treatment at the hands of the Governor-General.

In 1775 Nawab-Wazir of Oudh transferred Banaras to the Company. Chait Singh who was the Raja of Banaras was thus required to accept the British as his master. In July, 1775 it was agreed {that as long as Chait Singh would regularly pay his tribute, no demand shall be

Hastings' attack upon Chait Singh

paid upon him or nothing will be done to disturb the peace of his country. But contrary to this agreement in 1778 Hastings demanded an extra-sum of 5 lakhs which the Raja paid to avoid trouble. The demand was repeated and again the Raja complied. Again a new demand was placed upon him to furnish a body of cavalry. As there was delay in the execution of the new demand, Hastings became angry and imposed upon the Raja a fine of Rs. 50 lakhs and himself went to Banaras and arrested the Raja. This led to armed clashes between the Raja's troops and the English. Chait Singh lost the battle and ran for life to Gwalior. The new Raja was required to pay an enhanced amount of tribute at the rate of Rs. 40 lakhs per year.

The defence put forward by Hastings was that his sole purpose was to put the Company on a sound footing. But in the car of history Hasting's policy towards Chait Singh is considered "unjust, improper and high-handed".

Hastings forcibly took the treasures of Begum of Oudh

Hastings and the Begum of Oudh—The other infamous crime of Hastings was his conduct towards the Begum of Oudh. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh was hard pressed to pay off the arrears due to the Company and thus had to turn for help to the Governor-General in the recovery of the wealth in possession of his mother and grand-mother. Hastings sent a British troop to Faizabad who surrounded the Begum's Palace and forced the Begum to hand over all the treasures. With this money the Nawab was now able to pay off his dues to the Company. This heinous act of Hastings is totally indefensible.

**Nanda
Kumar's
complaint's
against
Hastings**

Hastings and execution of Nanda Kumar—The last victim of Hastings's cruelty was Nanda Kumar, a brahmin who held some-high post under the Nawab of Bengal. When Hastings relation with the member of the Council became strained, persons who had complaints against him could approach the Council headed by Philip Francis. Nanda Kumar put a complaint to the effect that he had accepted bribe of 3½ lakhs of rupees in dismissing Muhammad Raja Khan and in selling out some public offices. Before the complaint was finally decided one Mohan prasad was induced by Hastings to lodge a complaint of forgery against Nanda Kumar. Now the case was heard by the Supreme Court Presided over by the Chief Justice Sir Elijah Impey. The majority of the judges and the jury found him guilty and sentenced him to death (1775). Impey was a most 'serviceable tool' of Hastings and the forgery case allowed him to be dictated to by the consideration 'to gratify the Governor-General.' It is to be noted that in India forgery was not an offence punishable with death. Thirteen years after Hastings admitted that he was never the personal enemy of any man except Nanda Kumar. It was later on admitted in England that a mockery of justice was meted out to Nanda Kumar.

An estimate of Warren Hastings—Warren Hastings came to India in 1750 at the age of seventeen when his famous contemporaries were still at school. He was appointed a clerk of the East India Company on a nominal annual salary of five pounds. The dull routine work was incompatible with the young man's scholarly bent of mind and keen intellect. His record in his school at West-minster bore

ample testimony to his brilliance and if cruel necessity had not interrupted his studies, he would in all probability have attained distinction in life in his own country like his famous school-fellows—William Cowper, the poet, and Lord Shelbourne, the future Prime Minister of England.

Hastings returned to Bengal in April, 1772 as Governor to prove his mettle as a statesman. In the prevailing circumstances of the province, statesmanship consisted in the establishment of an efficient and benevolent government. That he rose to the position of Governor from the humble post of an ordinary clerk in itself shows the great calibre in him. When he took over the administration, the state of affairs in the Company was very miserable. He combed the evils of the Dual Government by abolishing it. The financial position of the country was very bad

The pathetic condition of Bengal at the accession of Warren Hastings and corruption and abuses were rampant. The relation of the English with the Marathas and the Nizam of Mysore were hostile. By an iron hand he wiped away all such abuses in the country and put the Company on a strong footing. It was he who was bent upon consolidation rather than extension of the British rule in India. He did not receive the needed co-operation from the Home government and even in India his councillors were not willingly co-operating with him. Despite all such odds he carried the ship of administration to his desired success. The network of reforms—administrative, judicial and commercial—earned for the Company a great change towards the betterment of the English rule in India. He had a great genius for organisation and he combined a grasp of broad original principles with an extra-ordinary capacity for works. He was at

Obstacles that Hastings had to face

the same time a liberal patron of literature, scholarship and art. The Calcutta *Madrasah* was founded by him. The establishment of the Asiatic Society was largely possible because of the helps that he offered to Sir William Jones. He cherished the ambition of making Bengal India's most prosperous province by giving encouragement of fruitful commercial and industrial enterprises. "He found Calcutta a counting house and left it a seat of empire." He attempted to open up new trade with Tibet and China and sent Bogle as his envoy to Tibet for that purpose. He was one of the greatest statesmen that England sent to rule over India. Roberts went to the extent of describing him as "perhaps the greatest Englishman who ever ruled."

But it is at the same time true that Hastings was unscrupulous. His treatment towards the Rohillas, Chait Singh, the Begum of Oudh and Nanda Kumar are enough examples of his lack of scruples and morality. That is why **His defects** he failed to win the appreciation of the men of his country. On retirement, he was impeached before Parliament for his official mistakes.

But the merits of Hastings will outweigh his defects. Despite the shortcomings Hastings was a man of resourcefulness and he was the chief architect of the British Empire in India.

Chait Singh—Chait Singh was the Raja of Benaras. He was at first a vassal of the Nawab of Oudh but latter on transferred his allegiance to the Company by a treaty by which he agreed to pay annually rupees twenty two lakhs and fifty thousand to the Company and the Company agreed to see that the authority of the king is undisturbed and the annual

tribute is not increased on any reason. But the treaty was not honoured by Warren Hastings. In 1778 the Company was engaged in a war with the French in India and also with the Marathas and Mysore which necessitated more money for the Company. Thus Hastings demanded from Chait Singh a special tribute of rupees five lakhs which the Raja paid. The demand was repeated in 1779 and 1780. Chait Singh sent rupees two lakhs as a personal gift to Hastings in the hope that it would mollify Hastings. Hastings accepted the money but instead of relaxing his demand he asked for two thousand horsemen and on the humble representation of the Raja the demand was reduced to one thousand horsemen. But the Raja could collect only five hundred horsemen and five hundred matchlockmen and informed Hastings that they were willing to serve the Company. Hastings sent no reply but wanted to exact a fine of fifty lakhs from the Raja and went in person to Benaras and placed the Raja under arrest. This infuriated the soldiers of the Raja and they massacred the small British force which compelled Hastings to swiftly retreat. He came back with reinforcement that sacked the Raja's palace but Chait Singh made good his escape to Gwalior. Hastings confiscated the kingdom and gave it to the nephew of Chait Singh who agreed to pay an annual tribute of rupees forty lakhs. The Chait Singh episode stained the image of the Company and it was one of the reasons for the impeachment of Warren Hastings.

Asafuddaulah—He was the Nawab of Oudh from 1775 to 1797 who foolishly made a treaty with the Company to pay to the Company an annual subsidy of rupees seventy four lakhs

on the condition that the Company would protect his rule with two regiments of troops to be kept in Oudh. The Nawab was an inefficient administrator and he soon became a defaulter in payment to the Company. Warren Hastings demanded the arrears and the Nawab pleaded his inability to clear the arrears unless he is given the wealth that had passed from his late father Nawab Sujaddaulah to his Begums. This provoked the notorious deal with the Begums of Oudh whose movement was restrained and confined to the palace at Faizabad until the Begums paid out the demand of the Company. Thus Asafuddaulah played the infamous part of aiding and abetting the persecution by the Company's officers of his own highly respectable and closely connected female relations. After maladministration of Oudh for another sixteen years Asafuddaulah died in 1797. His rule is one of maladministration, corruption and above all treachery with his own female relations, namely the Begums of Oudh.

Begums of Oudh—The Begums of Oudh were the mother and Grandmother of Asafuddaulah of Oudh who treacherously sided with the Company to manage the purse of his respectable and near female relations. The Nawab entered into the Treaty of Faizabad by which he invited the Company to keep two regiments of troops in Oudh to protect his authority and agreed to pay to the Company an annual tribute of rupees seventy four lakhs. But he soon fell into arrears and Warren Hastings who was in need of money to carry on war with Mysore and the Marathas demanded of him to pay off the entire arrears. The Nawab pleaded his inability and maintained that at

the death of his father large wealth had gone to the hands of the Begums, his mother and grandmother and he wanted that he be placed in possession of that wealth. The real position was that at the accession of the Nawab on the representation of Middleton, the British President in Oudh, the Begums gave to the Nawab £3000,000 in addition to £250,000 already paid to him and the Council in Calcutta gave the assurance that no further demand would be made in the future. Hastings did not know morality or immorality and so he found an opportunity to get the needed wealth from the Begums of Oudh. As Middleton was not a man of aggressive nature he was replaced by Bristow who imprisoned the ministers of the Begums, put them in irons and even flogged them. The pressure of atrocity compelled the Begums to give up their treasures in December, 1782, in flagrant violation of the assurance of the Company to the Begum in 1775. The entire affair was sordid, shabby and unjustifiable. Even the war needs could not justify such an extreme step. Hastings wanted to justify his action on the allegation that the Begums had complicity with Chait Singh. But there was no proof of it. And this action of Warren Hastings was most unwarranted and Hastings stands condemned on the bar of history for such infamous action.

Haidar Ali—Haidar Ali was the illustrious ruler of Mysore who life-long fought for the independence of Mysore with Warren Hastings. It was by his own innate ability that he came to the throne of Mysore in the second half of the eighteenth century. He was the son of a soldier and started his career in the service of Nanraj, the *Dalwai* of Prime Minister who him-

self became the real ruler of Mysore by making the Hindu Raja a titular head. Haidar ultimately made the Raja a prisoner and removed the *Dalwai* and himself became the ruler of Mysore in 1761. He kept on increasing his sway by the conquests of Bendore, Canara and the petty poligars of South India. Although he was unlettered, he proved to be a very efficient ruler and a capable general. He would himself see the transaction of all the business in the state. He was accessible to all and he was tolerant to all the Muslim rulers of his time. But the throne of Mysore entailed for him the task of meeting the formidable powers of his time—the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Marathas and the English who in 1766 entered into a triple alliance against Haidar. Haidar was a man of resourcefulness and he soon took the Marathas in his side and dashed against the Nizam and the English with great vigour. He recovered Mangalore, defeated the Bombay regiment of the British force and appeared within five miles of Madras in March, 1768 and dictated a peace to the British who agreed to assist Haidar in case he was attacked by any other power. But the British did not honour this promise when the Marathas invaded Haider's land in 1771. Haidar could no longer believe the British and in 1779 he entered into the confederacy of the Nizam and the Marathas against the British who had further offended him by snatching away the French pocket Mahe which fell in Haider's land. Like an avalanche he in 1780 burst with a large army on the Carnatic, demolished a British detachment under the English Col. Baillie, seized Arcot and created terror for the British. The English succeeded in severing the Marathas

and the Nizam from Haidar who was ultimately defeated by the English General Sir Eyre Coote in the Battle of Porto Novo in 1781. Haidar continued the war and made a victory over the British army led by Col. Braithwaite. Haidar died of cancer on December 7, 1782. Haidar Ali is regarded as one of the most successful and ablest adventurers known to Indian history. He was an extra-ordinary man who by his own abilities had lifted himself from obscurity and won an honoured place in history. Although he was a warrior throughout his life, he was never cruel to anybody. Reverend W. Schwartz, who was sent to him in 1779 on behalf of the English as a peace-maker, has left a vivid and appreciative picture of Haidar's ability and industry. Although he was illiterate, he was free from religious prejudice. "It was", says, Wilks, the historian, "his avowed and public opinion that all religions proceed from God and all are equal in the sight of God ; and it is certain that the medistory power represented by Ranga-swami, the great idol in the temple of Seringapatam, had as much, if not more, of his respect than all the Imams, with Momahhed at their head." In an intimate conversation with his trusted minister, Purniah, who later narrated it to Wilks, Haidar admitted the folly of his war with the British." I might have", he said, "made them my friends instead of Mohamed Ali, the most treacherous of men."

Sir Elijah Impey—Sir Elijah Impey was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta and he is famous for his judgment on Nanda kumar, who was sentenced to death by him. He was a friend of Warren Hastings since his boyhood. By the Regulating Act of 1773 he

was appointed the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta. He came to Calcutta in 1774. In the trial of Nanda Kumar he awarded death sentence to Nanda Kumar who was charged with forgery. It is believed that Impey gave the judgment to satisfy his friend Warren Hastings. In the Grand Case he again favoured Hastings by asking Hasting's opponent Sir Philip Francis who was asked to pay damages of Rs. 50,000. He entered into a most disreputable quarrel with the Council in 1779 over the question of its jurisdiction. The impasse ended when he was made the President of the *Sadar Dewani Adalat* on a salary of £ 6,000 a year in addition to his annual salary of £ 8,000 as the Chief Justice. The British Parliament considered this highly improper and recalled Impey.

Nanda Kumar—Nanda Kumar was a Brahmin of Bengal. He held the post of the *Faujdar* of Hughli. In 1757 the English under Clive and Watson attacked the French possession of Chandernagore in the vicinity of Hughli. Nanda Kumar had under him a large force of the Nawab's army. He could have used the army in protecting the French against the British. But when the British attacked Chandernagore, Nanda Kumar went away with his army from Chandernagore which smoothened the task of the British. It is believed that Nanda Kumar had accepted British bribe in doing so. After Plassy Nanda Kumar rose in favour of Nawab Mir Jafar and in 1764 he was conferred with the title of *Maharaja* by the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam. In the same year the Company appointed him as the collector of Burdwan in place of Warren Hastings. This made Hastings unhappy and he developed inimical attitude towards Nanda Kumar. Next year Nanda Kumar was appointed

Naib Subah of Bengal but was very soon replaced by Muhammad Reza Khan who was deposed by Warren Hastings in 1772. Reza Khan was prosecuted by Warren Hastings. In March 1775 Nanda Kumar brought several charges of corruption against Warren Hastings to the knowledge of the Council. A charge of conspiracy was framed by Barwell a member of the Governor-General's Council. During the pendency of these two charges one Mohan Prasad brought a charge of forgery against Nanda Kumar. Nanda Kumar was found guilty of forgery and was sentenced to death by the Supreme Court presided over by Sir Elijah Impey. Forgery was not an offence punishable with death and this trial of Nanda Kumar is called the mockery or miscarriage of justice.

Sadar Diwani Adalat—The *Sadar Diwani Adalat* was established in Calcutta in 1772 by Warren Hastings to hear civil appeals from the lower Diwani of civil courts. It was presided over by the President and two members of his council in Bengal. In order to remove the friction that had developed between the Council and the Supreme Court, Warren Hastings the Governor-General of Bengal appointed Sir Elijah Impey, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in Calcutta as the President of the *Sadar Diwani Adalat*. This arrangement met with adverse criticism and it fell through. As the Company began to extend towards west a *Sadar Diwani Adalat* was established in Allahabad in 1831. In 1861 High Courts were established in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras and the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* of Calcutta was amalgamated along with the Supreme Court of Calcutta and also with the High Court of Calcutta.

Sadar Nizamat Adalat—The *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* was set up in Calcutta in 1772 by Warren Hastings for the purpose of revising or confirming the sentences of the lower criminal courts. It was presided by the Indian Judges, while some control over it was exercised by the President and Members of the Council. In 1775 the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* was transferred from Calcutta to Murshidabad and was placed in charge of the Deputy Nawab. In 1790 it was again transferred to Calcutta and was presided over by the Governor-General and Council assisted by experts in Indian laws. With the expansion of the British territory a *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* was established in Allahabad in 1831. In 1861 the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* was amalgamated with the High Court of Calcutta in the same way as the Supreme Court in Calcutta was merged with the High Court of Calcutta.

LORD CORNWALLIS (1786-93)

Lord Cornwallis' rule is famous for the internal reforms for which purpose he was sent to India by the Home government. His reforms were two-fold— administrative and land-revenue.

1. Administrative reforms—Despite various reform measures of Warren Hastings the internal administration of the country was not clean. It needed sweeping changes. The Servants of the Company had to add to their income by private business or by accepting bribe. Cornwallis' first task was to stamp out this evil by upgrading the scale of the pay of the Company's Servants. He also abolished the part-time servants of the Company and in this way he made the civil service clean and free from corruption.

**He disturb-
ed the
Indians**

Cornwallis did not trust the Indian people and packed the offices with the English or European persons. This biased attitude was largely responsible for the discrimination between the Indians and the European.

**Reorganisa-
tion of the
judiciary**

Judiciary was the other branch that was reorganised by Cornwallis. In this project his main concern was to cut down the expenditure on judicial administration. With this aim in view he reduced the number of districts from 36 to 23 and appointed one collector for each district. The function of the collector was one of collection of revenue and also to act as a Magistrate. In all disputes of revenue the highest authority to appeal was the Governor-General-in-Council. In civil suits the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* acted as a court of appeal where the dispute was not of more than Rs. 1000/-. When the suits involved Rs. 5000/- or more an appeal could be made to the king-in-Council. In all criminal matters the final court of appeal was the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* which was located at Calcutta. The Nawabs lost all powers in the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat*.

In addition, in each district Cornwallis established a *Zilla* court to be presided over by a British Judge. Such a Judge was to be assisted by a Hindu Pandit and a Muslim Qazi in determining disputes connected with civil suits. In between the *Sadar Diwani Adalat* at the top and the *Zilla* court at the bottom there were four courts of circuits which were to make tours twice in one year. These courts were placed under British Judges assisted by Qazis and Muftis. They were entitled to try the criminal cases. In a case of death-sentence or life imprisonment the decision of the Circuit Court

was to be approved by the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* over which the Governor-General-in-Council presided.

The police administration also underwent reforms. In 1791 Cornwallis created the post of Superintendent of Police of Calcutta. The *Darogas* were given in charge of some small areas. They were given some rewards as commissions for their works. Although the police administration introduced by Cornwallis was crude, this was the beginning of the establishment of a regular police force.

Reforms of land-revenue—Cornwallis' name ranks prominent because of his reform measures in land-revenue which is well known as the Permanent Settlement. The erstwhile arrangement was to collect the revenue by the Zaminders who had no permanent right and so they collected as much as they could during their term. This naturally put oppression upon the peasants who became indifferent to cultivation and as a result, the output was small. Cornwallis belonged to a landed aristocracy in England and so he could well diagnose the disease. The cure prescribed by Cornwallis was the Permanent Settlement in 1793 in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

**Permanent
Settlement
1973**

The Permanent Settlement was not a rose without thorns. It had both merits and demerits.

Merits of Permanent Settlement—The Permanent Settlement was of great advantage for the several reasons. First, it improved the status of the Zamindars who now attained a secure status as long as he paid land-revenue. Secondly, the settlement removed the evils of periodic assessment which was always full of dislocation, evasion and negligence in cultivation. As a

result, the revenue of the state increased. Thus Roberts has rightly observed. "The Permanent Settlement gave popularity and stability to the British Government and has helped to make the province of wealthiest and most flourishing in India." Lastly, the Permanent Settlement did large benefits to the servants of the Company who were formerly engaged in revenue collection. Now free from such task, they could give more attention to judicial and other administrative works

Demerits of the Permanent Settlement

– The main demerits of the system was that it ruined many Zamindars totally. Those Zamindars who could not realise the revenue from their tenants and pay to the government were deprived of their hereditary Zamindari. Secondly, the landlords did not take as much interest in the land as they were expected to do. As a result, the province as a whole had to suffer for the negligence of the landlords. Thirdly, as the revenue was settled for perpetuity, it had nothing to do with the increase or decrease of the value of the land. As a result, the government did not gain even if there was increase in cultivation. Fourthly, the system did not see to the interest of the tenants who were ejected from the holding at the whims of the landlord.

Thus, Setton Car summed up the defects of the Permanent Settlement as "The Permanent Settlement somewhat secured the interests of the Zamindars, postponed those of the tenants and permanently sacrificed those of the state."

Foreign Policy of Cornwallis—Cornwallis came to India with a determination to follow a policy of non-intervention into the

**Intended
Policy
of non-
intervention**

internal affairs of the Indian states as was the directive to the Governor-General under Pitt's India Act of 1784. Thus he kept himself indifferent when Emperor Shah Alam wanted British help for getting the throne. In the same spirit he sent a strong-worded warning to Mahadaji Scindhia not to interfere into the affairs of Oudh.

**Circums-
tance
compelled
him to
change
the policy**

But circumstances compelled Cornwallis to depart from his promised plan of neutrality. He came to realise that the hostility that was growing in Europe between England and France was sure to produce Anglo French quarrel in India. It was also his conviction that Tipu Sultan would try to use France as a pawn against the English. The Treaty of Mangalore of 1787 was nothing more than a truce and it was understood by both Tipu and the English alike. So Tipu was trying to secure for his side the help from France and when in 1788 Cornwallis joined hands with the Nizam, Tipu considered it as a breach of the Treaty of Mangalore. Matters came to a head when Tipu raided Trivancore whose Raja was an old ally of the Company. This was a sufficient cause for which Cornwallis had come to the field in collaboration with the Nizam and the Marathas in 1790 which was the beginning of the Anglo-Mysore War. The war continued for two years and was over in 1792 by the Treaty of Seringapatam, according to which Tipu purchased peace by surrendering half of his dominions which were divided among the English. He was further asked to pay a compensation of 330 lakhs of rupees. But Cornwallis left the defeated Mysore alive. He could have easily crushed Mysore for ever. Because of this mistake critics point out that Mysore

**Third
Anglo-
Mysore
War,
(1790-92)**

**Treaty of
Seringa-
patam**

Criticism of the policy towards Mysore proved a menace for the English. But Cornwallis was quite justified in his policy of conquering to the needed purpose. He himself justified his work : "We have effectively crippled our enemy without making our friends too formidable."

An estimate of Cornwallis—Lord Cornwallis was an army man and he had been in America to command the British troops in Yorktown during the War of American Independence. Five years later he was appointed Governor-General of India and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal and he held both the posts for seven years (1786-93). He got a second term in July, 1805 but death overtook him in October, 1805. During the first administration he fought the Third Mysore War in which he personally led two companies against Tipu Sultan and compelled Tipu to surrender Coorg, Malabar, Dindigul and Baramahal by the Treaty of Seringapatam.

In the internal administration he reformed the commercial administration of the Company in Bengal by reducing the number of the members of the Board of Trade from eleven to five and gave the task of supplies to the Company by the merchants rather than the Officers of the Company. He took away from the Nawab the power of administering criminal justice and transferred the *Sadar Nizamat Adalat* to Calcutta which was to be presided over by the Governor-General in Council. He also established four courts of circuits each under two British Judges and four Provincial Courts of Appeal at Calcutta, Patna, Dacca and Murshidabad to decide civil disputes of very important nature and to hear appeals from

lower civil courts. He divided Bengal into several districts each under one Collector for collection of revenue and one District Judge to adjudicate justice. Each district had one Superintendent of Police to look after the law and order of the district. A district consisted of a number of *thanas* each under one *Daroga*. All the officers above the rank of the *Darogas* were filled up exclusively by the Europeans and the Indians were deliberately excluded from it. It was on the basis of keeping all the high posts under the Europeans with high pay and excluding the Indians from the service of their own land that Cornwallis based the civil service in India. All these reform measures were found embodied in a statute called the Cornwallis Code.

The most significant of all the reforms of Cornwallis was the Permanent Settlement of land revenue in Bengal which made the *Zaminders* the real and perpetual owners of land on the condition to pay ninety per cent of the revenue of the land to the Company within certain specified time, after which the land was liable to be sold in auction. It created some aristocratic class called the *Zaminders* in India whose interests were tied with those of the Company against the peasants. This is known as the Permanent Settlement. Although the Permanent Settlement was suffering from some inherent defects, it remained the basis of the entire British rule in India, though it was some times or other modified by the other statesmen.

Lord Cornwallis was one of the ablest statesmen that England sent to India. He purified the polluted administration of the Company. His most permanent works were

the re-organisation of the civil service, establishment of the district courts and introduction of Permanent Settlement of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. It is said that he completed the task of Warren Hastings. If Warren Hastings abolished the dual government established by Lord Clive, the judicial and police reforms of Cornwallis completed the constitutional changes. "If the foundation of the civil administration had been laid by Warren Hastings, the structure was laid by Lord Cornwallis."

SIR JOHN SHORE (1793-98)

Policy of neutrality

Shore remained neutral in the war between the Marathas and the Nizam

When Cornwallis left for England, his associate and a senior member of the Supreme Council became the Governor-General of Bengal. He told the line of Cornwallis in the foreign policy and avoided any entanglement of the English in any affair in India. But this policy of neutrality was followed by Sir John Shore with such rigour that it lowered the prestige of the English in India. Sir John Malcolm decried the policy of non-intervention as a weakness of the British policy. It strengthened the enemy power to gain in strength. At the close of the eighteenth century the Marathas became the most formidable power under the leadership of Mahadaji Sindhiya who established a vast Maratha Empire. After his death Nana Fadnavis became the leader of the Marathas and came to measure sword with the Nizam. The Nizam begged for the English help to which Shore turned a deaf ear. Thus in the battle of Khardga (1795) the Nizam fell down before the Marathas. Shore had to face several criticism for such passive attitude.

But Shore was compelled to change his mind and had to intervene in the affairs of Oudh. This was the only instance of his intervention in Indian affairs. In 1797 Asaf-ud-daule, the Nawab of Oudh who was an ally of the Company died leaving behind a problem of succession between the brothers of the deceased Nawab Sadaat Ali and Wazir Ali whom the deceased Nawab had nominated as heir. Shore had to interfere and he recognised the brother of Nawab as the rightful claimant to the throne. The appointee of Shore was obliged to offer Allahabad which had great strategical value and to pay an annual subsidy at a much higher rate. So it is said of Shore that even the most peaceful of the Governor-General made some contribution to the steady expansion to the British Indian Empire.

Mahadaji Sindhia

**He put
Emperor
Shah Alam
under his
control**

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century Mahadaji Sindhia was the most powerful figure of the Marathas. For having participated in the Third Battle of Panipath he received a wound that made him lame for life. He succeeded to his father's Jagirs and soon took the leadership of the Marathas. When Shah Alam, the nominal Mughal Emperor shook off the British protection in 1771, Mahadaji took him under his embrace and put him back upon the throne of Delhi. This event added great name and fame to Mahadaji Sindhia. In the first Anglo-Maratha War he earned defeat and despite this enmity Warren Hastings considered it wise to court his friendship and made use of his assistance in the Treaty of Salbai in 1782. This added another feather to his cap. He got the Emperor completely under his wings and became almost all-in-all for the Emperor. He also got the command

Treaty of Salbai, 1782 of the imperial army and assignment of *Subahs* of Delhi and Agra as a guarantee for the pay of his troops. He thus became the master of a vast area from the Sutlej to Agra and made the Marathas the greatest power in the Country.

The growing ascendancy of Sindhia gave rise to jealousy of the Rajputs and the Afghan Rohillas who made attacks upon him. In 1788 he lost his position in Delhi temporarily when a cruel Rohilla chief—Ghulam Quadir plundered Delhi and blinded the Emperor Shah Alam. But he could soon revive the lost position and killed the Ghulam Quadir and defeated the Rajputs. It was his plan to side with Tipu to defeat the English. He was a very courageous and nationalist hero. Grant Duff gave an eloquent tribute to him : “a man of great political sagacity and of considerable genius, of deep artifice, of restless ambition and of implacable revenge.”

As estimate of Sir John Shore—Sir John Shore was the Governor-General from 1793 to 1798. He began his career as a lower officer in the Company's service in Bengal and rose to the member of the Calcutta Council during the Governor-Generalship of lord Cornwallis who was materially assisted by him in reforming the administration. He was a man of no high ambition. When he was the Governor-General after Cornwallis he did not like to alter the structure or to intervene in the affairs of the Indian states. His work was one of implementing the plan of Cornwallis and maintain a policy of non-intervention in the internal affairs of the states of India. Thus when a war broke out between the Nizam and the Marathas by

which the Nizam was defeated in the battle of Kardla in 1796, Shore maintained strict neutrality. There was, however, one solitary exception to it. He actually intervened in the affairs of Oudh and compelled Oudh to surrender Allahabad to the Company.

England's March Towards Paramountcy in India

LORD WELLESLEY

(1798-1805)

Policy of Wellesley

When Lord Wellesley took the rein of administration, a new life was introduced in England's progress towards paramountcy. His ideas and plans were two—to make the English the paramount power in India and the other to crush for ever all French intrigues in the courts of the Indian princes. It was his belief that the English rulers would ensure better justice and peace in India than the tyrannical local princes. At the same time if the English authority was strengthened it would minimise the French authority in the courts of the princes. The two

clear policies he boldly adopted were the policy of subsidiary alliance and the policy of annexation. Under this programme the English in India played a vigorous role. Let us now study the Subsidiary Alliance and Imperialistic works of Wellesley.

The key-note of the Subsidiary Alliance

Subsidiary Alliance The key-note of the Subsidiary Alliance was the “subordination of the allied prince to the British government in external policy and foreign relations, the maintenance and payment of a contingent of Company troops and dismissal of officers belonging to other nations.” If we analyse the Subsidiary Alliance we find that it was not solely a creation of Wellesley, but a culmination of the policy of his predecessors. Warren Hastings had introduced the system of putting the English forces to the services of one state against other as he actually had done with regard to the fight of Nawab of Oudh against the Rohillas. The second stage was English interference not invited by the Indian princes. The third stage was the request to the prince of the states to give money for protecting their states in emergency, a good example of which was the treaty concluded between Sir John Shore and the Nawab of Oudh in 1798. All the four stages that kept the English intervention in the Indian affairs haphazard and unsystematic were systematised and given a uniform shape by Wellesley in the Subsidiary Alliance.

Historical background of the Subsidiary Alliance

Ingredients of the Subsidiary Alliance

It was now finalised by Wellesley’s Subsidiary Alliance that the Company was to undertake the internal and external defence of the Indian states. The English were under obligation to keep a force for the purpose of defending the states and the expenses for it were to be maintained by the states. The prince of such a

state was to surrender his right of any independent action in diplomatic matter and was under compulsion not to enter into any political relation with any powers other than the British. The prince was further required to expel from his state all foreigners except the English.

Merits of the Subsidiary Alliance—

Looked at from the point of view of British interests the policy of Subsidiary Alliance had several merits. First, it added to the strength and resources of the British without requiring them to undertake the risk and expenses of the war. Secondly, it enabled the British to grow their paramountcy over the Indian States, because under the British arms the states were virtually put under British control. Thirdly, the system did not keep anything secret to the other European nations who had earlier suspicion over the British policy. Lastly it sealed for ever the chance for the rise of France in India by eliminating all foreign elements except the English from the courts of the princes.

Demerits of Subsidiary Alliance—

The defects of the Subsidiary Alliance were vicious and unbearable for the Indian princes. First, the money demanded from the princes was out of proportion. It virtually brought an economic ruin to the states. This compelled the states to cut down their own welfare measures. Thus the Subsidiary Alliance brought a total economic ruin upon the Indian states. The second defect of the system was that it crushed the initiative and responsibility of the Indian prince by making them dependent upon the British for the maintenance of law and order and for the protection of the territorial boundaries. As a result, the states brought under the Subsidiary Alliance

led to the increase in the population. The Subsidiary Alliance was only a step towards the completion of British Paramountcy in India.

WELLESLEY'S WORKS OF ANNEXATION

1. Wallesley's relation with Mysore

**Fourth
Anglo-
Mysore
War, 1799**

**Disintegra-
tion of
Mysore**

—We have already noticed that in the Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92) Tipu, son of Haidar Ali was compelled to purchase peace at the hands of Cornwallis. But Tipu regained strength and did not accept Wellesley's policy of Subsidiary Alliance and got in his side many foreign powers. It was a time when the French Revolution was going on in France and Tipu became a member of the Jacobin Club in 1793 and sowed the seeds of liberty at Seringapatam. He went on seeking foreign assistance from Afganistan, Turkey and even wrote letter to Napoleon Bonaparte. Wallesley could no longer remain silent and asked Tipu to accept unconditionally the Subsidiary Alliance. This resulted in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War of 1799. This ended in the defeat of Tipu who fought to the last for the liberty of Mysore. Mysore was divided into various parts. The Nizam who was the ally of the British got a share out of it. The British took the coastal provinces. Many old Hindu Dynasties who were deprived of their power by Haidar also got some bits in the spoils. This big Mysore created by Haidar was now lost for ever. This gives credence to a proverb "Haidar was born to create an empire. Tipu to lose one."

Tipu Sultan was the most formidable enemy **Wellesley's** among all the contemporary rulers of the British. **dealing with** He is a remarkable person in Indian history. **Tipu Sultan** He was a man of sound moral character and

had absolute faith in God. He was well educated and had mastery of Persian, Kanarese and Urdu. His library that he kept is a good proof of his love for education. He was a valiant soldier and a tactful general and a diplomat of high order. He was convinced that he had the biggest enemy not in any Indian power but in the English. He wanted to realise it in practice by taking the help of France and Kabul. He placed liberty above everything and lost life in his zeal for preserving liberty.

He received different comments from different 'quarters. Lord Cornwallis described him as a 'mad barbarian' and Lyall spoke of him as a 'fierce, fanatic and ignorant Mohammedan.' The other side of him is focussed by Edward Moore and Major Dirom who were very much impressed by his popularity and good administration. Even Sir John Shore observes that "the peasantry of his dominions are protected and their labours encouraged and rewarded." Some writers accused him of unnecessary cruelty. But his cruelty was directed against those whom he considered his enemies. He was undoubtedly a brave soldier, but not a good statesman as his father had been.

2. Wellesley and the Carnatic—Wellesley's attention fell upon the Carnatic where the state of affairs was disastrous and oppressive. But without some pretext he found it difficult to intervene in the affairs of the Carnatic. The pretext came quickly enough. It was discovered that the papers found at Seringapatam after the death of Tipu showed that both Muhammad Ali who died in 1795 and his son Umdat-ul-Umra made some correspondence with Tipu. Wellesley wanted to interpret this communication as reasonable and when in 1801

**Annexation
of the
Carnatic,
1801**

Umdat-ul-Umra died, he took over the whole civil and military administration of the Carnatic setting aside the claim of the son of the deceased Nawab. He made a new Nawab and guaranteed him a pension of one-fifth of the revenue. Although the papers did not establish any legal treachery on the part of the Nawab, yet the imperialistic stroke of Wellesley could not spare him.

3. Wellesley and Oudh—Wellesley next turned his mind to Oudh to consolidate the British hold over the North Western Frontier. Under the administration of Warren Hastings Oudh had been a buffer state but because of persistent misgovernment that state had been a danger mark for the British. Wellesley saw that any strong enemy could easily occupy Oudh and thereafter Bengal. This compelled Wellesley to put a firm grip over Oudh. But in doing this he went in a rather rash way. He forced upon the Nawab of Oudh a new treaty in 1801. By it the Nawab was to surrender Gorakhpur, Rohilkhand and the Lower Doab comprising the territories between the Ganges and the Yamuna. The protests of the Nawab fell on the deaf ears of Wellesley. The policy of Wellesley towards Oudh was high-handed and most arbitrary. The imposition of the British rule in Oudh did not make any improvement in the administration. On the other hand, the Subsidiary Alliance imposed by Wellesley proved the path for ruling the kingdom so that Lord Dalhousie would find it expedient to annex the kingdom to his territory.

4. Wellesley and the Marathas—We have seen earlier that Cornwallis and Shore adopted a policy of strict neutrality towards

the Marathas. But as Wellesley was a man of different principles, he had to adopt a new course of action. Thus friction between the British and the Marathas was only a question of time. Wellesley was determined to put down the Marathas by compelling them to purchase the Subsidiary Alliance. But as long as Nana Fadnavis was alive, this proved to be a failure.

**Condition of
Marathas
after the
death of
Nana
Fadnavis**

But the death of Nana Fadnavis in 1800 wiped away from the Maratha country a capable person and this facilitated the opportunity of Wellesley to poke his nose in the internal trouble of the Maratha camp—divided between Mahadaji Sindhia and Malhar Rao Holkar. The Peshwa Baji Rao II swooped down to the position of an intriguer at whose instance the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar was put to death. He lost control over the Maratha Chiefs and even had to take to flight from the country. During his absence Holkar made one Vinayak Rao the Peshwa. It was then that Baji Rao took the bait of Wellesley's Subsidiary Alliance by signing the Treaty of Bassein in 1802 and under British protection he was put upon the throne of Peshwa. This subordination of the Peshwa led to the dismemberment of the Maratha power and made the British the paramount power instead. The two Maratha chiefs Sindhia and Bhonsle took arms against the British that led to the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1805). Holkar, however, for the moment kept on waiting for the situation. The chief theatres of the war were the Deccan, Hindustan and Orissa. The Deccan campaign was entrusted to Sir Arthur Wellesley who captured Ahmadnagar and defeated the combined armies of Sindhia and the Bhonsle at Asaye in 1803. Sindhia was requested for a truce but the

**Peshwa
signs the
Treaty of
Bassein,
1802**

**Second
Anglo-
Maratha
War
(1803-1805)**

**Treaty of
Deogaon,
1803**

Bhonsle was pursued and later on defeated at Argaon. The next event was the capture of the fortress of Gawilgarh. Bhonsle was to come to terms by signing the Treaty of Deogaon when he yoked himself to the Subsidiary Alliance and surrendered Cuttack to the British.

**Treaty of
Surji-Arjan
gaon 1803**

It was General Lake who was given the command of Hindustan who captured Aligarh and won over the troops of Sindhia near Delhi and took the aged Emperor Shah Alam under British protection. Sindhia was forced to accept the Subsidiary Alliance. As a result of the treaty the British became master of Broach, Ahmadnagar, and the land between the Ganges and the Yamuna, while the possession of Cuttack linked up the provinces of Bengal and Madras.

**War with
Holkar**

Holkar did not so long embroil himself in the Anglo-Maratha War. In the first encounter he became successful by defeating the forces of Colonel Monson. But this success was very temporary and he suffered a heavy defeat at the battle of Dig (1804). But Colonel Lake's repeated failure to suppress the Jath fortress of Bharatpur tarnished the prestige of the British. Even then as the Maratha leaders were divided, they could not avail themselves of this situation. The Raja of Bharatpur had to enter into a treaty with the British. But Wellesley could not pursue his policy against Holkar as he was recalled by his Home Government at that time.

An estimate of Wellesley—Wellesley who was the Governor-General of India from 1798 to 1805 was one of the greatest British rulers in India. His period is significant for the expansion of the British territories in India which he did by aggressive wars as well as

peaceful annexations. He gave up the policy of non-intervention pursued by Sir John Shore and adopted the aggressive policy of Subsidiary Alliance by which the Indian princes were required to come under British protection on condition that they would maintain a contingent of the British troops in their states and accept a British Resident at their headquarters and must not have any relation with foreign powers except through the British and would not employ in their services any foreigner without the previous consent of the British Government in return of which the Company promised to protect them against external aggression and internal chaos. The Nizam of Hyderabad readily accepted the Subsidiary Alliance and thus was peacefully turned into a subordinate ally of the British. But Tipu Sultan of Mysore refused to accept it as a result of which Wellesley fought against him the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, as a result of which Tipu was defeated and Tipu's kingdom was annexed to the British Empire. The Maratha king Peshwa Baji Rao II accepted the Subsidiary Alliance but as the Maratha chiefs did not agree to it, Wellesley had to wage the Second Anglo-Maratha War as a result of which the major parts of the Maratha kingdom were incorporated into the British India. Thus under Wellesley British rule was firmly established over Central India, Malwa, Gujarat and Delhi. He also took into his dominion the Carnatic, Tanjore and a large part of Oudh. But his aggressive policy of incorporating the Indian states into the British India was not favoured by the home government and so he was recalled in 1805. At the end of the term of his office Wellesley left the British undoubtedly the paramount power

in India, with the only exception that Sind and the Punjab were the only two Indian states that remained outside the pale of the British India. That was indeed a great achievement for Wellesley.

**Mental and
physical
qualities**

Lord Wellesley who came to India in April, 1798 was the fourth Governor-General and the first British imperialist in this country. He was thirty seven years of age and was in the full tide of physical and mental vigour. A sound classical scholar, in intelligence he was far superior to his more famous brother, Arthur Wellesley, the future Duke of Wellington. He endowed with a brilliant and ardent temperament, with which he combined an unlimited capacity for work, his regime in many ways anticipating for its vigour the memorable Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon. "I can declare", said Wellesley, "my conscientious conviction that no greater blessing can be conferred on the native inhabitants of India than the extension of British authority".

**A man of
imperialis-
tic design**

Like Dalhousie Wellesley is considered as an imperialistic. He was a believer in the superiority of British power over any native Indian states. That conviction enabled him to make annexations right and left without any qualms of conscience. He is thus in a sense a 'stout annexationist' and a path-finder for Dalhousie.

**Policy of
Subsidiary
Alliance**

In his imperialistic design Wellesley trusted as much on diplomacy as on war. His diplomatic stroke for which he is famous is the Subsidiary Alliance. The Nizam was to take this bait first and as a result his state was reduced to a state of complete subordination to the Company. His next target was Tipu Sultan

whose refusal to accept the Subsidiary Alliance resulted in the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War, which crushed the Mysore power. In 1799 the Subsidiary Alliance was enforced upon the Raja of Tanjore who virtually sold his state to Wellesley for an exchange of Rs. 40,000/-. Similarly, Surat was played over into the hand of Wellesley by payment of compensation to its Nawab. The Nawab of the Carnatic was the other important victim of Wellesley's policy. The fault of the Nawab was his alleged conspiracy with Tipu against the British. The most high-handed work of Wellesley was his intervention in the affairs of Oudh, as a result of which the state virtually went under the British occupation. Not only that, by an additional treaty the tracts of Rohilkhand and the Lower Doab were made over to Wellesley. There was complete absence of generosity and patience on the part of Wellesley in dealing with Oudh. Wellesley was equally interested in the Marathas and when diplomacy failed to bring in the desired result, it led him to armed conflict.

**He Trans-
formed the
British
Empire in
India to
British
Empire
of India.**

Thus under Wellesley the map of British India became extended. We have noticed how by diplomacy and war he crushed each and every state of India. Within a brief period of seven years he effected marvellous transformation : he crushed the power of Mysore, extended British control over Hyderabad and Oudh and took over the administration of Tanjore, Surat and the Carnatic, struck boldly at the great Maratha power, reduced Peshwa to a British puppet and robbed Sindhia of Delhi. It is thus truly said that under Wellesley the British Empire in India was transformed into 'British Empire of India.' His objects were two-fold—to elevate the British Government to the position of a

**Educational
works**

paramount power in India and full utilisation of European strength to hurl against Napoleon. Although engaged in stormy affairs he did not dissociate from other fruitful works. It was he who entertained the most comprehensive and statesmanlike views concerning the necessity for bestowing on the European administrators that the possible general and professional education. One of his outstanding achievements was the foundation of the Fort William College at Calcutta. He was undoubtedly one of the greatest of the British rulers of India. Only Clive, Warren Hastings and Dalhousie can challenge comparison with him and in actual achievements he outdistanced them all.

**Treaty of
Salbai a
great
Victory
of Nana**

During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a Maratha leader earned for him great eminence in history. In the turbulent period that followed the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao in 1772 he figured prominent in the Maratha politics. It was Raghoba Rao who was the Brain behind the murder of Peshwa and he sought British tutelage. It was Nana Fadnavis who remained loyal to the cause of Maratha freedom and baffled the design of both Raghoba and the British. He upheld the claim of Narayan Rao's Posthumous son Madhav Rao who was installed as Pashwa in 1774. He become the Prime Minister. In the Treaty of Salbai (1782) the English had to give up the cause of Raghoba and recognise Madhav Rao II, the son of Narayan Rao as the Peshwa. This was a great victory of the Nana and it saved the Maratha power from disintegration and foreign occupation.

Nana Fadnavis was aware that mere keeping a legitimate Peshwa would not ensure the future integrity of the Maratha power. So he

His Policy was bent upon consolidation of the position of the Marathas and in this matter he took recourse to diplomacy. This earned for him the name of Maratha Machiavelli. Tipu Sultan of Mysore was an enemy of both the Marathas and the Nizam. So he took help of the Nizam to wrest from Tipu the Maratha territories occupied by Tipu. In 1785 when Tipu made an attack upon the Maratha territory Nana formed an alliance with the Nizam and forced Tipu to surrender the districts of Badami and Kittur and to pay a large sum of money (1787).

Wars with Tipu In the Third Anglo-Mysore War he sided with the English along with the Nizam against Tipu and by dint of the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) he obtained territories which extended the Maratha Empire upto the Tungabhadra. It was in 1795 that he built up a coalition of the important Maratha chiefs against the Nizam who was defeated at the battle of Kharda. Thus he managed to organise a union of the Maratha chiefs and did much to keep both the Nizam and Tipu Sultan in troubled suspense. He exercised great influence upon the Marathas, and unable to bear the rigour of control of the Nana, the Peshwa committed suicide in 1796. Then Nana Fadnavis became the real ruler of the Marathas. Despite all such troubles the Nana was able to keep the Marathas away from the Subsidiary Alliance. The great Maratha leader passed away on March 3, 1800 and in the celebrated words of Colonel Palmer, the British Resident at Poona, "with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government." In spite of suicidal conflicts, faithless friends and treacherous allies, Nana had controlled Maratha politics for thirtyeight years with conspicuous ability and

Defeat of the Nizam

wisdom. His death marked the beginning of the disintegration and foreign intrusion in Maratha Empire. He was a great statesman, a wise politician an ardent lover of freedom.

The family and the state of the Holkar—

Malhor Rao was the founder of the state and family of Holkar and Malhor Rao served under Baji Rao I, the second Peshwa. The south-western part of Malwa came to his control and he made Indore his headquarters. After his death the state passed on his son Khande Rao's widow Ahalya Bai who administered the state with great success from 1765 to 1795. Under her Tokoji Holkar acted as the Commander-in-Chief and after her death he ruled the state for two years. After his death the state passed on to his third son Jaswant Rao I who ruled from 1798 to 1818. Jaswant Rao on account of his rivalry with Daulat Rao Sindhia did not take part in the Second Maratha war and unwisely declared war when the Peshwa and Sindhia had already been defeated. Although he made an initial victory over the English army under Col. Monson, he failed in his attempt to capture Delhi. In the battle of Dig he met with defeat. But as the English were recalled by Wellesley, they failed to storm the fort of Bharatpur and this left Jaswant Rao almost an independent king and he made peace with favourable terms. But Jaswant Rao became mad and died in 1811. His son Malhar Rao Holhar II who succeeded him joined the Third Maratha War in 1817 and was defeated in the hands of the British who imposed upon him the treaty of Mandas by which he agreed to keep a British force within his territory and a permanent British Resident at his capital and to surrender all territories beyond the Narmada

to the British. In this way the Holkars became subsidiary prince without any trace of independence. The later princes took to arm-chairs and debauchery and continued to rule or misrule until the state was merged with the Indian Republic in 1948.

The Rohillas—The Rohillas are an Afghan tribe that lived and ruled in a place called Rohilkhand lying to the north-west of Oudh between the Ganges on the South and the Kumaon hills on the north since 1740. They were Muslims of Afghanistan and in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 the Rohillas sided with Ahmad Shah Abdali. Ten years later when the Marathas regained their lost strength it posed a threat for the Rohillas and this provoked them to enter into an agreement with Sujauddaulah, the Nawab of Oudh in 1772 by which they agreed to pay forty lakhs as annual subsidy, if the Nawab assisted them in beating back the Maratha aggression. But the Rohillas defaulted in payment on the ground that the Marathas had retreated on their own cause and the Nawab did not play any part in it. This enabled the Nawab of Oudh to enter into a treaty with the British at Benaras by which the British agreed to lend the Nawab a brigade to compel the Rohillas to pay off the promised amount and they invaded Rohilkhand in 1774, defeated and killed its ruler Hafiz Rahamat Khan in the battle of Maranpur Katra and annexed the whole of Rohilkhand to Oudh except a small Slice of land called Rampur. This British action was criticised in British Parliament and Warren Hastings was asked to explain his deal with the Rohillas. The Nawab of Oudh could not keep Rohilkhand under him for long, and Lord Wellesley took it

into the British empire on a nominal demand. Thus in the hands of Wellesly ended the independence of the Rohillas.

The Maratha Confederacy—The Maratha Confederacy was organised during the administration of Baji Rao I (1720-40) who was the second Peshwa. As the Kshatriya section of the Marathas under Senapati Dabade opposed the supremacy of Peshwa and as the Marathas began to rapidly expand over the north and south India, Baji Rao I had to depend upon the loyal support of his adherents of proven military capacity. He placed under control large areas under his lieutenants, the most prominent among whom were Raghuji Bhonsla Ranoji Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar and Damaji Daskwar who formed the Maratha Confederacy which was held in strict control under the Peshwa and the Peshwa carried his victorious arms into Delhi and even to Punjab. But the defeat sustained by the army of the Peshwa in the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 and the succession dispute at the death of Balaji Baji Rao weakened the hold of the Pashwa on the ambitious members of the Maratha Confederacy which began to disintegrate as a result of the mutual jealousies and rivalries especially between the Holkars and the Sindhia. This made united action impossible and the disintegration of the Confederacy led to the decline and fall of the Maratha Empire.

Nana Fadnavis—Nana Fadnavis and Mahadaji Sindhia are two Maratha leaders that figured prominent in the history of the Marathas in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Nana Fadnavis was in the service of the Peshwa on the eve of the third battle of Panipat in which he escaped death. In the turbulent period

that followed the murder of Peshwa Narayan Rao by his uncle Raghoba in 1773 Nana upheld the claim of Narayan Rao's posthumous son Madhav Rao II whom he installed as Peshwa in 1774. He became the minister of the minor Peshwa and practically became the ruler of the Marathas from 1774 till his death in 1800. His position was not secure as other Maratha chiefs particularly Mahadaji Sindhia opposed his authority. But with skill of diplomacy he kept his position against all opponents. He led the first Maratha War from 1775 to 1783 and against the English and made a great victory in the Treaty of Salbai in 1783 by which Raghoba was pensioned off and the Marathas lost no territory except Salsette. He was convinced that mere keeping a legitimate Peshwa would not ensure the future integrity of the Maratha power. He wanted to trim the wings of the enemies by diplomacy—the English and Mysore. His shrewd political tactics earned for him the title of the Maratha Machiavelli. In 1784 he by fighting a war with Tipu Sultan of Mysore got back the territories that Tipu had wrested from the Marathas. In 1785 when Tipu Sultan attacked the Marathas, Nana Fadnavis in alliance with the Nizam forced Tipu to surrender the districts of Badami and Kittur and to pay a large sum of money (1787). In the Third Anglo-Mysore War he sided with the English along with the Nizam against Tipu and by dint of the Treaty of Seringapatam (1792) he obtained territories which extended the Maratha Empire upto the Tungabhadra. In 1794 the death of Mahadaji Sindhia removed his most powerful opponent and thereafter he administered with undisputed authority. He led the Maratha Confederacy against the Nizam

who after his defeat in the battle of Khadra was obliged to cede important territories to the Marathas. Unable to bear the rigour of the control of the Nana the Peshwa Madhav Rao II committed suicide. The new Peshwa Baji Rao II was hostile to the Nana and a contest ensued between them and this intrigue led to the disintegration of the Maratha power. But so long as the Nana was alive he managed to get the Marathas together and keep the Maratha state away from the subsidiary Alliance. The great Maratha leader passed away on March 3, 1800 and in the celebrated words of Col. Palmer the British Resident at poona "with him has departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government." He was a great statesman, a wise politician and an ardent lover of freedom.

Mahadaji Sindhia—Sindh was one of the constituent state in the Maratha Confederacy and under the influence of Mahadaji both Sindh and Mahadaji himself earned great eminence in history. Like Nana Fadnavis he also escape death in the Battle of Panipat but he was permanently made lame by the war. After his return to the Maratha territory he conducted himself and his affairs so well that he became the most prominent chief among the Maratha leaders and his one aim was to supersede Nana Fadnavis as the guarding of the Peshwa at poona. Although he failed in this regard, he regained so much power and prestige in North India that in 1771 he re-established Emperor Shah Alam II on the throne in Delhi and practically became the Emperor's protector. He acted as a mediator between the British and the Marathas and brought peace between them by the treaty of Salbai. This achievement raised his political

status in the estimate of both the Maratha and the British. He reoriented the army on pattern of the superior technique of the Europeans. He defeated Ismail Beg of Rajputana at Patna in 1790, a combination of the Rajput princes at Mirtha in 1791 and the Holkars at Iakheri in 1792. It was under his initiative that the Peshwa was invested with the title of *Vakil-i-Mulak* or Vice-Regent of the Empire and this is the greatest achievement of Mahadaji. Sardesai paid a glowing tribute to him "The names of Shivaji and Baji Rao must not make one blind to the services rendered by Mahadaji Sindhia to the Maratha state. Recall your mind the prominent contemporaries of Mahadaji and you will recognise that he shines for above them in every respect."

Madhava Rao Narayan—Mahdava Rao Narayan was the posthumous son of Peshwa Narayan Rao (1772-1773) who was murdered by his uncle Raghoba. He ruled from 1774 to 1795. As he was a little child Nana Fadnavis one of the main chiefs of the Maratha state formed a Council of Regency to look after the administration. The intrigues of Raghoba for gaining the post of Peshwa with the help of the East India Company led the child to go to the First Maratha War (1775-82) that came to a close by the treaty of Salbai and kept the territory of the Peshwa intact. The other rivalry that took place taking advantage of the childhood of the Peshwa was that between Nana Fadnavis and Mahadaji Sindhia. The intrigues weakened the foundation of the Maratha state. The death of Mahadaji Sindhia in 1794 built up the decaying foundation of the Marathas. In 1795 the Marathas defeated the Nizam at the battle of Khadra. But the young

Peshwa became tired of the political turmoil and the rigour of the guardianship of Nana Fadnavis and he committed suicide in 1795.

Raghoba—Raghob is the popular name of Raghunath Rao who was the second son of Peshwa Baji Rao I. With his military skill during the Peshwaship of his elder brother Balaji Baji Rao he conducted a Maratha army into North India and acting in co-operation with the Holkar he captured Sirhind in 1758 from Timur Shah, son of Ahmad Shah Abdali. He occupied Punjab and carried the Hindu paramountcy to Attock, though "the achievement was politically a hollow show and financially barren." The ouster of Timur Shah from the Punjab led Abdali to make a fresh attack of Indian in 1759. The invasion of Abdali undid Raghunath's work in the Punjab and hurled a death blow at the Maratha power in 1761 at the Third Battle of Panipat from the carnage of which Raghoba escaped.

Raghoba was inordinately ambitious and he was, therefore, unhappy at the accession of his nephew Madhav Rao to the Peshwaship on the death of Balaji Baji Rao. But the young Peshwa had the capability and intelligence to baffle the design of Raghoba. At the unexpected death of Madhava Rao in 1772 the Peshwaship went to his younger brother Narayan Rao by passing the claim of Raghoba who hatched a conspiracy which resulted in the murder of his young nephew in 1773. Now Raghoba had no obstacle to get the Peshwaship in 1773. But a strong Maratha element led by Nana Fadnavis opposed Raghoba and the birth of the posthumous son named Madhav Rao Narayan increased the strength of that power and they formed a Council of Regency and declared the child as the Peshwa. Raghoba

found himself aloof and deserted and even expelled from Maharashtra and he turned to the British helps. By the Treaty of Surat he brought the British to embroil in the Maratha affairs and this led to the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-83). The net result of this war for Raghoba was a life-long pension.

Baji Rao II—Baji Rao II was the son of Raghoba and this last of the Peshwas proved to be a most selfish and worthless ruler. The death of Nana Fadnavis in 1800 made him free from the control of the Nana. He lacked in military quality and courage and he wanted to gain only by intrigues. The death of the Nana gave rise to rivalry between Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar for the office and power that was created by the death of Nana and both of them began fights in front of the gates of Poona. Baji Rao II took the side of Sindhia but their united armies were defeated by Holkar. In panic Baji Rao II ran to the English at Bassein and on board a British ship signed the infamous treaty of Bassein by which he entered into subsidiary alliance with the East India Company. This was resented by the Marathas chiefly by Sindhia and Holkar and even Baji Rao II who became so furious that he treacherously burnt the British residnecy at Poona. He was ultimately defeated and caught by the British and left as a pensioner. The British abolished the Peshwaship seized the political power of the Marathas and took away the independence of the Marathas. Thus ended the liberty of the Marathas

Treaty of Salbai—The First Anglo-Maratha war was concluded by the Treaty of Salbai which was accomplished largely through by the instrumentality of Mahadaji Sindhia. The

treaty made the following provisions : (1) All places including Bassein taken by the English during the war since the Treaty of Purandhar shall be delivered to the Peshwa. (2) That the island of Salsette and the smaller ones near Bombay shall continue in the possession of the English. (3) The city of Broach will similarly remain with the English. (4) The territory conquered in Gujarat by the English shall be restored to the Peshwa and the Gaekwar to whom they belonged. (5) The English shall not afford any support hereafter to Raghunath Rao in money or otherwise. He should choose his residence and Rs. 25000/monthly should be paid by the Peshwa for his maintenance. (6) Fateh Singh Gaekwar should remain in possession of the territory he had before and should serve the Maratha State as hero-to-foe. (7) The Peshwa agreed that Haidar Ali be made to relinquish the territory he had recently seized. (8) This article defined the allies of the Marathas and the English. Both the parties agreed not to molest each other's allies. (9) The English were allowed to enjoy the privileges of trade as before. (10) The Peshwa agreed not to allow support to any other European nation. (11) That the East India Company and the Peshwa Madhav Rao should request Mahadaji Sindhia to be the mutual guarantee for the proper observance of the condition of this treaty. He would have power to crush the violator of the treaty. The treaty was ratified by Warren Hastings in June, 1782 and by Nana Fadnavis on February 24, 1783. This treaty established peace between the East India Company and the Marathas for twenty years.

Treaty of Bassein—The Treaty of Bassein was concluded on December 31, 1802 between Peshwa Baji Rao II and the British by which the Peshwa agreed to enter into a subsidiary alliance with the East India Company. The following were the main provisions of the : treaty : (1) British force 6000 strong was permanently stationed in the territory of the Peshwa. (2) For the support of these troops, districts yielding 26 lakhs of rupees as revenue were given to the Company. (3) The Peshwa agreed not to enter into any treaty with nor to make war on any other State without consulting the British. Thus the foreign policy of the Marathas was to be guided by the Company. (4) The Peshwa agreed not to engage any Europeans in the service of his state without the permission of the English. (5) The Peshwa's claim upon the Nizam and the Gaekwar were to be subject to the British arbitration. (6) The Peshwa surrendered his claim upon Surat. Thus the Peshwa in order to secure his own protection under the guns of the British surrendered the independence of his country. He was restored to the Peshwaship by the British troops in May, 1805 and Holkar's troops immediately retired from Poona to Malwa.

In the history of the rise of the British power in India the treaty of Bassein has a special importance worthy of note, since it wiped away a big power like the Marathas from the political theatre. The acceptance of the domination of the British by the Peshwa clearly meant that the Britishers had established their supremacy over India. It is in this context that Sidney Owen observed that before this treaty it was the Maratha supremacy which was

there in India, but this treaty handed over the Indian empire to the British. Before this treaty the English were only standing in the West but after this treaty the power and importance of the British increased three times in a moment. This treaty ultimately established the British paramountcy over the Marathas and rang down the curtain over the Maratha history.

Tipu Sultan—Tipu Sultan was the greatest hero of Mysore. The British had to wage three successive wars to crush him. Son and successor of Hardar Ali, he came to the throne of Mysore in April, 1783, when Mysore was involved in the second war with the British. Tipu was as brave as his father and carried on the war and defeated the British army under Brigadier Mathew who was compelled to sign the treaty of Mangalore in March, 1784 and the treaty restituted the conquests of the two powers. After five years the Third Anglo-Mysore war broke out and after fighting with great valour three campaigns he signed the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792 by which the British snatched away one half of his dominions, realised an indemnity of three crores of rupees and took away two of his sons as hostages. Tipu was determined to get back his power and for this purpose he sent emissaries to Arabia, Kabul, Constantinople, France and to the French colony of Mauritius seeking their helps against the English. Save and except Mauritius he did not get any response of encouragement. In April, 1798 Wellesley came as the Governor-General and he asked Tipu to accept the Subsidiary Alliance and when Tipu refused it outright, Wellesley entered into treaty with the Nizam and the Marathas and declared war with Tipu. This was the fourth Anglo-Mysore War

and Tipu fought to the last before the walls of Seringapatam which was captured by the English in May, 1799. The contemporary English historians have described him as a religious fanatic and a tyranical ruler. These observations are not correct. He was a very successful ruler and he made Mysore a prosperous state in spite of the wars that he had to constantly engage in. He was tolerant to his Hindu subjects. The most unique virtue of him was that he did not enter into alliance with any other power of India to overthrow the British from India.

SIR GEORGE BARLOW (1805-1807)

**Policy of
non-
intervention**

Sir George Barlow took over as the Governor-General of India in 1805. He strictly followed the instructions of the Home Government for non-intervention especially in the affairs of the Marathas in Upper India. He returned the territories of Gwalior and Gohud to Sindhia and took away the British troops from the Rajputs and agreed to accept the river Chambal as the boundary between Sindhia's dominions and Company's territory. As for Holkar he gave him some advantageous terms and a free hand against the Rajput states. The withdrawal of British protection from the Rajput chiefs lowered the British prestige to a large extent.

But in two cases Barlow had to change his policy. He asked the Nizam to abide by the terms of the Subsidiary Alliance which he was willing to avoid. He also resisted the orders of the Home Government who instructed him to withdraw from the Treaty of Bassein and to allow the Peshwa to resume his old position.

Mutiny of Vellore

The only other remarkable event of Barlow's rule was the mutiny of the Sepoys at Vellore. A regulation was made to the effect that the Sepoys would use a restricted dress and not to use the sectarian marks on the foreheads. This created discontent among the Sepoys who rose into revolt and killed as many as fourteen officers.

An estimate of Barlow—Sir George Barlow came to India as a civil servant in the employment of the East India Company. During the administration of Lord Wellesley (1798-1805) he rose to be a member of Council, and at the time of the death of Lord Cornwallis in October, 1805 he was the senior member of the Council. After Wellesley was recalled he was asked to act as the Governor-General and for two years till 1807 he held that post. He followed the policy of Lord Cornwallis and did not intervene in the matters of the States of India. Thus when the Marathas raided upon the Rajputs and plundered Rajputana at their pleasure. This largely reduced the prestige of the British Government. During his administration the sepoys at Vellore rose into mutiny which Barlow suppressed with force. As a result of his policy of non-intervention, the expenditure of the Company was reduced and this led to the surplus of the Company's budget. Although this was very much liked by the Home Government but his weakness created resentment among the British in India and in England. As a result, Barlow was not confirmed in the post of the Governor-General and he was swiftly replaced by Lord Minto I.

LORD MINTO

(1807-1813)

Departure from the policy of non- intervention

After Barlow came Lord Minto and he was also determined to carry on a policy of non-intervention. But circumstances compelled him to modify his policy, since it was becoming increasingly difficult to take no notice of the political obligation, arising out of the British relation with the Indian states. The death of Jaswant Rao, a vigorous Pathan chief, named Amir Khan and his supporters of Pindaris carried everything before in the dominion of Holkar. He forcibly collected money from the Rajput provinces and started a steam-roller of oppression in their dominions and seized Bhopal. But Lord Minto kept closed eyes over the activities of Amir Khan so long. But when the Pathan chief was going to attack Berar, the Governor-General lent the services of the British troops to Bhonsle against the threat from the Pathans. Similarly, when Daulat Rao Sindhia was carrying on his war-like activities in Malwa and Rajputana, he only sent his envoy Elphinstone to the court of Peshwa Baji Rao II. His greatest achievement was the perpetual amity with the great Sikh leader Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1809) and this will be dealt with now.

Rise of Sikh Power

Lord Minto and the Sikhs—The Sikhs had been living an independent life untouched by the annexation policy of the British Government. They Gradually began to wield powers and after the withdrawal of Ahmad Shah Durrani in 1767 they occupied the country between Rawalpindi and the Yamuna. Their further expansion was checked by the Marathas but when the backbone of the Marathas was

crushed in 1803 by Lord Lake, this added fuel to the Sikh ambition.

Works of Ranjit Singh When Ranjit Singh would take up the leadership of the Sikhs, a new power would emerge in India. Ranjit was a brave soldier from the boyhood. In 1799 the ruler of Kabul appointed him Governor of Lahore with the title of Raja. Three years later in 1802 he made himself master of Amritsar, the holy city of the Sikhs. By and by he strengthened his hold in the west of Sutlej and became the master of the Punjab and Kashmir. It was the hope of Ranjit to progress into the east of the Sutlej which he hoped would be possible since there was a lull in the British foreign policy. Thus when in 1806 some of the Sikh chiefs of Sirhind quarrelled among themselves and sought the help of Ranjit Singh, Ranjit availed himself of this opportunity and occupied Ludhiana. The Sikh chiefs took alarm and invited the British intervention. Lord Minto did not want that Ranjit's hold should cross the Sutlej and with this plan he sent his envoy Charles Metcalfe to the Sikh court. After protracted negotiation a treaty was signed at Amritsar in 1809 that made the river Sutlej the boundary of Ranjit Singh's authority and this treaty created 'perpetual amity' between the contracting parties. The treaty remained in force for the next 30 years of Ranjit's rule. Ranjit Singh is regarded as the founder of the Sikh monarchy and although one and half a century had passed since his death his name is still a household word.

Lord Minto wanted to keep Ranjit beyond the Sutlej

Treaty of Amritsar, 1809

Ranjit Singh was a born leader and was gifted with an iron will. He dreamt of making a Sikh Empire to realise which he strove throughout his life. His greatest achievement was to unify the scattered Sikh states into an

empire. Although his government was one of military administration, it never degenerated into tyranny. He protected the religious interests of other communities by a catholic attitude to all religions. Sir Charles Metcalfe admired Ranjit's judicious use of talented men of all religions.

Ranjit Singh was an outstanding Indian of his time. By a conspicuous display of tact, forbearance, generosity and strength, he had succeeded in welding the warring Sikhs into a powerful military fraternity. Besides his great abilities as a soldier, he was a sagacious statesman who refused to be swayed by sectarian considerations in the government of his kingdom. It was ability that won the confidence of this remarkable man, who appointed many non-Sikhs, including Brahmins and Muslims, to great positions both in the civil and military government of the state. He was a great conqueror whose territories extended far beyond the confines of the Punjab, but he never stained his sword with useless bloodshed. He was in fact "infinitely more merciful than any European statesman. Never perhaps was so large an empire founded by one man with so little criminality.

An estimate of Lord Minto I—Minto I was the Governor-General of India from 1807-1813. He was the follower of Lord Cornwallis policy on non-intervention and he succeeded in avoiding any major war in India. Yet, his record is one of several diplomatic triumphs. By a show of force he prevented the Pindari leader—Amir Khan from interfering in Berar in 1809. His still greater victory was the conclusion of the treaty of Amritsar in 1809 with Ranjit Singh of the Punjab by which the Sutlej

came to be the boundary line between the Sikh State in the Punjab and the British Indian territory. In order to baffle the Franco-Russian invasion of India Lord Minto sent Sir John Malcolm on a mission to Persia in 1808 and Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Amir of Afghanistan the same year. A kind of understanding was reached with both the kingdoms on the steps that are to be taken for thwarting the Franco-Russian menace which was, however, forestalled by the cleavage that grew up between France and Russia in 1810. But the fear from French aggression still continued and Lord Minto defeated the French islands of Bourbon and Mauritius in the west and the Dutch possessions of Amboyna and the Spice islands in the east in 1810 and the island of Java in 1811. Thus Minto I effectively checked France and her subordinate states in the East Indies.

LORD HASTINGS

(1813-1823)

His Policy

The successor of Lord Minto was Lord Hastings. He was initially opposed to Wellesley's policy of aggrandisement and he came to India with a firm determination to continue his policy of non-intervention. But the state of affair of the country compelled him to modify his policy and finally he had to swing back to the policy of Wellesley.

It was considered by Hastings that the policy of non-intervention of George Barlow and Lord Minto was responsible for the internal disorder throughout the country. This was considered by the native states in India as a source of weakness and the Gurkhas and the Burmese adopted a hostile attitude. But the

**Circum-
stances that
compelled
Hastings to
change
policy**

most serious concern was the threat and devastation inflicted by the Pindaris that entailed heavy misery to the people of Central India. The other pressing needs were the quarrels with the Gurkhas of Nepal. It is said that there were "seven different quarrels" with which Hastings was confronted and was ultimately led to give up policy of non-intervention and adopted a policy of annexation.

**War with
Nepal**

The Gurkhas were a turbulent warlike race and had demoralised the ancient ruling dynasties of the Nepal Valley in 1768 and gradually extended their power over the whole hilly region from the Bhutan frontier to the river Sutlej on the west. They wanted to expand their sway still further over the plains. As borderline between Nepal and the British India was not well marked, it led to friction and Lord Hastings had to declare war in 1814. The war with Nepal, no doubt, was planned very well but was very badly executed. Lord Hastings' plan was to make an attack from all sides but the plan failed because of the bravery of the Gurkhas. Many British Generals died. But ultimately the Gurkhas won defeat and their leader Amar Singh had to surrender. The war was closed by the Treaty of Sagauli in 1816. By this treaty the Gurkhas were pushed out from Sikkim and the British gained places like Simla, Almora and Nainital.

**Treaty of
Sagauli,
1816**

**War with
the Pindaris**

Perhaps the most outstanding contribution of Lord Hastings to the peace and tranquillity of India was his suppression of the Pindari menace—a task to which he gave his undivided attention soon after the Nepalese war. The Pindaris were a lawless plundering tribe who mustered as many as forty thousand horses during their expeditions and had rapidly grown

**The
Pindaris
were
crushed**

both in number and boldness and spread terror and misery over wide areas, including the vast Central Indian region. They frequently carried sword and fire far into the territories of the Raja of Nagpur, the Nizam and the Peshwa. Emboldened by the erstwhile policy of non-intervention the Pindaris spread their field of action far and wide in Central India and grew more and more adamant and troublesome. They ravaged the Nizam's land in 1815 and plundered the British territory of the Northern Circars in 1816. Lord Hastings could not keep his eyes closed to it and prepared for a military action against it. His first action was to keep aloof the Marathas from coming into any help with the Pindaris, After taking the Bhonsle and the Sindhia in his fold Hastings surrounded the Pindaris. All the leaders died one after another and the Pindaris fell before the feet of the British.

**War with
the
Maratha**

The Maratha Peshwa Baji Rao II was not willing to accept the British domination. So he secretly carried on intrigues against the British. He carried on anti-British activities which brought upon him further disgraceful terms. He made an attack upon the British Residency at Kirkec. This flamed up the Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19). The Peshwa had to surrender

**Third Anglo-
Maratha
War,
(1817-19)**

and with him the post of Peshwa became extinct. The defeat of Peshwa removed the last obstacle in the path of British Paramountcy in India.

**Policy
towards
Rajputana**

It was for the first time during the rule of Hastings that Rajputana came under the spell of the British dominion. Hastings had to take the Rajput princes to his side to crush the turbulent Pindaris. This would, Hastings well realised, strengthen the hold of the British to

use Rajputana for both offensive and defensive purposes. The Rajput princes readily accepted the offer of Hastings and bowed their heads to the British yoke in return of protection from external aggression. Thus as many as nineteen Rajput states including Jaipur, Udaipur, Jodhpur and Bundi went under the British care. Thus under Hastings British paramountcy was recognised all over India except the Punjab under Ranjit Singh and Nepal under the Gorkhas.

**Expansion
of the
British
dominion**

**Beginning of
British
Paramount-
cy**

**England's
sovereignty
in India
became
recognised
by Europe**

An estimate of Lord Hastings—Lord Hastings occupies as high a place in the history of expansion of British rule in India as Wellesley. By exterminating the Marathas for ever he removed the last obstruction to the British paramountcy in India. By defeating the Gorkhas he added to the British Empire—Simla, Nainital, Kumaon and Garhwal. The troubles some and obstinate Pindaris were crushed under the heels of Hastings. Even Rajputana and Central India that were so long beyond the pale of the British Empire came under his dominion. Thus it is said that Hastings' works in India mark the beginning of British Paramountcy in India. There was no state that could challenge the British authority in India. No Governor-General before or after Lord Hastings concluded as many treaties with the Indian states as he did. A large number of big and small principalities were brought within the orbit of British paramountcy, including Cutch, where armed intervention became necessary to enforce peaceful conditions. The vast sub-continent excluding the Punjab and Sindh, came under the sway of the British, who could now dispense with the fiction that they held India as the deputies of the impoverished and important Great Mughals. The

Act of 1813 proclaimed the sovereignty of the Crown of England over this country. In the following year, both France and Holland, at one time England's most formidable competitors in the East, acknowledge the *fait accompli* in India. Lord Hastings, however, made no radical changes in his Government's political relations with the states. What he did is that he enlarged and consolidated the subsidiary system by making it a universal principle of public policy that every state should surrender its foreign relations to the paramount power, submit all its external disputes to British arbitration and 'defer to British advice regarding internal management so far as might be necessary to cure disorders or scandalous misrule.'

**One of the
the best
Governor
General in
India**

His internal works were equally great. To quicken justice he abolished the right of appeal in certain cases. He took up a method by which Judges could be appointed only on merit basis. For the spread of education he established a college at Calcutta. He was an able administrator, hard-working man and his name and fame enabled him to rank pre-eminent among all the Governor-Generals in India.

LORD AMHERST

(1823-28)

Lord Hastings was succeeded by Lord Amherst who was an amiable and mild-mannered man, who had already served the Company and pleased it by his conduct as ambassador to the Emperor of China in 1816. He was, however, a man of mediocre abilities and was incapable of rising to the height of sole responsibility. He came to India armed with the assurance that his term of office in this

country would be peaceful and pleasant because 'no power or combination of powers can make head against us or furnish reasonable ground of attack.' He was also told that 'no further acquisition of territory can be desirable.'

War With Burma

Lord Hastings's administration is famous for one single event—the First Anglo-Burmese War (1824-26). A war with Burma was also fought by his predecessor—Lord Hastings as a defensive measure against the intrusion from the side of Burma. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Burma became a strong and formidable power by including Arakan within its geographical limits (1784-85) and thus came very close to Chittagong. Many fugitives took shelter in Chittagong out of panic and raised a counter-attack upon the Burmese. The Burmese Government expressed their resentment over such emigration and demanded surrender of such fugitives. The British authorities in Chittagong refused to do so. In 1813 the Burmese occupied Manipur and in 1818 the king of Burma sent a letter to Lord Hastings demanding Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Cassimbazar. In 1822 the Burmese conquered Assam. In 1823, the year in which Lord Amherst assumed power matters came to a head when the Burmese occupied forcibly the island of Shahpuri that lay within the dominion of the British authority and was about to declare war upon Bengal. Lord Amherst who had been trying to keep a compromise had now to change his mind. In March 1824 he declared war upon Burma. His plan was to capture Rangoon and then march up the river Irrawaddy to the Burmese capital Ava. The war lasted for two years till February, 1826. It was fought over a

Circum- stances leading to the Burmese War

Main incidents of the war

Treaty of Yandaboo, 1826

vast area covering Assam, Arakan and the Irrawaddy Valley. Within two months of the war the British suffered a serious reverse in the battle of Ramu. But very soon they recovered and killed the Burmese General Bandula and advanced as far as Yandaboo. The Burmese Government now saw no other way than to open negotiations with the British and concluded peace in February, 1826. According to the terms of the treaty Burma gave up all claims over Assam, Cachar, Jaintia and Manipur and agreed to receive a British envoy at the court and to pay a heavy war indemnity. Thus the whole of the Brahmaputra Valley which was earlier placed under the Ahoms was incorporated to the British dominion.

An estimate of Amherst—Lord Amherst was the Governor-General of India from 1823 to 1828. During his administration the First Burmese War was fought as a result of which Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed to the British India. But Lord Amherst failed to effectively operate the war and the Indo-British army suffered heavy losses. The war lingered on unnecessarily. While the war was proceeding two incidents occurred. First of them was the mutiny of the 47th Native Infantry against the order to sail across the Sea. This mutiny was suppressed with an iron hand. The second incident was with regard to the *gadi* of Bharatpur which was claimed by Durrjan sal who rose in revolt in 1824 and proclaimed himself as the Raja. In early 1825 the fort was captured and the revolt was silenced. One Memorable monument of achievement of Lord Amherst was the establishment of Sanskrit college in Calcutta in 1824.

Attainment of British Paramountcy

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK

(1828-1835)

**A new era
introduced
by Bentinck**

After the departure of Lord Amherst from India Lord William Bentinck came as the Governor-General. He and his government are distinguishable in the sense that unlike other previous administrators he believed in the welfare of the Indian people as the welfare of the British government. Thus we find that unlike the other British administrations his was one of reforms of far-reaching consequences. These reforms were financial, judicial, administrative, educational and social into which groups these are conveniently divided.

(a) *Financial reforms*—The extravagance of Lord Hastings and Lord Amherst involved the Company in heavy financial troubles so that the first concern of Bentinck was to rejuvenate the economic structure of the Company. For that purpose he reduced the expenditure of the Company and retrenched many of the officers and also made cut in the pay of the officers. He cut down the fifty per cent *batta* paid to the military personnel stationed within four hundred miles of Calcutta. By making a considerable addition to the revenue he revised the land settlements in North Western Provinces and by the resumption of unauthorised revenue free lands in the permanently settled provinces. As a result, the Company's finances were now put on a firm footing. As a matter of fact, he refilled the empty treasury by transforming an annual deficit of one million pounds into a surplus of one and a half million pounds.

**Steps to
quicken
Justice**

(b) *Judicial reforms*—By abolishing the provincial courts of appeal and circuit which would delay and thus deny justice, Bentinck contributed to the quickening of justice. He divided the Presidency of Bengal into twenty divisions each placed under the charged of the Commissioner. These officers were required to perform suce judicial duties as were formerly discharged by the provincial courts. Another regulation enacted by Bentinck provided for the appointment of suitable Indian in the district and city courts which was a revolutionary step since Cornwallis had eliminated all the Indians from high posts. Another measure of Bentinck was the substitution of the vernacular for Persian as the court language. It was Bentinck who laid down the jury system in Bengal in which case again the

Indians were, if suitable, recruited to assist the British Judges.

Employment of the Indians in responsible posts

(c) *Administrative reforms*—The most remarkable measure of Bentinck in the administrative reforms was the selection of the Indians in the high posts in the British government. This was done by him in accordance with the principles laid down in the Charter Act of 1833 which reads as follows : “no native of India nor any natural born subject of his Majesty should be disabled from holding any place or office of employment by reason of his religion, place of birth, descent or colour”. He combined the post of of the District Magistrate with the Collector.

(d) *Social reforms*—In the field of social reforms Bentinck’s most remarkable achievement was the abolition of the ‘Sati’ or the practice of burning alive the Hindu widows on the same funeral pyre of their deceased husbands. In this matter Bentinck was amply assisted by Raja Ram Mohan Roy, a great Hindu reformist of that age and who is considered as the “liberal of all liberals”. Sati was abolished in Bengal on December 4, 1829 and Bombay and Madras in the following year.

Suppression of the Thuggees

The suppression of the *Thuggees* was another valuable work of Bentinck to the cause of social reforms in India. They were a band of assassians who would strangle to death the travellers on their way in lone places. They accompanied unsuspecting travellers on long journeys and behaved with them in the most friendly manner till the opportunity prevailed. When it did they throttled every member of the unfortunate caravan with the noose of their handkerchief. In this benevolent work he was

immensely assisted by Major Sleeman (1788-1856) with whose helps he rounded up the Thuggees and cleared the Indian highways of their menace.

(e) *Educational reforms*—During the time of Bentinck the medium of instruction to be followed in India became a subject of controversy. Macaulay who was at that time a Law member took the cause of English. There was at that time two widely divided opinions—the Orientalists headed by the renowned Sanskrit Scholar Wilson who preferred Sanskrit to be employed as the medium of instruction and the other group known as occidentalists were in favour of keeping English as the medium. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar favoured for English. It was decided that India must keep her eyes to the west and keep English as the medium of instruction. It was under Bentinck's patronage that the Medical College was established at Calcutta and Elphinstone Institution at Bombay.

Relation with the Native states

Annexation of Cachar, Coorg and Jaintia

Foreign policy of Bentinck—In foreign affairs Bentinck followed the path of non-intervention as directed by the Home government. Taking advantage of this opportunity disturbances and disorders broke out in Gwalior, Bhopal and Jaipur and the Gaikwar assumed an attitude of open hostility ; but even then Bentinck with great patience avoided any confrontation. On the death of Raja of Cachar without heirs, only at the request of the people of Cachar he incorporated Cachar to his dominion. When the atrocities were committed by the cruel Raja of Coorg upon his subjects Bentinck took over Coorg. When Jaintia Parganas forcibly kidnapped some British subjects for sacrifice to the gods, Bentinck took over

**Friendly
relation
with Ranjit
Singh**

Jaintia. Similarly, the maladministration in Mysore compelled Bentinck to interfere and assume upon himself the political power. Bentinck's relation with the Sikhs was cordial and the tie of friendship was further strengthened by his ceremonial visit at Rupar. But we must admit here that Bentinck's good relation with Ranjit Singh was intended to baffle the possible Russian aggression on India.

An Estimate of Bentinck—Of all the Governor-Generals of India Bentinck was the first to consider the welfare of India as the welfare of Britain. Thus within seven years' time Bentinck did a record performance. He secured peace in the East India Company's dominions and lived at peace with the Indian powers. He reduced the public debt, cut down the public expenditure and turned deficit into surplus. He introduced the system of appointing Indian people in the top posts in the British Government. He abolished the practice of '*Sati*' and suppressed the evil of *Thuggees*. He laid down a new model of education in India and tried to carry out the maxim that the administration of India was primarily for the interest of the people. He was without any doubt the first Governor-General who openly acted on the theory that the welfare of the subject people was a main, perhaps the primary duty of the British in India. Lord Macaulay paid him a glowing tribute : "he infused into oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom."

Bentinck was the first Governor-General who entertained serious apprehensions about the Russian menace to India and sought to safeguard his territories by forging closer links of friendship with the neighbouring Sikh state. In

October 1831, he and Ranjit Singh met at Rupar, amidst scenes of great splendour, and concluded a treaty of perpetual amity which lasted for seventeen years.

Bentinck left this country in March 1835, perhaps with certainty that his place in the history of British India was assured. Belying the misgivings of all who had noted his impulsiveness and want of solidity during his previous assignments, he exhibited remarkable powers of statesmanship as the Governor-General of India. He showed his contempt for absurd tradition by permitting Indians to come to his residence and presumably believed that his example would serve as a corrective to the growing racial arrogance of his people. Though there was a certain want of warmth in his benevolence, he, more than any other British Indian ruler before his time practical effect to the principle that the essential function of a Government is to promote the well-being of its people. In his solicitude for the inhabitants of this country and in his enthusiasms for progressive causes, he may justly be compared with another good and great statesman, Lord Ripon. By his innovation and reform, Bentinck laid the foundation of India's progress along Western lines and thus paved the way for Dalhousie, also a convinced Westerniser, to achieve greater success in shortening the distance between the East and the West.

LORD AUCKLAND

(1836-1842)

After Lord William Bentinck came Metcalfe, who held the office of the Governor-General temporarily and roomed the chances of his permanent appointment by liberalising the press

laws—an action that both alarmed and angered the Directors. He was replaced by Auckland in 1836. Auckland was an able and conscientious man, but he was rather weak-minded. He disliked the pomp and splendour that surrounded his office and was unable to reconcile it with the stark misery and destitution of the Indian people. And yet this quiet man, who had come to India in the hope of following the footsteps of Bentinck as a peaceful reformer, involved the country in one of the most disastrous and humiliating wars in the East. It was the war with the Afghans and his rule is famous for his actions against the Afghans.

His Afghan Policy—The Afghan policy of Auckland was guided by the fear of the Russian influence in Central Asia. As a matter of fact, it was a period when conquest was very much in the air. Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, was in the plenitude of his masterful diplomatic career and it became his determined aim to secure a pro-British Afghanistan to checkmate the growing influence of Russia in the East. The Afghan policy of Auckland, we have already noticed, was the result of the unfounded fear of the Russian influence in Central Asia. As a matter of fact, Lord Palmerston made a wrong reading of Russia's attitude in Central Asia. Thus the Afghan policy of Lord Auckland was one largely created by the sense of insecurity from which Britain was threatened by the aggrandisement of Russia. By the thirties of the nineteenth century Russia was gaining in prestige in Persia. This naturally caused apprehension in the mind of the Britishers in general and Palmerston in particular. This fear was further intensified when the Persians under Russia threatened Herat in Afghanistan.

**England's
fear from
Russia**

**British
Mission
failed**

**Chief
events of
the war**

**A disastr-
ous defeat
for England**

Thus Palmerston sent necessary precautionary measures to Auckland, since it was endangering the very security of British interest in India. On that reason Auckland sent a mission to Kabul under the leadership of Alexander Burnes to make negotiation with Dost Muhammad, Amir of Kabul for an Anglo-Afghan Alliance. The Amir was not totally opposed to such an idea but he put the condition that the British should persuade their ally the Sikh leader Ranjit Singh to restore Peshwar to Afghanistan that was lost two years back. But Auckland had not the guts to offend Ranjit Singh and so the negotiation with Afghanistan proved abortive. It offered Dost Muhammad to join hands with Russia whose envoy had already arrived at Kabul. Auckland's action was now to depose Dost Muhammad and to replace him by Shah Shuja in the hope that the puppet government would not dare to go against the British. But this aggravated the situation and the Afghans rose against the British. Burnes was killed and the Britishers were virtually besieged. Not knowing what to do the British representative Macnaghten concluded a humiliating treaty with Akbar Khan, son of Dost Muhammad. But this proved still worse. The Afghans returned to acknowledge the treaty and killed the British envoy and the whole British army stricken by a panic surrendered. This was one of the most disastrous fights of England. In the crisis Auckland was recalled and his successor Ellenborough concluded the First Anglo-Afghan War by a treaty.

Criticism of Auckland's Afghan policy—The Afghan policy of Lord Auckland has been subjected to severe criticism. In stead of making a neighbouring country under British influence, he caused that country to rise in revolt

**The war
was un-
necessary**

and beat back the Britishers. It lowered the prestige of the British foreign policy. It cost the government twenty thousand lives and fifteen million sterlings. It is strange that the danger from Russia which was, however, not undeniable was over when Auckland made the operation upon Afghanistan. Afghanistan being a sovereign state had every right to seek treaty with Russia and when under British pressure Russia virtually withdrew from Kabul, the very purpose for which the war was needed did not exist any longer. Thus the Afghan policy of Lord Auckland had earned universal condemnation at the hands of almost all historians and critics. Politically, the war was one of the most disastrous and morally one of the least justifiable in British history of India. According to one critic this war was indeed only less ignominious to the British than their defeat at the hands of the Japanese in South East Asia in 1942. Commenting on the fruitless adventure of the British in his country, Dost Muhammad rightly complained : "I cannot understand by the rulers of so great an empire should have gone across the Indus to deprive me of my poor and barren country."

An estimate of Auckland—Auckland was the Governor-General of India for six years from 1836 to 1842. His period is without merit. It is, however, true that he took certain steps for the advancement of education and the Study of western medical Science by the Indians. In accordance with the directives of the home government he abolished the tax on the pilgrims and all official control on all religious endowments. But he proved to be a worthless statesman as he could not take appropriate measures to ameliorate the sufferings of the people in India that was caused by a devastating famine

that took lives of eight lakhs, from 1837 to 1838. When the Begum of Oudh rose in rebellion, he suppressed the rebellion and from the new King of Oudh—Nasir-ud-din Haidar he pressed a new treaty for more subsidy to the British. The treaty was disapproved by the home government but Auckland did not disclose it to the King of Oudh. He deposed the Raja of Satara for having entered into treasonable intrigues with the Portugese and proclaimed his brother as the Raja of Satara. He also changed the Nawab of Karnul for an attempt to wage war against the Company and annexed his State into the British Indian Empire. The last notorious work of Lord Auckland was to entering into the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-42) for the purpose of deposing Dost Mohammad, the reigning Amir of Afghanistan who was supposed to be in alliance with Russia and replacing him by Shah Shuja, whom he considered favourable to the British. The unjustifiable war was in violation of a recently made treaty with the Amirs of Sind and it was so badly conducted that it resulted in great loss of the British. The result was that Auckland was recalled and in his place came Lord Ellenborough.

Dost Muhammad Khan—Dost Muhammad Khan was the Amir or the ruler of Afghanistan from 1826 to 1863 and he came into prominence in connection with the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-42) during the viceroyalty of Lord Auckland. In 1836 his territory was threatened with an invasion by Persia backed by Russia and he sought an alliance with the British on the condition that the British should recover for him Peshwar which had been forcibly taken away by Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. The British

declined this offer and this made the Amir free to seek the protection of Russia and he received in Kubul a Russian embassy. This was bitterly resented by Auckland and this bitterness developed into the First Anglo-Afghan War (1838-42). Although at the beginning Dost Muhammad surrendered himself and was taken a prisoner to Calcutta, the British army had to leave Afghanistan for losing 20,000 valuable lives and wasting fifteen crores of rupees. Very soon Dost Muhammad was released and coming back to Afghanistan, he re-established himself as the Amir and ruled over there as an independent king till his death in 1863. During the Sepoy Mutiny the Amir remained neutral and thus indirectly helped the British in suppressing the revolt.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH

(1842-1844)

In the midst of the First Anglo-Afghan War Lord Auckland was recalled and in his place came Lord Ellenborough in February 1842. Having previously held the office of President of the Board of Trade, the new Governor-General was well acquainted with the nature of the duties upon which he now entered. He was Governor General for two years only. His administration had two-fold importance. His first work was to regain the British prestige in Afghanistan lowered by the high-handed tactless attitude of his predecessor-Lord Auckland. Thus he sent a heavy army under the able leadership of General Pollock who rescued the British prisoners and burnt down the great market of Kabul. This was undoubtedly an indefensible wrong on the part of the British.

**Close of
the First
Anglo-
Afghan War**

The army then left Afghanistan. By that time Shah Shuja was murdered and Dost Muhammad was allowed to get back his lost throne.

Relation with Sind—The part played by the British in Sindh was a record of shameless and unscrupulous violation of the treaty obligation. It was in 1809 under Lord Minto that the British opened political relation with the Amirs of Sind when an embassy sent to Sind concluded a treaty 'establishing eternal friendship between the contracting parties,' and provided for excluding the French from Sind. The treaty was renewed in 1820 and was followed by an additional treaty in 1832 by William Bentinck that threw open the rivers and roads of Sind to the merchants and traders on the condition that ships would not be allowed to carry army or arms and ammunitions. During the First Anglo-Afghan War Lord Auckland had made flagrant violation of the treaty by carrying armed vessels to Sind and had inflicted additional humiliation to the Amirs of Sind by extorting money. Despite such open breach of treaty the Amirs abstained from open hostility. When Lord Ellenborough took over, he intentionally compelled Sind to declare a war. Vague charges of disaffection were brought against the Amirs and to punish the wrong-doers. Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind with full civil and military powers. He compelled the Amirs to surrender a large tract of their lands and to forgo the right of issuing coins in their names. This kind of wanton harassment compelled the Baluchis to attack the Britishers and this was an opportunity which Napier availed himself of for declaring a war. The army of the Amirs were defeated in two encounters—Milani and Dabo ; and Sind was annexed to the British

It was an unscrupulous violation of the treaty obligation

Auckland's high handed policy

Ellenborough's policy was equally unscrupulous

Defeat of the Amirs and annexation of Sind

Empire. Napier got seven thousand dollars by plundering Hyderabad. In June 1843 a treaty was signed, whereby Sind virtually passed into the hands of the British. Ellenborough's

Criticism of the policy towards Sind policy towards Sind was an imperialistic stroke be reft of any scruple and it has been universally condemned. It is therefore no wonder that Napier himself would admit his crime as seen from a page of his diary. "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and very advantageous, useful humane piece of rascality it will be."

War with Gwalior—Towards Gwalior Ellenborough took a vigorous policy of intervention. He took full advantage of the succession question of the throne of Gwalior when in 1843 Jankaj Sindhia died without leaving behind any issue. His widow Tara Bai, having adopted a son Lord Ellenborough took the first step in approving of the regency for the adopted son. But Tara Bai dismissed the regent and this rendered Gwalior into a hotbed of intrigues. A civil war was imminent. The danger of the situation was in the struggle for the army which was strong and turbulent and might at any time join hand with the restless Sikhs. As a precautionary measure Lord Ellenborough brought up troops and demanded the reduction of the local army. When all negotiation failed and the Gwalior armies commenced hostilities, it was defeated in two successive battles of Maharajapur and Paniar. Now a new treaty was effected which reduced the army of Gwalior and placed the affairs of the minor under a Council of regency which was to follow the advice of the Resident.

Circumstances leading to the British intervention in Gwalior

Gwalior under British protectorate

Reform Measures—Lord Ellinborough also made some important reforms by

Abolition of slavery abolishing slavery in India and also the practice of state lotteries. He improved the pay and prospects of Police Darogas and created the post of the Deputy Magistrates. But his Home Government was not satisfied with his work and so he was soon recalled.

As estimate of Ellenborough—Lord Ellenborough was the Governor-General of India from 1842 to 1844. Before his appointment as the Governor-General he had been the President of the Board of Control three times. It was a time when the British India was engaged in the First Afghan War which had been unnecessarily created by his successor Lord Auckland. The first task of Ellenborough was to withdraw the British Indian forces from Afghanistan. But he took an unjustifiable step in Sind where he sent an expeditionary force and thereby annexed Sind to British India in 1843. He then poked his nose into the Sindhia's state claiming his action on the long forgotten and dead treaty of 1804 and sent a British expeditionary force into Sindhia's territories. The armies of Sindhia were defeated in the battles of Maharajapur and Paniar. Ellenborough did not directly annex Sindhia's state but made it just a protected territory. The ruler was a minor and so the administration was put into the hands of a Council of Regency consisting of the Indians who were to follow the advice of the British Resident of Gwalior. All these measure of Ellenborough were liked by the home government and so he was soon recalled. Even after his return to England he kept close touch with the Indian affairs and stoutly opposed the proposal of the recruitment of the Indians in the Civil Service. But his protests went unheard.

LORD HARDINGE

(1844-1848)

Lord Ellenboroughs successor Lord Hardinge was an entirely different person and, like Cornwallis he belonged to the school of administrators who combined in themselves the rare qualities of statesman and soldier. Beside winning his spurs in the war against Napoleon, he acquired practical experience in public affairs as secretary-at-war and Chief Secretary for Ireland. His administration is known for one important event—the war with the Sikhs known as the First Anglo-Sikh War.

Relation with the Sikhs—As long as Ranjit Singh was the ruler of the Punjab, the relation between the English and the Sikhs did not become strained. We have seen that in the war between the English and the Afghans the Sikhs sided with the British. With the passing away of Ranjit Singh wisdom and moderation fled away from the Punjab. And the most noteworthy achievement of the new Governor-General was the destruction of the Sikh power. The dispute of succession to the throne of the Punjab brought the two powers change their attitude and this ultimately gave rise to armed conflict. The succession of his imbecile son Kharag Singh gave rise to series of revolutions and assassinations. Taking advantage of this situation the army rose to power and it began to establish and overthrow the puppet rulers at the whims. The situation, however, set down when in 1845 the army acknowledged the claims of Dilip Singh, a reputed son of Ranjit Singh, a child of fire. The boy-King's mother Jhindan acted as regent with the help of her

**Sikh army
attacked
the British**

favourite Lal Singh who became the minister. But the army that was restless could not be controlled except by channelising their energy towards some fights and so the queen-mother authorised the military to attack the British. The army was convinced of the success over the British because the British had been recently defeated by the Afghans. When the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej the boundary line between the Sikh and the British territory, the Governor-General declared war in 1845.

**Chief
battles**

The theatre of the first battle was Mudki where Sir Hugh Gough, the British Commander-in chief defeated the Sikhs. In the battle of Ferozshah both the sides suffered equal number of casualties but ultimately the Sikhs were to retreat. The same fate happened to the Sikhs at Aliwal after which the Sikhs were to cross back the Sutlej. The final battle was at Sobraon where the Sikhs fought tooth and nail and fall down. The British occupied Lahore and compelled the Sikhs to sue for peace. By the Treaty of Lahore the Sikhs ceded all lands on the British side of the Sutlej as well as Jullunder Doab (the tract of land between the Sutlej and the Bias). The Sikhs agreed to cut down the size of the army and to pay an indemnity of one and a half million sterling or to cede Kashmir with half a million. But the second alternative term was accepted. The British sold Kashmir to Gulab Singh for one million sterling. The government was to continue in the hands of the young Maharaja with Lal Singh as his minister, under the supervision of the British President and British force was to remain at Lahore for one year. In 1846 at the request of the Sikh leaders a new treaty was effected according to which the administra-

**The Treaty
of Lahore
ended the
First Anglo-
Sikh War**

**Lord Hard-
inge paved
the path of
annexation
of the
Punjab by
Lord
Dalhousie**

tion of the Punjab was placed under a council of Regency consisting of eight *sardars* who were to act under the direction of the British Resident. The treaty further provided that a British force was to be maintained at Lahore and the Sikh Government was to pay annually twenty two lakhs of rupees for the maintenance of the army. The arrangement of this treaty was to be valid unless the Maharaja would attain majority. Thus in a sense Lord Hardinge took over the political control of the Sikhs and paved the path of Lord Dalhousie to annex the Punjab finally.

Reform works of Hardinge—It is not that Lord Hardinge was only a warrior. He was also a reformer of the first rank. It was his plan that India should have railways. He pushed up the design of the Ganges Canal. He was a promoter of the cause of education and an opponent of the practice of *Sutee*. He was also against the practice of human sacrifice that prevailed among Khonds in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. Thus in a sense Lord Hardinge wanted to enforce the reform measures of Bentinck.

An estimate of Hardinge—Hardinge was the Governor-General in India from 1844 to 1848. When he came to India he was an old man of the age of fifty-nine and had seen much fighting in the Peninsular War. He took interest in the introduction of the railway system in India, made progress in the designs for the Ganges Canal took stern measures in Suppressing Social evils like *Sutee*, infanticide and human sacrifices, then prevalent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. The most important event of his administration was the First Sikh War (1845-46) which brought to a close by the British victory at the battle of Sobraon followed by the

treaty of Lahore according to which the Sikhs ceded all their lands on the British side of the Sutlej as well as the whole of the Jalandhar Doab lying between the Sutlej and the Beas rivers and agreed to pay an indemnity of one and a half million sterling the Sikhs preferred to surrender Kashmir which was handed over to Gulab Singh, Raja of Jammu, for one million sterling. The Governor-General was rewarded with a vicountship for his success in the First Sikh War. After his retirement from India Lord Hardinge held high offices in Britain, first as the Master of Ordnance and then as Commander-in-chief and made many improvement in the British army.

LORD DALHOUSIE

(1848-1856)

His policy

After Lord Hardinge came Lord Dalhousie as the Governor-General of India. He was hardly thirty six years old when he arrived in India in 1848. He was an extra-ordinary man and was endowed with a boundless strength of mind and spirit. His temper was autocratic but he was gifted with administrative capacity. He moulded the political life of India in a very vigorous and aggressive way that culminated in the completion of the British paramountcy in India. He was a follower of the policy of Lord Wellesley. The rule of Lord Dalhousie had two fold importance—aggrandisement and reforms.

Lord Dalhousie and his policy of wars

Three methods adopted by Dalhousie

Lord Dalhousie is known in Indian history for his policy of aggrandisement and annexation that naturally involved armed conflict with the Indian states. He did not hesitate to avail himself of the earliest opportunity to make the British rule effectively over India. He adopted

three methods in this regard—war, the doctrine of lapse and annexation on grounds of misgovernment. He applied these techniques in different cases.

**Second
Anglo-Sikh
War**

**Causes of
the war**

**Chief
battles of
the war**

Relation with the Sikhs—It was expediency that was the prime concern of Dalhousie's war with the Sikhs and Burma. A patch-up work in the Punjab that was introduced by Hardinge did not work satisfactorily. Thus within three months of his arrival in India, the new Governor-General was called upon to grasp the Punjab affair. The Sikh leaders had begun to express their resentment over the power exercised by the British Resident and so there were now ready to measure swords with the British. When the Sikh Governor of Multan being angry with the British resigned, the British Resident sent two young British officers with a small escort to install in a new Sikh Governor at Multan. The two officers were killed and Mulraj was again made Governor of Multan. The friction grew into revolt and then a war was declared by Dalhousie. In this war the Afghans joined the fights in the hope of regaining Peshwar. A small British force under Lieutenant Edwards defeated the rebels in two encounters. Mulraj was compelled to withdraw himself within the fortress of Multan. The British Resident at Lahore deputed Sher Singh with a vast army to beseige Multan but he joined the side of the Sikhs. Then Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief made an attack upon Sher Singh at Ramnagar but with no success. In 1849 in the battle of Chilianwala the Sikhs repulsed a British force. But after initial success the Sikhs broke down and began to retreat. Although neither party made a clear victory, it is generally considered as a victory of the Sikhs. It was in the

End of the war and granted a annexation of the Punjab

battle of Gujarat that Lord Gough got a clear victory over the Sikhs. The retreating Sikhs were chased by the British upto the Afghan frontiers. As a result of this victory the Punjab was permanently annexed to the British territory and Dilip Singh was granted a pension of fifty thousand pounds a year. Thus the British North West Frontier was pushed upto the footing of the Himalayas.

Causes of the war

War with Burma—Burma placed under the British yoke after the First Burmese War was smarting for a revolt. In 1840 the British Resident was compelled to leave Burma. In 1851 the British Merchants were misbehaved and on their complaint Dalhousie demanded compensation by sending a British naval troop. When they detained a ship of the Burmese king, the Burmese opened fire. The Burmese were asked to pay compensation and they refused to pay it. Now Dalhousie declared war in 1852. The British captured Rangoon and the famous Pagoda was stormed. The next stage was occupation of the province of Peru. When the king of Burma did not sign the formal treaty, the province of Peru was annexed in 1852.

Doctrine of Lapse—The theory of doctrine of lapse that if the succession question was not by direct heir in a state that state would be incorporated into the British territory. This doctrine was, however, not a certain of Dalhousie but was enforced with extreme zeal by him. The Raja of Satara was the first victim of the doctrine of lapse. He died in 1848 without a natural son. But before he died he adopted a son which action was considered as invalid by Dalhousie since his prior approval was not taken. On the same reason the doctrine of lapse was enforced in Sambalpur

in 1849, Baghat in 1850, Udaipur in 1852, Jhansi in 1853 and Nagpur in 1854. The ex-rulers of the Carnatic and Tanjore also fell victim to this policy.

Policy of annexation—Perhaps the most memorable event during Dalhousie's term of office was the annexation of Oudh, though his own contribution to it was rather secondary. According to the principle of annexation any state could be annexed if there was proof of misgovernment. Oudh fell a victim to this doctrine as the state had been suffering from a chronic misgovernment. Since the creation of Oudh into a state by Sadat Khan, an adventurer from Mesopotamia, after the disintegration of the Mughal Empire, Oudh had no security or good government. Corruption, extravagance and chaos which ate into the vitals of the state's body politic, became chronic. Successive Governor-Generals, from Warren Hastings to Hardinge, vainly appealed to the Nawabs to put their house in order. The warnings of Bentinck in 1831 and of Auckland in 1837 against the dangers of misrule fell upon deaf ears. Hardinge's ultimatum of 1847 to the Nawab that unless he reformed his administration within two years, 'the British Government would be forced to interfere by assuming the Government of Oudh' produced no better results. The misgovernment was also due to the Subsidiary Alliance which made the Nawab a mere tool in the hands of the British Resident. This created apathy in the administration and the Nawabs were giving just lip services to the Subsidiary Alliance. During the time of Lord Dalhousie there was no possibility of a natural improvement of the situation. Thus Oudh was finally annexed in February 1856 and Wazid Ali Shah,

the last of Nawab of Oudh was penisoned off. It is said that Dalhousie was great annexationist. Ramsay Muir asserts that Dalhousie would 'probably not have hesitated to abolish all the dependent states and bring the whole of India under a single, just, efficient and systematic rule'. But Dalhousie himself disclaimed such a high title. "No man", wrote Dalhousie, on April 30, 1848, "can more sincerely depreciate than I do any extension of our territory which can be avoided, or which may not become indispensably necessary for considerations from our own safety, and of the maintenance of the tranquility of our provinces." Whatever may be the merit or defect of the annexation of Oudh, the fact remains that free India cannot fail to remember gratefully that it was during his regime that the state of Oudh was merged into the British Indian territories. Its continued existence as a separate state would have caused much trouble at the time of the transfer of power to the Indians.

Reforms—Although Lord Dalhousie is chiefly known as an imperialist and famous in the art of war, he was equally splended in his organisation of peace. The reforms of Lord Dalhousie may be divided under the following heads—administrative, military, communication, commercial, educational and social.

Administrative reforms—Dalhousie believed in the centralisation of the administrative system. The administrative machinery set up by him in the newly annexed Province of the Punjab is a classic example of his nature of administration. It is said that the moment he completed the conquest of a state, his plans for the minutest details of the new government for that state were ready and he began to erect the new structure almost before the remnants of

the old things were removed. This promptitude was characteristic of his new system. The introduction of a system known as the non-regulation system was another facet of his administration. Under this new system some areas were administered by commissioner who was made directly responsible to the Governor-General-in-Council. The entrustment of the administration of Bengal to a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal in place of the Governor-General was another innovation of Dalhousie.

Military reforms—Dalhousie was fully aware of the need of reforming the military organisation that was suffering from rottenness. He preferred the idea of recovering more number of British troops serving in India. He was also in favour of manning the British army by the Gorkhas and in view of the martial ardour of the people of the Punjab he raised a new regiment of the Sikhs. The headquarters of the Bengal artillery were shifted to Meerut from Calcutta.

Reforms in communication—The improvement of the communication system took the engagement of Lord Dalhousie. He thus set up a new department called the Department of Public Works that was to look after the construction of roads, bridges and irrigation canals. It was Dalhousie to whom goes the credit of establishing the first railways in India. It was he who promoted steam communication with Britain through the Red Sea. It was also largely due to his works that the Ganges canal was established.

In this country of vast distances, he revolutionised the modes of transport and communication by introducing the railway and the telegraph, and fostered closer relations among its people by reforming and cheapening the

postal service. He envisaged the development of India's domestic and overseas trade by planning railways on a large scale so that a network connecting the main inland centres with the ports might ensure the flow of goods both into and from the country. Before he left India, he had the satisfaction of seeing two hundred miles of railway working satisfactorily. He could also point to four thousand miles of telegraph spread over India at a cost of a little over £ 50 a mile. The first telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra, a distance of eight hundred miles was opened in 1854. It was extended to Lahore and Peshwar by 1857. The military, political and commercial gains accruing from these modern amenities were inestimable. A uniform rate of postage, half an anna for letters not exceeding a quarter *tola* in weight was introduced throughout the country, the charge being the same irrespective of distance. Before Dalhousie's time it had cost one rupee to send a letter from Calcutta to Bombay.

Commercial Reforms—Dalhousie believed in Free Trade and he declared all the ports of India free and he demolished all obstructions that stood in the way of free flow of goods throughout the country. The railway and the telegraph not only reduced distances, but also strengthened and vitalized the consciousness of the Indian people about their essential oneness. Due to the improved means of communication there was spread of trade and commerce among the Indian People that served as a powerful force of unifying the people.

Educational and social reforms—Dalhousie was a great champion for the cause of education. He conceived of setting up Universities on the model of the London University

in three Presidency towns—Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. There was to be a Director-General of education throughout India. As for his social reforms the most important was the introduction of the system of remarriage of Hindu widows and in this affair he got the ceaseless support of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the greatest intellectual of Bengal at that time. His other social reform was the abolition of restriction in inheritance to ancestral property by changing of religion. His interests and activities were many-sided and there was scarcely a branch of administration, “for, the conserving of forests to the improvement of Jails, which did not feel his reforming hand.” He made the most significant contribution to the emancipation of India from her mediaeval condition. He changed the face of the country by adding a modern look to it.

**He
completed
the task of
British
Para-
mountcy**

An estimate of Lord Dalhousie—In the epoch of British paramountcy in India Lord Dalhousie occupies a place which is pre-eminent and second to none of his predecessors. He was never surpassed by British Governor-Generals in India. According to V.A. Smith Lord Dalhousie deserves a claim that entitles him the status of Warren Hastings, Wellesley and Lord Hastings.

In point of the British expansion of British authority in India he was an internationalist and annexationist. To fulfil his aims he took to such measures as wars, doctrine of lapse and annexation. The slogan that he carried behind these procedures was “good for the governed.” Be annexing the Punjab and the Pegu or Lower Burma he expanded the British frontiers to the foothills of the Himalayas. Thus Dalhousie’s rule marks of the apex of the British para-

mountain in India. In 1850 the Union Jack flew unchallenged from the snow-capped Himalayas in the north to the southernmost end of India—at Kanya Kumari (Cape Comorin) and from the sandy Sind on the Arabian sea in the west to the monsoon-swept green Brahmaputra Valley in the east. The once mighty Mughals had disappeared from the stage of living history. The sturdy Marathas and the valorous Sikhs had been subdued. Mysore had lost its independence. The patriotic Rajputs had been tied to the chariot wheels of the British imperialism. A new empire had risen in India on the ashes of the old.

He modernised India

But Dalhousie had other achievements. His concern for the spread of education, improvement of communication system and his other social programmes put him in the coveted position of Lord William Bentinck. He changed the face of India and 'modernised the country. Thus he put India into the same progressive footing as Britain was. It is said that some of the British rulers in India were conquerors, others builders and still others reformers. But Lord Dalhousie was all in one.

Dalhousie's term of office (1848-56) was truly a memorable one. He is entitled to our respect, not on account of the doctrine of lapse, which he did not invent, nor even because of his annexations, which were not large enough, seeing that a large number of states were still left to hamper India's unity and progress, but because he helped the country to wake up from its long slumber, to shake off its infirmities and eventually to take its place in the comity of free nations. It is useless to ask whether the modern civilisation, represented by the railways and the telegraph, were introduced in India as an act

of unwilling kindness. Whatever the motive, it cannot be gainsaid that India rediscovered her oneness almost entirely on account of them and as a result of her coming, for the first time after many centuries, under a single system of government. It is said that Wellesley had acquired much territory and displayed singular drive and purpose but Dalhousie spent more energy in organising than in acquiring. This is the most sober estimate on Dalhousie.

Dalip Singh—Dalip Singh was the youngest son of Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. He got the throne of the Punjab in 1843 as a minor and his mother Rani Jindan was his Regent. In the first Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46) the sikhs were routed and compelled to purchase peace by surrendering all territories to the left of the Sutlej as well as the Jullundar Doab and by paying an indemnity of one and half crores of rupees. Soon several sikh *sardars* took away the regency from Rani Jindan and transferred it to a Council of Regency that took the country in another war with the British—the Second Anglo-Sikh War in 1848. The Sikhs won defeat and the British annexed the Punjab to their dominion giving a pension to Dalip Singh and sending him to England. In 1887 he made an unsuccessful attempt by going to Russia to get the support of Russia in getting back his lost position. He spent the last days of his life in India.

LORD CANNING

(1856-1862)

The rule of Lord Canning is solely occupied by one event—the Sepoy Mutiny and its effects. The Mutiny took place in 1857 which is a red letter date in the history of India.

Real nature of the mutiny :

Historians are divided in their opinions with regard to the true nature of the movement of 1857. The dispute centres round : whether the movement was simply a mutiny or it was a war of Indian Independence. There are two schools of scholars supporting the two opposite views. According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar this was purely a mutiny confined to the Sepoys only and by no stretch of imagination this can be called a national movement. There was no unity between the Hindus and the Muslims and although the latter had a special case of grievance against the British who had overthrown them from power, the sword was directed not against the British but against the Hindus. There was never seen as anybody laying his life with the words "let me die so that India is made free."

Main points of division among the historians

R. C. Majumdar calls it only a mutiny

Dr. S. N. Sen, however, gives a different picture. It is true that the movement began as a mutiny but it soon assumed a colour of national movement when the mutineers placed themselves under the king of Delhi. "What began as a fight for religion" said Dr. Sen "ended as a war of independence, for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the king of Delhi was the rightful representative." The movement was thus a national movement directed to overthrow the alien government.

Dr. Sen describes it as a war of Indian Independence

Conclusion

But the correct position was perhaps that the event of 1857 by itself was not a war of Independence, but the inspiration and hope that it threw for the later fighters for freedom. And as such the movement of 1857 was the first light for freedom that would burn hopes for future freedom fighters.

The causes of the Sepoy Mutiny—The uprising of 1857 had various causes—political, economic, social, military and immediate.

**Dalhousie
was the
root cause
of the
revolt**

Political cause—The policy of Dalhousie which was one of aggrandisement under the cover of a good name *i.e.* the doctrine of laps annexation for misgovernment was the root cause of the discontent among the Indian states and this was resented by the Hindus and Muslims alike. Dalhousie's policy of annexation and his doctrine of lapse did not recognise the right of adopted sons of Indian princes to inherit the *Gadis* of their adoptive fathers. His plan to remove the Mughal royal family from the Red Fort in Delhi to the Qutab, a few miles away created uneasiness in the minds of all Indian princes. They became suspicious of the East India Company. A feeling of uncertainty was in the Minds of Princes. The annexation of Oudh on grounds of misrule in 1856 and the projected removal of the descendants of the Great Mughals from their ancestral rights injured the Muslim susceptibilities. The Hindus felt unhappy because the pension granted to the last Peshwa Baji Rao II was stopped on his death and the claim of his adopted son Dhondu Panth alias Nana Sahib to it was rejected. Indian rulers—Hindu and Muslim - became nervous and felt that the axe might fall any moment on any of them. The policy of Dalhousie not only meant the reduction of the size of the Indian states but at the same time denial of jobs to the Indian people. Thus the political unrest that came in the wake of Dalhousie's policy created a combustible that could be ablaze by a match-stick any time.

Economic cause—The economic condition of the country had been fast deteriorating over

**Economic
ruin caused
to India by
British
policy**

years. Agriculture and crafts had been in a decaying state. The consequent economic grievances and social unrest led to unemployment among the employees of the dethroned princes. The resumption of land-free tenure in the days of Lord William Bentinck, no doubt, brought more revenue to the government. A large number of the dispossessed landlords were reduced to extreme poverty. The Inam Commission appointed by Dalhousie to investigate the titles of the landlords confiscated some twenty thousand estates in the Daccan. In a sense the action was justifiable. Indian agriculture could not bear the burden of maintaining parasitic millions', landlords and princelings, a large number of whom survived till very recently. But Dalhousie's policy was drastic in the extreme. Not many in the country realised that confiscation though it brought enhanced revenues to the government, was necessarily a contribution to the well-being of the people at large. The vast scale on which the appropriation was carried out, the 'linguistic and legal complications' and general illiteracy were responsible for gross injustice in many cases which the government did nothing or little to rectify. Nothing was done to modify the feelings aroused. The final and greatest annexation viz. that of Oudh (1856), left behind a legacy of embittered feelings. Much bitterness could have been avoided by following the advice of Sleeman and Henry Lawrence that the land revenue of Oudh should be utilised for local administration and balance given to support the royal family. The salaries and stipends to the officials and of the ex-Nawab were stopped. The ex-Nawab's capital had been occupied by the British Chief Commissioner. His army has been disbanded. A large

body of professional soldiers—there were sixty thousand of them—had been thus deprived of their means of livelihood. Oudh, whose inhabitants were proverbially loyal to the British had become in consequence “a hotbed of discontent and intrigue.”

**Defective
revenue
system**

The new revenue system with its “sale law” was extremely unpopular with all classes. Hereditary landed property was almost inalienable under the old laws of the land. The new system made it obligatory to pay the rent in cash. It authorised the government to realise arrears by the sale of the defaulter’s land. Loss of land meant financial as well as social ruin. Excessive rent and the law of sale affected the landlord as well as the peasants. The rural economy was completely upset by the new land laws and by the exactions of the moneylenders.

**Western
way of life
was not
favoured**

Social cause—The rapid spread of western civilisation since the close of the eighteenth century had alarmed the people. The introduction of railway and telegraph, the spread of western education, the abolition of old practice of *Sati*, the protection of the civil rights of the Hindus converted to other religions by the Religious Disabilities Act, 1856, the Legalisation of the Marriage of Hindu widows by an Act called the Hindu widows Remarriage Act, 1856 and the Common messing in jails introduced in 1845 made the people suspicious and apprehensive. Mr. Edwar, a Christian Missionary of Calcutta published a manifesto in 1855 urging the Indians to embrace Christianity. He argued that as the remote regions of India had been linked by railway and telegraphic communications, it was time for all Indians to have a common faith. The Christian Missionary was to be found everywhere—in schools, hospital, prisons

and in market places. They enjoyed the patronage of high government officials and missed no opportunity of making fun of the rites and customs of the Hindus and Muslims. To make matters worse, some government schools began to hold regular Bible classes. Many saw in these sinister designs of the British—westernisation of India at the cost of her centuries-old customs and practices, and the wholesale conversion of her people to Christianity.

It is true that the western education introduced by the Company and the new social reforms were welcomed by a small minority of Indian population. Even the educated few resented the exclusion of the Indians from high office under the government. Their fathers and grandfathers “had governed provinces and commanded armies” not very long ago. But now they had either to accept subordinate posts under the government or remain unemployed. The introduction of English law which recognised no distinction between high and low, aggrieved the landed aristocracy. The new rulers of the country could summon even a *Raja* on the complaint of even a cobbler and “subject him to indignity.” The complicated British laws were hated by the ignorant masses. It made them victims of unscrupulous lawyers and corrupt clerks. In fine, the western civilisation that the British people introduced in India was not looked with favour by the orthodox Hindus. They smelled something uncomfortable even in the railways and telegraphs. They began to fear that the British were trying to convert the whole India into a part of Christian world. Thus the revolt of 1857 was the eruption of the social volcano in which many pent-up forces found an outlet.

Discontent among the Sepoys **Military cause**—The army which is the prop of a government was not well paid and well fed. The pay of the sepoy was unsatisfactory and the treatment meted out to them was often harsh and cruel. Particular discontentment was noticed among the Sepoys of Bengal who included a high caste people. They disliked going overseas.

Mismanagement of the army The Indian troops far outnumbered the British troops in the Company's army. British troops in India on the eve of the mutiny numbered 45,522 while the Indian troops were 232,224 in number. The grip of the British officials over the Indian Sepoys was also not strong. In the areas normally garrisoned by the Bengal army there was hardly any British soldier to look after twenty {five Sepoys. The troops were not properly distributed. Delhi and Allahabad, both of which were of considerable military importance, were left entirely in charge of Indian troops. Between Calcutta and Allahabad there was only one British regiment at Danapur near Patna. Oudh was disturbed. But no British regiment was stationed there. The Crimean War, the Persian War and the Second Anglo-Chinese War in which England became involved at that time strained her resources. This offered an opportunity for the unhappy Sepoys in India to throw an open challenge to the organised government in India.

Sepoys took advantage of England's war in Europe **Immediate cause**—The Sepoys constituted a hay-stack that was ready to be ablaze by a match-stick. And the news of greased cartridge supplied the matchstick. A rumour was in the currency that a new type of cartridge had been introduced by the Company. The cartridge was greased with the fat of beef and pork to make it slip easily into the bore of the Enfield rifle. The Sepoys had to bite off the ends of a

The rumour of greased cartridge

cartridge before loading. Sepoys knew that the grease was made from cow or pig fat to defile both the Hindus and the Muslims. The alarming news quickly spread from cantonment to cantonment from Calcutta to Allahabad, from Kanpur to Meerut. This news sparked off the revolt that was waiting for the proper moment. The discontent of the Sepoys burst out in the form of an armed struggle against the British.

**Barrack-
pore**

Meerut

**Capture of
Delhi**

**Lawrence's
activity in
the Punjab**

Chief events of the mutiny—The movement began at different places at different times. The trouble sparked off at first at Barrackpore in Bengal where the discontent expressed itself through incendiary fires. Then the Sepoys openly revolted and their lesson was taken by the Sepoys of Berhampur in other part of Bengal. These revolts were quickly suppressed and the Indian Sepoys were disbanded. But the fire now began to spread towards the north and incendiary fire also opened at Ambala in the Punjab. But the biggest of any of such outbursts was at Meerut where the regiment broke into open revolt, killed their officers, broke open the prison, released their friends and marched towards Delhi. The mutineers were reinforced by their Delhi counterparts and became the master of the city of Delhi and announced that the Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah was the real Emperor of India. The fall of Delhi gave encouragement to the mutineers at Lucknow, Bareilly, Kanpur, Agra, Jhansi, Central India, Bundelkhand and other places. All over the country the Sepoys made the same plan—killed the Europeans and released their friends in the jail. It was in Oudh that the common people lent their support to the mutineers. In the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence put down the Sikhs and with a new Sikh regi-

ment specially recruited according to their loyalty quickly put down the revolts.

Recovery of Delhi Now the prestige fight centred round, Delhi which was under the commands of the Sepoys for four months. It was Sir John Lawrence who would recover Delhi. The Emperor was imprisoned and his two sons shot dead. This rung down the curtain over the last vestige of the Mughals.

Recovery of Lucknow Lucknow and Kanpur were the two centres of Oudh where disaffection had spread in. At Lucknow Sir Henry Lawrence was closed in his Residency. During the early stage of the siege he was killed, but the small garrison gave a good defence until General Outram and Havelock who stormed into the Residency to the relief of the besieged Britishers. The fight at Lucknow lingered for five months, after which it was finally relieved by Sir Collin Campbell. These two incidents—recovery of Delhi and Lucknow broke down the backbone of the mutiny. At Kanpur Nana Sahib took the lead of the mutiny. The British garrison after a gallant resistance was compelled to give way. A big atrocity took place in which a large number of the Britishers were very cruelly and unscrupulously killed by the Sepoys at the bidding of Nana Sahib who, however, did not kill the women and children but simply confined them. When he heard that a party under General Havelock was on march he ordered for the heinous crime of putting to death all the captive women and children. Kanpur was recaptured by Havelock. Kanpur was next occupied by the mutinous Gwalior contingent under Tantia Topi who returned an attack of General Windam.

At Bareilly which was the capital of the Rohillas the Sepoys revolted and proclaimed the

Bareilly

Rohilla Chief as Governor. The latter retained power for about one year until Campbell re-established British authority there.

Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi

As for Centrel India and Bundelkhand the leadership fell upon the Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi. The Rani of Jhansi is described as the "best and bravest" of the rebel leaders. Sir Hugh Rose reoccupied Saugar and then recaptured Jhansi after defeating Tantia Topi who came to relieve her. The Rani of Jhansi and Tantia Topi made a united effort and occupied Gwalior. They made Nana Sahib the Peshaw after overthrowing Sindhia. Hugh Rose approached the rebels and defeated them in two battles. The Rani of Jhansi died a hero's death and Tantia Topi, though made good his escape was caught and hanged by the Britishers. This was the end of the revolt of 1857.

Causes of the failure of the mutiny—

The cause of the failure of the revolt of 1857 were more than one.

There was no unity of Purpose

In the first place, the unity of purpose which was the *sine-qua-non* to make a movement successful was totally absent. The Hindus and the Muslims did not act concertedly. While the Muslims were trying to restore power for the Mughals, the Hindus were bent upon giving power to the Peshwas. As V.A. Smith rightly observed, "The Jealousy between the Hindus and Muhammedans, the political rivalry between Peshwa and Badshah and innumerable animosities of various kinds so divided the rebels everywhere that they never were for the execution of a well-considered plan." Neither the Sepoys nor their leaders were inspired by any high ideal. The lofty sentiments of patriotism and nationalism do not appear to have had any basis in fact.

As a matter of fact, such ideas were not yet familiar to Indian minds. A strong disaffection and hatred towards the English and hopes of material gain to be accrued by driving them out were the principle motives which inspired and sustained the movement. The spirit of defending religion which kindled the fire soon receded into the background and though it formed the slogan or war-cry for a long time, a true religious inspiration was never conspicuous as a guiding force of the movement.

In the second place, the movement was most local and not a country-wide struggle. This was confined to the upper Gangetic provinces and Central India. There was no movement at all in the Punjab, Rajputana and even in Bengal except at Barrackpore. A number of isolated outbreaks without any link or common plan between them could hardly succeed against the British authority that was backed by the resources of India and Britain. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the great contrast between the unity of command on the side of the British, and the utter lack of it on the other side. The successful relief of Lucknow and recovery of Kanpur by the British, and the lack of any effort to relieve the siege of Delhi by Nana Sahib or any other leader points out the cause of failure of the mutiny. It is admitted on all hands that Delhi could not have been captured by the British without constant flow of men and equipment from the Punjab ; and yet the only communication between the Punjab and Delhi was along a narrow track to the North West of Delhi running along the border of Uttar Pradesh, the region most affected by the revolutionary spirit. If there were a well-knit organisation in the Uttar Pradesh, not to speak of India as a whole, or if there was some able military

leaders in this region, serious efforts should have been made to intercept the flow of men and equipment from the Punjab to Delhi. But very little was done in this respect. Similarly, no earnest effort was made to prevent the British troops coming from Calcutta to the West. Danapur and Meerut were the only two cantonments with British troops between the borders of Bengal and the Punjab. The overwhelming number of the Sepoys in the intervening region, backed by the sympathy and support of the general people had a unique opportunity of keeping them separate, but they did not care to utilise it. Moreover, if the Indian rulers like Sindhia and Nizam joined the mutiny, the consequences might have been very serious to the British. Lord Canning is reported to have said that "if Sindhia joins the rebels, I will pack off tomorrow." A contemporary Englishman, John Bruce Norton referred to the general feeling that "if Hyderabad had risen, we could not escape insurrection practically over the whole of the Deccan and Southern India." The same writer continues, "Similarly the situation would have been very critical, if there were no friendly ruler in Nepal."

Want of leader

In the third place, the movement lacked in an able leader to lead the mutineers to the desired success. There was no leader who could fuse the scattered elements into a consolidated force of great momentum with a definite policy and plan of action. History shows that genuine national movements have seldom failed to create such a leader in the course of their progress. Unfortunately, no such leader arose in India during the great outbreak of 1857, perhaps because it was not a national movement in the true sense of the term. Nana Sahib, Bahadur

Shah, Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi and Kunwar Singh were no doubt great leaders but their capability was confined to their locality. On the other hand, Britain had a band of able warriors like Sir John, Henry Lawrence, Outram, Havelock, Nicholson who were matchless in comparison with the Indian leaders.

In the fourth place, the lack of interest shown by the Indian intellectuals in the movement was a serious drawback. History of modern times shows that all great political movements have an intellectual background and drew their nourishment largely from that source. The outbreak of 1857 not only lacked any such intellectual background but ran counter to the views of the intellectual classes who never looked upon it with favour.

**Skill and
moral of the
British
soldiers and
statesmen**

The last but not the least was that the British were inspired by the patriotic zeal for retaining their empire and profoundly moved by the spirit of revenge against the Indians who had murdered their women and children. The successive victories of Havelock on his way from Allahabad to Kanpur reveal in a striking manner the superior skill and morale of the British troops. To this must be added the great statesmanship exhibited by Lord Canning, the Governor-General who knew how to play conciliation and to adjust to the situation. It was largely due to his conciliatory and dynamic approach that the edge of the movement was made malable.

Result of the Sepoy Mutiny—Although the revolt of 1857 ended in failure, it produced some epoch-making consequences and just from the point of view of results, the movement of 1857 was a landmark in the political and constitutional history of India.

**Extinction
of the East
India
Company
and India
under the
Crown**

First, the Government of Britain became convinced that there should be some radical changes in the British rule in India and with this eye in view the East India Company was abolished and Queen Victoria, the Crown of Britain took over the Indian administration. Accordingly it was decided that a Council of 15 members would look after the Indian affairs.

**Britain gave
up the
policy of
further
annexation**

Secondly, the British government gave up the rigour of the adventure and abandoned Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexation and doctrine of lapse. Queen Victoria in her address in the parliament declared "We desire no extension of our present territorial possession."

**Inclusion of
Indians in
Indian ad-
ministration**

Thirdly, the Charter Act of 1833 that gave the Company a free hand to deal with the Indian affairs was to be modified and the new policy was one of 'Indianisation' of Indian administration. This was the beginning of a system that would include the Indian in the administration of Indian affairs. It was felt that the mutiny arose because of want of understanding between the Indian and the British. Thus to remove this misunderstanding the Act of 1861 made room for the Indians to take part in the government.

**Reorganisa-
tion of the
army**

Fourthly, it is understood that the military system was not well proportioned between the British and the Indian soldiers. The result was that there was a trend in the increase of the European soldiers in the army and the artillery which were kept exclusively the control of the Europeans.

**Reform in
the light of
the demand
of the people**

Lastly, it was now the policy of the government to introduce reforms in the country as demanded by the people and not as willed by the British rulers. Thus the government began

to take steps only on those issues that were voiced by the people.

Thus the mutiny of 1857 replaced the commercial nature of the British rule by an enlightened government.

Greased Cartridges—The greased cartridges are connected with the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. These were introduced in 1856 for use in the Indian army for the new Enfield rifle. The cartridges were smeared with animal grease and had to be bitten off before insertion into the rifle. It was rumoured and believed by the Indian soldiers that the cartridges were smeared with the fat of cows and pigs and were, therefore, abominable to both the Hindu and Muslim sepoys. The rumour spread like wild-fire and the Indian soldiers feared that a plot was afoot to destroy their religious purity. The presence of animal fat in the grease was first denied by the officers, but was later on found to be true and the cartridges were withdrawn. The order to bite was withdrawn and the soldiers were allowed to provide their own grease. But these measures were too late and the Sepoys were already restive. This restiveness and disaffection, no doubt, contributed a great deal to the Sepoy Mutiny.

Bahadur Shah II—Bahadur Shah II was the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi. Like his father Akbar II he was a pensioner of the East India Company and could not improve his position in any way. He came to prominence at the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857. At that time he was eighty years old and he had no capacity to think or act himself when he was declared by the mutinous sepoys as the

Emperor of liberated India. This created intense displeasure and hostility of the British who recaptured Delhi in September, 1857 arrested Bahadur Shah II and sent him in exile to Rangoon. He died at Rangoon at the age of eighty seven. On the day of his arrest his two sons were arrested and shot dead. In this way perished the last descendants of the Mughals.

Nana Sahib—Nana Sahib was the adopted son of the last Peshwa Baji Rao II. During the life time of his father he lived in Bithur near Kanpur and had friendly relations with English people of the locality. On the death of his father Lord Dalhousie refused to renew to him the princely pension of his adoptive father. As a result Nana Sahib began to harbour bitter and hostile feeling to the English. It is difficult to say what exact part he played in the Sepoy Mutiny. But there is no doubt that he played an effective role in that episode. It was he who initiated the suggestion of declaring Bahadur Shah II as the Emperor of liberated India. The massacre of the English at Bibigarh near Kanpur was also his doing. But he had no military training and he could not give the mutiny the needed leadership. He was declared the Peshwa by Tantia Topi and his followers in 1858, after the capture of Gwalior. Nana Sahib made good his escape after the recapture of Gwalior by the British on June 20, 1857. Nobody knew his whereabouts and he died an unknown death.

Tantia Topi—During the Sepoy Mutiny there was a great warrior who led the Sepoys to success fighting the Britishers in repeated encounters. He was Tantia Topi, a Maratha Brahmin. He was present at Bibigarh where the English men and women were massacred. He led the

Gwalior contingent of twenty thousand soldiers that repulsed General Wyndham before Kanpur. When he was defeated and driven out of Kanpur by Colin Campbell, he joined the Rani of Jhansi and carried on a desperate fight in central India but he was again defeated by Sir Hugh Rose in the battle of the Betwa. Within few months he with the Rani reached Gwalior, won over the army of the Sindhia, declared Nana Sahib as the Peshwa and was about to rouse the Marathas in rebellion. But in another encounter with Hugh Rose he was defeated and he made good his escape. Defeats could not overwhelm Tantia and he never surrendered. The English caught him as he was betrayed by Man Singh, a feudatory of the Sindhia. The British court charged him with rebellion and sentenced him to death and he perished in the British gallows. He showed his great skill as a general, tactician and organiser.

Lakshmi Bai—Lakshmi Bai was the dowager Rani of Jhansi a State in Bundelkhand that was annexed by Lord Dalhousie by the doctrine of lapse. As a result she harboured bitter and hostile feelings to the British. When the Sepoy Mutiny broke out, she joined with the Sepoys and defended Jhansi against the English army under Hugh Rose. When Jhansi was stormed by the English, she left the fort and continued her war from Kalpi. When Kalpi fell, she joined with Tantia Topi and attacked Gwalior, the capital of Sindhia. Her encouragement made the army of Sindhia to join the Sepoys. She along with Tantia Topi proclaimed Nana Sahib as the Emperor of liberated India and spread the spirit of rebellion among the Marathas. Sir Hugh Rose made a gallant fight and in one encounter died fighting in the battle field on

June 17, 1858. She was undoubtedly the bravest of all the Sepoy leaders and her death crushed the back bone of the mutiny.

An estimate of Canning—Lord Canning has been variously painted by his critics and admirers. His critics angered by his moderation in the handling of the outbreak of 1857 have condemned him as a man who was incapable of rising to the heights of masterful leadership when confronted with grave crises and emergencies. His refusal to mete out cruel punishment to the insurgents indiscriminately and on a mass scale infuriated, not only most of his contemporary countrymen, especially in India, but also those aggressive historians who would have much desired him to plunge this country to another officially-sanctioned holocaust. Canning was by no means excessively aggressive when suppressing the mutiny. He was a good man highly connected, cultured and intelligent whose inclinations had been in favour of leaving behind him a legacy of peace and efficient government in India. It was he who was destined to tackle one of the most serious and sanguinary turmoils that ever occurred during the British rule in India.

Canning laid down his office in 1862 and returned to England to die there soon after. His regime is memorable for many reasons, the most important one being that it marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. The turning point was due to the transfer of the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. The right of India to freedom was not openly repudiated, but a new tendency grew up whereby self-government was regarded as a matter "for future ages if at all."

A Review of the Socio-economic life of India during the East India Company—

When the East India Company was ruling over India and particularly over Bengal, if we make a careful scrutiny of the loss and gains out of the Company's rule, we find that under the pressure of foreign rule India's economy was totally ruined. The Portuguese in the seventeenth century made a profitable trade in Bengal ; but in the eighteenth century they were gradually losing ground to the other foreign traders. The French also found it tough to remain in Bengal and they had to wind up their business. In the first half of the eighteenth century the English and the Dutch were in the forefront so far as trade and was commerce concerned. After the battle of Plassey when the English got the political power, the Dutch had to recede to the background. The monopoly of trade which the English thus attained had crushing effects upon the local trade and business in India. This has been admitted in all quarters.

England got a monopoly of trade in India

Many a western scholars have admitted that compared with other countries of the world India did not lag behind in economic prosperity and it would perhaps not be an exaggeration if we say that india was advanced country in economic richness. The economic development of this country was rather arrested in the mid-way with the coming of the East India Company to the political power. Eminent historian Moreland has admitted that the Company's rule made India fall into political subordination and stagnation in economic growth.

Economic development obstructed

Prosperity of India recognised by foreign travellers

Wealth and prosperity of India in the pre-Company period—It is an established fact that before the English conquered this country the wealth and prosperity of India was known all over the world. Many travellers who came to India towards the end of the seventeenth

**Opinion of
Lord Clive**

**Trade
Commission
Report,
1916-18**

**Ship-
building
industry of
India**

**Indian
traders
imported
with outer
world**

**Chief items
of import**

**After the
Plassey**

**Company
got a bribe
of 50 lakhs
of pornds**

century and beginning of the eighteenth century speak volume for the riches of India. Even Lord Clive became amazed at the prosperity of Murshidabad and he wrote with surprise : This city is big like London. The difference is that there are so many wealthy people, the like of whom are not found in London. The daring adventures of the West came to this country when it was published that India did not lack in potentiality for economic growth in the Trade Commission Report of 1916-18. The country was advanced in iron, steel, copper and brass. Even upto the beginning of the nineteenth century there was immense opportunity for ship-building industry in India. As export was more than import, the trend of trade was in favour of India. Upto the middle of the eighteenth century the Indian traders had trade relations with Turkey, Arabia, Persia and Tibet. Cotton, silk, sugar, salt jute and opium were the chief items of trade. All the luxurious people of the world were buyers of the *Muslin* cloth of Dacca. While the Dutch and the English came to competition, the Indians began to improve their own position. After the Plassey the economic life of India became defeated.

Appalling account of the oppression of the Company upon Indian economy—It is an well-known fact that in the greed of getting throne of Bengal Mirjafar and Mirkasam. had to bribe the big officials of the Company. From 1757 to the 1765 the paid in this way fifty lakh pounds to the Company. When in 1765 the Company got the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the Company after the realisation of the revenue had a huge surplus with which the Company made a good profit in

**Surplus
revenue
used in
business**

**From 1757
to 1780
three crores
eighty lakhs
pounds were
sent from
India to
England**

**A gain of
twenty
time more
than the
real value**

**Company
got a mono-
poly of
trade in
cloth**

**Indian
riches a
factor in
the Indus-
trial
Revolution
in England**

export trade. To increase trade in China many Indian money was used in Chinese market also. The officers of the Company on their return to England surprised all by their overnight turning into wealthy persons. From an account it is gathered that from 1757 to 1780 three crores eight lakhs pounds were percolated from India to England. This kind of open robbery squeezed the economic life of Bengal. The condition of other parts of India was more or less the same as that of Bengal. In 1762 Mir Kasim complained that the officers of the Company were purchasing things from the Indian people at $\frac{1}{4}$ of the real value and selling it at five times more than the real value. Thus the Company was, in reality, making a gain of twenty times in the price. After acquiring the political powers the greed and pride of the Company received new dimension. To make a monopoly trade in cloth they would give some advance to the weavers and purchased the woven cloths at lump sum amount. They were every now and then frightened with whips and subjected to other kinds of intimidations to make such understanding. This added to the misery of the poor weavers and many had to give up that trade.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution that took place in England was largely due to the raw materials of India. It has been seen that upto 1760 the apparatus that were used in making cloth in England were inferior to those used in India. It was Indian economy that helped the growth of the Industrial Revolution in England. Whatever it may be, the riches in India made the officers of the Company rich. Thus many poor Englishmen returned home like a Nawab which they would call

Nabob. At that time in England there was a popular rhyme :

When Mackerth served in
Arthur's crew,

He said to Uumbold,
'Black my shoe' ;

He humbly answered,
'Yes, Bob.'

But when returned from
India's land,

And grown too proud to
brook command,

His stern reply was
'Na-bob'

**Company's
monopoly**

**Opinion of
Historian
Wilson**

**The
Company
used the
political
machinery
to crush
the village
economy**

Destruction of Indian Industry—The East India Company occupied a monopoly trading right with India from 1600 to 1813. At a very new price and some times by force the Company would acquire things in India and export to England. In 1813 the parliament of England made an enquiry about Company's trade activities in India. Historian Wilson wrote on it : From evidence it becomes clear that cotton and silk manufactured in India could be sold in the market of England at 50% or 60% less than those produced in England. So 70% to 80% levy was to be imposed on Indian commodities or to cancel the importation of Indian goods. Without it even the textile mills of Manchester would not earn any profit. If India was a free country at that time such a thing could not happen." But as a prize of dependence India had to sacrifice herself to the English Company. Thus England destroyed the village life, the village handloom had captured the political power to succeed in that project. It has already been told that the English economy

could not thrive without destroying the economy of India.

**Imports of
cotton cloth
to India
increased
gradually**

**A fall in all
trades in
India**

In 1814 cotton cloths of ten lakhs yards were imported to India. In 1835 it went upto 5 crores ten lakhs yards. Thus cloths which were earlier exported from India now began to be imported to India from England. The export of Indian manufactured cloths from 1815 to 1832 came down from 13 lakhs pounds to one lakh pound. The weavers were put to starvation and thread market was closed. It was India who one day would export cotton cloth all over the world and the same country now helplessly looked for help to England for cotton cloth. All other industries like cotton, woollen, iron, glass were equally affected by the Company's rule.

A country-wide frustration—A shadow of disappointment hang all over the country. When all the avenues of life were destroyed, there was no alternative medium to get an economic footing. Dacca, Murshidabad, Surat and other populous cities became depopulated. In 1840 in an investigation by the Parliament of England Sir Charles Traveylan wrote : The population of Dacca, the Manchester of India has come down from one and half lakh to only thirty or forty thousands. Jungles and maleria are coming to grab the city. Historian Montgomery Marten wrote : Surat, Dacca and Murshidabad and other places where industries prospered have declined miserably and the result is distressing. In 1890 Sir Henry Cotton wrote : even less than one hundred years ago it would be guessed that two lakhs of people lived in Dacca and there was an annual trade transaction of one crore of rupees. In 1787

Muslin cloth of Dacca was exported to England and in 1817 it was totally stopped.

The common people were subjected to torture of middlemen **Sufferings of the peasants and the common people**—In 1765 the East India Company got the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. The new system made the Zamindar pay the dues and when the dues were paid off, they let loose the steam roller of oppression upon the peasants. Now many middlemen raised their heads to get a share by putting the common people into as much distress, as possible. Thus the Zamindars after satisfying the officials of the Company would lay their greedy hand upon the peasants. In the report of the Select Committee it has been told in the Parliament that torturing the common peasants was an every-day business. This kind of economic mismanagement led to the famine of 1770 in which about one crore of people of Bengal lost their lives. Although one-third of the population died, the taxation did not decrease. It rather increased so that the tax realisation in 1771 was more than that of 1768.

Unneces-sary rigour in collection of revenue

Defects of the Permanent Settlement To regularise the system of revenue in 1793 permanent settlement was introduced which had its scope over Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and some parts of Madras and Uttar Pradesh. In other places the system was from 12 years to 36 years. In this arrangement the Zamindars were given the power to increase the revenue of his tenants. The impact of all such fell upon the shoulder of the working class and the peasants. But it is not that they took the measures lying down.

Protest by the working class—The working class had to bear the brunt of the mismanagement of the Company. If we make a close study of history, we find to our surprise, that even at

Strike by the weavers at Broach and Baroda	that time the working class made protests, agitations and demonstrations against the unjustified works of the Company. Even at the beginning of the rule of the Company, the weavers of Broach and Baroda made such an effective strike that some officers of the Company had to call it a 'mutiny'. The weavers of Bengal gave up weaving and took to agriculture. In a place like
Protest by the weavers of Bengal	Santipur they, under the direction of their leader, refused to take up any work of the Company and courted arrest. In 1794 there was agitation against the salt laws at Tamluk and Hijli in Bengal. A movement by the peasants in 1782-83 by the peasants against the misrule of the servants of the Company at Dinajpur is a memorable record of people's resistance against injustice. In 1799 there was a movement at Bakura and Midnapur of Bengal by the peasants. From 1760 to 1800 there was a big saint revolt headed Majnu Saha, Bhavani Pathak and Dovichaudhurani who had the backing of the working class. In 1855-56 the Saontal tribes started revolt against the English and the Zamindars. It is not that the unrest was confined to Bengal and its neighbourhood. Even in the Deccan and Mysore spark of the revolt was ablaze.
Peasant's revolt	
Saontal revolt	
Karl Marx on English rule in India	By the Company's rule India lost her old traditional life but did not get anything to fill up the gap. According to Karl Marx the record of British rule in India is one of disillusionment of the people.



6

India Under the Crown

In the preceding chapter we have discussed that Lord Canning because of his successfully tackling the Sepoy Mutiny was selected the first Viceroy of India when the Queen in place of the East India Company directly took over the administration of India. In the previous chapter we have dealt with Lord Canning in full detail. So it will not be proper to study again his administration in two aspects *i.e.*, pre-1857 and post-1857 period. So our next task becomes the study of the next Viceroy after Lord Canning. He is Lord Elgin.

LORD ELGIN

(1862-63)

Lord Canning was succeeded by Lord Elgin who was the son-in-law of Lord Durham, the celebrated author of the Durham Report. Lord

**He was
averse to
new tax
and war**

**He held
several
Durbars to
win the
mind of
Indian
states**

Elgin who arrived in India in March, 1862 was an able and intelligent man who had been a contemporary and friend of both Canning and Dalhousie at Oxford. He had won early recognition of his abilities by his appointment as Governor of Jamaica at the age of thirty-one. Both in the colony and in Canada, where he succeeded Metcalfe as Governor-General, he did much useful work and would probably have left a similar record in India too if he had been spared longer. Death overtook him suddenly in the hill station of Dharamsala after eighteen months of his service in India. He did not levy any new tax and always tried to economise the expenditure on defence. He convened a large number of *durbars* at Benaras, Kanpur, Agra and Ambala with a view to keeping the Indian states close to the British Government. The only remarkable event of his rule was an expedition against the Wahibis, a fanatical sect of the Muhammedans who lived in the North West Frontiers. He was a sagacious, industrious and a cheerful man who did all that he was required to do with courage and without offence to others.

LORD LAWRENCE

(1864-69)

**Character
and
personality**

The next Viceroy, Sir John Lawrence, who arrived in Calcutta in January, 1864, was fifty-two and he soon became a popular figure in the country. At one stage of his Indian career, he had spent so much of his time with the people that he is said to have almost forgotten his own mother tongue. He showed his understanding and affection for India and her people by learning their language and by making a diligent study of their needs and aspirations.

In October, 1864, he addressed a solemn assembly of six hundred princes and chiefs in their own language—a feat, we are told, which no other Governor-General ‘before or after him could have performed.’

His early record as the Commissioner of the Punjab Lord Lawrence came into prominence as a Chief Commissioner of the Punjab after its annexation. ‘It was through his masterful work that the Punjab was kept quite during the mutiny. He is thus assessed by the British Government as “the saviour of India and organiser of victory.” He was a very industrious man and no clerk worked harder than he. The first important event of his administration was a war with Bhutan. The people of Bhutan indulged in some occasional raids into the British territory and once kidnapped Mr. Ashley Eden who had been sent to negotiate on the

Trouble with Bhutan subject of frontier raids. They compelled him to sign a humiliating treaty by which the Duars were surrendered to Bhutans. The British Government derecognised the treaty and despatched an expedition to Bhutan. In the first engagement the English were defeated but they soon recouped their position. At last a treaty was made by which the Bhutanese surrendered the Duars in return for an early subsidy.

The Bhutan War

The Orissa famine of 1866 In 1866 a devastating famine broke out in Orissa which caused heavy loss of life. The government failed to take any effective measure for relief, and Lawrence showed his negligence in assessing the seriousness of the famine. A Famine Commission was appointed to review the best means of combatting the future outbreak of famine and it was for the first time that a principle was adopted that the government should utilise its all resources to save the lives

**His internal
adminis-
tration**

**His interest
in the public
works and
welfare of
the tenants**

of people from starvation. Although he failed miserably in meeting the famine issue, he introduced several internal reform measures. On public works and irrigation scheme he spent large sum of money. It was he who introduced the system that money for public works should be raised by loan as against payment for them out of the ordinary revenue. Lawrence always took a warm interest in the welfare of the peasants and supported their cause as against that of the landlords. He made an act aimed at protecting the tenants of Oudh and prepared a similar bill for the Punjab which was passed later on. By the Punjab and Oudh Tenancy Act of 1868 he gave protection to the cultivators of the Punjab and Oudh which Lord Canning had earlier given to the *raiylats* of Bengal.

**His Afghan
policy**

Towards Afghanistan Lord Lawrence followed the policy of rigid non-intervention in the internal affairs of the country. This policy has been described as one of 'masterly' inactivity. When Dost Muhammad, the Amir of Afghanistan died in 1863 in a dispute for succession that began among his sons, Lawrence preferred not to embroil in this problem of Afghanistan. He was willing to recognise the *de facto* ruler who would come out successful in this contest. Thus in accordance with the fortunes of the war he recognised one rival after another. Ultimately Sher Ali subdued all his rivals to another and Lawrence offered him a present of arms and money but did not make any commitment to him. The question of Russian advance was another problem of Lawrence and he wanted to meet this problem with negotiation with the Home Government of Russia. In other words, he wanted to give the whole frontier problem

from the hands of the Viceroy to the British cabinet.

An estimate of Lawrence—Lawrence was the Viceroy of India from 1864 to 1869. He came to Calcutta in 1830 in the Civil Service of the Company. From 1830 to 1849 he served as Assistant Collector, Collector and Magistrate. During this period he paid much attention to the system of land revenue and was in favour of permanent settlement. At the age of 35 he became the Commissioner of Jullundar Doab. In 1853 he rose to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. When the Sepoy Mutiny broke out he at once disarmed the Hindustani Sepoys there with the help of a Punjabi army and kept the Punjab loyal to the British and sent the Sikh army to relieve Delhi which fell on September 20, 1858. In recognition of his services he was made the Viceroy of India and he very successfully discharged his duties for the next five years. He worked for the welfare of the common man and for the expansion of education among the Indians. He was not in favour of any aggressive policy towards Afghanistan and rather followed a policy of non-intervention in the north-western frontier. He proved his political wisdom in not playing a direct role in Afghanistan which was not followed by his successors and this mistake resulted in loss in man and money of the British India.

Lord Lawrence rose to the position of the Viceroy from that of a Civil Servant. Lord Lytton, a succeeding Viceroy made an eloquent tribute to him : No statesman since Warren Hastings has administered the Government of India with a genius and an experience as exclusively trained and developed in her service.

LORD MAYO

(1869-72)

Character and per- sonality of Lord Mayo

Lord Mayo, who succeeded Lawrence in January, 1869 was the Chief Secretary for Ireland in Disraeli's ministry before the Indian office was conferred on him. Unlike Lawrence whose manners were cold, the new Viceroy possesses a charming personality that endeared him to all and particularly to the native princes. During his time the Duke of Adinburgh, the second son of Queen Victoria visited India in 1869. He was a patron of learning and he established a college known as the Mayo College at Ajmer.

Internal reforms

Lord Mayo was a great financier. The economy of the country had been put to heavy deficit because of the faulty economy measures of the predecessors. And in order to augment the national resources he increased the income-tax and the duty on salt and he applied this measure with great rigidity. The system of *provincial contracts* which provided that each province was responsible for its own finance was the most important financial reform of Lord Mayo. The money allocated to a province was an annual expenditure fixed for a period of five years. Money which was in surplus in one department could be spent on another department. This kind of decentralisation of fund increased the national economy. So Lord Mayo was highly successful as a financier.

Financial measures

Afghan policy

With regard to Afghanistan Lord Mayo followed Lord Lawrence's policy of 'masterly inactivity' with great success. Although he was not willing to go for a binding engagement which Sher Ali was anxious for, but his personal charms had tremendous influence upon Sher Ali so that

Attitude towards Russia

the latter offered to send gifts of money and arms when the British Government deemed it necessary. He also succeeded in making an arrangement with Russia in respect of the river Oxus as the boundary of Amir's territory. Lord Mayo assured protection to Afghanistan in case of an attack by Russia. Thus the integrity of Afghanistan was secured as against Russia's design over that territory. Mayo's promising career was cut short in February, 1872 when he was assassinated by a Pathan convict at the end of his visit to the Andamans, which was at that time a settlement of the convicts.

An estimate of Lord Mayo—Lord Mayo served as the Viceroy of India from 1869 to 1872. He was a man of great geniality and diplomatic skill which enabled him to secure the goodwill and admiration of Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan. The Amir met him at Ambala in 1869 but Mayo refused to agree to the request for a definite treaty and the recognition of his son Abdulla Jain as the next Amir. Lord Mayo was beset with a bad financial condition in the country with deficit budget and unreliable estimates. Even then during his brief administration Mayo succeeded to improve the finances of the country by increasing the salt tax, by enforcing economy in the public administration and by introducing a division of funds between the central and provincial governments. Thus he turned the deficit budget into a surplus budget. It was during his time that the first general census in India was taken in 1870. He created a Statistical Survey of India and made a department of commerce and agriculture. It is an unfortunate event that in 1872 when he was on a visit to Port Blair in the Andaman Islands he was killed by a Pathan criminal there.

During his brief three years of office Lord Mayo justified the hopes of the statesman who had appointed him and proved himself a thoroughly efficient Viceroy. His exceptional personal charm endeared him especially to the rulers of the protected states who regarded him as the ideal representative of the sovereign. His charming personality was his winning instrument. A critic like Rushbrook Williams paid a glowing tribute to him : "With the Governor-Generalship of Lord Mayo, we may trace the beginning of the steady development of India along the lines leading inevitably to the direction of responsible government within the British Commonwealth."

LORD NORTHBROOKE

(1872-76)

**The main
object of his
adminis-
tration**

Lord Northbrooke, who became Viceroy after Mayo's murder, belonged to a banking family and was endowed with the quality of caution, realism and shrewdness, so common among the members of his class. His character was admirable and his administration was sound. He did not try to make a change in the policy of the government. He described his own policy as "the main object of my policy was to let things go quietly on—to give the land rest." He was oppose to unnecessary legislation or new taxation. He was not a good writer or fluent speaker. But he had great capacity in giving good judgment.

**Policy
towards
Afghanistan**

Towards Afghanistan he continued the policy of his predecessors—Lord Lawrence and Lord Mayo. He held a conference with the Afghan envoy at Simla in 1873, but did not make any commitment towards Afghanistan.

**Kuka
Movement
in Afgha-
nistan**

His administration is famous for a movement known as the Kuka Movement in the Punjab. The Kukas were very daring people and murdered many Mohammedans. Punishment to the rebels instead of weakening the movement rather strengthened it. In 1871, a band of these Kukas attacked the Fort of Malodh which was near Ludhiana. Another gang tried to enter the town of Malerkotla with the aim of capturing the treasury. A timely action by the government brought the situation under control.

**Disposition
of the
Gaikwar**

The disposition of the Gaikwar was another remarkable incident associated with the administration of Lord Northbrooke. The Gaikwar of Baroda was charged with torture to women, attempt to poison to death the British Resident, spoliation of merchants and banks and ill-treatment to the relatives of his deceased brother. A trial was made and the Gaikwar was removed from his position on grounds of misgovernment and misconduct. A disastrous famine broke out in Bihar in 1873-74, but it was successfully faced by Northbrooke and for that he had to spend a large sum of money. Lord Northbrooke was a quite sound man always conscientious and cautious in his work.

An Estimate of Lord Northbrooke—Lord Northbrooke was the Viceroy of India from 1872 to 1876. He was a liberal and belonged to the school of Gladstone and his policy in India was “to take of taxes, to stop unnecessary legislation and to give the land rest.” He was believer in free trade, but was unwilling to part with a revenue that could be easily collected on imposition of some duty on imports. He scrapped with the export duties except those on oil, rice, indigo and lac and made a cut in the import

duty from 7½ per cent to 5 per cent. But the retention of such a small duty created unhappiness among the Lancashire cotton industrialists and on their resentment the home government insisted that the duties imposed on the imports should be totally abolished. This strained the relation between Lord Northbrooke and the home government. The cleavage was further widened with regard to the policy towards Afghanistan when the Russians captured Khiva in 1873. Sher Ail, the Amir of Afghanistan wanted a closer relation with British India against any possible aggression from Russia. Lord Northbrooke considering this request reasonable asked permission from London. But this was turned down. But soon Disraeli came to office in London and he gave up Gladstone's policy of 'masterly inactivity' and believed in what is called the 'forward policy' in relation to Afghanistan. Thus the new policy asked Lord Northbrooke to ask the Amir to admit a British Resident in Afghanistan in 1874. But Lord Northbrooke considered that the request of the Amir which was flatly refused only the other day should not be revised so quickly. This would lead to serious repercussion because of unsteady policy of the British Government. So Northbrooke resigned.

LORD LYTON

(1876-80)

Lord Lyton who succeeded Lord Northbrooke in 1876 was cast in a different mould. He was brilliant, volatile, rash and theatrical. He was a good writer and a fluent speaker. Son of a novelist, his own literary abilities were impressive. He was chosen by Disraeli, the Prime

**Character
of Lord
Lyton**

	<p>Minister of England to give a full shape to the spirited policy towards Afghanistan. The British Parliament passed the Royal Titles Act which conferred upon the sovereign of England the title of Kaiser-i-Hind and as a corollary to it Lord Lyton convened a grand <i>Durbar</i> at Delhi in which Queen Victoria was proclaimed the Empress of India. The result of this Act was that it lowered the position of the Native princes who sank from the position of allies to that of subordinate chiefs. This was, however, a formal declaration of an established fact.</p>
Royal Title Act	
Terrible famine in Madras	<p>When the magnificent <i>Durbar</i> was going on in the north, a terrible famine visited the south and has its ugly result upon Madras, Bombay, the Deccan and Mysore. This later on spread on to Central India and the Punjab. The Madras Government failed miserably to tackle this situation and there was a terrible loss of life. Its impact upon Lyton's administration was so strong that a commission known as the</p>
Famine Commission	<p>Famine Commission was to be appointed to review the whole famine question. The Commission suggested that all able bodied persons should be recruited on relief works and that gratuitous help should be granted to the invalid poor. More than that, there was a budgetary provision for the establishment of a Famine Insurance Fund and also for the construction of railways and canals through districts which were affected by draught because of failure of monsoon.</p>
Financial reforms	<p>Lord Lyton's administration was famous for the financial reforms. The salt tax, hitherto levied in different provinces at different rates was to a large extent made equal. The barbarous customs line or hedge erected to prevent evasion of salt tax from native states into British terri-</p>

rory was abolished. By abolishing import duties on 29 items he gave encouragement to free trade. Again, the process of financial decentralisation began by Lord Mayo was further extended. The provincial governments were given a share in the revenue instead of a fixed grant from the imperial treasury.

Vernacular Press Act

Another event of Lord Lytton's time was the Vernacular Press Act which required the editors of Vernacular papers to give an undertaking to the effect that they would not publish anything that might lead to agitation against the British government. This was a quite unreasonable legislation since the English papers were exempted from such restriction.

His efforts for the establishment of Indian Privy Council

It was Lord Lytton who advanced the suggestion for the formation of an Indian Privy Council of ruling chiefs to advise the Viceroy. Although this suggestion was not effective, a similar arrangement was done in India after the passing of the Government of India Act, 1919.

Literary and educational work

Lord Lytton was a great patron of education and learning. He found the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh and that later on grew into Aligarh Muslim University.

Objectives of Lytton's Afghan policy

Afghan policy of Lord Lytton—The 'masterly inactivity' which was Lord Lawrence's Afghan policy underwent a radical change in the hands of Lord Lytton. His was a policy of aggressive interventions. This change developed out of several considerations. Disraeli, renowned imperialist was the Prime Minister of England. The growing estrangement between Sher Ali, the Amir and the British Government was a prime consideration for the change in the British foreign policy. Again, the rise of Russia in the western frontier was another cause for

**Lyton's
offer to
Amir**

**First move
towards
war**

**Arrival of a
Russian
envoy at
Kabul**

a change of British attitude towards Afghanistan. Lyton's Afghan policy was "the maintenance in Afghanistan of a strong and friendly power." He spelled out his policy at other place as the attainment of this object was to be considered with due reference to the situation created by the recent and rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia towards the northern frontiers of British India. He described Afghanistan as "an earthen pipkin between two iron pots"—England and Russia. He made an offer to the Amir that all the terms which he wanted the British Government to fulfil in 1873 would be granted if he agreed to receive a British Resident at Herat. Sher Ali politely refused the offer as in that case he had to grant similar opportunities to Russia. This encouraged Lyton to adopt a policy of "disintegration and weakening of Afghan power." He sent a note to Sher Ali that contained that as the Amir had refused to receive a British Resident at Herat by that he was himself "isolating Afghanistan from the alliance and support of the British Government." He followed it up by concluding with the Khan of Kalat a treaty in 1876 which conferred upon the British the right to occupy Quetta. This was a first step. Lyton's next step was to establish a British agency at Gilgit by an arrangement with the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Matters came to a crisis in June, 1878 when a Russian envoy, General Stoletoff in disregard of Sher Ali's opposition, arrived at Kabul and later persuaded the Amir to sign a treaty of perpetual friendship. This was a sufficient ground for Lyton to go on insisting on a British envoy in Afghanistan. When the Amir turned a deaf ear to this demand, Lyton sent

Ultimatum to the Amir an ultimatum to face war, if the demand was not conceded. On the refusal of the Amir to

concede to the demand, the British troops attacked Afghanistan and the Second Anglo-Afghan War broke out. After a series of defeat Sher Ali was forced to retire Turkestan in December 1878 and he died there very soon. His son Yakub opened negotiations with the British and on May 26, 1879 the war was concluded by the Treaty of Gandamak. By its

End of the war the Treaty of Gandamak terms the new Amir agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul and submit to the control of British government in his relations with foreign powers. The British also made a reciprocal

promise to defend the Amir against foreign attacks and to pay him an annual subsidy of six lakhs of rupees. But the treaty was disliked by the freedom-loving Afghans who put to death the new British Resident Sir Louis Cavagnari with his whole party. This resulted in a fresh attack by the British upon the Afghans. The British forced occupied Kandahar and compelled Yakub Khan to seek refuge in India. This induced Lyton to proceed with his favourite plan of splitting up Afghanistan by separating Kandahar from Kabul. But before he could give shape to his plan, he was recalled by his home government (June, 1880) and the Afghan policy would be dealt with in a different way by Lord Ripon. Thus this apparently spirited Afghan policy of Lord Lyton was destined to failure. His plans of breaking up Afghanistan and the stationing of a British Resident at Kabul were completely frustrated. The only tangible gain was the British occupation of Quetta which secured the use of Bolan pass. But this was only an accidental gain since this was never the aim of Lyton.

Renewal of hostilities

An estimate of Lord Lyton—Lord Lyton was the most criticised Viceroy that ever came to India. His Afghan policy met with universal condemnation. His Vernacular Press Act brought upon him the stigma of his reactionary attitude. The heavy loss of lives in 1878-80 entailed upon his government a fierce criticism of the administration. Lyton's regime in India ended when Gladstone was returned to power in 1880. Lord Hartington, Secretary of State for India in the new ministry, described Lyton as the incarnation and embodiment of an Indian policy which was everything which an Indian policy ought not to be. "I cannot tell you," declared Gladstone in 1880, how dishonouring to England I consider to have been the government of India during the last three years." Despite such defects of Lyton, he had some liberal measures which later on brought "new and fruitful conception into the field of Indian politics." It was he who gave the suggestion for the creation of North West Frontier Province under the direct control of the government of India. This was subsequently materialised by Lord Curzon. It was he who dreamt of making an Indian Privy Council of ruling chiefs to advise the Viceroy. It appears that many of his plans failed because they were introduced too early. According to V. A. Smith, "The best parts of Indian policy were of a permanent value and served as a basis of developments effected by his successors."

LORD RIPON

(1880-84)

After the recall of Lord Lyton the British Government felt convinced to send out to India a Viceroy who would not only undo the mistakes

of his predecessor but also uphold and introduce the principles of liberalism in the government of the country. The choice fell upon Lord Ripon who was competent to give effect to Prime Minister Gladstone's intentions. Apart from the fact that as Under Secretary of State for India in 1861 and Secretary in 1866 Ripon had gained an intimate knowledge of the affairs of this country, he shared his political chief's enthusiasm for right causes and noble ideals. He was a liberal minded man of Gladstonian nature. It is said that "Lord Ripon period of office, like that of Lord William Bentinck, deserves to be remembered as an era when victories in peace were deliberately preferred to victories in war." Unlike the imperialist predecessor, Ripon was essentially a man of peace and he set himself with steadfast devotion to the grand task of liberalising the pattern of the Indian government. In this sense the only British statesman that can be compared with him is Lord William Bentinck.

Character of Lord Ripon

Ripon's administration an era of reforms

Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act

Education reforms Hunter Commission

A determined Liberal like Ripon could not brook the odious Vernacular Press Act, by repealing which he freed the journals and newspapers written in Indian languages and from all restraints on the discussion on the political and social question. Thus the newspapers written in Indian languages were put at par with those written in English. This was a bold step towards freedom of press in India.

One of the greatest achievements of Lord Ripon was the institution of a Commission under the Presidentship of Sir William Hunter and the Commission is called the Hunter Commission. The Commission recommended an increase and improvement of primary and secondary schools that were not receiving proper care.

Lord Ripon's another remarkable work was his sincere attempts to establish local self-governing institutions. This was not a new idea. Already there were municipalities in big towns but the Municipal Commissioners were nominated by the government. In villages also there were committees that looked after the local issues such as sanitations, the repair and construction of roads, maintenance of ferries, education, etc. But all such committees were under the control of the government officials.

Local self-government

Their members were nominated by the government and they had an official Chairman. Besides, the areas covered by these committees were too large. The result was that their members were not properly acquainted with the needs of different localities. Lord Ripon's concern was to remove the drawback which hindered real self-government in the local bodies. He was in favour of the introduction of local board with smaller areas with emphasis on the element of election

Introduction of elective principles in local bodies

by the people rather than selection by the government. In the villages he introduced District Boards and Local Boards known as '*tahasils*' or '*taluk*' Boards. In towns the powers and responsibilities of the municipalities were extended, their members were to be partly elected and partly nominated and the provision was made that the Chairman should be non-official as far as possible. The local bodies were endowed with financial powers, while the supervisory power remained with the government. In the work of local self-government Lord Ripon emphasised on the educative value. His motive was not much political as educational. In explaining his resolution of 1882 he said, "If the Boards are to be of any use for the purpose of training the natives to manage

their own affairs, they must not be overshadowed by the constant presence of 'he *Burra Sahib* of the district.'" Thus he went for elective representatives rather than official bodies.

Ilbert Bill Agitation

Of all the strange things that Ripon witnessed in India the agitation over what is known as the Ilbert Bill undoubtedly caused him greatest astonishment and distress. It virtually led to an Anglo-Indian mutiny. Lord Ripon sought to abolish two kinds of justice—one for the Indians and another for the British. It was a law that a European British subject could be tried only by a magistrate or Session Judge of European birth. But by that time many Indians rose to the position of Magistrate and Session Judge. So it was quite an odd system that they should have no jurisdiction over the Europeans. To remove this double standard Ripon brought in the Ilbert Bill so called after the law member who introduced it. But the Europeans agitated against the proposed Ilbert Bill. So strong was the agitation that Ripon had to modify it. The modified bill provided that a European when tried by a Magistrate whether Indian or European would have a right to be tried by a jury of whom half would be Europeans.

Social reforms

The Viceroy had serious zeal in the welfare of the masses. He planned a Tenancy Act to improve the condition of the *rai-yats* of Bengal and Oudh and these were subsequently passed in the time of his successor. To safeguard the interest of the labourers in town he passed a Factory Act in 1881 which made the restriction that children employed in the factories could not work for more than nine hours a day. The Act further provided that the dangerous

Factory Act of 1881

machinery should be properly protected and subject to the approval of the Inspectors.

Randition of Mysore

The 'rendition' of Mysore in 1831 is a notable event in the Viceroyalty of Ripon. The historians of British rule in India are entitled to claim that the restoration of the state to its ruling family was an outstanding example of the manner in which the Crown's disavowal of any annexationist policy has been observed. But from the people's point of view it has importance in a different way. After Bentinck's deposition of the Maharaja for misrule, the state had enjoyed the advantages of good and efficient government for an uninterrupted period of half a century. By the 'Randition' of Mysore the state was given to the adopted son of the Maharaja whom Lord Bentinck had deposed for mismanagement in 1831.

Afghanistan entered with British alliance

Afghan policy of Lord Ripon—Lord Lyton had miserably failed to tackle the vexatious problem with Afghanistan and Ripon's first work was to salvage the Anglo-Afghan relations from his predecessor's ruinous policy of aggression and war. He greatly succeeded in re-establishing those relations on a basis of good neighbourliness. Lord Ripon hastened to patch up with the Afghans by recognising Abdur Rahaman, a nephew of Sher Ali as the Amir of Kabul. But soon troubles broke out as Ayub Khan, another son of Sher Ali and a rival of Abdur Rahaman inflicted a serious defeat upon the British forces at Maiwand and compelled the defeated army to seek shelter in Kandahar. Kandahar was, however, relieved by General Roberts but the British vacated it after which it was occupied by Ayub Khan who was, however, over-powered by his rival Abdur Rahaman who recovered Kandahar as

well as Herat. The British Government recognised Abdur Rahaman as the Amir of Afghanistan and the new ruler made an undertaking with the British that he would not keep political alliance with any country except with England. Thus the Russian menace was removed from Afghanistan. This was the amicable settlement ensured by Lord Ripon.

An estimate of Lord Ripon—Among the Viceroys Lord Ripon was the only person who took the problem of India with compassion and without neglect. The influence of the Whig leader, namely Gladstone was writ large in him. Although not interested in rapid and drastic changes in the social system, he had regards for good rule and idealism that might have prompted him to be interested in Indian politics. He made an honest attempt to uproot some of the evils of the society. According to him to go ahead quickly is dangerous and to fall back is equally disastrous. His serious concern for the real development of India is revealed in a letter written by him to the then Secretary of State for India in which he made it clear that there was an outburst of desire in the minds of the people. It was, however, risky to introduce innovations of Europe on nature because many of them might not be fitted to Indian conditions. On the basis of the Famine Commission's Report of 1880, he asked : if our knowledge in science cannot save lakhs of people every year from starvation, how can we claim that the British rule is established on a justified ground ? According to him spending five lakhs of pounds in the construction of railways and hope of prevention of such a disaster in future was no solution to this problem. The solution that he dreamt of was to give self-government to the Indians.

After the so-called 'second conquest of India' by the British in 1857-58, when the British were invading upon the Indian minds and progress, it was Lord Ripon who gave the first solace to the Indians. One English friend of Ripon wrote of him. The Indian saw that you really possess a heart and the Indian knew how to praise the hearts. Ripon is remembered by the Indian people not for any marvellous works he did for them. But he had a great character, cordiality and love for the Indians which quality was his capital to win the hearts of the people. The touchy farewell that he received from the Indians is almost unprecedented in Indian history. His journey from Simla to Bombay was a triumphal march such as India had never witnessed. Lord Ripon virtually did nothing as a matter of concession to the Indians and did not withdraw any tax. But his warmth of affection won the heart of the people. In his letter dated November 28, 1884 to Lord Northbrooke, he wrote : I have been overwhelmed with addresses since I left Simla and the task of replying to them has been in many ways difficult." During his stay in Bombay Ripon while "performing the ceremony of laying the foundation 'stone of the present Municipal building received an address of welcome which was read out by Firozeshah Mehta. He was a true friend of India. This was his asset.

LORD DUFFERIN

(1884-88)

On the retirement of Lord Ripon in December, 1884 Lord Dufferin, an Irishman became the Viceroy. He had already a great amount of diplomatic and administrative background. He

had acted as the British Ambassador in Turkey and Russia. He was also Governor-General of Canada from 1875 to 1878. He was a man of great personal charm and eloquent speaker. His old age made him sober and he was well fitted to remove the bitterness that arose out of the Ilbert Bill. The old man did not like to introduce any reforms and he was satisfied with the old system. According to him Lord Ripon and his predecessors had prepared the soil, and planted the tree and his humble duty would be to watch, water, prune and train. By his masterly inaction, persuasiveness and geniality he succeeded in winning the confidence and co-operation of the European business community and European officials alike.

His character and plan

Restoration of Gwalior

Internal affairs—His great internal work was giving Gwalior to Sindhia in return of which he received suitable compensation (1886). During his Viceroyalty several tenancy Acts were passed.

Tenancy Act

The Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 gave greater security of tenure to the tenants. One salient feature of this Act was that the landlord could not enhance the rent arbitrarily. The Oudh Tenancy Act of 1886 consolidated the position of the tenants by granting them a statutory holding for seven years with a right to compensation for improvement. Similarly, the Punjab in 1887 gave some security to the tenants against eviction and enhancement of rent.

Age of Consent Act

The Age of Consent Act passed by Lord Dufferin during which the age limit of protection to girls was 10 years now raised it to 12 years. This was intended to improve the position of women in India.

The Indian National Congress which eventually became the citadel and exemplar of Indian

**National
Congress**

nationalism came into existence during the time of Lord Dufferin. Its first session was held in Bombay in 1885. It was an unofficial institution composed of men representing the advanced sections of Indian reformers. Its main object was to press for the introduction of democratic elements in Indian government.

**Afghan
affairs**

**Russian
advance in
Central Asia**

**The Panjdeh
incident
threatened
war**

Foreign affairs—The Russo-Afghan dispute over the village Panjdeh which might well have developed into a major war involving Britain was amicably settled largely by the tactics displaced by him in this issue. In 1884 Russia occupied Merv. This created great excitement in India and England. A Commission was sent to fix the northern boundary line of Afghanistan. But a problem arose over the position of Panjdeh which was under the Afghan rule. The Afghans were ordered by the Russians General to vacate Panjdeh and when his order was ineffective, he forcibly drove away the Afghans. As the situation was getting serious, the Indian armies mustered strength at Quetta and the Russian armies at Herat. But the disastrous issue of war was averted by the labours, diplomacy and tact of Lord Dufferin. The solution of the problem was possible largely due to the shrewd common sense of Abdur Rahaman, The Amir of Afghanistan. The Amir declared that he was not sure whether Panjdeh actually belonged to him or not and he was also not very desirous of keeping the same in his possession. He made a declaration that he was willing to give up his claim to Panjdeh if he was given compensation anywhere else. The Amir was desirous of avoiding a clash between Great Britain and Russia. He knew fully well that in the event of a war between the two countries his own country was destined to suffer since

the venue of war would be his country. He rightly said that "Afghanistan was between two mill-stones and it has been already ground to powder." To quote Abdur Rahaman again, "my country is like a poor goat on whom the

War averted lion and the bear have both fixed their eyes and without the protection and help of Almighty Deliverer the victim cannot escape very long."

The danger from the lion was, however, always far greater than from the bear. This attitude of the Amir disarmed England against Russia. There were protracted negotiations between Russia, England, India and Afghanistan and ultimately the line of demarcation was

Friendly relationship with Amir chosen in July, 1887. The Amir did not lose either in land or money, Lord Dufferin entertained the Amir at Rawalpindi and assured him of British protection.

Another notable achievement of Dufferin was the annexation of Upper Burma. Dufferin had to go to war with Burma in fear of France that was already in possession of Cochin-China, Tonkin and were trying to march into Upper Burma. Thibaw, the king of Burma was an autocrate and during his reign the Anglo-

Third Anglo-Burma War Burmese relation became strained. Matters came to a crisis when the Burmese king imposed a heavy fine on a British Company of merchants known as the Bombay and Burma Trading Company and ordered the arrest of several of its officers.

The inner intention behind this action was to transfer the rights granted to the British Company to a French Company. As a matter of fact, a trade treaty was signed between Burma and France and one provision was permission of importation of arms into Burma through the French settlement of Tonkin. The British government could not remain silent over

British fear of French influence in Burma

**British
ultimatum
to Burma**

**Outbreak of
the Third
Anglo-
Burmese
War**

such action and demanded that the dispute should be referred to the Viceroy's arbitration. The king of Burma refused to comply with this demand. Lord Dufferin now sent an ultimatum demanding the Burmese king to receive a British envoy at Mandalaya, suspend the proceeding against the Company till the arrival of the envoy and enter into no external relation with any country except on the advise of the Government of India. When the demand was turned down, the Government of India declared war in November, 1885. Within twenty days Burma was defeated and the Burmese king taken a prisoner. He was deposed and Upper Burma was annexed.

Thus the administration of Lord Dufferin is marked by several internal and external works, the most conspicuous of which is the annexation of Upper Burma.

An estimate of Lord Dufferin—Lord Dufferin was the Viceroy of India from 1884 to 1888. He had a peaceful administration. One important event of his administration was the Third Burmese War (1885—1886) as a result of which Upper Burma was annexed to the British India. Henceforth 'Ava' was added to Dufferin in his title. A war with Russia was threatened over the occupation by the Russians of Panjdeh on the Russo-Afghan frontier, but was avoided by the calmness of Abdur Rahaman, the Amir of Afghanistan and the moderation and sanity of Lord Dufferin. It was during his administration that the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 was passed giving the *raiya*s greater security against eviction. Similar Acts were passed in Oudh and the Punjab. Perhaps the most important event in the administration of Lord Dufferin was the Indian National Congress that held its session in

Bombay in 1885. Although the significance of this event was not realised at that time, it was this organisation that ultimately made the country free from British rule.

LORD LANSDOWNE

(1888—1894)

Lord Dufferin's successor was Lord Lansdowne who ruled for eight years. He was a man of wide and varied experience.

Internal affairs—He made several important measures of social and political reforms. (1) The first internal work of Lord Lansdowne was a Factory Act which made some improvement on the Factory Act of 1881 which had been passed in the time of Lord Ripon. According to the Act the hours of employment for women were limited to 11 hours a day. The minimum age of children in employment was raised from 7 to 9 and their hours for work were restricted to 7 hours. Children were totally debarred from undertaking any night time work. A holiday per week was provided for all factory workers. (2) The Age of Consent Act raised the limit within which protection was given to young girls from ten to twelve years. This Act like Bentinck's abolition of the institution of *sati* created a great resentment among the orthodox section of the Hindus but despite public criticism the Viceroy carried on his work. (3) On account of the depreciation in the value of the silver, there was a dislocation in the Indian finance. The Government of India closed the mints against the unrestricted coinage of silver and made gold the legal tender. The rate of exchange was fixed at Rs. 15/- to the sovereign. (4) The armies of the Indian states were organised and a new name was given to the Indian army—the Imperial Service troops.

(5) In 1892 was passed the famous Indian Councils Act which was an improvement over the Act of 1861.

**Afghan
affairs**

Foreign affairs—Lord Lansdowne had a foreign policy which was concerned largely with Afghan affairs and defence of the frontier. He belonged to the aggressive forward school of Lytton and regarded the separate existence of Afghan storm as the perpetual danger to the security of the British Indian empire against the so-called Russian menace. There was an area known as the Tribal territory between British India and Afghanistan. Lansdowne wanted to convuer it, though it was a difficult task. This was fnot favoured by the Afghans. There happened some events that brought the government of India and Afghanistan on the brink of war. The Afghans did not view it with pleasure the extension of the British railway upto the Bolan pass. Lord Roberts who was the Commander-in-Chief of India behaved in an aggressive way towards the tribal people. A British envoy went to Chitral in 1890. But this warring attitude subsided and a satisfactory agreement was arrived at. Sir Mortimer Durand went to Kabul and demarcated the boundary line between India and Afghanistan and this boundary line came to be known as the Durand Line. This arrangement had far-reaching effect. Afghanistan was bound not to interfere into Swat, Dir, Chitral and Rajaur. The Amir also gave up his claim over Chaman.

**Peaceful
settlement
with
Afghanistan**

The Viceroy had to deal with an element of aggression towards some of the Indian states. The Maharaja of Kashmir was not doing well with the British Resident. Mr. Plowden who was recalled by the Viceroy in 1888 for his vexatious interference in the internal affairs of the state.

**Dealing
with
Kashmir**

In 1889 the Viceroy framed some vague charges against the Maharaja and he was asked to abdicate the throne. The work of administration was given to a council of Regency. It may be noted that after 16 years of this Act of Lord Lansdowne Kashmir was restored to the original ruler in 1905.

**Khan of
Khelat**

Another similar interference of Lansdowne was with regard to the Khan of Khelat who was found guilty of killing his father and son. He was summoned to Quetta and asked to give up the throne in favour of his another son.

**Manipur
affair**

The Manipur episode was more serious since the dispute over the succession to the *gadi* had led to widespread disorders in the border state of Assam. The Chief Commissioner of Assam who had been sent to Manipur to establish law and order in the state was cruelly murdered and although the chief offenders were executed, the integrity of the state remained unaffected. No stress and strains could affect the doctrine : once a state always a state. This was the peculiarity in Manipur.

An estimate of Lord Lansdowne—

Lord Lansdowne was the Viceroy of India from 1888 to 1894. His period saw a peaceful internal administration with the exception of an uprising in Manipur which was suppressed and Tikendrajit the Commander-in-Chief of the State was executed. His administration has another important event in internal affairs with regard to the fall of the price of silver which led to loss of Indian foreign exchange. As for the foreign policy, Lord Lansdowne followed the 'forward policy' of his predecessor both in the north-east and the north-west. China recognised the British

conquest of Burma; and Sikkim was brought under British protection in 1888 and the boundary with Tibet was demarcated. Again, the Lushais who inhabit in the north east of Chittagong, the Chins a little further east of Chittagong, and the Shan States beyond the Irrawady were all brought within the sphere of British influence. In the North-West a railway line which had strategic importance was constructed from Quetta to the Bolan Pass which made easy to get into Quandahar. Hunza and Nagar, two small states on the Afghan frontier near Gilgit were annexed in 1892 and Kalat leading to the Chitral valley was brought under the British protection the same year. But these activities of the British India in the north west made Abdur Rahaman, the Amir of Afghanistan suspicious of the British design. It was an event of great achievement for Lansdowne to compel the Amir to accept Sir Mortimer Durand as the British envoy in Afghanistan. Durand established cordial relation with the Afghans and succeeded in demarcating Afghanistan from India by the border line called the Durand Line after the Viceroy.

LORD ELGIN II

(1894—99)

**Difficult
problems of
the time**

Lansdowne was succeeded by Lord Elgin II, a good man whose best claim to the office was that his father had been the Viceroy of India. He had to face a host of problems and difficulties.

Internal Affairs—His first problem was financial stringency that beset the government and to overcome that he had to impose the old general duty of 5 per cent on all imports.

**Fiscal
Policy**

With a view to protecting the interest of Manchester, a corresponding countervailing excise duty was imposed on the goods manufactured by the Indian mills. This measure ruined the Indian manufactures.

**Famine and
Plague**

Two natural calamities like plague and famine visited the country in his time. The famine was one of the worst in Indian history. It affected a wide area from Bengal to Bombay, a part of Uttar Pradesh and Madras. The loss of life was heavy. When the plague broke out in Bombay it created such a panic that people began to run for life. The Government's measure was quite inadequate.

**Reform of
the army**

Lord Elgin reformed the military of the country on a sound footing. Although after the revolt of 1857 the army was reorganised, it needed remodelling on a more permanent basis. Thus under Lord Elgin an important reform in military administration was introduced by an Act which came to operation in 1895. The new measure placed the whole army under one Commander-in-Chief who was to be assisted by four Lieutenant Generals, each under command of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab.

**Boundary
Agreement
with Russia**

Foreign affairs—Lord Elgin was confronted with series of problems in the front. The danger arising out of the Russian claim to the whole of Pamirs engaged his attention. As a result, a new boundary agreement was concluded with Russia in 1895. The agreement demarcated the boundary between the British and Indian influence in the Pamirs beyond Kashmir. For a time this dissolved the long-standing dispute between Britain and Russia over Central Asia.

**Serious
rising in the
frontier
tribes**

**Troubles
in Chitral**

**The Tirah
Campaign**

**Opium
policy
towards
China**


The Viceroy's next measure was to deal with the turbulent tribes of the frontier. The Hill Tribes between Afghanistan and India did not favour the advancement of the British influence. In accordance with the Durand Agreement of 1893 the British government had established some sort of protectorate over Chitral which is in the north-west of Kashmir. As a matter of fact, it was British influence in the politics of Chitral that erupted troubles in 1897. When the British Resident at Gilgit went to Chitral to solve a disputed succession, his interference was resented and he was besieged. The siege lasted for a month and he was rescued by a strong reinforcement from Gilgit. Another problem arose when the Afridis of the Tirah valley attacked the British governor and closed the Khyber Pass. To meet this situation the British government sent a strong force that suffered a heavy loss. The rising was subdued in 1898.

It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Elgin II that the government had to deal with the problem of opium production. A commission known as the Opium Commission was appointed in 1895 to report to the use of opium in China. As the supply of opium was the monopoly of the Government of India, there was huge income out of it. The report suggested that if opium was not supplied to China, the Chinese people would take inferior substitute that would be more harmful to their lives. The reporter, however, suggested that the quantity of opium supplied to China could be reduced.

An estimate of Elgin II—He was the Viceroy of India from 1894 to 1899. Unlike his father Elgin I he had no important office in England prior to his assignment in India. He

had also no personal ability. Moreover fate was against him as his period is marked by natural calamity like the plague in Bombay and famine all over the country. The administration of Lord Elgin failed to take effective preventive and ameliorative measures against either of these two scourges which killed about a million persons in India. The British citizens at Bombay were so much panicky at the outbreak of the plague that the Government tried with the help of the army stringent preventive and precautionary measures which violated even the privacy of the homes of the Indians. This gave rise to resentment among the Indians and at Poona two British officers were murdered. The administration of Elgin showed how the British Government was opposed to the economic progress of India. He put a duty of five per cent on all goods except cotton goods from England. The duty was imposed to avert an apprehended deficit in 1895. But the exemption on cotton goods was resented by the Indians. In the next budget he took cotton goods from England within the scope of tariff but at the same time imposed a corresponding duty on Indian cotton goods. This exposed that the British Government was unwilling to see the development of India. The administration of Lord Elgin II also involved itself in prolonged and expensive campaigns in the north-western frontier as the result of an uncalled for British interference in 1895 on the question of succession to the State of Chitral to the west of Gilgit and South of the Hindukush. Ultimately the British Indian army triumphed and a military road was constructed from the Indo-Afghan frontier to Chitral. But the interference by the British in Chitral led to revolts among the neighbouring tribes of the Mohmands

and the Afridis against the British in 1897. Two hard fought campaigns had to be undertaken and an army 35,000 strong had to be employed to crush the uprising. This was the severest test to which the British army in India was subjected since the Sepoy Mutiny. Lord Elgin's period is remarkable for reforming the army—the whole of the Indian army was placed under one Commander-in-chief under whom there were four Lieutenant-Generals for Bengal, Bombay, Madras and North-West Provinces including Punjab. This is the only important work in the administration of Elgin II.



Last Phase of the British Rule in India

**Meaning
and period
of the last
phase of the
British
Empire**

The coming of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy marks the beginning of the last phase of the British Empire in India. Lord Curzon saw the tempest that was gathering in the sky—a great awakening among the Indian people for the nationalist and liberalist aspirations. The Viceroy was quite capable to arrest the movement launched by the Indian National Congress. But it was not not in any body's hand to check the tide of history. So the period that began from the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon to Lord Mountbatten may be fairly described as the last phase of the British rule in India.

LORD CURZON

(1899—1905)

**Character
and aim of
Lord Curzon**

Lord Curzon who succeeded Lord Elgin was a promising star in England who gave up a political career in his own country to fulfil his long-cherished ambition of becoming the Viceroy of India. When he assumed this good office in January 1899, he was forty and had visited the country four times earlier. He was ambitious and his Viceroyalty should be the most memorable in the annals of the British India. He was acquainted with the problems of India, but he was averse to democracy as a principle of universal application. On the other hand, he looked upon India as a playground for giving free play to his great ambitions. He believed in governing India in the old style as a benevolent despot like Akbar, for example, relying upon his imperial will and unaided wisdom as an infallible guide to his policies and actions. Thus, true to his aim, during his seven years stay in India he refused to take note of the rising tide of nationalism in the country. At the beginning Curzon earned the popularity and admiration of the Indian people. The Indians applauded his drive initiative and boldness. He worked for eleven hours a day—a busy smith upon whose anvil there was some to be hammered into shape or out of shape. His careless energy and penetrating intellect permeated the whole field of administration and often far beyond it in search of innovations. He showed his fearlessness by punishing an entire regiment in his attempt to secure a particular soldier guilty of offending an Indian woman in Burma. Similar exemplary punishment was inflicted on many officers and men of a cavalry regiment, the 9th lancers following the brutal assault by two troopers on a cock

Initial popularity of Lord Curzon—who died later. Such bold step even against his own countrymen greatly increased the Viceroy's prestige and reputation among the Indian people.

Foreign affairs—Curzon was, in fact, one lap ahead of most of his imperialist contemporaries and it is a measure of his towering ambition on behalf of his country. He was fired with a burning ardour for foreign adventures. The foreign policy of Lord Curzon may be divided under the following heads.

Measures adopted for security purpose (i) **Policy in regard to the Tribal Areas**—A strong anti-British feeling on the part of the tribes of Afghanistan was witnessed during the reign of Elgin II. Although Curzon believed in a vigorous foreign policy, he had no desire to create a crisis in the front. Although he was not prepared to withdraw from Chitral, Quetta and other advanced posts, he was in favour of gradually withdrawing the British troops from other parts of tribal areas. His policy was directed towards replacing the British troops by tribal levies who were given proper training by the senior British officers. He took appropriate measures to link up extensive areas inhabited by the tribal peoples, through construction of railways and he fixed a limit on the import of arms and ammunitions into the tribal areas. He also assigned to a special police force the task of protecting the Indian people against tribal raids. He adopted appropriate steps to improve communications through a network of roads and to strengthen measures of security through the cantonments of border areas. Another great achievement of Lord Curzon was the creation of the North West Frontier Province under the control of a Chief Commissioner who was to remain directly responsible to the Government

of India. Although Curzon could not solve the frontier problem, he at least succeeded in patching up the vexious issue in his own way.

Estrangement with Afghanistan

(ii) **Policy towards Afghanistan**—The relation between Abdur Rahman, the Amir of Afghanistan and the British which was far from being cordial was further strained when Habi-bulla, the new Amir came to the throne of Kabul in 1901. The estrangement developed out of the interpretation of the treaty concluded in 1893. The view of the Government of India was that the treaty was a personal one and that the contracting parties were not bound to observe it since the old Amir with whom the treaty was made fell through. But this view was unacceptable to the new Amir who contended that such an international treaty could not be personal but a solemn settlement entered into between two governments. The quarrel could not be solved peacefully and Lord Curzon stopped the subsidy payable to the Amir in terms of the old treaty. There was no political or commercial relation between the two parties for three years. It was Lord Ampthill who officiated in place of Lord Curzon when the latter was on leave that made some concessions in favour of the Amir and recognised his title as "His majesty". This temporarily removed the bad blood between Afghanistan and British India.

Attempts to safeguard British interest in the persian gulf

(iii) **Persian Gulf**—England was for a long time interested in the Persian gulf for political and commercial gains. She jealously guarded its shores against the attempts of other European powers to obtain some foot-hold there. But the monopoly of influence of Britain in the Persian Gulf was challenged by other powers like France, Russia and Turkey and so Lord Curzon was forced to adopt a vigorous course. He made

**He safe-
guarded
British
interest
in Persia**

a visit to the Persian gulf in 1903 and adopted appropriate measures to protect British interests and to baffle the intrusion of other foreign powers in the Persian gulf. He considered the Persian gulf "as a very grave menace to British interests which we should certainly resist with all the means at our disposal."

(iv) **Policy towards Tibet**—Lord Curzon's role in the Tibetan episode was even more aggressive. A harmless people, inherently incapable of causing any serious injury to their neighbours, the Tibetans desired to be left in peace so that they might pursue their simple and long established way of life.

**Alarm at
the growing
power of
Russia at
Tibet**

Curzon's policy towards Tibet is but a manifestation of the anti-Russian policy followed by England throughout the nineteenth century. It was China that held some nominal control over Tibet; but for all practical purpose she was an independent country. When Curzon took over as the Viceroy of India. Tibet became suspicious of England and the Tibetans expressed their unhappiness by violating the terms of the earlier treaties concluded with England in 1890 and 1893. But when Tibet under the Dalai Lama established more closer relation to Russia, this caused alarm in British India. The Dalai Lama came under the influence of a Russian Buddhist named Dorjeiff and through him carried on negotiations with the Russian court where Dorjeiff was received by the Tsar in 1900 and 1901. This strengthened the British suspicion towards Tibet. Curzon considered it essential to send a mission to Tibet under Colonel Younghusband who occupied Lasha after overcoming the resistance offered by the Tibetans in 1904. Tibet was forced to sue for peace by which they agreed to the proposal that

Expedition to Tibet the British troops would continue to hold the Chumbi valley in occupation till the payment of the entire indemnity. The foreign policy of Tibet was to be regulated by England. This Tibetan episode is a triumph of organisation and daring ; and indeed this sudden penetration of little band of pioneers into the jealously guarded seclusion and mysterious snow-clad land of Tibet forms a fascinating episode in the annals of modern India.

Internal affairs—In order to make the administration efficient Lord Curzon overhauled the entire state machinery. He could not brook inefficiency or delay and so he did his best to infuse vigour into every department. Thus he appointed a Commission to suggest ways and means to improve the administration and the reformers suggested by the Committee were realised into practice very promptly.

Measures to improve the conditions of the agri-culturists The problem of land revenue engaged his attention. He infused greater elasticity both in the assessment and collection of land revenue by arranging for the revision and reduction of assessment as the circumstances demanded. He made the new principle that the demand of the government should be based upon the output of production in the land in that year. The increase in assessment should be by graduated steps.

Measures to benefit the cultivators He adopted several steps to improve the lot of the peasantry. He introduced the 'Co-operative Credit Societies' to provide cultivators with necessary capital at a low rate of interest. This increased the burden of their debts. He enacted the Punjab Land Alienation Act to protect the land of the cultivators from being transferred by sale or mortgage to the money-

Department of Agriculture lending class. To improve the department of agriculture he appointed Inspector General of Agriculture.

Official control of Universities

In 1904 by the Universities Act Lord Curzon brought all the Universities under the control of the government. It was this Act that recognised the establishment of Syndicates, the primary function of which was to grant affiliation or cancel affiliation to the colleges. He also took steps to upgrade the functions of the University whose functions were not only to conduct examinations but to impart teachings to the students.

Preservation of ancient monuments

India is deeply grateful to the memory of Lord Curzon for ensuing the protection and preservation of her ancient monuments. Curzon had a great love for the monuments of ancient India and as a matter of fact Archaeology of India, as we see it today, is largely due to his love for preserving the ancient monuments. With this aim in mind he passed an Act known as the Ancient Monument Preservation Act of 1904 by which all old monuments of the ancient period were protected. "As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty", said he, "I have visited them (historic remains) but as a priest in the temple of duty I have managed myself with their reverent custody and their studious repairs." He saved the immortal Tajmahal from sure ruin by spending £ 50,000. It was he who pioneered the Archaeological Survey of India. As a matter of fact, this measure facilitated the growth of historical research and archaeological study of India.

Curzon became equally anxious to improve the department of trade and commerce. Thus he established a new department of commerce

**Promotion
of com-
merce and
industry**

and industry and placed it under the charge of a new member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He declared gold as legal tender and fixed the rate of exchange @ Rs. 15/- to the sovereign. He took steps to make a reduction in the salt tax to nearly half and raised the limit of exemption from the Income tax.

**Partition
of Bengal**

The most memorable episode in the history of Lord Curzon was the partition of Bengal which was at that time the most advanced and politically most conscious part of India and was rather the spear-head of the Independence Movement that was in preparation at that time. As a shrewd politician Curzon thought of weakening the Bengalees by dividing them into two halves and thus he created a new province called 'Eastern Bengal and Assam' which he placed under a Lieutenant Governor. There was a storm of agitation against the division of Bengal. This was in fact a deliberate blow aimed at the growing solidarity and self-consciousness of the Bengali speaking population. Poet Rabindranath Tagore condemned it strong words. "We felt", wrote Surendranath Banerjee, "that we had been insulted, humiliated and tricked." The veteran national leader Dadabhai Naroji characterised it as a 'great blunder'. But the partition instead of dampening the spirit of the Independence Movement rather strengthened it and added fuel to the fire. By the partition of Bengal Curzon proved to be an uncompromising enemy of self-government for India. The partition of Bengal was revoked in 1911 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Hardinge.

Curzon's attitude towards the princely states was straight forward. Like Mayo he realised the immense value of the states to the

**Attitude
towards
Princely
states**

stability of the British rule in India. He asked the Nizam to transfer Berar to the British dominion under a perpetual lease. He established the Imperial Cadet Corps to give military training to the sons of the ruling chiefs. He also persuaded the native princes to maintain a troop at their own expense to enable them to help the government when necessary. He was eager to maintain the sovereignty of the Crown unchallenged.

Curzon resigned his office in 1905 over his difference with Lord Kitchner, the Commander-in-Chief.

An Estimate of Lord Curzon—Among the Governors-General and Viceroy Lord Curzon occupies a high place like Dalhousie and Wellesley. He began his Indian Viceroyalty in warm sunshine and ended in bleak darkness. Both his achievements and failures were gigantic. He was a man of strong likes and dislikes and was most uncompromising in defending his own views. A man of rare intelligence, he spoke and wrote brilliantly. Professor Gilbert Murray said of him, "Here is a man who could let off the most trifling common places in the most superb ornaments of language." He was bent upon pressing the imperial hold of Britain over India and in doing that he had to go against the self-government. He strongly asserted, "It was self-government yesterday and self-government tomorrow, but never self-government to-day." By partitioning Bengal he confirmed further, if any further confirmation was necessary, that he was the arch-enemy of Indian nationalism. But then he cannot be judged only from one side. India will continue to remember Lord Curzon as the greatest preserver and protector

of her ancient monuments and as the foremost inspirer of the country's historical research.

As Viceroy of India Curzon presented himself as the "Grand Mughal" running an imperial policy of his own. His policy towards Afghanistan, Persia and the Persian Gulf seems to have been largely influenced by his personal whims and ambitions. According to Curzon India was the focal point of the British imperial system from which radiated ideas, institutions and influences of various Parts of Asia : Aggressive and militant Postures in foreign policy was a natural corollary to his exalted conception of the Indian empire and of his own policy in it. His policy was said to have been guided by what he thought to be the interest of India. But in fact, India was nothing more than British 'Possession' and it was governed primarily for the British interest rather than Indian interest. Curzon magnified the danger from Russia to India. This was largely became of his dream for an Empire like the Mughal Empire and also to get the support of home authorities for his schemes he envisaged for India.

North-West Frontier Province—

The North-West Frontier Province was created in 1901 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzen, though it was Lord Lyton who first suggested the creation of such a frontier state and in this proposal Sind and part of the Punjab were to be included in it. Lord Curzon included the whole of the Pathan tribal territory lying to the east of the Durand line together with the settled districts of Hazara, Peshwar, Kohat, Bannu and Derra Ismail Khan. The newly carved state was placed under one Chief Commissioner under

direct control of the Viceroy who would be assisted by the member of the Political Department. This necessitated the change in the almost similar worded name of North West Province into the United Province of Agra and Oudh, briefly called U.P. The North-west Frontier Province became a Governor's province in 1932 with its own legislature. After independence and partition it became a part of West Pakistan.

Partition of Bengal—The partition of Bengal in 1905 is a measure of Lord Curzon to keep divided the Bengalis who were the most politically advanced people of India. Evidently biggest resistance to the British came from Bengal. The plea of Curzon was that Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were too large a state and the people of East Bengal who were predominantly Muslims were neglected. Thus the fifteen districts of North and Eastern Bengal in the Rajsahi, Dacca and Chittagong Division were joined with Assam and the name of the new state was Eastern Bengal and Assam. The rest remained another administrative unit. This step of Curzon was deeply resented particularly by the Hindus of Bengal, since they considered it a deliberate and sinister attack on their culture and language. The people of Bengal tried to prevent the implementation of the partition of Bengal by boycotting the British goods particularly cotton textiles and the observance of October 17 on which day the partition was effected as the day of national mourning and unity. The Government tried to suppress it by repression and by promises to the Muslims for special privileges. At last the Government was compelled to annul the partition of Bengal in 1911 by a royal proclamation made in the

Delhi Durbar. The fifteen districts of Eastern Bengal were separated from Assam and joined with Western Bengal and Western Bengal was separated from Bihar and Orissa.

Bengal was again partitioned as a sequel to the partition of India in 1947 when all the districts of Dacca and Chittagong divisions along with some districts of Rajshahi and Presidency Division were separated from Bengal and made into East Pakistan which is now called Bangladesh.

Famine Commission—The Famine Commission was appointed three times—by Lord Lyton in 1880, by Lord Elgin in 1897 and Lord Curzon in 1900. The basic one was the first and the two subsequent commission broadly followed the original one. In the First Commission appoint by Lord Lyton the Chairman was Sir Richard Strachey. It was on the basis of the recommendation of the Famine Commission that the Famine Code was drawn up. In the second Famine Commission the Chairman was Sir James Lyal. It fully endorsed the principles recommended by the earlier Famine Commission and made certain alteration in the scheme. Sir Anthony Macdonnell was the Chairman of the third Famine Commission and it made recommendations for a Famine Commissioner in a province where relief works were to be adopted on a large scale. Its other recommendations were distribution of relief by providing employment in local works of public utility in preference to large public works at a distance, large employment of non-official agencies for distribution of relief, establishment of agricultural banks, introduction of improved methods of cultivation and wide extension of irrigation works. The recommenda-

tions of the Commission were accepted by the Government and implemented.

LORD MINTO II

(1905-10)

Character and aims of Lord Minto II Lord Curzon on his resignation was succeeded by Lord Minto II. He was the great grandson of Lord Minto who had been the Governor-General of India from 1807 to 1813. He had an enterprising career. He fought in the Second Afghan War and also worked as Governor-General of Canada from 1898 to 1904. According to Professor Dodwell, he was no politician, but had enjoyed a wide and varied experience of men. He was a good sportsman. For many years he served in the army and took part in the Second Anglo-Afghan War and in Egypt. He had taken an active part in the local administration according to the admirable tradition of English aristocracy and had occupied the high administrative post of the Governor-General of Canada. He had the art of managing men and affairs. Lord Curzon by partitioning Bengal had created an unrest in the country and so the new Viceroy had a trying time. Thus Lord Minto had to deal with a very critical situation. With the passing of time the agitation gained momentum. British goods were boycotted and many murders and decoities were committed mainly aimed at the Britishers and their agents.

Repressive measures to suppress the national agitation Lord Minto wanted to suppress the movement by repressive measures. The Government imprisoned Bala Gangadhar Tilak and deported him to Mandalaya in Burma for six years for his inflammatory writings. Similarly Lala Lajpat Rai was sent to Burma on deportation for six months

**Morley-
Minto
reforms**

**Indian
Councils
Act of 1909**

on grounds of suspicion only. When the movement was caught in the open theatre, it went underground and gave rise to terroristic activities. Bengal became the bee-hive of such terrorism. Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India was known for his liberalism. But with regard to Indian problems he shut up his liberalism. But as things proceeded both Morley and Minto saw reason to have a moderate approach to Indian problem and made some reforms known as Mosley-Minto Reforms which were embodied in the form of an Act known as the Indian Council Act of 1909. It will be proper to have a discussion on it here.

The Act made the following provisions.

**Main
provisions
of the
Indian
Councils
Act, 1909**

(a) It provided that the Imperial Legislative Council shall consist of 37 officials and 32 non-officials. Of the former 28 were to be nominated and the remaining 9 were to hold office as ex-officio members. Out of the 33 non-official members 5 were to be nominated by the Governor-General and the rest were to be elected. Thus the total number of nominated members were fixed at 33 and they formed a solid official majority in a body whose maximum membership was fixed at 60.

(b) It provided for enlarged Provincial Legislative Councils. In the major provinces the membership was enlarged to fifty and in minor provinces to thirty. The majority of the members were to be non-officials. They were to be elected by groups of local bodies, Universities, landholders, etc. In theory there was no provision for official majority, but in practice, the members had majority over the elected non-official members. The only exception was Bengal whose

Legislative Council was composed of a majority of elected members.

(c) It provided for separate or special electorates for the due representation of the different communities, classes and interests.

(d) It gave enlarged powers to the Legislative Councils. While elaborate rules were framed for the discussion of budgets and every member of the Imperial Legislative Council was given the right to move any resolution relating to any change in taxation or on fiscal matters, members of the provincial councils were given the power to move resolutions in the form of definite recommendations to the Government.

(e) It increased the number of members of the Executive Council in Bombay, Bengal and Madras to 4.

(f) It introduced the principle of separate communal representation enabling the Muslim members of the Legislature to be elected by the Muslim voters alone.

But the Act of 1909 could not satisfy the expectation of the Indians. The demand for responsible government as pressed by the Indians was not met. Again, the Act contained the motives of the British rulers of an encouragement for separatist and communal tendencies. It is, therefore, reasonable that the Indian National Congress found the scheme unacceptable and the Act could not fulfil the aspirations of the Indian struggling for independence.

Foreign affairs—The most remarkable achievement of Lord Minto in the foreign affairs was the Anglo-Russian convention of 1907. This treaty peacefully settled the long-standing disputes between England on the one hand and Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet on the

**Anglo-
Russian
Convention**

**About
Persia**

About Tibet

**Trade with
China**

other. With regard to Afghanistan it was settled that Russia was to deal with Afghanistan through the Government of India. About Persia the territorial integrity and independence of that country was granted both by Russia and England. It was further decided that Northern Persia was to be under the sphere of influence of Russia and southern Persia under the influence of England. None of them was empowered to interfere in Central Persia. As for Tibet both England and Russia agreed to safeguard the territorial integrity of Tibet. They made a joint declaration to deal with Tibet through China and to refrain from sending an embassy to Tibet. Thus the treaty largely protected British interest in Tibet against probable Russian intrusion.

Ever since the coming of the East India Company the English indulged in the business of supplying opium to China. This yielded an annual revenue of Rs. 8 to 10 crores. The Chinese Government had raised objection against this business. In 1907 it was decided by the Government of India that they would cut down the export of opium to China and later on stop altogether the supply of opium. This measure, though financially unlucrative to the English, was humanitarian consideration on the part of Lord Minto II.

An estimate of Lord Minto II—Lord Minto II was the Viceroy of India from 1905 to 1910. He was the great grandson of Lord Minto I who was the Viceroy of India from 1807 to 1813. His predecessor Lord Curzon had left the country in a critical situation and it was an uphill task for Lord Minto II to tide over the crises. He patched up the difference which Lord Curzon had with the Commander-in-Chief Lord Kitchener. He improved the strained

relation with the Amir of Afghanistan who paid him a visit at Calcutta. But the most important task of Lord Minto II was to tackle the tide of nationalism coupled with terrorism that raised its heads in India since the ill-advised partition of Bengal. He made all possible steps to suppress terrorism, gag the press, arrest the nationalist leaders and deport them. Side by side he agreed to the moderate opinion of India by allowing two Indians being appointed for the first time to the Council of the Secretary of State for India and also to an Indian for the first time to the Viceroy's Executive Council. Another important event of his administration was the enactment of the Government of India Act of 1909, popularly known as the Morley-Minto Reforms Act which by introducing the system of direct election to the legislatures as well as by increasing the numbers of elected representatives in the Provincial as well as the Central Legislatures laid the foundation of the policy of gradual extension of Self-Government of India. At the same time Minto encouraged the Muslims in India to establish the Muslim League as an effective measure against the preponderance of the Hindus in the political life of India and thus nurtured the communal virus and led to the establishment of Pakistan which was the ultimate fruition of the Muslim communal agitations.

LORD HARDINGE

(1910-16)

Lord Hardinge was the successor of Lord Minto II. The new Viceroy was the grandson of the Governor-General Lord Hardinge (1844-48) and was a man of keen intellect and sound perception. He had no administrative background before coming to India. He was chosen

**Character
and policy
of Lord
Hardinge**

for the high office in preference to Kitchner who had long cherished the ambition of assuming the post of Viceroy of India. The Morley-Minto reforms were regarded by many Indians as counterfeit of real constitutional progress and yet so great were Hardinge's abilities of persuasion that he succeeded in enlisting for them the co-operation of the prominent Indian nationalist like Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He was quite sympathetic to the Indian aspirations. As a matter of fact, he mixed up and identified himself so thoroughly with the Indian people that he became perhaps the most popular of the Viceroys of India. He would freely mix with the Indian people and even go to the hostels of the students to know their problems. In this way by his genuine sympathy for the Indian people he earned the love and admiration of the Indian people.

**Delhi
Durbar**

The administration of Lord Hardinge is famous for the *Delhi Durbar* in 1911 in honour of the visit of King Emperor George V and his wife Mary. This was December 12, 1911. On that *Durbar* two possible things came up by way of a declaration—(i) that the partition of Bengal would be annulled and (ii) that the capital of India would be shifted from Calcutta to Delhi. The Bengali speaking population of India were again united and the province of Bengal was raised to a presidency with the Governor-in-Council. Bihar, Orissa, and Chotanagpur were made into one province and was given in charge of a Lieutenant Governor-in-Council and Assam was placed under one Chief Commissioner. As a token of the royal visit an annual imperial grant of 50 lakhs of rupees for primary education was announced. Although Lord Morley had declared that the Partition of Bengal was a

**Annulment
of partition
of Bengal**

'settled fact', now it was proved unsettled. This, in a sense, established the victory of the people over the government.

Transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi The transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, the traditional capital of India was another remarkable incident. This was an indirect measure to weaken Bengal, while in another way the unity was restored.

On December 23, 1912 a bomb was thrown on Lord Hardinge. The bomb wounded the Viceroy and killed a man. Even then Lord Hardinge did not change his sympathetic attitude towards the Indians.

Relief for the Indians in South Africa In a subsequent chapter we have traced the growth of nationalist movement in India that was gaining ground. During the time of Lord Hardinge Mahatma Gandhi launched his *satyagraha* in South Africa against the unjust laws. Both Gandhi and his followers were arrested and imprisoned. There was great discontent among the Indians and Lord Hardinge sided with the Indians in this affair. The result was that the Government of South Africa had to pass an act called the Indian Relief Act of 1914 which mitigated much of the problems of the Indians in South Africa. By September, 1914 the First World War broke out and India participated in this war on behalf of England against Germany. The Indian people and princes ungrudgingly expressed their loyalty to the British Government during this war.

An estimate of Lord Hardinge—Lord Hardinge who was the Viceroy of India from 1910 to 1916 was a grandson of Lord Hardinge, the Governor-General of India from 1844 to 1848. His administration is distinguished by the visit of King Emperor George V and his Queen

in December, 1911 when their coronation was formally proclaimed at the Grand *Durbar* held in Delhi where the transfer of the capital of India from Calcutta to Delhi was formally announced. The reunion of two Bengals—East Bengal and West Bengal to be administered by a Governor-in-Council, the carving out of a new province of Bihar combined with Orissa to be administered by a Lieutenant-Governor and making Assam a separate province under one Chief Commissioner were formally declared in that *Durbar*. When he was entering on the formal opening of Delhi as the new capital in 1912 a bomb was hurled at him which seriously injured him. But the Viceroy took it smilingly and did not take any step of revenge. This endeared him to his enemies also. In a public speech in 1913 at Madras he strongly criticised the anti-Indian Immigration Act passed by South Africa as unjust for the Indians and demanded an enquiry with the Indians to be included as members in the enquiry. As a result of his protest, South Africa had to yield and appointed a Commission whose report modified the Immigration Act so much so that Gandhiji declared it as the *Magna Carta* of Indian liberty in South Africa. The most important event of the administration of Lord Hardinge was the outbreak of the first World War and the Indian participation in it. He sent almost all the European soldiers out of India and despatched also large contingents of the Indian soldiers. This step of Hardinge earned for him trust and respect for the Indians. Thus inspite of political storm and terroristic activities at the beginning of his administration, the Indians remained loyal to Hardinge towards the end of his period and contributed hand-in-hand

with the British substantially to the war front for the British and against the Germans.

Delhi Durbars—The imperial assemblages that were held three times in Delhi—1877, 1903 and 1911 are called the Delhi Durbars. The first gathering was held in 1877 by Lord Lyton to publicly announce the assumption of the title of “Empress of India” by Queen Victoria. Much pageantry and pomp marked the assemblage at a heavy expenditure at a time when the British did not care to spend properly to save the lives of thousands of people that were lost as a result of a terrible famine in the Deccan. Thus this splendid gathering and unnecessary waste of money was not accepted by the Indians with favour.

The second Durbar was held by Lord Curzon in 1903 to formally announce the coronation of King Edward VII. In point of pomp and splendour this surpassed the Durbar of 1877. No useful purpose was served by these two Durbars and these only showed that their sponsor Lord Lyton and Lord Curzon knew how to waste the money of India in pomps and grandeur.

The third Durbar was held in 1911 by Lord Hardinge and the most distinguished visitors were King-Emperor George V and his Queen whose coronations were celebrated in Delhi. Two proclamations were made in this meet—the partition of Bengal was modified and the capital of the country was to be Delhi.

The Delhi Durbars were to hoodwink the people of India that the British rulers were not enemies of India on the other hand that the British took India as their own country and the welfare of India was the welfare of England. But

the people of India were mature enough to be so easily hoodwinked.

LORD CHELMSFORD

(1916-21)

**Lord
Chelms-
ford's policy
was
directed by
Montagu,
the
Secretary of
State for
India**

In the midst of the First World War Lord Chelmsford who was a favourite of Lord Asquith, the Prime Minister of England at that time took over. Earlier he held some office in Australia. When Chelmsford took the charge of Indian administration there was acute distress all over the country on account of high price, strike and other disturbances. The Viceroyalty of Lord Chelmsford was to be studied side by side with the aims and ideologies of Edwin S. Montagu, Secretary of State for India who made a declaration which runs as follows : "The policy of his Majesty's Government of India is the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration." "I would add that," he declared, "progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measures of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility". This famous declaration of Montagu remained the key-note of the British policy of that time. He came to India and visited different parts of the country and he made a report in collaboration with Chelmsford and the document is known as Montagu-

Chelmsford Report and on the line of this report the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed. The main provisions of the Act are given below :

(1) It provided that the Secretary of State for India would in future be paid out of the British revenues, instead of Indian revenue, which was the previous system. The Act took away some of the functions of the Secretary of State and transferred these to a High Commissioner for India to be appointed by the Government of India.

(2) The Act established a bi-cameral legislature at the centre in place of the imperial Legislative Council. The Upper House known as the Council of State, was to consist of 60 members of whom 34 were to be elected. The Lower House called the Central Legislative Assembly, was to consist of 145 members of whom 105 were to be elected and the rest to be nominated. Members in both houses were to be elected in accordance with the principles of direct election.

(3) The Central Legislature was given the power of making laws for the whole of British India on condition that such laws did not interfere with the authority of Parliament or the constitution of the United Kingdom or amount to repealing or amending any parliamentary statute relating to British India.

(4) The Governor-General was allowed to retain his power of legislation through Ordinances.

(5) It enlarged the size of the Provincial Legislatures and provided that at least 70 per cent of the members were to be elected. The principle of Separate Electorate was retained both at the centre and in the provinces. The

members were given the right of asking questions and interpretations. They could even reject the budget if they chose, although the Governor could restore it, if necessary.

(6) It introduced anarchy in the provinces. Under this system the subjects to be dealt with by the provincial Governments were divided into two parts—transferred and reserved. The former were to be administered by the Governor with the aid of the Executive Council, while the latter were to be placed under the disposal of the Governor and the Council of Ministers. The members of the Executive Council were nominated by the Governor, the ministers were chosen by the Governor from the members of the Legislature. Despite some good aspects of the Act, it was inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing.

**Rowlatt
Act, 1919**

**Repressive
measures**

**Troubles in
the Punjab**

We have earlier discussed the national distress through which the country was passing, when Chelmsford took over the administration. To meet all kinds of seditious activities Chelmsford passed in 1919 an Act called the Rowlatt Act that armed the government with special power to deport the prisoners, to keep the press under control and to establish special tribunals to try the political offenders without jury. These steps meant for repressing the popular agitations were very much disliked by the people and there was a country-wide movement to withdraw this Act. Serious riots broke out in several places especially in the Punjab where martial law was to be proclaimed by the government to endow itself with stern repression. The catastrophe came in the massacre of Jalianwalla Bagh at Amritsar where General Dyre resorted to a heinous crime of firing upon an unarmed mob that collected for a general gathering. The

whole of India became terrified at this event which exposed the sharp claws of the British tiger hidden under the soft palms. Poet Rabindranath Tagore gave up his knighthood in protest against this atrocity. This gave additional fillip to the non-co-operation movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi. The aim of the movement was to protest against the acts of high-handedness of the British government. There was *hartal* and strikes in many places. The Hindus and the Muslims equally participated in this movement.

**The
Khalifat
movement**

During the time of Lord Chelmsford another incident took place though not very much linked up with Indian affairs. That was what is called the *Khalifat* movement organised by the Muslim of India as a protest against the unjustified treatment to Turkey by the British despite the repeated promises and assurances to the Indian Muslims. The movement was launched to protect the integrity of the Turkish Empire under Caliph with capital at Constantinople. They also made a demand for the establishment of a Muslim state of Palestine.

Foreign affairs—In foreign affairs Lord Chelmsford's administration was engaged only in one affair *i.e.*, the Afghan War. The trouble arose over the murder of Amir Habibullah by a fanatical party who condemned the Amir for his neutrality in the First World War. The new Amir was Amanullah Khan and was the son of the deceased Amir Habibullah. He was played into the hands of the Bolshevik party of Russia and so he made an attack upon the British territory. But he was easily mauled and he had signed a very humiliating treaty that cut down the subsidy to Afghanistan and the Amir

was given a free hand to regulate his foreign relations.

An estimate of Lord Chelmsford—Lord Chelmsford was the Viceroy of India from 1916 to 1921. At the time of his appointment he was quite old—a man of fifty years and he had no administrative training at home. He played rather a negative role in the dynamic political life of his time. As the Indians showed absolute loyalty to the British in the War they expected some constitutional gains for them. As it was not forthcoming, this created restlessness among the Indians and Chelmsford was sitting on the lip of a volcano. The Viceroy had little influence on the framing of the Indo-British relation which was promulgated in the House of Commons by Montague, the Secretary of State for India as “the progressive realisation of responsible government in India”. Lord Chelmsford had little to do with the Government of India Act of 1919 otherwise known as the Montague-Chelmsford Report. The Viceroy very clumsily handled the prevailing political situation in India. He passed certain laws based on the Rowlatt Committee which gave the powers to the judges to try the political cases without the jury and gave to the provincial governments large powers of internment. These repressive measures led to public agitation and *hartal* and public meetings all over the country. Amidst these circumstances came the news of the massacre of Jallianwala Bagh under the command of General Dyer who had asked the army to open fire on the unarmed assembly which resulted in the killing of hundreds of men and women. Chelmsford acted like a silent spectator and the feelings of the Indians were severely strained so much so that it stood comparison with the Indian feelings in the sepoy

Mutiny. It was fortunate for him that a man like Mahatma Gandhi was the leader of the people at that time and so the heinous crimes committed during the time of Chelmsford was not answered by any violence.

An estimate of Chelmsford—Lord Chelmsford's term was extraordinarily eventful. But his own contribution to the events was rather negative.

LORD READING

(1921-26)

Problems for Lord Reading

Lord Reading who arrived in India in April 1921 was one of the most brilliant rulers of this country. He had a keen intellect of which he made the best use both as the Attorney-General and Chief Justice of England. His appointment as ambassador to the United States had given him a deeper insight into the art of diplomacy in addition to enlarging his already broad mental horizon. With his natural astuteness Reading discovered that the best service he could render to his country and empire was to preserve and strengthen the *status quo* in India. His conversations with the Indian political leaders including Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Mrs Annie Besant, C. F. Andrews and Lala Lajpat Rai soon after his arrival in the country did not deflect him from his resolution to resist the nationalists' demand for constitutional progress. He saw no compromise on this vital issue.

Non- Cooperation Movement of Gandhiji

The non-cooperation Movement launched by Gandhiji reached its apex during this time. But the movement which was nearing success was called off suddenly by Gandhiji for the violence resorted to at Chaura Chauri. By

imprisoning Gandhiji and by similar other repressive measures Reading became very unpopular.

Visit of Prince of Wales

Lord Reading like many of his predecessors and successors failed to realise that it was no longer possible to rule over India on a permanent basis. His reading of the Indian situation was ill-conceived and superficial and this became evident from the visit of the Prince of Wales to India. When the temper of the Indians was so frayed the visit was both unfortunate and inappropriate. The presence of Duke of Connaught in their midst a little earlier had given ample opportunities to the loyalists to bind themselves to British Royalty. A repetition of this performance so soon after this display was apt to provoke widespread resentment in the country. "I have no manner of doubt," declared Mahatma Gandhi on October 27, 1921, "that the Prince's visit is being exploited for advertising the benign British rule in India." Anyway Reading had to face a host of opposition from the freedom fighters. He sent out C. R. Das and Subhash Chandra Bose from Bengal and the and the two Nehrus from the Uttar Pradesh to jail. He availed himself of the inherent Hindu-Muslim differences and made no positive contribution to the solution of the Indian constitutional problem. The storm that started in Indian politics would not end until the Britishers would leave the country.

LORD IRWIN

(1926-31)

Lord Irwin arrived in India soon after his predecessor's decisive declaration about the unchallenged sovereignty of the British in this

**Character
and policy**

country. Lord Irwin like Lord Ripon could not accomplish much in India and yet, as the latter did, he was highly successful in capturing the imagination of the Indian people and he rode on the crest of popular esteem. His gentleness and his simple way of life and his unassuming sense of humour earned for him the friendship and confidence of even his most uncompromising political opponents. The Indians came to realise that they were ruled by a gentleman and a good Christian.

**Simon Com-
mission and
its recom-
mendations**

But the biggest and the only problem that beset Irwin was the tide of nationalism that advanced still ahead under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. To give solace to the popular wound the Government instituted a Commission known as the Simon Commission in 1927 "for the purpose of inquiring into the working of system of Government, the growth of education and development of representative institutions in British India and matters connected therewith." The Congress and the Nationalists did not co-operate with the Commission that did not include a single Indian member and proceeded to draw up the draft of a constitution calculated to serve the interests of the country best. The Commission suggested Dominion status as the immediate goal of the British government. When the Simon Commission's Report was out, the country outbursted into a volcanic eruption. The Muslim League leader Jinnha described the Commission as ; "The Jalianwallabagh was a physical butchery. The Simon Commission is the butchery of our soul." As the recommendation of the Simon Commission was not acceptable to the Indians, the Government convened a Round Table Conference in London in 1930.

**Round
Table Con-
ference at
London, 1930**

Mahatma Gandhi went there but returned empty-handed.

An estimate of Lord Irwin—Lord Irwin the Governor-General of India from 1925 to 1931. His administration was a period of great storm and stress. The non-cooperation movement that had started in 1920 was still active while the appointment of the Simon Commission further strained the relation of the Indians with the British. As no Indian was included in the Commission, it created widespread political unrest all over the country. Irwin wanted to mitigate it by the declaration that India would be accorded a Dominion Status like Canada. But this failed to heal the wounds of the public mind and the Lahore session of the Congress in 1929 declared that complete national independence was the goal of the Indian Congress. In 1930 the country-wide Civil Disobedience Movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi created a sea of enthusiasms among the Indians. Irwin tried all his tacts and imprisoned all the members of the Congress Working Committee. Yet he carried on negotiation with Gandhiji and an understanding was arrived at between Gandhiji and Irwin which came to be known as the Gandhi-Irwin Pact by which the Congress agreed to suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement and to send Gandhiji to the second Round Table Conference. A month after the pact Irwin retired and left the country to be administered by Lord Willingdon.

The assessment of Irwin's work is a matter of controversy. Irwin left the country carrying [with him the esteem of the Indian people. In spite of the extra-ordinary stresses and strains that marked the five-year period of the Viceroyalty, his personal popularity

and prestige remained undiminished. Speaking to the combined legislatures at the centre in July 1930 he claimed, "As I look back over the time I have spent in India, I can recall on occasion on which I have consciously sought to work for anything but India's good." Few can question the validity of his claim and there is no doubt that Irwin's stature as a good and large-headed person would be remembered still more if the British Government would endow him with power as Mountbatten for the solution of Indian problems. That great opportunity was denied to him not because he was unable to grasp it, but because in his time as India's Viceroy the question of the country's freedom was not regarded as a practical proposition.

LORD WILLINGDON

(1931-36)

Lord Willingdon who succeeded Irwin in April, 1931 was an old man of sixty five. His long service in India as Governor of Bombay and Madras from 1913 to 1924 and in Canada from 1926 to 1930 already endowed him with the needed background of administrative genius.

It was during the period of his Viceroyalty and the second Round Table Conference met in London in 1931. But the very purpose for which it was summoned was baffled because of the uncompromising attitude of Mr. Jinnah. The moment Gandhiji returned to India from London he was put under arrest. This led to a country-wide unrest and the organisation activities of the nationalists was augmented. The Government wanted to crush the movement by arresting all the members of the Congress

**Second
Round
Table
Conference,
1931**

**Reign of
Terror**

party by shooting, lathicharges and indiscriminate confiscation of property. This was virtually a reign of terror. But the suppressive efforts only added strength to the movement.

**Communal
Award**

To make matters worse in August, 1932 was announced the Communal Award by Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of England. It aggravated the minority problem by giving representation to the so-called 'Depressed Classes' with an evil eye of dividing the Hindus into caste Hindus and 'Depressed Classes'. Gandhiji who was then in prison undertook a "fast unto death" as a mark of protest against representation of the so-called Depressed classes.

Poona Pact

But a timely intervention by Dr. Ambedkar, the leader of the Depressed Classes saved the situation and a compromise was achieved in the Poona Pact. These seats were to be filled up by a joint electorate out of the panel of names selected by the Depressed Classes. Although it affected the interest of the caste Hindus, it maintained the integrity of the Hindu Community. Gandhiji broke his fast and a big stone was removed from the bosom of restless India.

**Third
Round Table
Conference,
1932**

The Third Round Table Conference was held in London in 1932. In view of the continued restlessness in India the British Government became convinced that some sort of self-government must be given to India. In March, 1933 the White Paper containing the formula

**Government
of India Act
of 1935**

of the Government of India Act of 1935 was issued and the Act was passed in 1935.

An estimate of Lord Willingdon—Lord Willingdon was the Viceroy of India from 1931 to 1935. He had the experience of Indian

administration because he had been the Governor of Bombay from 1913 to 1919.

Lord Willingdon was hated by the Indians for his anti-Indian policy. He had no sympathy with the nationalist movement in India and totally gave up the policy of conciliation which had been followed by his predecessor—Lord Irwin. He put Mahatma Gandhi into prison in 1932 as soon as he returned from London after the Second Round Table Conference. He declared the Congress illegal and resorted to severe repressive measures for suppressing the Civil Disobedience Movement. The spirit of nationalism in India which was in high tide could not be thwarted by Lord Willingdon. The Viceroyalty of Willingdon which ended in April, 1936 was notable not for his personal achievements but on account of the unceasing activity in London concerning the Indian constitutional reforms. Throughout his tenure of office he was called upon to meet the challenge of Indian nationalism which he did with unexampled severity. There is no doubt that a new phase in the Indian history began with the end of Willingdon's regime. With the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 the Indian question no longer remained a domestic issue of England and was raised to the level of international politics.

LORD LINLITHGOW

(1936-44)

Lord Linlithgow came to India with the determination to hasten the enforcement of the Act of 1935. He was not a stranger either to the country or to its problems. He had experience of Indian problems as the Chairman of the

Royal Commission on Agriculture. And even after assumption of office he continued to take keen interest in Indian farming and animal husbandry. By presiding over the deliberations of the joint committee on Indian constitutional Reform, 1933-34 he acquainted himself with the complexity of the new Indian statute, the provisions of which could be depended upon to ensure the continued retention of real power in British hands. He was anxious to impose the Act as early as possible.

**Enforce-
ment of
Government
of India Act
of 1935**

While the provincial part was introduced, the Federal part was not introduced at all. Elections were held in the beginning of 1937 and the Congress got a majority in many provinces. Even then the Congress did not come forward to form the ministry unless an assurance was given to the minister that the Governors would not interfere in the day-to-day affair of the administration. When such an assurance was given Congress ministries were formed and they were in office until 1939 when they resigned after the outbreak of the Second World War.

**Split in the
Congress**

Lord Linlithgow's administration is marked by a split or division in the Congress. In 1938 and 1939 Subhash Chandra Bose became elected to the post of the Congress President. His difference with Mahatma Gandhi resulted in his going away from the Congress and forming a new party known as the Forward Bloc. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 India declare war against Germany and took India into the vortex of the war with consulting the ministries in the provinces. A few days after the Congress demanded that "India be declared an independent nation and the present application should be given to this status

**Resignation
of the
Congress**

Resignation of the Congress Ministries to the largest possible extent.” As the Government remained silent on this issue, the Congress Ministries resigned. This made Mr. Jinha and the Muslim League happy and the British Government took all steps to use the Muslims in their favour.

Cripps Mission

When the war was on, things began to take dramatic changes. In 1941 Japan joined the war on the side of Germany and as a first step attacked Pearl Harbour which belonged to the U.S.A. in the Pacific Ocean. Next day the U.S.A. declared war upon Japan and took the side of Allied powers. The participation of Japan in the war made the war truly global. The Pearl Harbour incident had its effect upon India as well. After Pearl Harbour incident American public opinion became more and more persistent and demanded that India's voluntary co-operation with the British Government must be secured. So England under the pressure of the U.S.A. made a gesture for the settlement of the Indian question and sent Cripps as the spokesman of the new policy. So came what is known as the Cripps Mission. But the Cripps' proposal was far short of the expectations of Gandhiji. So the Cripps Mission ended in failure.

Subhash Chandra Bose and his works

Lord Linlithgow's term witnessed the climax of India's struggle for freedom. Subhash Chandra Bose fled from the British prison. For over a year nothing was heard of him and people were not sure whether he was alive or dead. In March, 1942 all doubts were set at rest when he made a speech which was broadcast by the Berlin Radio. It was now clear that he had reached Germany and was attempting to organise an anti-British front from there. Later on,

he formed a provisional government at Singapore of the name of Azad Hind Government. This was a thrilling news in the middle of the Second World War.

**‘Quit India’
resolution
by the
Congress**

The Congress demanded from the Government a categorical declaration of independence of India by a specified date on its refusal in August 1942 the Congress passed the famous “Quit India” resolution. This was the demand for “immediate ending of the British rule in India”. This was a step ahead of the Civic Disobedience movement which was not sufficient to extract from the English to grant at least the substance of independence during the war period. England’s difficulties in war were the opportunities of the Indians. The “Quit India” resolution sanctioned the starting of a mass struggle on non-violent lives on the widest possible scale. As a result of this all the Congress leaders were arrested and thrown into the prison.

An estimate of Lord Linlithgow—Lord Linlithgow was the Governor-General of India from 1936 to 1943. As he took over the administration of the country in 1936, it fell upon him to implement the federation of the autonomous provinces and to bring the Princely states which had been under the direct control of the Crown. He Successfully brought about the federation at the centre and the responsible government in the provinces. The outbreak of the Second World War entailed upon him two arduous tasks—the aggression from outside and the storm of nationalist agitations from inside. He virtually turned India into a base for the supply of essential war materials but also increased the strength of the British Indian army from

one lakh seventy five thousands to about two lakhs and despatched the army to South East and middle Asia and turned the British defeat into success. The pressing expenditure on the war front drained away the national resources and famine broke out which Linlithgow was unable to tackle. He succeeded in temporarily preventing an outbreak in the country by declaring Dominion Status for India, by using the Muslim League against the Congress and by bringing Cripps Mission.

Linlithgow could not efficiently deal with the famine that broke out in Bengal and so he was recalled and he laid down his office on October 24, 1943. His contribution to the country during these fateful years was blood, tears, hunger and death. According to his admirer in his own country his principal claim to fame "was his organisation of the Indian war effort—a field of action where the mind of the administrator could range unhampered by personal vagaries and political perplexities." Jawaharlal Nehru has painted him in a different way : "Heavy of body and slow of mind, solid as a rock and almost a rock's lack of awareness, possessing the qualities and failings of an old-fashioned British aristocrat, he sough with integrity and honesty of purpose to find a way out of the tangle. But his limitations were too many.....". Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru made the most sober judgment of him : "To-day, I say after seven years of Lord Linlithgow's administration the country is much more divided than it was when he came here." On the eve of his retirement from office Lord Linlithgow imprisoned Gandhiji and all the members of the woking Committee of the Congress as if these measures could silence the movement for independence. Four

years after his retirement the British had to concede independence of India which clearly shows how unreasonable were the efforts of Lord Linlithgow to uphold by force the British suzerainty over India. This was the tragedy of Lord Linlithgow.

LORD WAVELL

(1944-47)

Character of Lord Wavell

Lord Wavell assumed the Governor-Generalship of India at a time when the country was on the throes of a grave political and economic crises. He was a distinguished soldier and a man of letters. It was he who commanded the Allied forces in the Middle East under the most trying circumstances and to face the full might of the German army. The appointment of such a person so skilled in sword to head the government of a country naturally gave rise to several misgivings among the Indians.

Growing rift between the Congress and the Muslim League

Simla Conference 1945

One of the earliest works of Wavell was to grapple with the Bengal famine with firmness alacrity. The communal question had brought about a stalemate in the government. He released Gandhiji in 1944 and tried to resolve the deadlock by emphasising upon the fundamental unity of India, by firmly saying that "you cannot alter geography." But Mr. Jinnah turned a deaf ear to it. To the Congress demand of "Quit India" he added the slogan "Divide and Quit". Mahatma Gandhi met Jinnah to resolve the impasse but Jinnah was not prepared to change his mind. Wavell called a conference at Simla in 1945 with a view to arriving at some sort of understanding between the Congress and the Muslim League. But

because of the uncompromising attitude of the League the Simla Conference was fruitless.

**Cabinet
Mission**

By that time the Labour Party came to power and Mr Attlee the Prime Minister of England was trying for a more realistic approach to the problem. He sent a Mission known as the Cabinet Mission to discuss with the Indian leaders. The mission consisted of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A. V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty. After long negotiations the mission issued its formula on May 16, 1946 and also the procedure for an interim government and also the groups into which the provinces were to be combined. The Congress accepted some of the proposals and rejected others and similarly, the Muslim League favoured some and disfavoured others. The tension between the Hindus and the Muslims resulted in communal riots. The Muslim League declared August 16, 1946 as the day of 'direct action' and communal riots broke out in Calcutta, Noakhali and Bihar. The ugliest of such killing was committed in Calcutta known as the Great Calcutta killing.

**Communal
Riots**

**Interim
Government**

In the Midst of communal riots the Interim Government was formed on September 2, 1946 under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Although the League initially refused to enter into the ministry but under the influence of Wavell Five League members entered the Executive Council to work as opposition to the Congress or Viceroy's representatives.

The Constituent Assembly met in December, 1946 at New Delhi. This was boycotted

Constituent by the Muslim League. A controversy arose
Assembly as to whether the grouping of the states was
December, compulsory or not. The British Government
1946 considered that the grouping was compulsory.

The communal riots plunged India into a bloody massacre which Lord Wavell, with all his military fame and resources, failed either to forestall or to suppress promptly. Both community suffered in localities where the one or the other was in the majority. In these circumstances Lord Wavell was recalled in 1947. On February 20, 1947 Attlee Prime Minister of England made the historic announcement that the independence of India could no longer be delayed and was willing to transfer the power to responsible Indian hands. A new man was needed for this new policy and the new man would be Lord Mountbatten.

LORD MOUNTBATTEN

(March, 1947 to June, 1948)

Lord Mountbatten was appointed the Governor-General in succession to Lord Wavell. He was primarily a naval officer and during the Second World War by his dash and ability he became the supreme allied commander in South East Asia in 1943. The Admiral had agreed to undertake the task of "transferring to the Indian hands responsibility for the Government of British India in a manner that will best ensure the future happiness and prosperity of India." The country was passing through a great crisis when Mountbatten assumed charge of the Indian administration on March 24, 1947. The purpose of his coming to India was clear and categorical. He made it clear in his speech on the day he assumed the Indian office. His was

**Mount-
batten and
his
character**

not a normal Governor-General. He was invited to play the historic role of bringing to an end the centuries old political relations between England and India. He enjoyed the unbounded confidence of the British Government which gave him considerable freedom of action in carrying out its decision to transfer power to Indian hands. Above all, Mountbatten was supremely confident of his own abilities to rise equal to the occasion. Tall, erect, manly and strikingly handsome, he had already emerged as a world figure by a superb display of his talents as much as an administrator and statesman as a naval commander. He combined in his person the rare qualities of princely charm and hard working ability.

Mountbatten was convinced that the date-line June 1948 for the transfer of power was not sufficient to meet the requirement of the situation. He was equally convinced that the partition of the country was as inescapable as the British withdrawal from India. Mahatma Gandhi's suggestion that Jinnah should be invited to assume responsibilities of India underlined the seriousness of the political deadlock. In a bid to stop the lawlessness in the country Mountbatten persuaded Gandhi and Jinnah to issue a joint appeal. The joint appeal denounced "for all time the use of force to achieve political ends" and appealed to the people "not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder, but also to avoid both in speech and writing, any word which might be construed as an incitement to such acts." The plea was, however, as futile as appeal to a howling ocean to calm down. The British Government's final proposals for the transfer of power to India were embodied in a statement published

**Joint appeal
by Gandhi
and Jinnah
to stop
Communal
riots**

**Final
Proposal on
the transfer
of power**

**Mount-
batten
Plan**

on June 3, 1947. They laid down that the Legislative Assemblies of Bengal and the Punjab should meet in two parts, one representing the Muslim majority districts and the other the rest of the province. The members who thus sat separately were to be empowered to vote whether or not the province should be separated. "If", says the document, "a simple majority of either part decides in favour of partition, division will take place and arrangements will be made accordingly." The Legislative Assembly of Sind was called upon to hold a special session to decide the future of the province. Arrangements were also made for ascertaining the popular will in Baluchistan. In the province of Assam, where the Hindus predominated, the Muslim majority district of Sylhet was to be given an opportunity to decide whether or not to join East Bengal, the eastern wing of Pakistan. Lastly, although the N.W.F. Province was controlled by the Congress, its geographical position demanded that a referendum should be held to ascertain the popular will in the province on the issue of Pakistan. The statement appreciated the anxiety of the major political parties that "there should be the earliest possible transfer of power in India", and accordingly signified the British Government's willingness to anticipate the date June 1948 for the handing over of power. It was also announced that a Boundary Commission would be set up by the Governor-General to demarcate between the two provinces of Bengal and the Punjab. Lastly, it was announced that in the current session of the British Parliament legislation would be introduced for the transfer of power to India whether united or divided, on the Dominion status basis without prejudice

to the Final decision to be taken by the Indian constituent Assemblies.


**India
became
independent
on August
15, 1947**

The Mountbatten Plan contained in it the outlines of the Partition of the country. The plan also provided that there should be two separate Constituent Assemblies to frame the constitution of the two countries. The Congress did not welcome the plan and the League readily accepted it. In July, 1947 the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act according to which two dominions were established—India and Pakistan and their boundaries were demarcated. The division of the country took place on August 15, 1947. Thus August 15, 1947 marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new one. After long centuries of strife, servitude and stagnation India emerged on that day as a free nation to take her rightful place among the sovereign countries of the world. The last days of Lord Mountbatten witnessed communal riots all over the country.

**Mount-
batten
appointed
first
Governor-
General of
independent
India**

Lord Mountbatten, unlike other Governor-General had a different appeal to the Indian people. This was amply demonstrated by the fact that after the independence of the country he was chosen as the first Governor-General of India and he continued to be in that post till June 1948. He was considered a genuine friend of India as Lord Ripon and Bentinck had been. The greatest tribute paid to him is from Jawaharlal Nehru who on the occasion of the farewell banquet on June 20, 1948 said. "you came here Sir, with a high reputation, but many a reputation had foundered in India. You lived here during a period of great difficulty and crisis and yet your reputation has not foundered. This is a remarkable feat." India,

declared Nehru, could offer Mountbatten nothing more real or precious than the love and affection of her people. Such is also the sentiment that pervades the relations between this country and England even after independence. It was largely due to the good sense of understanding of the last batch of the Governor-Generals, that a kind of amity was established between England and Indians. Thus India even after independence wanted to keep in close touch with England and that is possible by India becoming a member of the Commonwealth with the British Crown as the symbol of unity of England and her erstwhile colonies. They although are protested against the British rule and made our country free we felt it convenient to keep close relation with England that continues even today England and India ceased to rules and the ruled and they became free and equal members in the comity of nation in the world.



8

The Indian Renaissance and Struggle for Freedom

GROWTH OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS

When we study the political conquest of a vast country like India by a small country like England the first point that strikes one is as to how such a feat could be at all possible. But if one knew the Indian temperament and Indian traditions, it would not be difficult to understand. The Indian people had never any feeling against the foreigners. This mentality had been developed partly through the largeness of the country which made it possible to welcome as many people as could come into the

**Difference
between
British rule
and other
foreign
rules**

country. In the past India had been invaded by new tribes and peoples over and over. But though they came as foreigners, they soon settled down and made India their home. The feeling of strangeness disappeared and the foreigners became a part of the body-politic. On the whole, there was no intercommunal friction for any length of time after foreigners came in. An understanding soon would be effected and the foreigners would become members of great Indian family. As long as the Britishers were mainly a trading concern, they did not excite any suspicion or hostility or animosity. But when the British culture permeated the society, this acted as a boomerang. It was this factor that produced the first revolt among the Indian.

**British rule
itself was
the creator
of Indian
Renaissance and
Freedom**

Amongst the most important results of British rule in India were the emergence of an Indian nationality and the growth of a spirit of nationalism so strong that it led inevitably to independence. Before the modern period, that sense of solidarity which is the only criterion of nationality did not exist. In the nineteenth century two new factors began to weld the people of India together. The first was the relentless pressure of a uniform system of law and administration which by imposing on the Bengalis, Madrasis and the Punjabis a uniform code of behaviour in certain important matters, gave them in the process of common substratum of thought. This process was made easier by the vast network of roads and railways, by which the towns of India were linked up under the rule of the Crown. The second important factor was the decision in 1835 to provide English rather than vernacular education. From that time onwards, the best brains of India

drank deeply at the well springs of the British liberal thoughts. The Indians learned from Edmund Burke and John Stuart Mill the meaning of liberty, they shared the sympathy of England with the struggle of Mazzini and Cavour, they read of French Revolution and the struggle of Ireland for freedom. Their political consciousness was aroused and they soon began to apply their newly acquired ideas of the rights of individuals and of peoples to their own country. There was nothing unexpected about the growth of nationalism and ultimate gain of independence. As early as 1819 Elphinstone had written with a prophetic emphasis : "The most desirable death for us to die of should be the improvement of the natives reaching such a pitch as would render it impossible for a foreign nation to retain the government.....a time of separation must come...." As a matter of fact, in the Sepoy Mutiny most of the British rulers had visualised the growth of self-government. The development of nationalism was greatly stimulated by the growth of an active and independent Press both in English and Vernacular. Since 1835 when Lord Metcalfe, the Acting Governor-General repealed the Press licensing Regulations, the Press in India began to enjoy a remarkable degree of freedom. The Free Press thus acted as an effective forum to organise political activities and greatly stimulated the growth of nationalism.

Under the influence of these factors in the third quarter of the nineteenth century such men as Dadabhai Naroji, W.C. Banerjee, Surendranath Banerjee and Pherozeshah Mehta began to give a definite shape to political thought in

India, and this will ultimately lead to the independence of India.

Let us now take a more detailed account of the growth of renaissance and freedom in India.

**The village
life in
India in
stagnation**

With the coming of the Britishers in India a sort of stagnation over took the social and political life of the country. Although the Indian village life had several merits, but as the village people were uneducated the autocratic rulers carried on a steam-roller of oppression unopposed and men rather surrendered to inaction, superstitions and old ties and prejudice and prohibitions. As the British had a better military organisation, better military equipments and better process of production, they could bring a revolutionary change in the way of life in India. The foreign traders by force, by creating new Zamindari system and by crushing

**The better
military and
economic
organisation
of the
British**

the backbone of the Indians under the pressure of new taxes destroyed the village economy of India. By plundering the wealth of the country, they built up a rich economy in their own country and by installing factories they began to start new industries. By destroying the cottage industry of India they broke down the link that existed between the agricultural and economic life of old India. The attack that Britain hurled upon India in a sense became the hammer that whipped the Indians from their slumber. So Karl Marx wrote in 1853 that the weapon that built up a larger and integrated state in India, became more stable by the telegraph and telephone and the spread of railway added the industrial growth of India despite the otherwise wish of the Britishers. But the Indians would not, he maintained, get any

**Karl Marx
on English
rule in India**

benefit of it so long as they themselves are not conscious to break the shackle of the British rule.

NASCENT NATIONALISM

Emergence of the educated class in India

From 1757 to 1857 we had a glimpse of the national awakening of the Indians at various and places times. This seemed to continue even after 1857. It was since then that the educated middle class people who are the spear-head of all nationalist movements began to emerge in prestige and power in the society and their role dawned the fulfilment of the future nationalist aspiration in the country. Unlike the common people who had an anti-national attitude towards England, they were not animical to the English role but rather adopted the English way of life. In doing that they began to realise the difference between the free life in England and a subordinate life in India. This difference slowly but inevitably led them realise the difficulties and miseries to which India was subjected. The mixture of the ideologies of the East and the West resulted in the fruition of the nationalist aspirations of the Indians.

The place in British India that first received the impact of the British rule was Bengal because that part formed the nerve-centre of British administration. In the field of education, and philosophy the great change that was witnessed may stand comparison with the Renaissance of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Europe. It was for this period that Rabindranath wrote the "West has opened its doors" in this '*Bharat Tirtha*'. Raja Ram Mohan Roy was a product of this mixture of eastern and weastern culture. He was not only great man of the then India but of the whole

**Raja Ram
Mohan Roy
a product of
East-West
culture**

world. We have dealt with in great length of him in Chapter at pages 72-73. It was he who went to the British parliament to press the demands of India. It was not time to think of independence of India minus the British. His width of mind and depth of sight were both wonderful. He may be called "the father of political regeneration in India." The other great souls of that age who through their writings began to throw the rays of an age were Dinabandhu Mitra (1828-73), and Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-94) and Isvar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-91).

We shall now take up various social and religious institutions that tremendously helped the growth of a new political outlook.

Brahma Samaj and Prarthana Smaj—

Raja Ram Mohan Roy founded the Brahmosabha which under the auspices of Debendranath Tagore came to be known as the Brahma Samaj. Debendranath did not favour a rapid change in the society and so Keshabchandra Sen founded the Indian Brahma Samaj, a new version of the old one. His great oratory and magnetic personality attracted a great following. The *Bhakti* cult of Vaishnavism and influence of Christianity began to permeate the Brahma Samaj. Despite this internecine fights this movement helped the progress of the country in reforming the society and education. Men like Ananda Mohan Basu, Jagadish Chandra Roy came from the Brahma Samaj. The contribution that the Brahma Samaj made towards the truth and consciousness of the society and the country is immense.

Parallel to the Brahma Samaj in Bengal a rather similar social organisation sprang up

Prarthana Samaj

of the name of Prarthana Samaj in Bombay in 1767. Its influence was great in the areas of Maharastra. Mahadev Govinda Ranade was the life of this organisation. He was a Judge of the Bombay High Court. In 1861 he established at Poona the Widow Marriage Society. In the nineteenth century of those persons outside Bengal who attained eminence Ranade alone can claim comparison with Raja Ram Mohan Roy of Bengal.

Dayananda Saraswati and the Arya Samaj—The contribution of Dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883) and his Arya Samaj in creating resistance against the British rule is far more than that of the Prarthana Samaj. The western education and culture had tremendous influence upon the Brahma Samaj and similar other organisations. But the dream of Dayananda was not to rely upon the west but to rebuild the life of the Indians on the traditional Indian way of life. Born in Gujarat, this great man began to spread the Vedic culture and traditions and his efforts met with great success in the north. He pointed out the wrongs that were bound to prevail in the country under the British influence. He had profound knowledge in Sanskrit literature. In a book called '*Satyartha Prakas*' he explained the Aryan religion. He said that the caste system, child marriage, etc. were opposed to the Vedic culture. He discarded the notion that female education, widow marriage and sea voyage were against the Vedic way of life as generally believed to be. He was a believer in the Almighty. He did not believe in the western outlook of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ranade. His aim was to revive the old Indian culture subjugating all differences among the Hindus. He appealed

to the non-Hindus to embrace the Hindu religion. His works and inspirations largely contributed to the growth of nationalism in India. The appeal that the Arya Samaj exercised upon the people of India had tremendous influence. After the death of Dayananda the leadership of the Arya Samaj fell upon Lala Lajpat Rai, Swami Sraddhananda, and Lala Hansraj. The Arya Samaj succeeded in its aims when it did not keep the non-Hindus outside the orbit of the Hindu culture and civilisation.

**Rama-
krishna
and his all
embracing
religious
ideas**

Role of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda—The Theosophical Society founded by Anne Besant in 1882 with the view of reviving the old culture and tradition of India contributed towards the growth of nationalism in India. Far more was the contribution of the ideology of Ramakrishna Mission. Apparently it may seem that this has no bearing upon the nationalist movement in India. But in fact by assimilating the substance of all religions in easy and simple form Ramakrishna (1834-56) gave a new impetus to the whole of India. From Max Muller to Romain Rolland all European scholars became overwhelmed with the great saint's qualities of heart and mind. The message of Ramakrishna was carried further by his disciple Vivekananda (1863-1902) who brought humanism as the new form of his religion. He went to the Chicago world religious conference where his speeches full of the religious depth of India's high culture brightened the face of India a hitherto subordinate and neglected country. Vivekananda was a great educationist and his message went a long way to mould the socio-political life of India. It was he who like

Rabindranath Tagore wanted that India would get back her old high place in the world.

Growth of nationalism and the desire for freedom—We have so long been witnessing the different facets of organisations opposed to the British rule in India. But to free the country from the bondage of the Britishers there was necessary for promise and preparation. The actual need was the growth of nationalism which unconsciously bursted out on several occasions earlier. In 1873 Bankim Chandra wrote that it is the nature of man that the moment we would start to think ourselves different from the English people we would continue to renew our old traditions.

Attacks upon the prestige of the Indians in different forms—We have seen how by suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 the English hurled a shameful blow at the prestige of the Indians. The British also levied unjustified taxes upon the Indian. Against the tax on indigo Harish Chandra Mukherji was the first to use the pen. The English would beat the labourers in the garden by the boots but in the court death was described as a natural death because of burst of spleen. In 1876 at Agra a British official killed the horseman but he was released only with a fine of Rs. 30/-. The other odious system to which the Indians were subjected included the system of going bare foot to meet the English officers. Spirited men of the status of Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar did not obey this system. During the time of Metcalfe the press was given freedom but since 1873 the Press Act began to be vigorous. In 1878 at the order of Lord Lytton the newspapers written in Indian languages were vigorously controlled. This exposed the anti-Indian feelings of the British.

**Torture on
the tax
of indigo**

**Naked
partiality in
the depart-
ment of
justice**

Press Act

Although in 1882 Lord Ripon scrapped this rule, again in 1898 under the Treason Act the Press was kept under tight corner. These measures directed to crush the backbone of the Indians were quite disquieting to the educated class of the Indians. The famine of 1877 took a toll of 50 or 60 lakhs of people and when this devastation was going on in one part of the country, the British held a luxurious Durbar at Delhi. The frequent wars in the front in the interest of expansion of British Empire that was going on in the North West Frontier or in Africa, China, Tibet, Burma, Afghanistan told heavily upon the economy of the Indian people. This made even the newly emerged rich Indians cautious of the crushing machinery of the British. As a reaction in 1853 at Bombay for the first time an Indian textile industry was established; in 1880 there were only 156 mills with 44,000 labourers. Twenty years hence the number of factories increased to 193 and the number of workers rose to 1,61,000. From the very beginning the Indian wealthy traders had to face several odds. In order to cripple the Indian traders the British Government lifted levy on the threads and cloths imported to India from England. It is, therefore, no wonder that the Indian people would think in terms of nationalism and independence.

The famine of 1877 and at that time a gorgeous Durbar at Delhi

The Indian people bore the burden of wars of England with foreign powers

Indian rich traders crippled by British import policy

BEGINNING OF THE CONGRESS ERA

Foundation of the Congress—It was the educated people who, we have seen, came up as the spear-head of all movements. Despite various difficulties many newspapers written both in English and Bengali began to focus the suppressed opinion of the people. In 1843 an association of the name of "British Indian Society" was founded and in 1851 the name was

Spread of nationalism among the educated and movement through newspapers

**Demand for
nationalism
through
various
organisa-
tions in
different
parts of
India**

changed into "British Indian Association". Rajendralal Mitra, Ramgopal Ghose and Krishnadas Pal were its leaders. As the organisation was getting into the hands of the Zamindar class, it was mainly through Surendranath Banerjea that another association of the name of Indian Association was founded in 1876. Meanwhile, in western India under the efforts of Dadabhai Naroji an association of the name of "Bombay Association" (that later on came to be known as the East Indian Association) came into being. Two years before the foundation of the Indian National Congress it was in 1883 that All India National Conference was held. It is to be remembered that the Ilbert Bill went a long way to make the Indians united. When the British found that national activities were growing, they wanted to be a party to it to use it to their profit.

**Origin of
the Congress**

There are several views on the origin of the idea of national Congress. One of these is that the idea originated from the Delhi *Durbar* of 1877. It has also been suggested that the idea was conceived in a private meeting of some members of the Theosophical Convention held at Madras in December 1884. But these views lack corroborative evidence. The move for organising the Congress was first made by Allan Octavian Hume. He was a retired Civil Servant with liberal ideas and was keen on Indian progress. In 1833 Hume addressed an open letter to the Graduates of the Calcutta University urging them to devote themselves earnestly and unselfishly to the cause of the progress of the country with a view to securing greater freedom for the Indians. He formed in 1884 the Indian National Union with branches in the big cities. In 1885 Hume met the Viceroy Lord Dufferin

Efforts of Hume

and placed before him a proposal that every year leading Indians should meet and discuss social matters and establish close contact among themselves. The consideration that prompted Hume to set up an organisation like the Congress was the dreadful possibility of a widespread outbreak of violence in India. William Wedderburn, the autobiographer of Hume writes that the "State of things at the end of Lord Lyton's reign was bordering upon a revolution." Commenting on the reactionary measures of Lord Lyton, Wedderburn writes, "These ill-starred measures of reaction, combined with Russian methods of police repression, brought India under Lord Lytton, within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak and it was only in times that Mr. Hume and his Indian advisers were inspired to intervene." Hume apprehended 'a terrible revolution.' Hume thought of some positive action to counteract the growing unrest. It is in this way that the idea of a Congress appeared to him as an effective device to ward off any such danger of violence. To quote Hume : "A safetyvalve for the escape of great and growing forces, generated by our own action, was urgently needed, and no more efficacious safety-valve than our Congress movement could possibly be devised." It was also to serve as a body for canalising the leading and progressive Indian public opinion along constitutional lines. Viceroy Dufferin showed great interest in Hume's plan. The Viceroy told Hume that one of his great difficulties was the ascertaining the real wishes of the people. He welcomed the plan of an organisation through which the Government might be kept informed of the Indian public opinion. Dufferin suggested that the proposed body should also discuss political questions. He

**British of
the Congress**

expected the body to perform "the functions which Her Majesty's opposition did in England." Hume accepted the suggestions of the Viceroy and discussed his plan with many leading Indians who also supported it. Hume then proceeded to give effect to his scheme and the first Indian National Congress met in Bombay during the Christmas week of 1885 under the Presidency of W. C. Banerjea, an eminent lawyer of Bengal. The first Congress was attended by 72 invitees from different parts of India. In sponsoring the Congress, Hume had expressed the hope that it would help to bring together all who were devoted to the national cause and "the Conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will in a few years constitute an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is unfit for any form of representative institution."

The objects of the Congress were stated by the President, W. C. Banerjea. These were :

**Objects of
the Congress**

(1) Promotion of personal intimacy of and friendship amongst all the more earnest workers in the country's cause.

(2) Eradication by direct friendly personal intercourse of all possible race, creed or provincial prejudices in order to develop and consolidate the sentiments of national unity.

(3) To record and discuss the representations of the matured opinions of the educated classes in India on important and pressing social problems.

(4) To formulate the lines and methods of action to be pursued by the Indian politicians for public interests during the next twelve months.

The popularity of the Congress frightened the government

England took to policy of division

'Divide and rule' policy of the British

The British sowed the seed of communal germs

Policy of division of the Imperial rulers—Although Lord Dufferin was the instrument in making the National Congress, he did not hesitate to describe the Congress as the conspiracy of the microscopic minority in the vast ocean of Indian population. Although for the first three years the British people were the patrons of the Congress, but since 1890 their attitude was changed and the British officials were prohibited from going to the Congress. Uptill then the policy persued by the Congress was mild. The most extreme measure of that time was speeches on the recruitment policy of the Indian Civil Service and separation of the judiciary from the executive. In 1896 the Bengalis arranged an exhibition of national products. The growing popularity of the Congress was an eye sore for the British. The weapon by which the united effort of the Congress could be muzzlad was by spreading the germs of communalism. So the British took the Muslims in their lap to erect a wall against the Congress. It was Sir Syed Ahmed who during the Ilbert Bill described the Hindus and the Muslims as two eyes of beautiful India, if one was attacked, the other would be hurt. He wanted that the Muslims would not lag behind in education and for that he approached the Government. This was a good opportunity which was availed of by the Government who rendered necessary helps in building "Educational Congress" and then the two other organisations namely, "United Patriotic Association" and "Mohammedan Anglo Oriental Defence Association of Upper India." There is no doubt the British policy of 'Divide and rule' added inspiration to his work and programme. This was the beginning of the Hindu-Muslim rift in India.

Spread of National Consciousness—

**Congress
pressed
their
demands**

**The
British took
alarm at
the growing
strength of
the Congress**

**Outbreak of
Plague and
the famine
created gene-
ral discon-
tent among
the people**

Even till that time the national leaders of India did not consider the British rulers as their enemies. The mass people have not come within the fold of the Congress. In the Congress sessions the deliberations were made in English and the British people were amazed to see the oratory of the Indians. In 1886 the Congress president Dadabhai Naroji felt that the British would be able to keep the educated Indians in their side. In 1892 Surendranath Banerjea gave his opinion that by keeping great loyalty to the British rulers the Congress had to realise its demands. But whatever mild may be the tone of demand, the British rulers began to realise that the day was not distant when the demand pressed by the Congress was destined to be vigorous. In 1900 Lord Curzon wrote to the Secretary of State for India that his sole concern was to crush the Congress. The Plague that broke out in 1896 and famine that raged the country from 1896-1900 affected one-fourth of the total population of the country and this took away all sympathy that the Indians had for the British rule. Perhaps towards the last decade of the nineteenth century the spirited leadership of Bala Gangadhar Tilak in Maharastra was the biggest outburst of the suppressed desires of the people.

**Issue of
division of
Bengal**

Unprecedented enthusiasm for Independence—Since 1874 in the plea of administrative expediency a talk was in the air to divide Bengal And Sylhet and Cachar districts were thus joined with Assam. In 1891 and 1896 Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensing were proposed to be given to Assam. Against this proposal for two years there was great agitation in Bengal. In more than two thousand public

**Country-
wide
discontent**

**Division of
Bengal,
October 16,
1905**

**Boycot of
foreign
goods**

**Use of the
word
'Swaraj'**

meetings the protests of the people were registered and even Salimulla, the Nawab of Dacca raised his protest against it. A signature campaign that was launched took as many as seventy thousand signatures from East Bengal and sent to the Secretary of State for India. Despite all such public feelings the Government declared that the division of Bengal would come into force on October 16, 1905 and a new province of the name of West Bengal and Assam with some districts of North Bengal would be cut off from the then Bengal. This acted as a boomerang upon the British and the pentup energy that was so long rampant now came to the surface. In a largely attended public meeting the resolution was adopted that the Indians would boycott the foreign goods. The day on which Bengal was to be partitioned was observed as a day of a hartal and hunger-strike all over Bengal. Poet Rabindranath Tagore came to the public street to sing the song in prayer for unity of Bengal. It was Bengal that acted as the spear-head of the nationalist movement and from Bengal the spark of the movement would leap over all the provinces of India. In the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1906 Dadabhai Naroji was made the President and he was the first to pronounce the word 'Swaraj'.

Weakness of the movement—Although the nationalist movement sprang largely out of the will and wishes of the Hindus, it will not be proper to say that the Muslims did not participate in it. In Bengal Abdul Rasul, and Liqueat Hussain played a great role towards this direction. But the imperialist rulers had in their hand the policy of 'divide and rule' and so Salimulla, the Nawab of Dacca who was

Foundation of the Muslim League, 1906 initially opposed to the division of Bengal was played into the hands of the Britishers. Under the aegis of the British rulers in 1906 the Muslim League was founded at Dacca. In addition to this difference between the Hindus and Muslims, even the Congress could not offer a united front. The Congress was divided between the Rightists and the Leftists. In one camp was Surendranath Banerjea, Rasbehari Ghose and Ambikacharan Majumdar. The other group was represented by Bipin Chandra Pal and Arovinda Ghose. This was the position in Bengal. As for India as a whole in one side was Lala Lajpat Rai, Bala Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal, commonly known as Lal-Bal-Pal. In the other group was Gokhale, Phiroz Shah Mehta and Surendra Nath Banerjea. In 1907 in the Surat Session of the Congress the Rightists became very much uncompromising. The moderates were eager to keep themselves in power and the other faction that was known as the extremists from 1908 to 1916 held sway in Bengal, the Punjab and Maharastra.

Moderates had influence all over the country except Bengal Maharastra and the punjab

Terrorism in Bengal **Terroristic activities**—We have noticed the rise of terrorism in Maharastra towards the end of the nineteenth century. There were similar terroristic activities in Bengal in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Bengalis had till then a stigma that they were cowards and subordinate friends of the British. Perhaps to remove that a band of Congress youths of Bengal took to terroristic activities. But just before the appearance of terrorism the Government came forward to crush the movement. The Regulation III of 1818 that had so long been

Suppressive measures to crush the Terroristic activities not in operation was reimposed to arrest without trial Aswini Kumar Dutta, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Subodh Chandra Mallick, etc. In 1907 Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh were externed from the Punjab. In 1907 an Act was passed banning meetings and assemblies for a period of three years. In 1908 the Act was invoked to ban the press and papers like *Sandhya*, *Jugantar* and *Bandemataram*. In 1908 Lokamanya Tilak was imprisoned for six years for writing seditious articles in a paper called "*Maratha*". In protest against this action the labourers of Bombay were on strike for six days. Lenin from Russia sent a message congratulating the striking workers in India.

Suppression of the Press

Spread of terroristic activities

The terrorists became the greatest fear of the British and the distrust and dismay that permeated the young generation expressed itself through the terroristic activities. The Rowlatt Report found 500 branches of a terroristic organisation in Dacca itself and that the organisation had connection with other provinces. Besides Bengal, in Mujaffarpur, Ahmedabad and Delhi the terrorists spread their net of activities and that made the British government rather nervous. Of the great souls who were branded by the British as terrorists the names that figure prominent are—Kshudiram, Kanailal, Satyen Bose, Barindra Kumar Ghose, Ullaskar Datta, Upendranath Banerjee, Hemachandra Kanungo. etc. In the trial court Ullaskar Datta told boldly : "the determination of my life is to uproot the British rule from India and to perform that sacred task I have made the bomb at the risk of my life." The number of political prosecutions in Bengal from 1906 to 1909 amounted to 550 and a school boy was whipped up simply because he uttered '*Bande Mataram*'

Contribution of the terrorists towards independence The terroristic activities became so strong that the British Government was compelled to annul the Partition of Bengal in 1911. The terrorists did not immediately succeed, because they were not connected with the mass people but they tinctured into the national life of India a new spirit of defying the British authority.

Indian Revolutionaries Abroad—One of the important effects of the first World War that it made the Imperial Masters and the Indian nationalist leaders review their respective policies as well as to determine the course of their relationship. Undoubtedly it brought about a substantial change in the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. As the war broke out the British policy towards India underwent a remarkable change in as much as the demand of the Indians for responsible government which was regarded in the pre-war period as 'hopeless absurdity' now looked as 'natural', 'inevitable' and 'good'. Similarly the British leaders in London were also advised by their compatriots to replace the 'Government by despatch' by the 'Government by vote'. The war gave the Indians more self-confidence. As a result, the constitutional movement became stronger and more assertive.

Indian Revolutionaries abroad—Revolutionary activities and propaganda were also conducted outside India in Indo-China, Singapore, Siam, Afghanistan, in the United States and in Germany. One of the pioneers among Indian revolutionaries abroad was Swami Krishnavarma. In 1905 he founded the Indian Home Rule Society in London and he started the journal *Indian Sociologist*. He gathered round him a group of revolutionaries and the

**Ghadar
Party in the
United
States**

centre of their activities was the 'Indian House' founded by Swamiji in London. A close associate of him was Madan Kama who continued revolutionary propaganda in Europe and America. Among other notable Indian revolutionaries abroad were Raja Mahendra Pratap and Sardar Singh Rana. In 1913 the Ghadar Party was formed in the United States with Indian workers and students, mostly Punjabis, with the object of overthrowing the British rule. For some time the Ghadar movement was very active in the United States and drew public attention. A few years earlier Tarak Nath Das and other had founded the Indian Independence League (1907) in California. Lala Hardayal was one of the most active members of the League.

Bagha Jatin

During all these years revolutionary activities had intensified in Bengal. Attempts were made during the First World War to establish contact with Indian revolutionaries abroad. One of the most remarkable efforts was a secret scheme of an armed rebellion with arms and ammunitions imported from abroad with German help. The plot was unerthed by the police. But the plot was mad memorable by a heroic struggle but up by Jatindranath Mukherjee against the police forces at Balasore in course of which he embraced death heroically on september 9, 1915. For his unique courage and fighting qualities Jatindranath earned the affectionate honorific of *Bagha* (Tiger) Jatin. The other renowned revolutionary figure-fighting from abroad was Rash Bihari Bose. He was organising the revolutionary activities in Japan and was called the "Father of Indian National Independence Movement in West Asia". He formed the Indian National Army, travelling

**Rash Bihari
Bose**

extensively in the Far East that fall before the Japanese invasion. He had the magnanimaty to hand over the organisation to Netaji Subash Chandra Bose. Thus Rash Bihari Bose contributed to the Indian Independence Movement from outside India in the same way as Netaji.

Struggle during the First World War—

England now offered a bait to the people of India that at the successful end of the war, and if the Indians participated in the war on behalf of England some concession would be offered to the Indians. Raja Mahendra Pratap, Barakatalla, Obedulla Sindhi went abroad to get the support of Germany to oust the British rule and even proclaimed “Temporary Government of India”. It was a plan to bring arms and ammunitions through the helps of Germany from America to be sent to Noakhali, Calcutta and Baleswar. The plan proved abortive as the ship did not reach India. Jatindra Nath Mukherji better known as Bagha Jatin fought heroically till the last drop of his blood. Another important incident took place in 1815. A ship named ‘*Kamagatamaru*’ was returning with four hundred Sikhs who were denied accommodation in Canada and the British Government felt that these people had some link with the revolutionary party in the Punjab namely the *Gadar* Party. When they landed near Calcutta a fierce fight began in which many died and others were injured. In the Punjab many were tried on charge of treason and sent to long imprisonment. Many of them later on took a leading part in the freedom movement in the Punjab.

**Declaration
of
Temporary
Government
of India**

**Plan of
bringing
weapons
from
abroad**

**Episode of
400 Sikhs
and the
Gadar Party**

The Role of the Congress (1905-16)—We have seen earlier that in the Varanasi Session of

the Congress under the Presidentship of Gopal Krishna Gokhale the division of Bengal was opposed. But the Congress did not express openly to boycott the foreign goods. But the situation reached a new dimension in 1906 when the Congress Session was held at Calcutta. In order to make a reapproachment between the Moderates and the Extremists Dadabhai Naroji was brought from London to preside over this session. This session was significant in the sense that the very word '*Swaraj*' was used for the first time. In 1907 the cleavage that took place between the Congress divided it into Moderates and Extremists. For few years the Congress was dominated by the Moderates and even a man like Satyendra Prasad Sinha who is known for his loyalty to the British became the President in the Bombay Session. During the war the hatred of the Indians towards the British became more and more recognised. As a Muslim Country like Turkey was fighting war against England, the muslims in India naturally became anti-British. So, it was a time when a compromise became necessary between the Congress and the Muslim League and the different factions of the Congress.

Cleavage in the Congress and predominance of the Moderates

Congress-League Alliance and unity in the Congress

A NEW LEADER AND A NEW ERA

Rowlatt Act-Massacre at Jalianwala Bagh—We know that Montagu-Chelmsford Report which was designed to appease the people failed. In 1918 at a special Session at Bombay the Congress outright rejected the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms. In 1918 the Government passed a Bill known as the Rowlatt Act by which such persons who were suspected of anarchical or seditious ideas could be arrested and put in prison without a regular trial. This was

Congress rejected the Montagu-Chelmsford Report

**Rowlatt
Act, 1919**

**Gandhiji's
Satyagraha
Samgha**

passed some time ago as a safeguard and it was given out that this was going to be in force only during the great European War. When the war came to an end, Government wanted to keep it in force for an indefinite period. When it was brought before the Viceroy's Legislative Council, all the European members voted for it while all the Indian members were against it. The Europeans being in the majority, it was passed and naturally created disgust and ill-feeling in the whole of India. Thus the Rowlatt Act tied the Indian people by curtailing their liberty. Gandhiji at that time was launching *Satyagraha* for several years in South Africa and returned home to see the flood-tide of nationalism in the country. Gandhiji established *Satyagraha Samgha* and fixed April 6, 1919 as the day of *hartal* all over the country. The people responded to this call with unprecedented enthusiasms to the great joy of Gandhiji. When Gandhiji was taken to the prison, the whole country launched *hartal*. Although the people were lathi-charged and killed by bullets, they did not trace back from their determination. At Delhi Swami Sraddhananda spoke from the altar of the Jumma Masjid. Police opened fire at Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay and Ahmedabad, but this could not dampen the spirit of the Indians. The whole country witnessed a uniarve and spontaneous outburst of mass agitation. The Government tried to put it down with an iron Rand and did not hesitate to take abrocious and brutal steps. The most leinous criminal action was that of General Dyer. His troops opened relentless fire without warning on thousands of unarmed people assembled for a prohibited meeting at Jalianwalla Bagh in Amritsar (April 13, 1919). There was no means of

**Mass-killing
at Jalian-
wala Bagh**

exit from the park and hundreds of people were killed and injured in the firing. This mass killing in stead of dampening the spirit of the people rather gave encouragement to the Indians. As the work of Lord Curzon had paradoxically acted to unite the whole of Bengal to resist against the British rule, the massacre at Jalianwala Bagh made the whole country realise the need for freedom and liberty. Poet Rabindranath Tagore, for one, gave up his knighthood in protest against this mass killing. Thus Punjab acted as the first martyr in the Independence movement.

**Reaction of
Jalianwala
Bagh**

Muslim attitude : the Aligarh Movement and its effect on Muslim political Ideas—In all sphere of life and thought in the nineteenth century the Muslims in India were decidedly less advanced than the Hindus. This backwardness was very much in evidence in the slow growth of political consciousness and national sentiment. The Indian nationalism and political agitation in the nineteenth century had a distinct Hindu element. One of the weakness of the movement was that it failed to develop a pan-Indian patriotism. This was perhaps unavoidable under existing conditions, but nevertheless unfortunate. The explanation is, however, not far to seek. The Muslims in general were hostile to the establishment of the British rule in India. It was Muslim rule which the British had supplanted. Nor the Muslim minds leapt back across the interval in which the Mughal Empire was collapsing and regarded the British as usurpers of the Mughal throne. The introduction of secular English education and the replacement of the Persian by the English language naturally hurt their pride. The Muslims suffered from a sense of humiliation

**Backward-
ness of the
Muslims in
the 19th
century and
its causes**

**Sir Syed
Ahmed**

**Aligarh
College
founded**

**Fear of
Hindu
domination**

which caused their indifference, if not antipathy to English Education. Thus unlike the Hindus the Muslims failed to take part in the western thought and science. This was the reason why nationalism spread among the Hindu intelligentsia and the Muslims rather stood aloof. Although the Wahabi Movement had some influence upon the Muslims, its effect was very transitory. When there were so many Hindu organisations, the number of the Muslim organisation was one—National Mohammedan Association of Nawab Abdul Latif. The Muslim participation in political agitations was limited to only a handful of enlightened individuals. The position was radically changed by the advent of Sir Syed Ahmed. From the Indian Civil Service he rose to a member of the Governor-General's Legislative Council in 1878. He could understand the reasons of the backwardness of the Muslims and gave a call to the Muslims to get in touch with western education and modern scientific knowledge. He asked the Muslims to adopt the English culture and education. With this aim in view he established at Aligarh the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1877 and this institution was the nucleus of the Aligarh Muslim University. Syed Ahmed was convinced that since the Hindus were far advanced than the Muslims, it will be proper for the Muslims to keep aloof from the nationalist movement, and that the political gains to the Indians must be accompanied by proper safeguards for the Muslims. Thus in 1886 he organised the Annual Muslim Educational Conference and in 1888 he founded the United Patriotic Association. It is, therefore, said that Sir Syed Ahmed recoiled the Muslims from Congress nationalism. As the new outlook

Growth of separatism

centred round the Aligarh college, it came to be known as the Aligarh Movement, and it virtually sowed the seeds of the "two-nation" theory. The annual Muslim Educational Conference held in December, 1906 welcomed and approved the partition of Bengal. In the same year Aga Khan led a Muslim delegation for separate Muslim Electorates in the next constitutional reforms and this was conceded to in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909.

It was in 1908 that on the recommendation of Nawab Salimullah that the Muslim League was founded to meet the long-felt need of a political organisation of the Muslims. This added strength to the British Government that began to favour the League as its favourite wife. Despite the country wishes of the Congress the communal division began to widen which proved a stumbling block in the path of Hindu-Muslim united effort for the attainment of Indian independence. Fortunately for the Congress the British policy towards Turkey, a Muslim state and her defeat and humiliation in the hands of the British hurt the feelings of the Indian Muslims and this led to the Khalifat Movement and this offered an opportunity for Gandhiji to strike the hot iron effectively for a United Hindu-Muslim movement against the British.

Congress supported the Khalifat movement

The Khalifat Movement and the non-co-operation Movement. But our national leaders yet could not make up their mind with regard to the future course of their action. It was a time when a part of Turkey was under the British rule and the Indian Muslims cherished it as detrimental to the prestige of Khilif and the Islam and there was a common outburst of Muslim feelings against the British. Gandhiji did not like to lose the golden opportunity of

**Non-violent
non-co-
operation of
Gandhiji**

the co-operation of the Muslims and he along with Bala Gangadhar Tilak supported the stand of the Indian Muslims on this issue. Gandhiji took the Khalfat Movement as a part of the programme of the Non-co-operation Movement. The purpose of it was to boycott everything English—to give up English schools, to give up English courts and offices and to renounce the British titles. In a special session of the Congress held at Calcutta this non-co-operation movement was overwhelmingly accepted. Although C.R. Das was at the beginning opposed to boycotting the Legislative Council, he too in the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1920 gave his unqualified support to Gandhiji. The country had by that time accepted Gandhiji as the unquestioned leader and his voice was heard in the remote corners of the villages. Thus the Indian Independence movement passed into a new age that may be called the Age of Gandhiji.

**Age of
Gandhiji**

**Unprecedented
amity
between the
Hindus and
the Muslims**

Renewed Agitation of 1920-22. In 1921 the Indians showed an un-execedented energy—as if a lion just woke up from the long sleep. The unprecedented amity that was seen among the Hindus and the Muslims which was something even unbelievable if not seen directly by an observer. History was being created before the eyes and independence was dawning down. This was a great inspiring hope that created a new climate in the country. At that time the Muslim leader who came forward were Muhammed Ali, Saokot Ali, Abul Kalam Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan whose names would be ever remembered in the pages of history. C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru, Vallab Bhai Patel and Chakravorty Raja Gopalachari were the great supporters of Gandhiji. Within July 1, 1921

**Twenty
thousand
taken to
prison**

Bala Gangadhar Tilak could collect one crore for the Swarajya fund. By burning to ashes the foreign clothes the people showed their loyalty to the Independence. Before the end of the year of 1920 at least 20,000 were imprisoned and all leader except Mahatma Gandhi were in the prison. The British Government being frightened made an attempt for compromise which was turned down by Gandhiji. In this way the year passed ; but freedom did not come but the determination of the country remained as firm as before. In the Ahmedabad Session of the Congress all powers for future course of action were vested absolutely in Gandhiji. The country looked forward to know the date on which the people would be exempted from taxation. But Gandhiji asked the people to remain patient. It was at that time that the non-violent *Satyagraha* was going on all over the country when a group of people being angry with the police attacked the police station in a village called Chauri Chaura in the Gorakhpur District which resulted in the death of some policemen. This news of violence shocked Gandhiji so much so that he without consulting the other leaders at once called off the movement. This action of Gandhiji was objected to by C.R. Das, Motilal Nehru and Abdul Kalam Azad. Subhash Chandra Bose called it a "national calamity". This sudden calling off the movement smashed the national enthusiasm of the people.

**Incident of
Chauri
Chaura and
Calling off
the move-
ment by
Gandhiji**

**Swarajya
Party, 1925**

The next development was one of communal strife between the Hindus and the Muslims in different parts of the country, C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed a party called the Swarajya Party the purpose of which was to fight against the British from within the Executive Council. C.R. Das was a man of

great vision and breadth of imagination. He occupies a very special position in the history of our national struggle. The death of this great man in 1925 took away from us a powerful personality. By that time again the terroristic activities began to raise their head and the Trade Union activities were augmented. In 1927 the Madras Session of the Congress decided to boycott the Simon Commission and in protest of it Motilal Nehru made a counter report which wanted to give Dominion status to India. In the Calcutta Session of the Congress in 1928 it was decided by Gandhiji that the British should be given one more year before India snaps the ties with the British rule. In 1929 in the Lahore Session the Congress demanded full *Swaraj*. It was decided that every year January 26 should be observed as the day of Independence.

**Gandhiji's
march to
Dandi and
violation
of Salt Law**

The Civil Disobedience Movement—A kind of a restlessness seized the entire nation. In February, 1930 it was decided that Gandhiji with those few followers who had inflexible devotion in non-violence would launch the Civil Disobedience Movement. It was on April 6, 1930 that Gandhiji with his 78 selected followers made his famous march to Dandi to break the Salt Law. It was almost immediately before this incident that the Chittagong armoury robbery by the terrorists of Bengal created panic among the British. Gandhiji's expedition aroused great enthusiasm among the Indian people. Boycotting the English goods and English educational institutions and picketing before the government offices received great popular support. The girls also in groups took part in the movement. In the North West Frontier Abdul Gaffar Khan with

**Gandhiji
Irwin Pact,
March 4,
1931**

**Congress
declared
illegal**

his Red Shirts jumped into the movement. Meanwhile, by May, 1930 Gandhiji was arrested and in June Congress was declared illegal. Within a period of ten months ninety thousand people were imprisoned. After much labour Lord Irwin had a pact with Gandhiji (March 4, 1931) to attend the Round Table Conference at London. This was not favoured by Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Chandra but they both had to bow down before the towering personality of Gandhiji. Gandhiji returned from London empty-handed and prepared for a new phase of struggle. This time the people took the lead and did not wait for Gandhiji's suggestion. When Gandhiji returned to India, he was arrested and the Congress was banned. In May, 1932 eighty thousand people were imprisoned and in April, 1933 the figure rose to one lakh. The movement slowly died away and it was officially called off by Gandhiji in May, 1933. This was not favoured by many including Subhash Chandra Bose who became critical of Gandhiji's leadership. Although the Civil Disobedience Movement failed, it was memorable for the part played by the women, the youth, the students and the masses. For the rural masses it was a struggle against the land system. The flame of the movement might be dead, but the 'burning members' remained 'for a long time hot and unquenchable as India's will to freedom.'

Revolutionary activities—The revolutionary activities in the form of terrorism went down before the country-wide Non-Cooperation Movement. When the Non-Cooperation Movement was suspended, it gave encouragement to the revolutionaries to raise again their heads.

Revival of Revolution- ary activi- ties	Thus an organisation of the name of Hindusthan Republican Association was established in October 1924 to establish a federated Republic of the United States of India by an organised and armed revolution. One of the most daring
Hindusthan Republican Association	works of the organisation was a decoity in a railway train under Ramprasad Bismil at Kakori on August 9, 1925. The police unearthed the plot and the event became famous as the Kakori Conspiracy Case. Some of the leaders were executed, other were jailed for a long period. The
Kakori Conspiracy Case (1925)	Russian Revolution sent Revolutionary ideals. Thus M.N. Roy, a famous revolutionary wanted to organise the Communist Party in India. Trade Unions were formed in many places which alarmed the Government that soon passed the Public Safety Bill. Workers' and Peasants' Party was created in the United Province, and its inaugural conference was held at Meerut. In March, 1929 the police arrested thirty one leftists on a charge of conspiracy against the King and the trial came to be known as the Meerut Conspiracy Case and most of the accused received long-term sentence.
Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta Bomb Throwing Case, (1929)	The Hindusthan Republican Association, after the Kakori Conspiracy Case, was changed into the Hindusthan Socialist Republican Association which demanded a socialist state in India. At Lahore Bhagat Singh killed one police officer on November 17, 1938. Two bombs were thrown by Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta, both members of the organisation on the floor of the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, on April 8, 1929, to make a timely warning and protest of the people against passing the Public Safety Bill which was being discussed at that time. Soon after the incident the police unearthed bomb factory at Lahore

Lahore Conspiracy Case (1929) and martyrdom of Bhagat Singh and Jatin Das and another at Saharanpore. Many members of the Association were arrested and Bhagat Singh was given death sentence and Jatin Das died unto fast in the jail. The other memorable revolutionary action in North India was the terrorism continued by Chandra Sekhra Azad which created a new problem for the Government. Chandra Sekhar Azad was killed in a skirmish with the police at Allahabad in 1931.

Martyrdom of Chandra Sehkar Azad Which this terroristic activities in north India came to an and. It will be Bengal again where terrorism was to find a new place. The most spectacular and daring act was the raid on the Government armouries at Chittagong led by Surya Sen, popularly called Master-*da*. This was followed by a series of revolutionary incidents in that district. At Calcutta Binoy, Badal and Dinesh three young men raided the Writers' Building killed the Inspector-General of Prisons and injured several British Officers. Binoy and Badal committed suicide to escape from the hands of the police and Dinesh was arrested and sentence to death. In other places of Bengal attempts were made on the lives of the British Officers. Sporadic activities of the revolutionaries continued throughout the country. In the Chittagong Armoury Raid Case fourteen persons were transported for life. Surya sen and four others evaded arrest and continued their work. On September 22, 1932 a group of revolutionaries led by a young girl Pritilata Waddar raided the railway institute at Pahartali in Chittagong. She received serious injuries and committed suicide to evade arrest. Surya Sen was caught and hanged.

Sporadic Revolutionary activities

The object of the revolutionary activities as Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Datta said in their joint statement was to fulfil the ideals of

Guru Govinda Singh, Sivaji, Kamal Pasha, Washington, Garibaldi and Lenin and to establish the Government of the country on socialistic principles.

FINAL STRIDES TO FREEDOM

Congress won majority in five provinces

Congress forms ministries—In the first election held in accordance with the Government of India Act, 1935, the Congress won an overwhelming victory. It secured an absolute majority in five of the major provinces and was the largest single party in four. It was only in the Punjab and Sind that the Congress did not achieve comparable success. This victory of the Congress was to be judged against the Congress's early reluctance to contest the elections at all. The Government of India Act, 1935 provided for provincial autonomy but there was a fly in the ointment. Special powers were reserved to the Governors to declare a state of emergency, and once a Governor did so, he could suspend the constitution and assume all powers to himself. Democracy in the provinces could, therefore, function only so long as the Governors permitted it. The position was even worse so far as the Central Government was concerned. In the centre there was an attempt to re-introduce the principle of diarchy which had already been discredited in the provinces. Not only was the Central Government to be a weak federation but it was also over-weighted in favour of the princes and other vested interests. These could generally be expected to side with the British rulers of the country.

It was, therefore, not surprising that the Congress which was fighting for complete independence of the country was averse to accepting

**Congress
was initially
reluctant to
contest the
elections**

this arrangement. The Congress condemned outright the type of federation proposed for the Central Government. For a long time the Congress Working Committee was also against the scheme proposed for the provinces. A section of the Congress was opposed even to participating in the elections. Maulana Azad had quite different views on it. He held that it would be a mistake to boycott the elections. If the Congress did so, less desirable elements would capture the central and provincial Legislatures and speak in the name of the Indian people. Besides, the election campaign offered a splendid opportunity for educating the masses in the basic issues of Indian politics. Ultimately the point of view represented by Azad prevailed and ultimately the Congress participated in the elections results of which have been told earlier.

**Unhappi-
ness in the
Congress
over the
power of the
Governor**

New differences were now revealed with the leadership of the Congress. A section of those who had participated in the elections opposed assumption of office by Congress nominees. They argued that, with special powers reserved to the Governors, provincial autonomy was a mockery. Ministers would hold office at the Governor's pleasure. If Congress wished to carry out its election pledges, a clash with the Governor was inevitable. They argued that the Congress should, therefore, try to wreck the constitution from within the Legislature. On this issue also Azad held the opposite view and argued that the powers given to the Provincial Governments should be exercised to the full. If a clash with the Governor arose, it should be faced as and when occasion demanded. Without actual exercise of power the programme of the Congress could not be carried out. If, on the other hand, Congress Ministries had to go out on a popular

**Congress
decided to
take office**

issue, it would only strengthen the hold of the Congress on the popular imagination. During the prolonged negotiations with the Viceroy, an attempt was made to wrest an assurance that the Governors would not interfere with the work of the ministries. After the Viceroy clarified the position, some members of the Working Committee changed their opinion in favour of acceptance of office. Congress had, however, spoken so strongly and insistently against the Government of India Act that in spite of growing recognition of the need to change the policy, nobody dared to suggest it openly. Jawaharlal Nehru was the President of the Congress at that time. He had expressed himself in such categorical terms against the acceptance of office that it was difficult for him to propose acceptance now. After the meeting of the Congress Working Committee at Wardha it was decided that the Congress should assume office. It was for the first time that the Congress adopted a positive attitude towards administration and agreed to take up the burden of Government.

**A new out-
look of the
Congress
since 1936**

Preparation for a new movement—The Act of 1935 fell far short of the aspirations of the Indian people. A maddening desire of independence seized the imagination of the people. In 1936 in the Lucknow Session Jawaharlal Nehru told the country of Socialism. In 1934 the Socialist Party was formed in the Congress and six years before in 1928 the Communist Party was born in India. The new phase of nationalism began in a sense from Lucknow. The number of the Congress members began to grow by leaps and bounds. In Tripuri Congress session of 1939 Subhash Chandra Bose, a Leftist member of the Congress defeated his rival—Pattabhi Sitaramia, a candidate of Gandhiji and

**Creation of
Forward
Bloc by
Subhash
Chandra
Bose**

**Day of
Deliverance**

Gandhiji did not fight shy to say that "Pattabhi Sitaramia's defeat is my defeat." Subhash Chandra quited Congress and established a new Party called the Forward Bloc. This very much affected the Congress and the 'internal feuds in the Congress encouraged the Muslims who did not fare well in the election of 1937. The Second World War broke out in 1939 and the Congress that held the ministry in the provinces resigned forthwith as India was involved in the war without consulting the ministers. The Muslims found some advantage in it and observed the day as the 'Day of Deliverance'. In March, 1940 in the Lahore Session the Muslim League adopted a resolution demanding a separate state for the Muslims—Pakistan. To encourage it in August, 1940 Lord Linlithgow bade an obstinate proclamation that in the interest of India the British would not transfer power to any particular political party—the Hindus and the Muslims are two distinct people and they are entitled to equal political rights. This message encouraged the Muslims to carry on their demand for the fulfilment of political rights. In this way we come to the vortex of the Second World War.

The Second World War and its impact upon India—The outbreak of the Second World War tremendously affected the political movement in India. Netaji Subhash Chandra in a dramatic way through Russia reached Germany and formed the Azad Hind Government. As Germany-Japan-Italy, the enemy bloc of England made rapid progress it was time for England to offer some bait to the Indians to get their wholehearted support. England had to think like this under the pressure of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the President of the U.S.A. who asked England to get

**U.S.A.
pressed
upon Eng-
land for a
rapproche-
ment with
India**

the support of India in this fight. This demand was a sequel to the Pearl Harbour incident. At the beginning the U.S.A. was averse to war. But Japan compelled the U.S.A. to enter the war. In 1941 Japan entered the war on the side of Germany and as a first step attacked Pearl Harbour which belonged to the U.S.A. in the Pacific Ocean. Next day, the U.S.A. declared war upon Japan and took the side of the Allied powers. Japan's attack on the Pearl Harbour had tremendous effect upon the British attitude towards India. After the Pearl Harbour incident American public opinion became more and more persistent and demanded that India's voluntary co-operation with the British must be secured. So, England under the pressure of the U.S.A. made a gesture for the settlement of the Indian question and sent Cripps as the spokesman of the new policy. So came the Cripps Mission to mediate between the Indians and the British Government.

**Substance
of Cripss
proposal**

Cripps Mission, 1942—Although Cripps was known as a socialist and a spirited person, his proposal was not acceptable to the countrymen. There were three lines in his formula—(1) After the end of the war India would have right to sever connection with British Empire (2) After the end of the war a constituent Assembly would be convened that would have power to make a constitution with the sole condition that if any or more provinces wished to keep away from the Indian Union, they would have the same rights as independent India. (3) In the interim period the right of defending India would lie with the British. It would be seen that in the second point Cripps intentionally kept upon the issue of Muslim League demanding for a separate state. The Cripps offer stressed that

**Gandhiji
rejected the
Cripps offer**

after the war, Indian independence would be recognised. During the war, the only change was that the Executive Council would be entirely Indian and consist of leaders of the political parties. Regarding the communal problem, Cripps said that after the war the provinces would have the option to decide whether to join the Union or not. The greater snag was the option to the Provinces to stay outside the Union. This as well as the solution of the communal problem suggested by Cripps had greatly disturbed Gandhiji. Thus Gandhiji regarded the Cripps offer as totally unacceptable. He felt that it would only add to our difficulties and make a settlement of the communal problem impossible. The Cripps offer was made when the British were in dire need of Indian co-operation.

Growing demand for Pakistan—A sense of despair took hold of the people and at the same time it became clear that the British authorities did not like to have a peaceful compromise. The proposal that Cripps brought did not give to the Indian people any major power except some little powers. Because of the pressure of the people the Muslim League outwardly uttered some hot words against the British, but in heart they were getting patronage of the British and their sole aim was to replace the Congress. The English knew that a patch between the Hindus and the Muslims was an impossibility and they could thrive only so long as the Muslims were at their back.

The Quit India Movement—The failure of the Cripps Mission led to widespread disappointment and anger in the country. Many Indian felt that the Churchill Cabinet had sent Sir Stafford only because of American pressure,

but that in fact Mr. Churchill had no intention of recognizing Indian freedom. By that time the Japanese was knocking at the door of India and Gandhiji felt that something should be done to put pressure upon the British and the Working Committee of the Congress declared what is known as the 'Quit India Resolution' on July 14, 1942 in which it was proposed that independence should be at once obtained. Gandhiji now openly expressed that no mere talk or suggestion would be fruitful. The British would be compelled to recognise the independence of India. The All-India Congress Committee sat in Bombay on August 9, 1942 in which Gandhiji made a thundering proclamation: We would win the war by fight. Our motto would be: '**Do or Die**'. When the resolution of the Working Committee was published, it created an electrifying atmosphere in the country. People did not pause to consider what were the implications, but felt that at last the Congress was launching a mass movement to be described as the 'Quit India' Movement. On the same day of the resolution of the Congress Gandhiji and all the leaders were taken inside the bar and the Congress was outlawed. The people were now virtually without a leader. As no direction was forthcoming from the side of any leader, the people began to direct themselves and put fire upon rail stations, post offices and police stations. The police and the army opened fire as many as 538 times to disperse the crowd. Nine hundred people died in this police firing.

Open revolt by the Congress

Do or Die

Arrest of Congress leaders

Spontaneous outburst of the people's revenge upon the English

The struggle outside India—When the whole nation was in ferment in the 'Quit India Movement' launched by Gandhiji, there was another struggle of no less importance started from abroad by Subhash Chandra Bose, Rash

Bihari Bose and Mohan Singh. The outbreak of the Second World War was considered by Subhash Chandra Bose as the golden opportunity to tackle the British. He did not believe in non-violence of Gandhiji and had more than once confrontation with Gandhiji which ultimately led him to come out of the Congress and form a new party called the Forward Bloc. He was also of the opinion that Indian Independence is possible if some foreign countries militarily assist India. Germany and Japan were the two countries of his choice since they were the enemies of the enemy *i.e.* England. He escaped from the British eyes in India and went to Germany where he sought to secure German help and promise for India's independence. The Indian community in Germany hailed him as *Netaji* and greeted him with the slogan *Jai Hind*. Through Berlin Radio he regularly inspired the Indians to carry on their struggle against the British. But soon he felt that South East Asia would offer him a better base to raise an army for the liberation of India. In Japan an organisation of the name of Indian Independence league was founded by Rash Bihari Bose. In Tokyo and Bangkok they held conferences and decided to raise an army of the name the Indian National Army or *Azad Hind Fauz* for the liberation of India from the British yoke. The soldiers were those Indians in South East Asia and the British soldiers captured by the Japanese. The task of recruiting was given to Mohan Singh. Subhash Chandra Bose was invited to come to Japan and through an amazing sea journey he reached Japan. The Japanese Government promised all helps to the I.N.A. and also of Independence of India after the end of the Second World War. A provisional Government of *Azad Hind* (Free India) was set up. Its sole

**Collapse of
the I.N.A**

aim was to launch and to conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and of their allies from the soil of India. Netaji gave the war cry '*Delhi Chalo*' (on to Delhi). This shook the pillars of the British Empire. One of the Brigades of the I.N.A. advanced with the Japanese Army upto the frontiers of India. The Indian National Flag was hoisted at Kohima in March, 1944. But as the Japanese had to retreat, this shattered the I.N.A. which soon collapsed. There is no doubt that the I.N.A. movement fostered a fresh enthusiasm in an unprecedented manner in the minds of the Indians and it deserves to be written in the pages of Indian history in letters of flame.

**Non-Party
conference
convened by
Tez Bahadur
Sapru**

**Gandhi-
Jinnah
meeting**

Efforts to remove the stalemate in political life of India—During the course of the war and after the war it began to be clear that the results of the war would not be to the desire of the imperialist rulers and the events of Soviet Russia created panic among the reactionary forces in India. It was Tez Bahadur Sapru who convened a conference of non-political parties to remove the political impasse. In 1944 Charkavorty Rajagopalachari made out a formula to patch up with the Muslim League for the war time and these countries that had Muslim majority would have the right by vote to choose their own fate. But Jinnah did not concede to this formula. Even Gandhiji personally met Jinnah on this issue for several times. But Jinnah was not satisfied with anything short of a state for the Muslims. Lord Wavell of his own accord made an attempt to resolve the crisis by convening a conference of all parties at Simla. But the conference proved abortive. The Simla Conference marks a breakwater in Indian political history. This was the first time that

**Simla Conference,
June, 1945**

negotiations failed, not on the basic political issue between India and Britain, but on the communal issue, dividing different Indian groups.

**In 1945
General
Election
Attlee became the
Prime
Minister**

End of the war and the renewal of the movement—After the end of the war things began to take shape in quick succession. That the British attitude towards India would remain unchanged became clear from the international situation that prevailed at that time. In August, 1945 the Labour Party came to power and Attlee formed the ministry. In September Lord Wavell announced that a General Election would be held in India also in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1935. The Constituent Assembly would be formed by the elected members and in the Council of the Governor-General there would be representatives from all political parties. In the General Election from the non-Muslim areas almost all the seats were captured by the Congress. But as the Muslim-populated areas were by and large occupied by the Muslim League, the demand for Pakistan got a new dimension. All over the country there was seen discontent and unrest that erupted in the form of strikes by the factory workers and peasants and the members of the navy. Attlee soon announced that a Cabinet Mission consisting of Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, the President of the Board of Trade and Mr. A. V. Alexander, the First Lord of the Admiralty would go to study the ways and means to settle the political problems in India.

**Discontent
all over the
country**

The Cabinet Mission—The Cabinet Mission stayed in India from March 1946 to June 1946. The Mission suggested that as the division of railways, postal systems and defence

It was opposed to creation of Pakistan would hamper the interest of the country, the creation of Pakistan was not feasible. It envisaged the creation of a united state comprising the British India and the native states. Foreign affairs, defence and communication would be a subject of the Union Government and other matters would be vested in the provinces. It was also proposed that the provinces would be categorised into Class A, Class B and Class C. The Hindu majority states like Madras, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh and United province, Bihar and Orissa fell in Group A. The Muslim majority provinces like the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind were grouped into B state and Bengal and Assam were to form C State. These three classes of states in collaboration with the native states would finalise the constitution of the United States. Again, it was stated that for the purpose of transfer of power a treaty would be made with England and in that treaty it would be specified that the native states would retain their sovereignty from England. The other special recommendation of the Cabinet Mission was that an Interim Government would be formed with the representatives of the different political parties. As the suggestion did not disappoint either the Congress or the Muslim League both participated in the General Election.

A, B, and C states

Other details of the proposal

Communal Riots—In the Constituent Assembly out of non-Muslim 210 seats the Congress captured 199 and in the same way out of 78 Muslim seats 73 were occupied by the League. Any way, in an Assembly of 296 Congress with their friends took 220 seats. Jinnah and his party at this time demanded for a Muslim State through

'Direct Action'. His slogan now became 'Divide and Quite India'. He announced August 16, 1946 as the day of 'Direct Action' which resulted in a great killing in Calcutta for four days and the number of killed were four thousand. This communal strife engulfed the whole country and the partition of Bengal and the Punjab became inevitable.

Demand for division of Bengal and Punjab—Despite the communal flare-up the Congress and the League joined the Governor-General's Council in September, 1946. But it was soon evident that was not possible for them to work together. The British Government by now realised that the power must be handed over to the Indians and the Prime Minister Attlee announced on February 20, 1947 before June 1948 the power would be transferred to the responsible government in India. The Communal riots were renewed particularly in Bengal and the Punjab. To make real this proposal Attlee sent a formidable person—Lord Mountbatten. His personality and charming appeal won the hearts of Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and other leaders of the country. On June 2, 1947 he made the historic proclamation that the Muslim populated areas might, if they so desired, form a separate state-Pakistan. He also took the question of the partition of Bengal and the Punjab. It had been decided that there would be a vote in the Provincial Assembly to decide whether the provinces should be partitioned at all or as a whole join India or Pakistan. Both the Bengal and the Punjab Assemblies voted for partition and it became necessary to decide what would be the boundary of the two new

A Congress-League Government became unworkable

Mountbatten Made the Plan for Partition

**Boundary
Commis-
sion under
Radcliff**

**Indian
Indepen-
dence Act,
July 1947**

provinces. Lord Mountbatten appointed a Boundary Commission to go into this question and asked Mr. Radcliff to undertake the task. Mr. Radcliff was then in Simla. He accepted the appointment, but suggested that he would start his survey in early July. He pointed out that it would be an almost impossible task to undertake a field survey in the Punjab in the heat of June and in any case July meant a delay of only three or four weeks. Lord Mountbatten told him that he was not prepared for even one day's delay and any suggestion of three or four weeks' postponement was simply out of the question. His orders were carried out. This showed an example of the quickness with which Lord Mountbatten worked. It was the dream of Jinnah to get into Pakistan the whole of the Punjab, Bengal and Assam. Even then he was satisfied with the Mountbatten Plan and accepted the proposal. In the month of July the British Government passed the Indian Independence Act. It was decided that the Indian Dominion would come into existence on August 15, 1947. The Muslim League decided that Pakistan should be constituted a day earlier on August 14, 1947. Although India was free to choose her own Governor-General as the constitutional head, the Indian leaders decided that it would be better not to make a sudden change and felt that the appointment of Lord Mountbatten would give continuity of policy and administration. It was also thought that in the initial stages there would be one Governor-General for both India and Pakistan. It was generally thought that Pakistan would be influenced by the same considerations. The Congress accordingly announced that Lord Mountbatten was their choice and expected the

Lord Mountbatten first Governor-General of India and Jinnah first Governor-General of Pakistan League to select Lord Mountbatten. But at the last moment the League caused a surprise by proposing that Mr Jinnah should be appointed the first Governor-General of Pakistan. A special session of the Constituent Assembly of the Indian Union also held at Delhi on the night of August 14. The Great moment for which the nation struggled so long at last came true. Jawaharlal Nehru in his memorable address to the Constituent Assembly and to the nation said, "At the stroke of the midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when the age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance. It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity." The feeling of the nation was one mixed with joy and sorrow. It was indeed rejoicing to get back the Independence. It was a matter of sorrow to see the plight of millions of brothers of East Bengal and West Punjab groaning under the pressure of Pakistan to move to India to find a new home and shelter.

Different opinions on explaining the partition of India

The British, the Pakistani and the Indian historians have different views which regard to the explanation of partition—whether it was just a product of British Imperialism, or was it a product of historical process or was it inevitable. The British historians think that it is the result of hatred and apprehensions of the Muslims against the Indians. The Indian Historians blame the British for putting the Hindus and the Muslims against each other. But the fact remains that the British never created communalism, though they might have

exploited it. The modern Historians of Pakistan say what the Muslim said in the pre-partition days. It was the logical conclusion of the Hindu-Muslim relations through the centuries. According to the large majority of the Indians the partition was disgraceful since it was dismemberment of Mother India and the Muslims who used their own slogan actually as a bargaining counter, got Pakistan as an extra-gift. The large majority of the Indians still believe that the partition could be avoided, if there had been a great leader like C.R. Das who could carry both the wings with him. It is our tragedy that we did not have such a leader at that time and even Gandhiji who throughout his life fought against communalism and said "if there is partition, that will be over my dead body" accepted it against his will. It is only for the communalism that the Independence of the country was delayed. As a matter of fact, this communalism was the strongest weapon—stronger than bullets, bayonets and prison cells that the British had applied against the freedom fighter. But the real explanation is perhaps that there was no seriousness in patronising nationalism among the Indians. It has been seen that people of even comparatively low state of civilisation but having the sentiment of nationality can maintain independent political existence ; but in the absence of the sentiment of Nationality a people cannot maintain it, even if they are brave, intelligent and more civilised. This was the factor responsible for the partition of India.

Gandhiji, the father of the nation was unhappy. In the conversation with the Viceroy, when Gandhiji has spoken against partition, Mountbatten said to him : "But Mr. Gandhi,

the Congress is today with me, no longer with you." With his characteristic promptness Gandhiji replied, "But India is still with me." On August 15, 1947 when power was transferred he stayed away at Calcutta and decried the independence as a 'sorry affair'. He decided that the Congress organisation should dissolve itself voluntarily, send all its workers on a constructive programme to build up services and *panchayats* from the grass-roots, teach the people what their new lights and duties were and thus lay the foundation for 'economic, social and moral freedom'. To a question as to whether, India and Pakistan would again combine together, his advice was that we should not worry over such questions. "If the foundation of true *Swaraj* were laid by the masses in one country, it will undoubtedly have its influence on other countries as well," he said, "And if the masses gained such freedom by their unaided but combined non-violent strength, what did it matter if countries remained separate as sovereign states, if that was their pleasure?"

SOME IMPORTANT EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE RENAISSANCE AND STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

1. **Indian National Congress**—It was the strongest political organ of the people of India for the liberation of the country from the yoke of the British. It was founded on December 28, 1885 and its first session was at Bombay with W.C. Banerjee as its first President. Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India and Allan Octavian Hume, a retired English Civilian directly patronised an association like the Congress for the socio-economic welfare of the Indians. At the initial stage the Congress supported the

continuance of the British rule in India and in the first three sessions of the Congress the Viceroy and the Governors attended it. But it showed clearly that it was going to work on national lines much against the wishes of the British rulers and it was increasingly attended by the Indians. It met once a year in some cities of India in the Christmas week. In 1937 it was for the first time held in a village—Faizpur. The demand of the Congress was expansion of education, inclusion of the Indians in the central and Provincial legislatures and that the congress would petition to the British Government in London to fulfil their demands. This phase of the Congress is called ‘constitutional agitation’. But as the British did not pay heed to the genuine demands, the younger section in the Congress felt that action rather than talk was necessary and in the Banaras Session of 1905 against the official resolution of ‘expansion of the Indian Legislature’ there was an opposition demand by the younger section for a Government ‘autonomous and absolutely free of British control’. The result was that in the Allahabad Session in 1908 the constitution of the Congress was drafted and its First Article was ; “the attainment of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-Governing members of the British Empire by constitutional means”. In 1920 Gandhiji became the leader of the Congress and he wanted *Purna Swaraj* or full Independence by non-violent non-cooperation with the British Government and it nearly paralysed the Government. This movement was supported by the Muslims who had a separate organisation—the Muslim League. In 1930 a greater agitation of the name of Civil Disobedience Movement was launched by Gandhiji. This was, however,

not supported by the Muslim League. The outbreak of the Second World War offered the Congress a golden opportunity to overthrow the British Government. A section of the Congress led by Subhash Chandra Bose did not believe in the programme of Gandhiji and wanted that the British be thrown away by a direct fight with the help of Germany. He broke away from the Congress and launched a programme of his own. In 1942 the Congress asked the British to 'Quit India'. The British Government was convinced that it was no longer possible to rule over India and virtually yielded to the demand of the Congress to grant independence which came true in 1947. Thus India won her Independence through long years of labour and sacrifice of the Congress. After Independence the Congress remained the predominant political party in the country.

2. Secretary of State for India—One of the important creations of the Government of India Act of 1858 was the Secretary of State for India. He was a minister in the British Cabinet. As a matter of fact, all the functions which were discharged by the Board of Control in the Pre-1858 Indian administration were carried on by the Secretary of State. Thus the Secretary of State for India was a very important institution. He possessed wide powers. He was the real link between England and India. In case of veto or assent of the Crown to any Indian Act, he had to advise to Crown. He was assisted by a Council of fifteen members. The post looked advantageous for both Indian and England. But it came out that the Secretary of State was hostile to the interest of the Indians. Lord Morley and Edwin Montague the two famous Secretaries of State acted like autocrats and

influenced the Governor-General to keep side with the British interest. By the Government of India Act of 1935 his council was replaced by a body of advisers. The post of Secretary of State for India was abolished by the Indian Independence Act of 1947.

3. Ilbert Bill—Viceroy Lord Ripon's Law Member C. P. Ilbert sponsored a Bill to remove the racial difference in the adjudication by the Indian or European Judges in trying a European's case came to be known as the Ilbert Bill. According to the previous system a European could be tried only by a European Judge or a European Magistrate, except in the Presidency towns where the Europeans could be tried by the Indian also. Although no evil had resulted from the Europeans appearing before the Indian Magistrates or Judges in the Presidency towns, the Europeans raised an alarm and vehemently protested the Ilbert Bill. The Indians naturally lent whole-hearted support to the Bill. But so strong was the opposition of the Anglo-Indians that the Government had to bow to it and modified the Bill. According to the modified version, when a European was brought before an Indian Magistrate or Session Judge, he was to be heard by a Jury one half of whom was to consist of the Europeans. Thus the racial distinction which Ilbert wanted to remove not only continued but also spread to the Presidency towns. But it produced good lesson for the Indians to fight combinedly for public agitation and the lead was taken by Surendranath Banerjee who raised a National Fund and held the Indian National Conference in Calcutta in 1883. Two years later the Indian National Congress was established as a reply to the Anglo-Indian chauvinism. Thus the Ilbert Bill had

far-reaching consequences in the Nationalist Movement of India.

4. Muslim League—The Muslim League was the mouth-piece of the Muslims of India during the Indian Nationalist Movement. It was founded in 1906 with the initiative of Nawab Salim-ul-lah of Dacca. Its establishment was indirectly encouraged by Lord Minto II who instigated the Muslims against the Hindu-dominated Congress. Since its origin it was an organisation for protecting, upholding and promoting the political interests of the Muslim and it always relied upon the support of the British. It was only once in 1916 that it joined with the Congress in accepting the Lucknow Pact. But soon it sided with the British and demanded a security of the Muslims in the forth-coming self-government of India. The British looked upon the Muslim League as its favourite wife. Thus in the country-wide Civil Disobedience Movement the Muslim League did not participate and demanded the partition of the country. As things passed, the Muslim demand followed by Mr. Jinnah's Direct Action caused communal riots all over the country and there was no alternative for the British to hand over power to the Congress and the Muslim League separately, and the net result was the creation of Pakistan. Thus when the Congress strove for the Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs and the Christians of India, the Muslim League sought the selfish interests of the Muslims alone. The partition of India was definitely a triumph of the Muslim League over the Congress.

5. Dyarchy—A division of power between two bodies is called Dyarchy and this type of constitutional arrangement was first incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1919, which

provided for double set-up of administration in the provinces of the British India. According to this dyarchical system certain departments like education, local self-government, public health, public works, agriculture and Co-operative Societies were 'transferred' for administration to the Ministers who were to be elected members of the provincial legislatures and to which they were to be responsible, while the departments of land revenue, law, justice, the police, irrigation, labour and finance were reserved for administration by Executive Councillors responsible to the Provincial Governors but not to the legislatures. This dyarchical system was meant to teach the Indians the art of administration by stages and it was certainly a reflection on their capacity to rule themselves. Again, the transferred departments were all spending branches of the administration, while the reserved departments were the revenue-making ones. Thus such an allocation naturally put the Ministers at a great disadvantage in comparison with the Councillors whose co-operation became essential for them. In fact the whole system smacked of temporary nature and never became popular with the Indians. But the British Government found it a very convenient method of keeping the control of the more important departments in the hands of Councillors appointed by and responsible only to the British Government. So in spite of its unpopularity and the difficulty of working it, the principle of dyarchy was subsequently incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935 and extended to the Central Executive. But that Act was never fully implemented and the dyarchy at the centre was not enforced at all. The dyarchy of 1935 was buried by the Indian Independence Act of 1947.

6. Rowlatt Acts—The Rowlatt Committee submitted a report on the existence of undesirable and subversive elements in the country in 1917, and it recommended stringent measures to meet the situation. Accordingly two Acts were passed in 1919 and these were called Rowlatt Acts. One of the Acts provided for greater and stricter control over the Press and the other provided for the trial of political offenders by Judges without the aid of the Juries and authorising provincial government to intern all persons suspected of subversive aims. Both the Acts produced widespread unhappiness in the country which was expressed by observing *hartal* all over the country. It was in protest of these two Acts that the people of Amritsar assembled in Jallianwala Bagh where unarmed persons were fired by the British at the command of General Dyer. This led to the Non-co-operation Movement launched by Gandhiji in 1920. It proved that the Rowlatt Acts were not necessary at all.

7. Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre—The Rowlatt Acts of 1919 that were passed to suppress the Indian Press and Individual Liberty produced widespread discontent. In Amritsar in an Anti-British demonstration four Europeans were killed. The Punjab Government immediately ordered the ban on any public meeting at Amritsar and gave the power to General Dyer the full control of the city. A large number of unarmed Indians gathered in a semi-enclosed space known as the Jallianwalla bagh. It was April 10, 1919. General Dyer marched with a company of ninety well armed soldiers to the Bagh, occupied with his troop, the only exist from it and without giving any warning to the assembled people who were all unarmed and among whom

there were many women and children ordered his soldiers to shoot to kill. 379 persons were killed and 1208 were injured and nobody looked for hospital facilities for the wounded. This was followed by an order of martial law promulgated by Dyer. The whole country rang to protest and poet Rabindranath Tagore gave up the knighthood which was conferred on him. The incident was also condemned by the British in England. Mr. Asquith, the British Prime Minister called the incident "one of the worst outrages in the whole of our history". Pressed by the public opinion of the world the Government instituted an enquiry into the matter to be conducted by Lord Hunter a Scotch Judge. The report of Hunter condemned Dyer and he was accordingly asked to resign. This Jallianwalla Bagh incident exposed the sharp claws to the British towards the Indians. This incident in another way encouraged the Indians to combine against the brute force of the British in India.

8. Khalifat Movement—Turkey is a Muslim state in Europe. During the First World War Turkey began to decline and was showing signs of extinction. The Muslims of India wanted the preservation of Turkey as a Muslim state and the continuance of the Sultan of Turkey as the *Caliph* of the Muslim world. Thus the Indian Muslims launched a movement urging upon England not to join the other European powers in the destruction of Turkey. This movement is called the *Khalifat* Movement, which was led by the Ali brothers—Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali both of whom were well-educated and good orators. They joined the Congress against the British. This was an unprecedented union of the Hindus and

the Muslims. Gandhiji availed himself of this Hindu-Muslim unity and launched the country-wide Non-cooperation Movement. But the *Khalifat* Movement could not meet its aim. Kamal Ataturk emerged as the leader of Turkey by deposing the Sultan and by abolishing the post of *Caliph*. And Turkey became a secular state. Thus the *Khalifat* Movement in India could not preserve the post of *Caliph* or Turkey as a Muslim state. But the movement without the knowledge of its leader largely contributed to the Indian Independence Movement.

9. Chauri-Chaura—It is the name of a place in Bihar and it became important since in that place a violent outbreak took place against the British in 1922. Gandhiji had given a country-wide call for non-violent Non-cooperation Movement against the British rule in 1920. But the violent incident at Chauri Chaura shocked Gandhiji so much that he immediately called off the movement. This was considered by the other members of the Congress as a serious blunder on the part of Gandhiji and Subhash Chandra Bose called this as a 'national calamity'. Lord Reading found an opportunity to put the blame of violence on Gandhiji and for that reason he arrested Gandhiji and sentenced him six years imprisonment. Thus Chauri Chaura occupies an important place in the history of Indian National Movement.

10. Simon Commission—A commission was necessary to report on the working of the constitutional experiment as established by the Government of India Act of 1919. That Commission headed by Sir John Simon was appointed in November 1927. All the Members of the

Commission were British had no Indian was included in it. This 'all white' nature was resented by the Indians. The Indian National Congress which was the mouth-piece of the Indian people decided to boycott it, and wherever the Commission went the people observed *hartal*. The British on the other hand took to repressive measures on the people on the plea that they had adopted violence during the *hartal*. This further alienated the Congress which in its Lahore session in 1929 declared Independence as the aim of the Congress. The report of the Simon Commission which was published in May, 1930 further disappointed the Indians since it recommended the responsible ministries only in the provinces and the central government was to be kept under the British. According to the report, this system is to continue until both the Indians and the British in a joint endeavour chalk out a federation, which the Commission itself recognised as a distant possibility. The Congress refused to accept the report. Although it was not immediately accepted by the people of India, its major recommendations were embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935.

11. Red Shirt Movement—When the Civil Disobedience Movement was launched by Gandhiji in 1930 for a country-wide non-violent uprising, the North West Frontier Province of India rose in a militant anti-British Movement under the leadership of Abdul Guffar Khan. It acted on a combined line of Pan-Islamic and Indian Nationalism. Although it spoke for non-violence, the militant frontier people found it difficult to remain non-violent. The movement is called the Red Shirt Movement, because all its supporters wore red

dressess. This exercised a profound influence in the North-West Frontier Province and through its help the Congress won the election and formed ministry there. After 1947 the North-West Frontier Province fell into Pakistan. There the Red Shirt Movement adopted a new slogan for the creation of Pakhtoonistan consisting of the tribal peoples there. This has not been successful

12. Round Table Conference—The Simon Commission was boycotted by the Indians since it did not include a single Indian as its members. There was disappointment and unrest all over the country. To conciliate Indian public opinion Viceroy Lord Irwin made a declaration on August 31, 1929 that after the publication of the report of the Simon Commission, a Round Table Conference would be held in London to draw up a new constitution for India. This was at the beginning totally discarded by the Congress and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru presiding over the Lahore session of the Congress in 1929 observed that nothing would come out of the Round Table Conference and declared full independence from the British rule as the sole aim of the Congress. Mahatma Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement on April 6, 1930. The publication of the report of the Simon Commission was followed by stern repressive measures by the Government and the Congress leaders including Gandhiji were arrested. To heal the wounds of the public mind a Round Table Conference was convened in London with the representatives of all parties of India and of England. The Conference held three sessions the first from November 16, 1930 to January 19, 1931, the second from September 1 to December 1, 1931,

and the third from November 17 to December 24, 1932. It was presided over by the Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald. The Congress did not send any representative in the first session. Yet, it brought for India one big victory—the executive was to be responsible to the legislature both in the provinces and the centre. In the second session of the conference Gandhiji went there as the sole representative of the Congress. This session saw the distrust of the Muslims on the Hindus and taking advantage of this, MacDonald announced a Communal Award not only to the Muslims but also to the depressed classes among the Hindus. Gandhiji was totally disappointed and went on a fast unto death which he gave up on the basis of the promise of Lord Irwin that the depressed classed would be included within the Hindu Classes which came to be known as the Poona Pact. Although it was not satisfactory, it was accepted in the absence of a better one. The third session of the Round Table Conference drew up certain constitutional measures which were incorporated in the Government of India Act of 1935.

13. Communal Award—In the second session of the Round Table Conference from September 1 to December 1, 1931 Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald taking advantage of the growing cleavage between the Congress and the Muslim league announced on August 4, 1932 the Communal Award which envisaged separate representative³ constituencies not only for the Hindus and the Muslims but for the depressed classed among the Hindus. It was not an award but an imposition, since the Congress never demanded it. It not only made a division between the Hindus and the Muslims but also mischievously divided the Hindus on

the basis of caste. Gandhiji in protest against it went on fast unto death which was averted by Lord Irwin, the Viceroy by a promise that the division between the Hindus would be lifted and this understanding is known as the Poona Pact according to which the depressed classes would be considered an integral part of the Hindus but they would have special representation in the legislatures. Thus while the Communal Award gave the depressed classes 71 seats in the various Provincial legislatures, the Poona Pact gave them 148 and eighteen per cent seats in the central legislature. The Muslim seats were not altered. Thus the Communal Award was a long step on the way to the Partition of the country.

14. Dominion Status—In 1908 the Indian National Congress did not consider wise to get complete independence of the British rule and demanded just a Dominion Status for India just like Canada under the British Crown. This original demand was not accepted at that time by the British Government which after twenty one years accepted the old demand of the Congress and Viceroy Lord Irwin on October 31, 1929 announced the Dominion Status as the natural fruit of the constitutional progress in India. But situation by that time had radically changed and the Congress flatly refused it and in its Lahore Session demanded nothing short of complete independence as its goal. But no clarification came out of the nature of the 'Dominion Status' for long six years and when it was actually implemented in the Government of India Act of 1935 it was far short of Dominion Status as defined in the Status of Westminster, 1931, according to which a Dominion shall have full internal sovereignty and full

autonomy in external affairs with full powers to sign treaties with the foreign countries. Thus the Dominion Status as was embodied in the Government of India Act of 1935 failed to satisfy the aspiration of the Indians. But under pressing needs of the Second World War the British Government was compelled to concede independence to India and Pakistan as full-fledged dominions defined in the statute of Westminster, 1931. In 1947 India became an independent country but of her own accord wanted to remain a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

15. Mountbatten Plan—When the British Government decided to accord independence to India a plan had to be chalked out for the transfer of power and for that purpose a man of dynamism was necessary to be acceptable to the Indians as a whole. The new Viceroy was a man of that outstanding merit—Lord Mountbatten. A man with grasp, farsight and understanding he understood the complexity and reality of the situation. He had frank discussions with Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, and the Muslim league leader Mr Jinnah. After a thorough discussion with them he finalised and announced his plan on June 3, 1947. and that the transfer would be effected on August 15, 1947. The Important features of his plan were as follows :

1. If the people of the Muslim majority areas so desire, they would be allowed to form a separate Dominion. A new Constituent Assembly would be constituted for that purpose.
2. In case there is partition, there will be a partition of Bengal and the Punjab if the representatives of the non-Muslim majority districts

of the two provincial legislative assemblies so desire.

3. The legislative Assembly of Sind would decide as to whether its constitution should be framed by the existing or a new and separate Constituent Assembly.
4. "In view of its special position" a referendum would be taken in the North-West Frontier Province to ascertain whether it would join Pakistan or remain in India.
5. In case of partition of Bengal there will be a referendum in the district of Sylhet (Assam) to ascertain whether the people would join the new province of East Bengal.
6. In case of partition of the Punjab and Bengal a boundary Commission will be set up to demarcate the exact boundary line.
7. Legislation would be introduced in the current session of the Parliament "for the transfer of power in 1947 on a Dominion Status basis to one or two successor authorities according to the decisions taken under the plan. This will be without prejudice to the right of the Constituent Assemblies to decide in due course whether the parts of India which they represent will remain within the British Commonwealth."

The transfer of power was effected through the plan envisaged by Lord Mountbatten.

SOME GREAT NAMES ASSOCIATED WITH THE RENAISSANCE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM

Every great national movement throws up a number of great personalities who are partly its creators and partly its creations too. They

are its creators because they gave form and direction to the urges and impulses in the mind of the people. They are also its creations, because without the background and the impulse provided by the movement, their thought and action would not have taken shape or even if they did, it would have remained still-born and ineffective. Great men help to formulate and express the hopes and aspirations of an age and in doing so bring realisation within the range of practical politics. Mahatma Gandhi was no doubt the brightest of all the galaxy of stars who were the creators and creation of the Indian Independence Movement. Without the contribution of and the services of his forerunners, he could not have played the role that destiny allotted to him. Nor did he emerge like a solitary peak that thrusts upward in the midst of an unbroken plain. When the earth heaves with turmoil and unrest, a whole mountain range rises, even though some peaks may be taller than the others. Many of the giants of the Indian Renaissance and struggle for freedom are today almost forgotten names. It is, however, in the national interest we are to recognise the services of all of them. A nation that forgets the past heroes and honours only those who now stand upon the stage suffers from impoverishment of inspiration and faces the risk of sudden upheaval and change. It will be a sign of political maturity if we record the services of the stalwarts who built up and strengthened the Indian National Movement. It will be imperfect knowledge if the younger generations of today grow up without knowledge of their contribution and love and respect for their services. It is for this sole purpose that life-sketches of those figures who were associated

with the Indian Renaissance and struggle for freedom are discussed below. It is to be noted that it will only include thirteen figures only without any reflection on those who are not included for want of space.

- *1. Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1883)
2. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar (1820-91)
3. Bankim Chandra Chatterji (1838-1894)
4. Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902)
5. Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915)
6. Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1857-1920)
7. C. R. Das (1870-1925)
8. Lala Lajpat Rai (1856-1928)
9. Motilal Nehru (1861-1931)
10. Mrs. Annie Besant (1847-1933)
11. M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948)
12. Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964)
13. Subhash Chandra Bose (1889-?)

1. **Raja Ram Mohan Roy**—The origin of national consciousness in India is traced to Raja Ram Mohan Roy. He is regarded as the “Aristotle” of modern Indian political thought. He was the first to start political movement on constitutional lines. In his paper *Sambad Kaumudi* public grievances found expression for the first time. Although he looked upon the British rule as necessary and beneficial for sometime to come, he had the vision of a free India in the distant future. He was in the services of the Company from 1804 to 1815. A man imbued with western outlook and versed in Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and English. He became the herald of a new age and father of modern intelligentsia in India. He did not believe in image worship and insisted that worship should be rendered to formless True God. He, however, did not deny that he was a Hindu. He wanted

*Arrangement is on the basis of date of death

to reform Hinduism by remaining within its fold. He was out and out a rationalist and wanted to destroy caste distinction, polygamy, the *sati* or the system of burning widows on the funeral pyres of their dead husbands and the subordinate status of women in the society. He wanted to remove the evils in India by the western knowledge and technology. Himself a master of Sanskrit, he wanted that the Indians would gain by the fruits of western language and culture. In 1823 the acting Governor-General Adam issued a Press Ordinance taking away the liberty of the Press. Ram Mohan started an agitation against this repressive Ordinance. This is considered as the first constitutional agitation in India. He with a few of his friends sent a Memorial to the Supreme Court and sent a petition to the King-in-Council. The free-press agitation launched by Ram Mohan is regarded as the first instance of an organised effort to rally the intelligentsia against the encroachment of the fundamental rights of the people. By the Jury Act of 1827 the Government introduced religious discriminations in the law courts. The Act provided that a Christian could not be tried by either a Hindu or Muslim Jury. Ram Mohan sent petitions to both the Houses of British Parliament protesting against this kind of religious discriminations and the petition contained the signatures of the Hindus and the Muslims alike. He was a lover of liberty and reforms all over the world. He was jubilant over the successful Spanish American Revolution of 1823 and the Revolution of France in 1830, and was happy to see the passage of the First Reform Act of 1832 in England where he had personally gone to represent the grievances of the Mughal Emperor Akbar II

who had invested him with the title *Raja*. He represented a new India to the British Government and was warmly appreciated everywhere. He died at Bristol in 1833. He is truly called the "father of political regeneration in India."

2. Iswarchandra Vidyasagar—Iswar-Chandra Vidyasagar was a mighty personality who embodied the renaissance spirit of education and the nationalist impulse for social reform. He was a renowned educationist and social reformer of the nineteenth century India. Born in a poor Brahmin family in Bengal, he was educated in the Government Sanskrit College at Calcutta. He became the Principal of that college at the age of thirty five only. Although he was originally a great Sanskrit scholar, he acquired mastery over English language. He was an admirer of the Western education and culture. In 1847 his first book in Bengal *Betal Panchavi-meati* was published and his skill in the Bengali language earned for him the fame of 'the father of Bengali prose literature.' He would wear *dhoti* and *chadar* and slippers and would not participate in any Government work where these dresses were not allowed. His ideas on social life were liberal and advanced. His greatest achievement is perhaps Hindu Widow Remarriage Act which the British Government had to pass under his pressures. He was charitable and benevolent and founded many schools and the Metropolitan College in Calcutta which is now called the Vidyasagar College. Although a Brahmin and a scholar of Sanskrit, his heart was a centre of western thought and philosophy. He is, therefore, called the 'first European' in *dhoti*. He was one of the towering personalities of Bengal of the nineteenth century who significantly contributed to the reawakening of India.

3. **Bankim Chandra Chatterji**—Bankim Chandra Chatterji who is called *Sahitya Samrat* (Emperor of literature) was one of the pioneers of India's struggle for freedom. He by encouraging literary works of patriotism prepared the hearts of the Indian for a militant struggle. He was born at Kantala para of Bengal on June 26, 1838. He had the unique distinction of being the first Graduate of Calcutta University. Brought up in abundance at home and in an atmosphere of radicalism of the Young Bengal, Bankim in his early youth became an atheist but later on became religious and rationalist. His aristocracy, strong personality, wide reading and high intellectual attainment attracted around him all the distinguished men of his time. He joined the Government service and rose to the rank of a First Class Deputy Magistrate. His fame is through his writings. His first novel was *Durgeshnandini* which shows his taste of writing with Sir Walter Scott. His penetrating insight, masterly handling of moral problems and artistic symbolism are unique features of his works. Some of his great works are *Kapalkundla*, *Mrinalini*, *Brishabriksha*, *Indira*, *Chandrashekhar*, *Rajani*, and *Anandamath*. It is through *Anandamath* and the song therein—*Bande Mataram* that he moved the Indians to a militant action against the British rule, and for this reason he is acclaimed as the prophet of nationalism. The Rowlatt Committee Report of 1911 held his book responsible for the spread of revolutionary spirit. It is also said that Arobind Ghosh's idea of *Bhawani Mandir* has its origin in *Anandamath*. His song of *Bande Mataram* charged the whole of India with patriotic emotion. His conception of the nation was wide to include both the Hindus and the

Muslims. It is true that he used some unkind words towards the Muslims in some places of his works, but these were directed against the misrule of the Muslims of the mediaeval period. In *Sitaram* and *Chandrashekhar* he praised the generosity of the Muslims.

It is in the pattern of the Hindu Deity that Bankim Chandra conceived the Motherland. His song *Bande Mataram* cast a tremendous influence upon the freedom fighters of the country. He died on April 8, 1894. He was one of the brightest luminaries of the nineteenth century India and is the prophet of Indian nationalism. He was also a political philosopher. His ideas penetrated into the minds of the millions and brought about a significant change in the outlook of the next generation.

4. **Swami Vivekananda**—Swami Vivekananda was the torch-bearer of Indian cultural heritage to the West. He was a Hindu *Sannyasi* who won for India international prestige at a time when the country was poverty-stricken and trampled under foreign rule. He became a disciple of Ramakrishna and organised the Ramakrishna Mission. He travelled all over India and everywhere he was warmly received. In 1893 he went to Chicago to attend the World Religious conference. It is here that Vivekananda by his magnificent oratory proved before the world that Indian religion and culture deserve highest place in the world. His visit to England was equally successful. Many English men and women became his followers and prominent among them is Miss Margaret Noble known in India as Sister Nivedita. To the religious teachings of Ramakrishna he added the social service. He organised the disciples of Ramakrishna first into a body known as the Ramakrishna Mission

and made a permanent home for them at Belur near Calcutta. In 1899 he again went to the United States and established in San Francisco a centre of Vedanta studies. He toured several European countries. In 1902 at the age of only thirtynine this great saint passed away. His greatness lies in the fact that in the nineteenth century when India was considered a backward country which had every thing to learn from Europe, he proved the world that India had a great religion and culture which Europe should learn. Thus he brought a sense of self-respect for the Indians. Chackrabarti Raja Gopalachari paid a tribute to him : "Swami Vivekananda saved Hinduism and saved India. But for him we would have lost our religion and would not have gained our freedom. We, therefore, owe everything to Swami Vivekananda."

5. **Gopal Krishna Gokhale**—Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of the greatest nationalists of India. He comes off a Maratha Brahmin family. He started his career as a Professor of History and Economics at Fergusson College, Poona. After retirement from the teaching profession he actively participated in the Indian National Congress and presided over the Banaras Session of the Congress in 1905. He had been a member of the Bombay Legislative Council in 1902 and was then elected to represent the non-official members in the Viceroy's Legislature. It was he who in 1905 established at Poona the Servants of India Society whose members took a pledge of austerity and life-long struggle for the service of the country in a religious spirit. In the Viceroy's legislature Gokhale was the most effective critic of the Government particularly of the budget. Gokhale was called "Gladstone of India". Among the early figures in the Indian National

Congress Gokhale's position was very high. He was feared by the Government and respected by the people. In politics he belonged to the moderate groups opposed to the extremist school held by Tilak. He initiated a bill for compulsory primary education which was rejected on account of the opposition. His last great work was his recommendation in the capacity of a Member of the Indian Public Service Commission (1912-15) for a substantial increase of the Indians in the Government services. He was the leader of the Congress before the advent of Gandhiji. For nearly three decades Gokhale dedicated his rare qualities to the exclusive service of his country and his people in way which fear could lay claim to. Dr. V.H. Rutherford described him "a diplomatist to his fingertips who knew how to play on the national lyre without offending the official ears". Mahatma Gandhi described him "as pure as crystal, as gentle as a lamb, as brave as a lion and the most perfect man in the political field."

6. **Bal Gangadhar Tilak**—Bal Gangadhar Tilak was one of the most famous nationalist leaders before the advent of Gandhiji. He was a man of deep scholarship. He took journalism as his profession and acted as the editor of the *Maratha* in English and the *Kesari* in Maratha language. In 1897 he started the Sivaji festival and through it he tried to revive the patriotism among the Indians. He adversely criticised the failure of the Government to combat the outbreak of the plague in Poona for which he was prosecuted on a charge of sedition. In 1907 he along with Lala Lajpat Rai and Bepin Chandra Pal organised the extremist section of the Congress which differed from the moderate section of the Congress who wanted, to get responsible

government under the British Empire. According to Tilak Congress should fight for nothing short of complete independence and with this aim in view he organised in 1916 a Home Rule League. He died in August, 1920 and three months hence the Congress at its Nagpur Session in December, 1920 declared the attainment of *purna swaraj* (complete independence) as its goal. Thus the cause for which Tilak stood was at last accepted by the Congress, though he could not live to see this event. Bipin Chandra Pal said of him : "We have always found a splendid combination of the vision of the idealist with the practical wisdom of the experienced man of affairs." Provinda Ghose called him as the first political leader who bridged the gulf between the Present and the Past.

7. **C. R. Das**—Chittaranjan Das whose life is a landmark in the history of India's struggle for freedom was endearingly called *Deshabandhu* (Friend of the country). He was an eminent lawyer and his success in the Arovinda case brought him to the forefront of professional and political platform. It was not before 1917 that Das came to the forefront of nationalist politics. His political career was brief but meteoric. In course of only eight years (1917-25) he rose into all India fame by virtue of his ardent patriotism, sterling sincerity and oratorical power. Patriotism was a consuming passion with him. He was a seer ; he had no doubt about the final victory of the cause and the fulfilment of India's cultural and spiritual mission in the world. In 1917 Chittaranjan played a significant role in the controversy over the election of Mrs. Annie Besant as Congress President at Calcutta Session. In 1918 both at the Congress Special Session in Bombay and at the Annual Session in Delhi Das

opposed the scheme of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms as wholly inadequate and disappointing. In 1920 he renounced his large practice at the Bar. The whole nation was deeply impressed to see this supreme act of self-sacrifice. He now threw himself heart and soul into the movement and was imprisoned in 1921. In 1922 he was elected the President of the Indian National Congress. When the Non-cooperation Movement was suspended by Gandhiji as a sequel to the Chauri Chaura incident, the whole country went into despondency. At this critical hour Deshabandhu endeavoured to give a new orientation to Indian politics through his council-entry programme *i.e.*, "Non-cooperation from within the Council." This was vehemently opposed by Gandhiji. As his motion was lost, he gave up the Presidentship. Thereafter he organised the *Swarajya* Party within the Congress, with Motilal Nehru and Abdul Kalam Azad. The Council-entry programme was approved by the Congress at the Special Session at Delhi in 1923. His policy of Council-entry was vindicated by the Government's defeat on the budget. He not only succeeded in abolishing the Dyarchy in Bengal but also in shaking the Bureaucracy in India to its foundation. He wanted "*Swaraj* for the masses and not for the classes." An advocate of communal harmony and Hindu-Muslim unity, Chittaranjan effected in 1923 the Bengal Pact between the Hindus and the Muslims. His munificence in the social field is proverbial. There are innumerable cases of his private charity. He gave up his entire property to his country's service. Death overtook him in 1925 when he was fifty-five. He was an apostle of Indian nationalism. Mahatma Gandhi condoled his death in the words : "Deshabandhu

was one of the greatest men.” Rabindernath Tagore paid his tribute : “The best gift that Chittaranjan left for his countrymen is not any particular political or social programme but the creative force of a great aspiration that has taken a deathless form in the sacrifice which his life represented.”

8. **Lala Lajpat Rai**—There were three nationalists who had a radical view in the Indian National Congress unlike the moderates led by Gandhiji. These three were Lala Lajpat Rai, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Bipin Chandra Pal and they came to be known as Lal-Bal-Pal. Lala Lajpat Rai was born in the Punjab. He started his career as a lawyer. In religion he was an ardent supporter of the Arya Samaj. He along with Bipin Chandra Pal and Bal Gangadhar Tilak took a leading part in changing the method of the Congress from one of petition to that of application of direct sanction. He was arrested and transported to Burma in 1907. He presided over the Calcutta Session of the Indian National Congress in 1919. In the Non-co-operation Movement launched by Gandhiji he took a prominent part and joined the boycott of the Simon Commission in 1928. He was severely beaten by the police and he died of these injuries. He wrote several books of which *Unhappy India* was severely condemned by the British Government. As a political leader he was loved and respected by the millions of his countrymen. Lala Lajpat Rai was called “*Sher-i-Punjab*” (Lion of the Punjab). His appearance was regh and he was naturally wanting in the charms of Gokhale and the Magnetic Power of Gandhiji. But his integrity, sacrifice and persuasive power gave a special dignity to his image.

Punjab is yet to produce an all India figure of his stature.

9. Motilal Nehru—Motilal Nehru was a renowned nationalist. He was born in Delhi and was a Brahmin of Kashmir. He started his career as a lawyer in the Allahabad High Court and had a roaring practice. He joined the Indian National Movement after the inauguration of the Montford Reforms and started a journal named the *Independent* to support the cause of Indian nationalism. He gave up his lucrative practice and gave up his membership of the Indian Legislative Assembly. But he soon reconsidered the situation and along with C. R. Das he formed the Swarajya Party within the Congress, 1923 he re-entered the Assembly and was the leader of the Swarajya Party. He was a great orator and parliamentary tactician and led his party which was minority to great success in the Assembly. He twice presided over the Indian National Congress—in 1919 at Calcutta and in 1928 in Amritsar. In 1928 on behalf of the Indian National Congress he drew up a report known as the Nehru Report on the future constitution of India. He recommended the immediate sanction of 'Dominion status' to India. As the Government refused to accept the demand, he joined the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 and was imprisoned. This told heavily on his body and he passed away one year after. He was not only a great son, but was the father of an illustrious son—Jawaharlal Nehru, and the grandfather of an illustrious daughter—Indira Gandhi. Thus Motilal occupies a unique place in placing three generations in the services of the nation.

10. Mrs. Annie Besant—Mrs. Annie

Besant was an English woman. She was a theosophist and an ardent free-thinker. She became a revolutionary socialist and was closely attached to Helena Blavatsky of Russia. She came to India in 1893 and lectured in twelve towns in South India. After that she attended the Annual Convention of the Theosophical Society at Adyar in Madras. In 1894 she toured North India and delivered her lectures in eighteen places mainly on the Hindu religion and Indian culture. In 1895 she established her home at Banaras and completed her translation of the *Bhagavat Gita* into English. In 1898 she established the Central Hindu College at Banaras. This became one of the great educational institutions of the time and formed the nucleus of the Banaras Hindu University. In 1907 she became the President of the Theosophical Society and since then she made Adyar in Madras her permanent home. In October 1913 in a public meeting at Madras she felt the need for a Standing Committee of the House of Commons for Indian Affairs and that body should suggest how India should attain freedom. *New India*, a newspaper which she owned and managed was her chosen organ for her tempestuous propaganda for India's freedom. She wanted 'Home Rule' for India. She wanted that after getting freedom India should remain in the British Commonwealth. She was a delegate to the Indian National Congress in 1914. In 1915 in a meeting at Bombay she explained her plan for the establishment of the Home Rule League. The people would eagerly read the editorials of the *New India*. The Home Rule League was started on September 1, 1916. In June, 1917 she was interned at Ootacamund. In 1917 she presided over the Calcutta Session of the Indian

National Congress. Although she was not satisfied with the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, she suggested that it should be given a fair trial. In the Lahore Session the Congress when Gandhiji gave the call for non-cooperation Movement, Annie Besant who was a life-long fighter on a constitutional line protested against it without success. She was a great educationist. She established the National College at Madanpalle in 1915 and the society for the Promotion of National Education in 1917 and the National University at Adyar in 1918. The strenuous works told heavily on her health and she died in 1933. She herself desired as her epitaph only the simple words: "She tried to follow Truth." Her whole life was dedicated in searching out and following Truth. It is really a wonderful achievement for an English woman to hold key-position in a Hindu political movement.

11. M. K. Gandhi—Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, better known as Mahatma Gandhi was undoubtedly the greatest political figure of India in her Independence Movement. He started his career as a Barrister and in 1892 he went to South Africa to take a case of a Muslim businessman in South Africa. The insult which was meted to him by pulling him out from a first class railway compartment at Maritzburg marked the dawn in his mind of the determination of dedicating himself for the emancipation of the Indians from the insulting life to which they had been so long condemned in South Africa. Thus Gandhiji stayed in South Africa for the next twenty years (1893-1914) where he soon took the leadership in a movement for removing the disabilities under which the Indians there were subjected to. He took his

inspiration from the *Bhagavat Gita*, Tolstoy and Ruskin. It was his belief that a life must be active in the pursuit of the benefit of the community and with as little dependence on machine as possible. In 1894 he formed the Natal Indian Congress. He protested against the obnoxious law that every Indian in Transvaal had to carry an identity card on his body and organised non-violent Civil Disobedience by refusing to wear the identity card and by crossing the frontier of Transvaal in violation of the law which resulted in the abolition of the restrictions imposed upon the Indians in 1914. This was a first great success of Gandhiji and this was a training for a similar but great movement that he would launch in India against the British rule. In 1914 when Gandhiji returned to India, he was accorded a hero's welcome and was called the *Mahatma* (the great Soul). The Rowlatt Acts, the Jalianwala Bagh Massacre and the outbreak of the First World war enabled Gandhiji to launch a Non-cooperation Movement in a non-violent way all over the country and in this way he became the leader of the Indian National Congress. In 1922 he was compelled to call off the movement since violence was practised by some of the participants in Chauri-Chaura. Gandhiji was convinced that an indisciplined people could not launch a non-violent movement. He wanted a unity among the Hindus and the Muslims and that no movement can be successful unless both the communities work hand-in-hand. But Gandhiji was successful to carry the Muslims with him only in the first phase of the movement. The Congress declared full independence as its goal. The British Government opened the doors of negotiation and convened three

sessions of the Round Table Conference in London. Gandhiji represented the Congress in the second session of the Round Table Conference. Gandhiji returned home completely dejected. The British Government sowed the seeds of communal frenzy and announced the Communal Award for the separate constituencies for the Hindus, the Muslims, and the depressed classes among the Hindus. Gandhiji went on fast unto death which was averted by the British by withdrawing separate constituencies for the depressed classes. The Civil Disobedience Movement was the second phase of the works of Gandhiji. The third phase of his work is in 1942 when the Congress asked the British to "Quit India". A sea of popular support was behind Gandhiji. The British found it no longer possible to keep the country under shackle and decided to give back power to the Indians. The Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah wanted a Muslim State—Pakistan and Gandhiji, though initially maintained that if there is partition it will be over his dead body, the orgy of violence that ravaged the country changed him and the country was divided against the will of Gandhiji. He took intensive tours all over the riot-torn country to restore Hindu-Muslim unity. On January 30, 1948 Gandhiji was killed by the bullet of a frenzied Hindu. Thus ended the life of Mahatma. This is the second crucifixion in the history of the world—he was killed by his own people for whose redemption he lived—actually on Friday—the same day Jesus was done to death one thousand nine hundred fifteen years ago. Lord Mountbatten paid him a glowing tribute: "Mahatma Gandhi will go down in history on a par with Buddha and Jesus Christ." His contribu-

tion was not bound to the narrow confines of India alone but on humanity as a whole. He was a Precuvsor of Asian Independence. To say in the words of Arnold Toynbee, "The generation into which I happen to have been born has not only been Hitler's generation in the West and Stalin's in Russia : it has also been Gandhi's India ; and it can already be forecast with some confidence that Gandhi's effect on human history is going to be greater and more lasting than Stalin's or Hitler's".

12. Jawaharlal Nehru—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was the fighter-architect of Indian Republic. He was the only son of his great father Motilal Nehru. He was a Tripose of Cambridge University and was called to the Bar in 1912. In 1912 he joined the Indian National Congress as a delegate and for the first time met Gandhiji. In the enquiry conducted by the Congress on the jallianwala Bagh Massacre he worked with C. R. Das and Mahatma Gandhi and came to very close touch with Gandhiji in the Non-co-operation Movement launched by Gandhiji in 1921 and seven years after he became the General Secretary of the Congress in 1928. He presided over the Lahore Session of the Congress in 1929 which passed the resolution of complete Independence of India, and since that time he was always in the forefront of the struggle. He went to prisons several times. In 1939 he had direct clash with Subhash Chandra Bose who was compelled to leave Congress. He also differed from Gandhiji—while Gandhiji took non-violence as a way of life, Nehru took it only as a policy. In 1942 when the entire nation was in a sea of struggle against the British, Nehru was the most important leader


of the country next to Gandhiji. The British desired to hand over power to the Indians and Nehru wanted to come to some understanding with Mr. Jinnah who, however, refused to come to terms. On September 1, 1946 Nehru on the invitation of the Viceroy joined the Interim Government as its head. Since that time till his death in 1964 he was the Prime Minister of the country. Nehru was the architect of Indian Republic but he was not a narrow nationalist. He had a love for liberty for all the people of the world. He upheld the cause of peace and non-violence all over the world. Thus when Gandhiji fought for peace and non-violence in the country, Nehru went a step further and internationalised the doctrine of Gandhiji.

13. Subhash Chandra Bose—Subhash Chandra Bose, better known as the Netaji was the Garibaldi of Indian Independence Movement. Unlike anybody he really fought a war with guns and bullets against the British. Born in a middle class Bengali family, he was deeply moved by the writings of Swami Vivekananda and the revolutionary spirit of Cavour and Garibaldi of Italy. In 1920 he appeared in the Indian Civil Service Competitive Examination and stood fourth in order of merit. He did not complete the period of probation, since his mind was deeply disturbed by the developments at home and so he resigned from the Indian Civil Service and returned home. The country was at that time in a sea of agitation under the leadership of Gandhiji. Subhash Chandra met Gandhiji and C.R. Das, the latter became his political *Guru*. Subhash Chandra first proved his mettle in the thorough manner in which he worked for the total boycott of the Prince of Wales in Calcutta in 1921. He subsequently

proved his capacity for organisation and executive ability in the discharge of his duties as Chief Executive Officer of the Calcutta Corporation. The Government jailed him for being actively associated with the terrorists of Bengal. He was released from jail in 1927 on medical ground. In 1928 the Motilal Nehru Committee which was appointed by the Congress declared in favour of Dominion Status which was objected to by Subhash Chandra who wanted nothing short of Independence. When Gandhiji launched the Salt Satyagraha Movement in 1930, Subhash Chandra was imprisoned and was set free in 1931. He strongly protested against the Gandhi Irwin Pact and wanted the Continuance of the agitation. He was again detained but his health went so bad that he was sent to Europe for treatment. In Europe he established centres in different European capitals with a view to promoting politico-cultural contacts between India and Europe. Returning home he found the Congress forming Government in the provinces and in the Haripur Congress Session in 1938 he was elected President. He was re-elected President next year in the Tripuri Session. He was convinced that war would break out within six months and demanded that the Congress should give an ultimatum to the British and if the ultimatum was rejected the entire country would be engaged in the struggle for *Purna Swaraj*. But the Congress did not adopt his suggestion and so he resigned from the Congress and established Forward Bloc within the Congress. The world war broke out true to the prophecy of Subhash Chandra Bose. In March, 1940 he convened Anti-Compromise Conference at Ramgarh under the joint auspices of Forward Bloc and Kisan Sabha which demanded

a world-wide struggle against the British. Three months later he was rearrested and jailed. On January 26, 1941 he disappeared from the jail. Later on it came out that he had gone to Germany "to supplement from outside the struggle going on at home". He negotiated alliance with both Germany and Japan saying "the enemy of our enemy is our friend". His regular broadcasts from Berlin aroused tremendous enthusiasms in India—From Germany he made a perilous three-month voyage in a submarine and reached Singapore on July 2, 1943. Two days later on July 4 he took over from Rash Behari Bose the leadership of Indian Independence Movement in East Asia and organised the Indian National Army and became its supreme commander and proclaimed the Provisional Government of Azad Hind on October 21, 1943. He was hailed as *Netaji* by the army as well as the Indian civilian population in East Asia. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands were liberated in November and renamed "Shaheed and Swaraj Islands". The Azad Hind Fouz crossed the Burma border and stood on Indian soil on March 18, 1944. How the brave army subsequently advanced upto Kohima and Imphal, how free India's banner was hoisted aloft there to the deafening cries of *Jai Hind* and *Netaji Zindabad* how the atom bombs compelled Japan to surrender and the I.N.A. subsequently to retreat are all parts of history. Subhash was reportedly killed in an air crash over Taipeh, Taiwan (Formosa) on August 18, 1945. There is, however, no proof of it. In any case, he had not been heard of any more. The efforts of *Netaji* were not in vain. The I.N.A. and their story made the Indian soldiers

unhappy and the British Government could no longer rely on the Indian personnel in the army. It was also not possible to replace them by British people and so the British began to think in terms of winding up their empire from India. This was the most positive gain that *Netaji* and his I.N.A. contributed to the liquidation of the British Empire in India.



9

Constitutional development of the period

The constitution of India had a story of evolution and development

In the preceding Chapter we have seen that India won her independence on August 15, 1947. The country got her present constitution on January 26, 1950 when India became a Republic. The creation of the present constitution was not done overnight. Its growth and development is associated with the political events that have been discussed in the previous Chapters. It will be of use if we make an attempt to survey the growth of the constitution and discuss the different constitutional Acts that were at work to act as bricks and mortars towards the making of present constitution.

It has been rightly said that political science without history has no root. It is, therefore, not possible to understand the present Constitution of India unless we can trace the present system from the beginning. To begin with, we must go two centuries back when the East India Company from England came to India for trade and commerce. This Company slowly and steadily assumed all political powers. So we are to cover the constitutional history for two centuries. We shall see that the only difference between the present constitution and the constitutional documents of these two centuries is that while the present constitution is made by the people of the country, the old works were imposed by an imperial power.

**Two aspects
of the cons-
titutional
growth**

One interesting thing of the constitutional history of India is that it has two divergent forces—one of increasing the imperial powers and another of increasing the political powers of the people of the country. For the purpose of our study we may divide up the constitutional history into two parts, one upto 1858 and another from after 1858 to the growth of the new constitution. The climax of the absolute Imperial power was in the Government of India Act of 1858. After 1858 the accumulated Imperial powers began to split up and it was totally decentralised with the coming of the new constitution.

The British rule in India originated in 1600 when a charter of trade in the East was granted to the East India Company by the Queen of England. The East India Company carried on trades and occupied territories at the expense of the Mughal Empire. By the end of the seventeenth century the Mughal Empire was in

**A brief
resume of
the neces-
sity of
different
Acts during
the period**

the decline. In 1757 Clive by his victory in the battle of Plassey laid down the foundation stone of the British Empire. Ten years later in 1767 the Mughal Empire granted *Dewani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the East India Company. So the East India Company from now became the political rulers rather than mere tradesmen. By getting political powers, the officers of the East India Company indulged in corrupt practices. To remove the corruptions, the British Government had to participate in Indian administration. The result was Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 which provided for a Governor and a council consisting of 4 members for the administration of Bengal. This Act made the Governor-General powerless. So, came Pitt's India Act which provided a powerful Governor-General. A Board of Control was established in London to supervise the administration of India. Then came the Charter Acts of 1833 and 1853. The Act of 1833 completely centralised administration in India. The Governor-General of Bengal was to become the Governor-General of India. The Act of 1853 separated the executive from the Legislative powers. For the first time a Legislative Council was established with 12 members. In 1857 the Sepoy Mutiny shook the British Administration to its foundation. When the revolt was suppressed, the British Government took direct interest in Indian administration. So all powers of the East Indian Company were taken away. The result was the Government of India Act of 1858 which linked up India and England under the Crown. The post of Secretary of State for India was created with a Council of 15 members known as the Council of India. The Secretary of State for India

governed Indian administration through the Governor-General. This was the climax of Imperial power in India.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 was the beginning of a new chapter. It allowed the Indians to become members of the Council. But it was the Governor-General who would nominate them. By the Indian Councils Act of 1892 the nomination was made by the Universities, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Provincial Legislature and District Boards. The Crown was given the powers to criticise the financial matters and to ask questions. Next came Morley-Minto Reforms and the Indian Councils Act of 1909 which provided that the Legislative Councils could vote on the budget. By the Montagu-Chelmsford report and the Government of India Act of 1919, the Central Legislature was divided into two parts—the Legislative Assembly and the Council of States. No bill could become an Act unless it was passed by both the Houses. But the Governor-General could veto all works of the Legislature. Then came the Government of India Act of 1935 which provided for two kinds of functions—one for the centre and another for the provinces. In 1947 India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic and formed a Government by the people, of the people and for the people. From that day the new constitution came into existence. The post of the Governor-General was abolished and the post of the President was introduced. The new constitution did not break away in structure from its old traditions. It only infused a new democratic spirit in the political life of India.

Rise of Imperial Powers : (Part I)

Lord North's Regulating Act—Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) was the first Act passed by the British Parliament about the administration of the India. It is a landmark in the constitutional history of India. It transferred the powers of the East India Company to the Parliament of England. The Act made the following provisions :—

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The Act provided for the appointment of a Governor-General and a Council consisting of 4 members for the administration of Bengal. The members of the council were appointed for a period of 5 years. They could be removed only by the Crown. The Governor-General had to work in accordance with the majority-opinion of the council. He could not over-ride the majority opinion of the Council.

(2) The Governors of Bombay and Madras were subordinate to the Governor-General of Bengal. If they would not carry out the orders of the Governor-General in Council, they could be suspended.

(3) The Act gave the right of vote for Directors to every share-holders possessing shares of £ 1000 for one year. The Directors were to be elected for 4 years, rather than for one year.

(4) A Supreme Court was established at Calcutta consisting of one Chief Justice and three other judges. This court had powers of both giving judgment in original cases and giving judgment in cases of appeal.

(5) The Act made it clear that acceptance of bribes and presents by the servants of the Company would be illegal. And any person doing this crime would be removed to England.

Criticism of the Act The Regulating Act had defects more than one. The following criticism may be levelled against this Act.

The Governor-General was at the mercy of the Council. In fact, he was ignored by the council and so in many cases he had to carry out a policy which he himself did not like.

(2) The control of Bengal over Bombay and Madras did not work satisfactorily.

(3) The Board of Directors was to be elected only by the rich share-holders. More than 1246 small share holders could not give their votes. So they had no voice in the administration.

(4) The powers of the Supreme Court were not clearly stated. A great trouble came because there was no clear-cut power of the Supreme court and the Governor-General-in-Council. Again the Act did not tell which law the Supreme Court had to conduct—the Hindu laws or the Muslim laws or English laws. This made the matter most complicated.

So the Regulating Act was full of extreme defects.

Pitt's India Act (1784)—Lord North's Regulating Act had many defects. So, as an improvement over the Regulating Act, came Pitt's Indian Act which made the following provisions.

(1) A Board of Control consisting of 6 members was established. But, in fact, the real power was exercised by the President of the Board. The Board of Control was given powers of supervision and control over Indian administration.

(2) The Governor-General in Council was

given the powers and authority to control and direct the provinces. The Governor-General was to be appointed by the Directors with the approval of the Crown. Under the Regulating Act the council of the Governor-General consisted of the members. But in the Pitt's India Act the Council was to consist of 3 members.

(3) The Governor-General in Council had no right to declare war or peace without the permission of a special body called the Court of Directors.

The Act had the following defects :

**Criticism of
the Act**

(1) As a result of the constant change of the members of the Council even a weak man could become the Governor-General.

(2) The President of the Board of Control could misuse his powers as he was not bound to submit his accounts to the Parliament.

(3) The relation between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors was not clear. So, it was a sort of dual control over the Indian administration. Under such an arrangement the position of Governor-General could not be happy.

The Charter Act of 1833—After 1830 the whole of Europe was in a mood of reforms. And so the British Parliament very naturally felt that some constitutional reforms should be done for India. And as a result came the Charter Act of 1833, which made the following provisions :

**Main
provision
of the Act**

(1) The centre of Indian administration was transferred from England to India. The only authority to make laws in India was the Governor-General in Council that was given the

powers to supervise and direct the civil and military affairs of the Company.

(2) The Act centralised the administration in India. The Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India and the Governors of Bombay and Madras were subordinate to him.

(3) The Act centralised the legislative works of the country. Before 1833 the powers of the Governor-General were not clear. But from now it was clear that the Governor-General in Council could make Acts for all over India. As a result, the laws passed by the Government of India were to be called Acts. Formerly the laws of Bengal, Madras and Bombay were called Regulations. Now Bombay and Madras lost their right to make their own laws.

(4) Another achievement of the Act of 1833 was that it simplified and codified the laws of India. Before 1833 the laws of India were imperfect and complex, because there were various laws, the Muslim Laws and the English Laws. A common law was now made out for all over India.

The Act had the following drawbacks.

Criticism of the Act

(1) The Charter Act of 1833 did not separate the Legislative powers from the executive powers. So the system was absolute.

(2) The greatest defects of the Charter Act of 1833 was that no Indian was included in the Legislative Council. So any Act passed by the Council was without proper knowledge of the needs of the Indians.

The Charter Act of 1853—The Charter Act of the 1853 was the last of all the Charter Acts of India. It came as an improvement over the

Charter Act of 1833. The Charter Act of 1853 made the following provisions.

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The post of a separate Governor was created for Bengal. This was necessary to relieve the Governor-General of India of the works of Bengal.

(2) The Governor-General was given powers to nominate a Vice-President of his council.

(3) The consent of the Governor-General was necessary for all legislative proposals.

(4) The provinces were allowed to send one representative to the Central Legislative council. No work about the Province could be done if the member from the province was not present.

(5) The Council in the legislative capacity consisted of 12 members.

The Government of India Act of 1858—

The Government of India Act of 1858 is the climax of the absolute Imperial power of the British Government in India. The Act made the following provisions :

Main provisions of the Act

(1) The Act provided that Government of England would take direct interest in the administration of India. By this Act Indian administration passed from the hands of the East India Company to the hands of the Crown. The Crown took all responsibilities of the military and naval forces.

(2) A new post of the Secretary of State for India was created to help the Crown in Indian administration. The Secretary of State for India was assisted by a Council of 15 members known as the Council of India. This Council was to consist of people of England alone. Out of the 15 members some were nomi-

nees of the Crown and others were the representatives of the East India Company. The Secretary of State was responsible to the British parliament and he governed India through the Governor-General, assisted by an Executive Council.

(3) The Board of Control and the Court of Directors were abolished and their powers were transferred to the Secretary of State for India and his Council of India.

(4) The administration of the country was unitary and centralised. Though there were provinces with a Governor, the Governor had full control over the provinces.

(5) The parliament of England and not the Legislative Council in India took direct interest in Indian affairs. In the British Parliament Indian affairs were discussed, Bills could be introduced and criticism was allowed.

Criticism of the Act

(1) The whole system was absolutely imperial. The people of India had no voice in the Government.

(2) All powers rested with one man *i.e.*, the Secretary of State for India. As he was not responsible to the Legislative Council, his works were not in touch with the Indians.

(3) The Government of India Act of 1858 was the result of the Sepoy Mutiny and the Crown tightened the administration of India. It was the breaking point of the Imperial power. After 1858 the Imperial control began to decrease in a descending scale when at last the Imperial control was totally abolished from India in 1947.

Decline of the Imperial control and growth of people's powers (Part II)

The Indian Councils Act of 1861—The Indian Councils Act of 1861 gave the framework around which all future works of a parliament in India grew up. For the first time the Indians were included in the Legislative Council. The Act of 1861 made the following provisions :—

Main provisions of the Act

(1) As regards the Council of the Governor-General the number was increased from 4 to 5.

(2) The Legislative Council was to be increased by no less than 6 and not more than 12 members who were to be nominated by the Governor-General. The members could be from the Indians. The function of the Council was only legislative.

(3) The Government of Bombay, Madras and Bengal were each under one Governor and each with one council.

(4) The Central Legislative Council and the Provincial Council could make laws. There was no distinction between the central and the provincial subjects. But matters of Finance, Currency, Post Office and Telegraphs were under the Central Legislative Council.

(5) The Governor-General was given the powers to nominate one President to preside over the meetings of the Council in his absence.

Criticism of the Act

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 introduced for the first time Indian people in the Legislative Council. But the Legislative Councils had limited powers. It could work upon those things alone that were allowed by the Governor-

General. So, it could not criticise the policy and conducts of the Government. Even in matters of legislation the Governor-General had sweeping powers by giving 'veto' to the Bills and by issuing Ordinances which would have the same forces as Acts.

Still, the Indian Councils Act of 1861 gave the frame-work of the future governance of the country and the basis laid down by the Act is still in continuance even to-day. For the first time the Indians were included in the making of laws in the country. So, the Act of 1861 began a new chapter in the constitutional history of India.

The Indian Council Act of 1892—The Indian Councils Act of 1892 is an improvement over the Indian Councils Act of 1861. The following are the main provisions of the Act of 1892 :—

**Main
provisions
of the Act**

(1) The non-official member of the Legislative Council were to be nominated not by the Governor-General but by the University, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, Provincial Legislature and the District Board etc.

(2) The Council was given the powers to discuss the annual statement of the budget and criticise the financial policy of the Government. The Council was given the right to ask questions to the Government. A previous notice of 6 days was necessary for asking questions.

(3) The Legislative Council now consisted of 24 members—14 officials, 4 elected non-official and 5 nominated non-official.

(4) As the freedom movement in India brought pressure upon the British, the Act of 1892 allowed election by the people. But the

elected members could take their seats after being nominated by the Government.

**Criticism
of the Act**

(1) The Act of 1892 could not satisfy the people of India. There was no Assembly of the people in the real sense. The few elected members could do nothing before the vast non-elected members.

(2) The Council had no full control over the budget. Again, the right of asking questions to the Government could be refused by the President of Council.

(3) The governor-General was given immense powers. He was all-in-all and the Council could not oppose him.

(4) Again, the system of election was fair. The elected members got their seats only when approved of by the Governor-General. So their seat was not a matter of right but a matter of grace by the Governor-General.

The Morley-Minto Reforms and the Indian Councils Act of 1909—The Indian Councils Act of 1862 and 1892 introduced people's representatives in the Council and more progress in that line was made in the Indian Councils Act of 1909. The Act made the following provisions :—

**Main
provisions
of the Act**

(1) In order to get more elected members, the size of the Legislative Council was enlarged. The council was to consist of 69 members—37 officials, 27 non-official elected members and 5 non-official nominated members.

(2) The functions of the Legislative Council were increased by allowing the members to move resolutions on the budget and almost on all matters of public interest. The members were given the right to ask questions in the Council.

**Criticisms
of the Act**

(1) The Act failed to fulfil the desires of the people, because it did not establish a parliamentary form of Government. As the aim of the Act of 1909 was not to establish a responsible Government, the result was that the people of India were dissatisfied.

(2) The system of election was not fair. As the system of election was indirect, the people elected members of local bodies, these local bodies elected some electoral college and the electoral college elected the Provincial Legislative Council which elected the members in the Central Legislative Council. So the elected members had no touch with the people.

(3) The greatest defect of the Act of 1909 was separate representation of the Muslims in the election. So the Act of 1909 had the germ of Hindu-Muslim conflict. The ultimate result of this conflict was the partition of the country in 1947.

Montagu-Chelmsford Report and the Government of India Act of 1919—The Indians Councils Act of 1909 failed to satisfy the desires of the Indians, because it did not establish a parliamentary system of Government in the country. So, during the First World War the Indian National Congress started agitation for what is known as 'Home rule'. As a result the British parliament offered the Government of India Act of 1919. Montagu was the Secretary of State for India and Chelmsford was the Governor-General and the Act of 1919 was based on their report. The Act of 1919 made the following provisions :—

**Main
provisions
of the Act**

(1) **Dyarchy in the provinces**—A sort of double government or Dyarchy was established in the provinces. The subjects of the

administration in the provinces were of two kinds—central and provincial. If a matter was of central subject, it was under the control of the Governor and his Council. The matters of provincial subjects were decided by the Governor with the aid of the ministers who were responsible to the Provincial Legislative Council.

(2) The control of the centre over the provinces was decreased—the provinces were now more free from the control of the centre. In fact, the provinces were more free in matters of administration, legislation and finance. The provincial budget was separated from the central budget and the provinces were allowed to raise revenue from their own provinces.

(3) **A more representative Indian legislature**—By the Act of 1919 the Indian Legislature became more representative and for the first time consisted of two Houses—the Upper House and the Lower House. The Upper House was called the Councils of States composed of 60 members of whom 34 were elected. The Lower House was called the Legislative Assembly composed of 144 members, of whom 104 were elected. The powers and functions of both the Houses were almost equal. The election was on communal basis like the Act of 1909.

Criticisms of the Act

(1) The Act of 1919 failed to satisfy the people of India. Although a double government or Dyarchy was established, the provinces were still at the mercy of the centre. It was the Governor-General who was the main key of the whole switch-board of Indian administration. It was he who alone could decide which matter was central and which matter was provincial. So, when he had special interest in any matter

he could declare it central and in that case the Provincial Legislative Assembly had nothing to do.

(2) The two kinds of subjects were not clearly defined. As a result one would touch the other. In that case, the system was unworkable.

(3) Again, the Governor was not a constitutional head and there was no collective responsibility of the ministers.

So the Dyarchy introduced in the provinces by this Act was a failure.

The Government of India Act of 1935—

The most significant Act of British India was the Government of India Act of 1935. As a matter of fact, the Act of 1935 was the basis upon which the present constitution of India grew up. The Act of 1935 had the following salient features :—

Main features of the Act

(a) Federation and provincial autonomy

—(i) The unitary system of India was split up into a federation with the provinces as units.

(b) Federation and provincial autonomy

—(i) The unitary system of India was split up into a federation with the provinces as units.

(ii) The Act divided legislative powers between the provinces and the centre and the provinces had full freedom within their jurisdiction.

(iii) The Governor was appointed by the Crown and he acted on behalf of the Crown and not as an agent of the Governor-General.

(b) **The Legislatures**—The central Legislature consisted of two Houses—the Federal Assembly and the Council of States. The Act of 1935 clearly divided the legislative powers

between the centre and the provinces. There was a Federal (central) List in which the Federal Legislature was the only authority. There was a Provincial List in which the Provincial Legislature had full powers. There was a Concurrent List of common authority of both the centre and the provinces.

(c) **Dyarchy at the centre**—The Functions of the Governor-General who was the head of the Executive were divided into two groups. All matters like defence, external affairs and tribal affairs were within the absolute powers of the Governor-General and in other matters the ministers had full powers.

(d) **The Supreme Court**—A Supreme Court was established with one Chief Justice and other 6 Judges to give judgment in cases of conflicts between different provinces.

Criticisms of the Act

(1) The Governor-General could 'veto' a Bill passed by the Federal Legislature.

(2) He could make ordinances which had the same force as Acts. No Bill could be introduced in the Legislature without the previous permission of the Governor-General.

(3) The Governor-General was not the constitutional head. So, the desires of the people of India were not fulfilled by the Act of 1935.

The Governor-General in the Government of India Act of 1935—According to the Government of India Act of 1935 the Union Executive consisted of the Governor-General and a Council of ministers. The ministers were the members of the Legislature and were appointed by the Governor-General. The Governor-General was appointed by the Crown for a period of 5 years. All executive works in India were

in the name of the Governor-General. He was responsible only to the Crown.

It may be remembered that the Act of 1935 introduced Dyarchy in the centre and as such there was the Governor-General and the Council of ministers in one set of powers and the Governor-General and his own Council of 3 members in another set of powers. These members were responsible to the Governor-General alone. From this it is clear that in some affairs the Governor-General was all-in-all and these were in foreign affairs, defence religion and tribal affairs. But there were other things in which the Governor-General had to act on the advice of the ministers. So, the Governor-General's powers were of two kinds—(i) where he was all powerful and (ii) where he took the advice of the ministers.

(1) Functions where the Governor-General was all-powerful—This can be divided up into four classes—(a) executive, (b) legislative, (c) financial and (d) emergency.

(a) Executive powers—All matters like foreign affairs, defence, religion and tribal affairs were in the hands of the Governor-General. He would appoint the ministers and other high officers like the members of the Union Public Service Commission.

(b) Legislative powers—He could summon and dissolve the Union Legislature. No Bill could become an Act if the Governor-General would not give his assent. He was free to give his assent or not. He could make ordinance which had the force of an Act. Moreover, he could himself make some Acts of the name of the Governor-General's Acts.

(c) Financial powers—No Money Bill

could be introduced in the Legislature without the previous permission of the Governor-General. Again, he would fix and decide the budget and taxes.

(d) Emergency powers—The Governor-General was given the emergency powers under the Government of India Act of 1935. The Governor-General could declare emergency and take upon himself all the functions of the Government.

(ii) **Functions where he took the advice of the ministers**—But there were some functions in which the Governor-General took the advice of the ministers. These functions were about social customs, marriage and divorce, settlement of land disputes, etc. In such matters the Governor-General ordinarily did not intervene and he readily agreed to the works of the Council of ministers.

It was a normal practice of the Governor-General to accept the advice of the council of ministers. But he could over-ride the ministers at his sweet will. So, it is clear that the Governor-General was not the constitutional head but real ruler of India.

The Indian Independence Act of 1947—India won her independence in 1947. For that purpose the Parliament of England made the Indian Independence Act which made the following provisions :-

Main provisions of the Act

(1) **Abolition of the British Government from India**—The Act declared that with effect from August 15, 1947 the British rule in India would be over.

(2) **Abolition of the post of Secretary of State for India**—As the British rule in India was abolished, it was, therefore, but natural

that the post of Secretary of State for India would be abolished.

(3) The Crown no longer the source of authority—So long as India was under the British rule, all functions of the Government of India were in the name of 'His Majesty'. But after August 15, 1947 India and Pakistan were free from the control of the British Government.

(4) Partition of India—The Act of 1947 divided the country into two parts—India and Pakistan ; both free and independent.

(5) The Governor-General and the Provincial Governors to act as constitutional heads—The Governor-General and the Governors of the provinces were made constitutional heads and not actual rulers. So, their powers to declare Ordinances were taken away. This is an improvement over the Act of 1935.

(6) The Constituent Assembly to act temporarily as the Parliament of India—An Assembly was held with the representative of the people to make a new constitution for independent India. The Assembly was called the Constituent Assembly.

The Act of 1947 provided that until a new parliament was created according to the rules of the new constitution, the Constituent Assembly itself, meanwhile, would make laws. So the functions of the Constituent Assembly were two-fold—to make a new constitution and to work temporarily as the parliament of India.

British India's Relation with Contemporary Indian Powers

We have already discussed the relation of the British Governor-Generals with the contemporary powers of India while discussing the individual British statesman. But it is felt essential to have a brief resume of the relation that existed between British India and the native powers in a chronological way, though it may to a certain extent entail a bit of repetition or gerry mandering.

1. **Anglo-Mysore Relation (1767-69)**—

The relation of England with Mysore is revealed through four wars between England and Mysore Mysore offered a formidable resistance to the growing rise of the British in the later half of the eighteenth century. The relation of the British towards Mysore is one of the relations of the British towards Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan and this can be briefly stated by a resume of the four wars—the First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69), the Second Anglo-Mysor War (1780-84), the Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92) and fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799).

**Coalition
against
Haidar**

**The English
made pact
with the
Nizam**

**Haidar
dictated
peace to
the English**

The First Anglo-Mysore War—When Haidar Ali rose to power in Mysore, it poised before England a source of fear so that in 1766 the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Marathas and the English forged a coalition against Haidar. It was beyond the power of Haidar to meet this united effort. So he cleverly made a pact with the Marathas and took away the Nizam from the Coalition. He then together with the Nizam attacked the English but their combined forces met with defeat at the hands of Colonel Smith in 1767 at Trinomalai Changama. But the Nizam was rather unprincipled and he swiftly abandon Haidar and rejoined the English fold. The English, concluded a humiliating peace with the Nizam. By it the English took the responsibility of paying tribute to the Nizam for the Northern Circars and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Nizam. This alliance with the Nizam was of no use to the English, but it needlessly provoked the hostility of Haidar. Since the Nizam was no longer an ally of Haidar, the latter continued to fight single-handed with great vigour. He recovered Mangalore after defeating the Bombay troops and came within five miles of Madras in March 1769. On April 4, 1769 he dictated peace to the English which provided for the exchange of prisoners and mutual restitution of conquests. The alliance was also a defensive one as the English promised to help Haidar in case he was attacked by another power.

The Second Anglo-Mysore War—When in 1778 France lent her military assistance to the American colonies against England, England declared war against France. Thereupon the English in India occupied the French Settlements including Mahe, a port which was strategically

	<p>very important for Haidar Ali. Haidar protested against the English seizure of Mahe, but his protest went unheeded. The provocation thus given to him added to his revenge on the English. Thus Haidar joined hands with the French and declared war upon England in 1779.</p>
Haidar success against Baillie	<p>The war ended in 1784. He hurled upon the Carnatic which he swept with the broom of desolation. An English Brigade under Colonel Baillie was compelled to surrender to Haidar. Munro, the victor of Buxer retraced his steps out of panic to Madras. It was in 1780 that Haidar took possession of Arcot. Fortunately for the English Haidar had no ally to join with him. Warren Hastings took the Nizam to his side, made a treaty with Scindhia and also made common cause with the Raja of Berar. This could not dampen the spirit of Haidar. Hastings sent an army from Bengal under Sir</p>
Battle of Porto Novo	<p>Eyer Coote who defeated Haidar at Porto Novo in 1781 and regained the British prestige. The next encounter at Polliore was inconclusive but at Sholingur-Coote he gained another minor success. The next engagement at Nagapatam and Triconomali ended for the victory of the British. But the British success did not advance far. Haidar became hopeful when the French fleet kept England busy which resulted in the capture of Triconomali by the French. Haidar got Cuddalore from the English while his son Tipu</p>
Death of Haidar	<p>after defeating the English captured an English army in 1782. It was at this hour of victory that Haidar died.</p>
End of the Second Anglo-Mysore War	<p>After the death of Haidar the war was carried on by his son Tipu. The biggest handicap of Tipu was that he was deprived of the French help because in 1783 England and France patched up their rivalry by the peace of</p>

**Treaty of
Mangalore**

Versailles. Thus Tipu was left alone to fight the war and he successfully captured Bednore and Mangalore. The war was dragged on for some times with the success and defeat evenly received by both. In 1784 the war was concluded by the Treaty of Mangalore. This treaty resulted in mutual restitution of conquests and prisoners of both sides.

**Cornwallis
Provoked
Tipu
by an alli-
ance with
the Nizam**

Third Anglo-Mysore War—The Third Anglo-Mysore war took place during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis. He got Guntur in 1788 from the Nizam who in return asked for troops in order to get back some of his former territories from Tipu Sultan. But this was in violation of the provision of the Treaty of Mangalore of 1784 which England had concluded with Tipu who had full rights to the districts now claimed by the Nizam. But Cornwallis did not like to dissatisfy the Nizam and wanted to give him military help, provided this was not used against any friendly power of the Company. But strangely Mysore was not included in the list of the powers of Company's alliance. There was thus sufficient reason for Tipu to be annoyed and to make a war against England and he attacked Trivancore, a state which was in alliance with England.

**Tipu
attacked
Trivancore**

**Triple Alli-
ance against
Tipu**

Cornwallis entered into the Triple Alliance with the Nizam and the Marathas who were opposed to Tipu. The earlier campaigns of Cornwallis did not show any bright result. In 1790 Cornwallis took upon himself all responsibilities. He occupied Bangalore and defeated Tipu at Arikera but was hard hit by a shortage of supply and thus had to make retreat. The situation was, however, saved by the timely arrival of the Marathas to the rescue of

**Treaty of
Seringa-
patam
closed the
war**

Cornwallis. Thus in 1792 Cornwallis resumed operation, occupied the hill-forts of Tipu and advanced as far as Seringapatam when the Marathas plundered the whole of Mysore. Pressed from all corners, Tipu was forced to purchase peace and had to sign the Treaty of Seringapatam in 1792. Tipu was compelled to give up half of his dominions to pay a large war indemnity. But Cornwallis preferred not to annex Mysore into his dominion and so a fourth Anglo-Mysore War was hatched up in the womb of history.

**Tipu tried
to get mili-
tary assist-
ance from
France**

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War—It was for Wellesley to fight the fourth and last war with Mysore. After the Treaty of Seringapatam that closed the Third Anglo-Mysore War, Tipu did not take it lying down. He tried to secure the military assistance from France and with this aim in view he sent an ambassador to the French Governor of Mauritius who welcomed the proposal. A few French volunteers also joined Tipu's services. Wellesley asked Tipu for an explanation of his embracing France. The explanation offered by Tipu was unacceptable. So, Wellesley, to teach Tipu a good lesson, moved his troops. He sent two armies—one army was big—sent through the Carnatic under General Harris and the other from Bombay. The Nizam also sent a big contingent under the command of Arthur Wellesley. Tipu was completely defeated at first by the Bombay army and then by Harris at Malavelli, and retreated to his capital Seringapatam which was stormed and he fell dead fighting heroically. After this event the whole Mysore state was dismembered.

**Defeat and
Death of
Tipu**

Wellesley did not like either the Marathas or the Nizam to get a lion's share in Mysore. So he restored the main and central part of the

kingdom to krishnaraja, a descendant of the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. The son of Tipu was given pension. Kanara, Coimbatore and Serigapatam were annexed to the Company's dominion. The Marathas refused to take any share of the spoil. The Nizam who received some land ultimately surrendered it to the British in 1800. Thus at the end of the Fourth Anglo-Mysore War the entire kingdom of Mysore comes under the control of the British in India. Thus the Anglo-Mysore relation is a story of the annihilation of a state of South India by three Governor-Generals and the resistance offered by Haidar and his able son Tipu was completely smashed.

2. The Anglo-Maratha Relation—The Maratha Confederacy, once the terror of the whole country, was broken up in 1761 at the Third Battle of Panipat. Three of its members—Sindhia of Gwalior, Gaekwad of Baroda and Holkar of Indore—still owed nominal allegiance to the Peshwa, while the Bhonsle of Nagpur had openly declared his independence and ruled over most of the territories comprising the central provinces and Orissa.

The Peshwa was still trying to recover his influence in Northern India, and for this purpose Madhav Rao Peshwa despatched in 1769 his three Lieutenants—Ram Chandra Ganesh, Mahadaji Sindhia and Tukoji Holkar. They first settled the affairs of Malwa and afterwards dispersed in different directions. Ram Chandra went to Bundelkhand, Sindhia to Udaipur and Holkar to Kotah and Bundi. Having realised tribute in these places they opened communications with the Mughal Emperor, the Nawab of Oudh and Nazib-ud-daulah, the Dictator of Delhi.

**Marathas
after the
Third Battle
of Panipat**

The Marathas were one of the most self-respecting and courageous people. Their king or Peshwa wielded great command over the whole population of Marathas. The Third Battle of Panipat in 1761 damaged the power and prestige of the Marathas. But the lost glories were soon retrieved. Madhava Rao I, the Fourth Peshwa exerted great influence in the Deccan by his successful warfare against the Nizam and Haidar Ali of Mysore. It was Mahadaji Sindhia, a Maratha chief who rose into such prominence that he was political ruler of Agra and Delhi so much so that he brought Emperor Shah Alam under his control in 1771. But the death of Madhav Rao in 1772 marked the decline of the Maratha power and gave rise to internecine feuds. The Bombay Government of the British found an opportunity to fish out in the troubled waters and took up the cause of Raghoba, an aspirant for the post of Peshwa. But this design was foiled by the Maratha army who proclaimed Madhav Rao Narayan the Peshwa in preference to Raghoba. This shattered the prestige of the British so low that they had to enter into the humiliating treaty of Wadgaon (1779). It was now time for Warren Hastings to turn his mind to the Marathas and he declared war upon them who were forced to sign the Treaty of Salbai, 1782. This war might not give anything substantial for the British. But it freed the British of any danger from the Marathas so that they could tackle other problems like those of the Nizam and of Oudh.

**First Anglo-
Maratha
War**

But although superficially there was no conflict between the English and the Marathas, the latter began to gain in strength and prestige and in 1795 this was exhibited in a victory of the Marathas over the Nizam. But the death of

Second Anglo- Maratha War

Nana Fadnavis left the Marathas without a leader. The Peshwa Baji Rao II lost in prestige and reduced himself to the position of an intriguer. But when the Holkar set up a rival, Peshwa Baji Rao took the help of the British under whose guns he got back the Peshwaship by accepting the subsidiary Alliance. But the Marathas who were a proud nation did not take the measure lying down and this led to the Second Anglo-Maratha War. The war was indecisive because Wellesley was recalled at that time by his Home Government.

Third Anglo- Maratha War, 1817-19

When the British followed a policy of non-intervention during the rule of Sir George Barlow (1805-1807) and Lord Minto (1807-1813) there was a considerable lull in the Anglo-Maratha strife. But when Lord Hastings became the Governor-General, he took up a vigorous and aggressive attitude towards the Marathas. This led to the Third and last Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19). This was a war in which Peshwa Baji Rao II, Holkar and Apa Sahib declared war against the British. The British won a decisive victory and crushed the Marathas never to rise in future and the post of Peshwa was abolished for ever. It meant the total destruction of the Maratha power. It, in fact, gave the British the absolute authority more than that of Akbar and Aurangzeb. It rung down the curtain over the Marathas in Indian history.

Causes of Fall of the Marathas—The causes of the failure of the Marathas were more than one. The disastrous defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) crushed their backbone and they could not exhibit a united strength anylonger. It is true that the Peshwa still commanded some power and

influence, but he had little control over the forces of disintegration that had set in after the debacle at Panipat. The treaty of Bassien by which Peshwa Baji Rao II purchased the British tutelage gave rise to opposition by the other Maratha chiefs. This was the beginning of the end of the Maratha power. In such time an able leader of the capacity of Sivaji was the need of the hour.

Secondly, the Marathas made a mistake in giving up their traditional policy of guerilla techniques of war that was followed by Sivaji which had puzzled and baffled the great Mughal Emperor. Forgotten of their past tradition, the Marathas came on the open field to lay down before the oncoming invaders.

Lastly, the Maratha rulers were not having popular support. Because they were autocratic and rather oppressive upon their own subjects, as a result of which they lost the faith and confidence of the people.

The Anglo-Sikh Relation—The Sikhs were the lions of the Punjab. Their dominions were bounded in the west by the Indus, in the east by the Yamuna coming to the close vicinity of Delhi, in the north by the lower range of the Himalayas and in the south by Multan and Bhawalpur.

Guru Govinda Singh had taught the Sikhs to assume two phases of life. In times of peace and prosperity they were to take the character of *Bhai* (brother) by becoming meek, humble and serviceable. In days of difficulty and danger they were to act like a stiff-necked hero (*sardar*) who would resist the wrongs done to him and others with all might.

Progress of the Sikhs

The Sikhs were originally a religious sect but was made into a political power by their conflict with the Afghans. In 1767 after the withdrawal of Ahmad Shah Durrani the Sikhs took possession of the land between Rawalpindi and Yamuna. Their desire for further advance was checked by the Marathas, but when the Maratha power began to decline this added new hopes to the Sikhs to rise into a great power. It was during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto that the British government for the first time came into conflict with the Sikhs. The rise of the Sikhs is associated with the coming a great leader—Ranjit Singh. In 1799 he got the title of Raja of Lahore. After three years he was made the master of Amritsar and he brought within his control all the Sikh *misls* or fraternities west of the Sutlej under his control. He slowly and gradually kept on increasing his power till he became the master of the whole of the Punjab and Kashmir. The non-intervention policy of Sir John Barlow gave Ranjit Singh encouragement to expand his authority over the Sikh chieftains who dwelt east of the Sutlej in the land between the Sutlej and the Yamuna. This region was sometimes called Sirhind which was formerly under the control of Sindhia but after the expulsion of the latter from Hindustan the land was taken over by the British. When some Sikh chiefs quarrelled among themselves and sought the protection of Ranjit Singh, this was a good opportunity for Ranjit to intervene and he crossed the Sutlej and occupied Ludhiana. This made the Sikh chiefs rather panicky and they sought the intervention of Lord Minto, the Governor-General. It was the plan of Lord Minto to keep Ranjit Singh beyond the Sutlej

Rise of Ranjit Singh

Lord Minto checked the advance of Ranjit Singh to extend his influence beyond the Sutlej and so he sent Charles Metcalfe as his envoy to Ranjit Singh. After protracted negotiation a treaty was made between Ranjit Singh and the British Government, at Amritsar in 1809. The treaty fixed the authority of Ranjit Singh beyond the Sutlej and established 'permanent amity' between the Sikhs and the British. After this the British frontier advanced from the Yamuna to the Sutlej. This treaty was a sacred bond of relation for the remaining thirty years of Ranjit's life.

Bentinck's friendly relation with Ranjit Singh

During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Bentinck the relation between the English and the Sikhs was made further cordial by a ceremonial visit of the Governor-General at Rupar. The new gesture established a 'Treaty of perpetual friendship' with the Sikh ruler who agreed in his turn to open better trade prospect for the English. Lord Bentinck's aim of friendship with Ranjit Singh was to thwart a Russian aggression.

The death of Ranjit Singh gave rise to revolutions

The First Anglo-Sikh War—So long as Ranjit Singh was alive, the relation between the English and the Sikhs remained cordial. But his death in 1839 which resulted in the occupation of the throne by his imbecile son Kharag Singh gave rise to restlessness and revolutions all over the land. The army became all-powerful in the state. The army came to power to quell the abnormal situation. After several changes in 1845 the army acknowledged the claims of Dilip Singh and the new king was only the five years of age. The boy's regency was taken over by his mother Rani Jhinda. But she was not liking the preponderance of the army and so she wanted the army to be busy

The army became uncontrollable and so was induced to attack the British

in some fights with the British and asked the army to attack the British. The hope of victory made the army elated and they forthwith attacked the British. When the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej, the boundary line of the Sikhs, Lord Hardinge had to declare war upon the Sikhs in 1845.

Chief battles of war

It was at Mudki that the first battle was fought in which the Sikhs were beaten by the British Commander-in-chief Sir Hugh Gough. The next battle was fought at Ferozshah in which after a fight that resulted in heavy casualties of the British, the Sikhs were compelled to retreat. At the battle of Aliwal the Sikhs were again defeated and were again compelled to trace back across the Sutlej. It was at Sobraon that the Final battle was fought in which the Sikhs despite a gallant resistance were decisively defeated. The result was the occupation of Lahore by the British and the Sikhs were bowed down to purchase peace. The Treaty of Lahore compelled the Sikhs to hand over all lands on the British side of the Sutlej as well as the Jullundur Doab (the land between the Sutlej and the Beas). The Sikhs also agreed to make a cut in their own army and to pay an indemnity of one and a half million sterling or to cede Kashmir with half a million sterling. A British force was to be stationed at Lahore for one year. In 1846 a request was made to the British and accordingly a treaty was made which transferred the administration of the Punjab under a Council of Regency consisting of eight Sikhs Sardars who were to act under the direction of the British Resident. The new arrangement provided that a British force was to be maintained at Lahore and the Sikh Government had to pay twenty two lakhs of

Battle of Sobraon

rupees for its maintenance. Thus the net result of the war was that the British Government secured full control over the Lahore Durbar. This was the stepping stone for the annexation of the Punjab under Lord Dalhousie.

Causes

Revolt of the Governor of Multan

Revolt of Mulraj

Battle of Chilianwala, 1849

The Second Anglo-Sikhs War—The administration of the province of the Punjab as arranged by Lord Hardinge did not work well. The control exercised by the British Resident was disliked by the Sikh chiefs. They would not take the First Anglo-Sikh war as final and so wanted to measure their sword once again with the British. The occasion for a rapture came soon. The Sikh Governor of Multan whose name was Mulraj was summoned by the Government of Lahore to submit all accounts of expenditure whereupon he tendered his resignation. His resignation was accepted and the British Resident sent two young British officers to put into possession a new Sikh Governor at Multan. The two officers were assassinated and Mulraj recaptured his old position by a rebellion. As the revolt was dangerous, for the peace of the British empire, Lord Dalhousie had to intervene and he declared war upon the Sikhs. In this war Afghanistan took the side of the Sikhs in the hope of getting back Peshwar.

In two engagements the British under the command of Lt. Edwards defeated the rebels and compelled Mulraj to leave Lahore and to take shelter at Multan. The British Resident at Lahore under the command of Sher Singh sent a large force to occupy Multan but Sher Singh betrayed the British and joined with the rebellion. In the battle of Chilianwala a big strife continued between the two. Although it was a drawn battle, the balance of success was on

**Defeat of
Sikhs at the
Battle of
Gujarat**

the side of the British. The decisive battle of the war was fought at Gujarat, a town near Chenub where Lord Cough signally defeated the Sikh powers. The Sikhs fled away in despair and they were followed as far as the Afghan frontier. The war ended with the surrender of Sher Singh.

**Annexation
of the
Punjab**

The result of the Second Anglo-Sikh War was the annexation of the Punjab and granting of a pension of £ 50,000 a year. The Sikhs were disarmed. The administration of the province was given to a Board of Three Commissioners which was very soon abolished and a Chief Commissioner was appointed instead to administer the province and the man chosen to do it was Sir Henry Lawrence. Thus the Punjab, a state of Ranjit Singh no longer remained an independent state but was incorporated to the British Empire.

Causes of the failure of the Sikh power—There were various factors responsible for the failure of the Sikhs in the contest against the British. First, the administration of Ranjit Singh was primarily responsible for the ultimate decline of the kingdom. He failed to curb the powers and privileges of the local chiefs and his control over the whole of Punjab was basically superficial.

Secondly, the despotic and personal character of Ranjit Singh was another factor to be reckoned with. The ministers and the officers were self-centred and they were least interested in the welfare of the state. So long as there was a strong and iron man like Ranjit Singh, the defects in the administration did not allow them a chance to raise their heads. But after his death the defects that were so long under-current came to the surface.

Thirdly, the disputed succession question after the death of Ranjit Singh sapped the political foundation of the Empire. The weakness and rivalry among the successors of Ranjit Singh largely weakened the political entity of the Punjab.

Fourthly, the army that was the prop of a monarchy did not remain loyal to the king and in order to remove their restlessness the army was to be engaged in wars with the British. Thus the diversion of the military power against British proved suicidal for the Sikhs themselves.

Lastly, the Sikhs were definitely inferior to the British in point of military strength and the armed strength of the British outweighed that of the Sikhs.

4. The Anglo-Afghan Relation—The Afghan policy of the British Government arose out of direct fear of a Russian advance towards India through Herat and Kandahar. The embassy of Lord Minto I to Kabul and his treaty with Ranjit Singh were formulated to nullify a Russian design and it was responsible for Lord William Bentinck to keep the Sikhs under friendship.

The Afghan policy of the British was an anti-Russian policy

First Afghan War

Seige of Herat by the Persians then under the influence of Russia

The Afghan policy of Lord Auckland (1836-42) was also directed by the same fear of the Russian advance in Central Asia. It was about this time that Russia was making a heavy build-up in the frontiers of the petty states of central Asia and got a tremendous influence in the court of Persia.† It was a matter of grave concern for Lord Auckland when a Persian army forcibly occupied Herat in 1837. The Governor-General sent Captain Burnes to Kabul on a commercial mission but with the aim of baffling the Russian scheme in Afghanistan. Kabul's ruler Dost Muhammad cordially

**British
Mission to
Dost
Mohammad**

received the English mission and agreed to do all that the English demanded, provided the English would press upon Ranjit Singh to restore Peshwar to him. As the British were not willing to affront the Sikhs, Dost Muhammad turned to Russia and received an informal Russian agent who was accorded a warm reception and cordiality. Now there was sufficient cause for Auckland to dethrone Dost Muhammad and to replace him by Shah Shuja, a grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani who was deposed in 1809 and was in the British prison at Ludhiana. It was the hope of Auckland that as Shah Shuja was a puppet king, he would owe his restoration to British help. He would be friendly to the British and would serve the British interest in the North West Frontier. With this aim in view Auckland concluded a treaty both with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja.

**Treaty with
Ranjit Singh
and Shah
Shuja**

**Dost
Mohammad
was
dethroned
and Shah
Shuja
placed on
the throne**

Although the necessity for which the war was fought was by then removed, Auckland carried on his design in Afghanistan. The British troops were despatched through the Bolan and Khyber passes and occupied Kandahar and Gazni in 1839. Dost Mohammad left Kabul and Shah Shuja was triumphantly conducted into his capital and declared king ceremonially. Garrisons were stationed at Kandahar, Kabul and Jalalabad to maintain the British influence. Macnaghten and Burnes remained in charge of political affairs. Dost Mohammad having no other way surrendered and was sent down to Calcutta on a liberal allowance.

But the matter did not end in this way. The Afghans did not like Shah Shuja who had been installed on the throne of Afghanistan against the wishes of the people. The behaviour of Burnes and other British officers quartered at Kabul

heightened the dislike between the British and the Afghans. Burnes was cruelly murdered and the British troops were demoralised. Macnaghten, the Political Resident was compelled to sign humiliating treaty by which it was agreed that the British should leave Afghanistan and that Dost Mohammad should be released and brought to Kabul. But the Political Resident was done to death, on grounds of some suspicion. Despite all such happenings, the British entered into another treaty with the Afghan chiefs and the British forces had to withdraw from Kabul. But the withdrawal proved to be an utter failure—all the men were killed except one man Dr. Brydon who made good his escape to Jalalabad. Before the close of the war Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough (1842-44). The Governor-General immediately took steps to revive the British prestige. He sent a strong regiment under General Pollok who relieved Jalalabad and took his march towards Kabul. The British prisoners were relieved but despite his initial victory, General Pollok with his army was forced to leave Afghanistan. Shah Shuja was murdered and Dost Mohammad was allowed to get back his throne of Afghanistan.

After this there was a lull in the British attitude towards Afghanistan for a long period. Since 1858 the foreign policy of India was largely directed by European conditions and this was specially applicable to the relation between England and Russia in the North Western India for several years. We have seen that there was considerable lull for some years after the First Anglo-Afghan War. But the outbreak of the Crimean War (1853-56) made England and Russia hostile. At the end of the war Russia sought to compensate her losses in

the west by gains in the east. As a matter of fact, the conquest of Sind and the Punjab had brought the British Emir upto the border of Afghanistan which virtually became a buffer-state between the British empire and Russia.

**Lawrence's
policy of
masterly
inactivity**

Sir John Lawrence who was the Governor-General of India from 1864 to 1869 was a strict neutralist and refrained from intervening in the fratricidal war which broke out and lasted for five years after the death of Dost Muhmmad. After the war was over, he recognised Sher Ali as the ruler of Afghanistan. Lawrence's policy of neutrality is acclaimed by some as 'one of masterly inactivity', while others condemned it outright. It is, however, a truism that Lawrence's policy was highly successful in isolating the Afghan Civil War from an international complications.

**Lord Mayo
followed
the foot
steps of
Lord
Lawrance**

Lord Mayo (1869-72) who took office of the Governor-General after Sir John Lawrence was a camp-follower of his with regard to Afghan policy. One of his earliest works was to arrange a grand Durbar at Ambala in which he accorded a hearty welcome to Sher Ali. He assured Sher Ali that the British would never cross the frontier to suppress his subjects, but would give moral assistance in the form of money, arms, ammunitions and native workmen.

**Aims of
Lyttton's
Afghan
policy**

But when the Conservative Party was returned to power, the inactivity in the frontier was changed and the frontier policy received a new gear. The appointment of Lord Lyttton (1876-80) transformed the Afghan policy from 'masterly inactivity' to 'intervention'. This was the result of two factors—the growing estrangement between the British Government and Sher Ali and the growing menace of Russia. The

**Lytton's
offer to the
Amir and
Amir's
refusal to
respond**

main object of Lytton was the maintenance in Afghanistan of a strong and friendly power. It was the opinion of Lytton that between Great Britain and Russia Afghanistan was like "an earthen pipkin between two iron pots." He offered the proposal to Sher Ali to receive a British Resident at Herat. This added strength to the conviction of Sher Ali that the best interest of British India demanded the "disintegration and weakening of the Afghan power" and the security of Afghanistan from among the control of Russia. Sher Ali, therefore, modestly disagreed to accept the proposal on the ground that he could do so if it would grant similar facilities to Russia. Since Afghanistan rejected the offer of England, Lytton sent a stern warning to Sher Ali that the refusal would isolate Afghanistan from the alliance and support of the British Government. He looked to the Khan of Kalat and concluded a treaty which gave the British the right to occupy Quetta. This was preliminary step to warlike activities against the Amir. Matters became rather grave when a Russian envoy General Stoletoff, disregarding Sher Ali's opposition arrived at Kabul and later persuaded the Amir to conclude a treaty of perpetual friendship. This disquieting news to Lytton compelled him to send a British envoy to Kabul. But the Amir refused to entertain the proposal and stopped British Mission sent by Lytton. This provoked the needed reason for Lytton to act and he sent an ultimatum on November 2, 1878 with the threat of a war, if the Amir did not recognise the British Mission

**Arrival of
Russian
envoy at
Kabul**

**Beginning of
the second
Anglo-
Afghan War** within a stipulated time. The British troops attacked Afghanistan as the ultimatum was not headed and this led to the Second Anglo-Afghan War In December, 1878 Sher Ali

**End of the
Second
Anglo-
Afghan
War by the
Treaty of
Gandamark**

**Renawal of
hostility**

**Problems
after the
Second
Anglo-
Afghan War**

**Boundary-
line fixed
up**

after several defeats was forced to retire to Turkistan, where he died very soon. His son Yakub started negotiation with the British and this resulted in the peaceful conclusion of the war on May 26, 1879 by the Treaty of Gandamark. By its terms the new Amir was obliged to accept a British Resident at Kabul and to abide by the directions of the British Government with regard to his foreign powers. The British in their turn also promised to support the Amir against all foreign aggression and also to pay him annually a grant of six lakhs of Rupees. But the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan did not like the Treaty and they murdered the British Resident at Kabul. This reopened hostility. The British forces took hold of Kandahar and Yakub Khan was compelled to take refuge in India. Lytton was willing to carry on his plan of splitting up Afghanistan by separating Kandahar from Kubul. Thus the Second Anglo-Afghan War did not solve the British frontier policy. This only postponed it. In March, 1885 the British Government was roused to a temper of war as a result of the Russian occupation of Panjdeh which was situated within Afghan territories. This disaster was, however, averted mainly owing to the policy of Amir Abdur Rahman who had no mind to allow "the lion and the bear to fight with each other over the poor goat of Afghanistan." In July, 1887 an agreement was made according to which Russia retained Panjdeh and the Amir's possession of Zulfikar pass was confirmed. For six years there was silence in the frontier until disputes broke out again in 1892, over the claim of Russia relating to the whole of the Pamirs. Happily, a friendly understanding was achieved in 1885 and a boundary line was formally fixed

up. "This brought to an end for the time being the longstanding rivalry between England and Russia over Asiatic Empires." The England kept a firm hold on Afghanistan, and Russia directed her energy further to the east.

The Durand line

The Afghan Boundary Commission under the supervision of Sir Mortimer Durand framed in 1893 the demarcating line between Afghanistan and British India. This offered ample opportunities to the British to deal with wild tribal people more effectively than before. The British wanted to augment their position by building roads and by carving out from the Punjab a separate province—North West Frontier Province. Even then the frontier remained troublesome for the British. But the immediate danger was removed with the withdrawal of the Russian menace proving thereby that the final solution of the North West Frontier was basically connected with the new developments in the international affairs that led to the mitigation of the Anglo-Russian tension when both England and Russia had to make common cause against Germany.

Anglo-Oudh relation began with the battle of Buxar

5. Anglo-Oudh Relation—Lord Clive after the battle of Buxar entered into some relation with Oudh and thus the relation between Oudh and the East India Company may be traced to begin from 1765. In the battle of Buxar in which the Nawab fought on behalf of Mir Kasim against the British, Clive made an easy victory over Oudh. Clive was satisfied to allow the Nawab to enjoy his acquisition with the exception of Kora and Allahabad which were handed over to Emperor Shah Alam. The aim of Clive was to keep Oudh as a sort of buffer state.

But when Warren Hastings assumed office

**Warren
Hastings'
policy to-
wards Oudh**

in 1773, he divested the Emperor of the two districts since the latter had joined the Marathas. Warren Hastings sold these two districts to the Nawab of Oudh, the original owner at a price of Rs. 50 lakhs in the Treaty of Benaras in 1772. Two years latter a new treaty was concluded requiring the Nawab to give up Benaras and to agree to pay a subsidy at an increased rate for the maintenance of the British troops. Hastings' policy towards Oudh was to keep Oudh as a buffer state between the British and the Marathas.

**Policy of
Cornwallis
and Sir John
Shore**

During the time of Lord Cornwallis the Nawab of Oudh made a request to relieve him of the expense of the British troops stationed in Oudh. But Cornwallis made the concession in the form of reducing the expenditure to 50 lakhs a year. In 1797 Sir John Shore intervened in a disputed succession in Oudh. When Asaf-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh died he was succeeded by his illegitimate son Wazir Ali. At first Shore sanctioned the succession. But when he came to know that the new Nawab was the illegitimate son, he changed his decision and put a brother of the late Nawab Saddat Khan on the throne. By a treaty concluded with the new Nawab he took the responsibility of the defence of Oudh in return for an annual subsidy of 76 lakhs of rupees and to cede the fort of Allahabad to the company and not to hold any communication with any foreign state except the English in India. Oudh thus practically became a protected feudatory state under the company. Shore perhaps took such a vigorous policy in view of the possible danger from Zaman Shah, the ruler of Kabul who had attacked upon the Punjab. The invader was, however, to retreat to quell other dangers near his own country.

Wellesley turned his mind to Oudh as a matter of necessity to strengthen the British hold in the North Western Frontier. Although Warren Hastings had made Oudh a buffer state owing to prevailing misgovernment that province had become weak and a source of danger to the British position in India. It was every time possible for a strong power to occupy Oudh and thereby threaten Bengal. So Wellesley was determined to strengthen his grip over Oudh. He forced upon the Nawab to accept a new treaty in 1801 by which the ruler of Oudh was compelled to give up a vast territory comprising the Gorakhpur and Rohilkhand divisions together with some portions of the Doab. The other stipulation put upon the Nawab was to increase the number of the Company's troops stationed in Oudh. Thus half of Oudh passed under the British flag. But the internal condition remained as corrupt and mismanaged as before so that Lord Cornwallis had to take up Oudh as a part of his empire.

**Policy of
Lord
Hastings,
Bentinck
and
Auckland**

During the time of Lord Hastings in consideration of the services rendered by Oudh in money in the war against the Gorkhas, the Nawab of Oudh was allowed to assume the title of king. Lord Bentinck, however, gave a warning to the government of Oudh that if the management of the government was not improved, it would be a sufficient cause for the British to adopt drastic measures such as had been adopted in regard to Tanjore and the Carnatic for the similar reasons. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Auckland the Company interfered in the succession question following the death of Nasiruddin and compelled the new Nawab Muhammed Ali Shah to sign a new treaty. The treaty provided that the right

of managing the affairs of the kingdom in case of gross misrule would lie with the Company.

**Policy of
Dalhousie
towards
Oudh**

**Annexation
of Oudh,
February,
1856**

The relation with Oudh reached a final stage when Lord Cornwallis took office. The Subsidiary Alliance introduced by Wellesley created more evils in Oudh. The wrongs were also largely due to the mismanagement by the rulers of Oudh. The evils of the Subsidiary Alliance made the ruler disinterested towards the benefit of the people. Thus Dalhousie who is known for his aggressive designs was desirous of assuming the control and responsibility of Oudh making the ruler of Oudh a puppet. But in the light of suggestions of the Board of Directors he decided to annex Oudh. This drastic measures was enforced in February, 1856. Wazid Ali Shah, the last of the Nawab was deposed on grounds of misgovernment. In this way Oudh was formally annexed to the British Indian Empire.

**Beginning of
political
relation
with Sind**

6. Anglo-Sind relation (1820-43)—It was during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Minto that the political relation of the British with the Amirs of Sind was established. In 1809 Lord Minto sent an embassy to the chief Amirs and concluded a treaty “estab’ishing eternal friendship between the contrasting parties” and providing for the exclusion of the French from Sind. This treaty was renewed in 1820. Lord William Bentinck also made a treaty in 1832 by which the rivers and roads of Sind were thrown open to the British merchants and the traders subject to the condition that no armed vessels or military stores should be allowed to go through the country. It was further stipulated that the contracting parties should not look with the eyes of greed on the possession of each

**Auckland's
policy of
high-
handedness**

other. At the time of the First Afghan War Lord Auckland broke this treaty in the most cynical way by carrying British troops through Sind and added injury to insult by exacting a large sum of money from the Amirs. Despite such flagrant violation of a treaty and high-handedness the Amirs refrained from open hostility during the Afghan War even when the British were the tottering to fall.

**Dunscrup-
ous policy
of Lord
Ellen-
borough**

But situation took a quite different turn during the time of Lord Ellenborough who intentionally provoked a war to get an opportunity to annex Sind. Vague charges of disaffection were brought against the Amirs and Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind with full civil and military powers. He imposed a new treaty upon the Amirs compelling them to cede the greater portion of their territories and also forgo the right of minting coinage. The Baluchis rose in arms against the Governor-General's obstinate designs. When the Baluchis attacked the British Residency, Napier got a pretext for the war which he was provoking. The army of the Amirs were defeated in two sections—at Miani and Dabo near Hyderabad. This brought Sind to the knees before the British Empire. In June, 1843 a treaty was made according to which the Amirs were expelled and Sind was annexed to the British Empire. This was the story of the annexation of Sind. The British action cannot be supported on grounds of morality.

**Annexation
of Sind, 1843**

7. Anglo-Bhutan relation—The relation of England with Bhutan may be traced back to the days of Warren Hastings. For many years little was known of this Himalayan country which was secluded and stretched along the northern frontiers of Bengal and Assam. The

Bhutan— land was inhabited by several thousand of
its land and Buddhists ruled over by a dual authority of
people Devaraja and Dharmaraja who had some sort of
allegiance to Tibet.

But the perpetual annual raids of the
Bhutanese in British territories compelled Warren
Hastings to send a small force in 1772 to remove
the anti-British attitude. This antagonism between
England and Bhutan was not favoured by

The relation Tibet whose Government tried to lend support
of Bhutan in to Bhutan. To avoid a Tibeto-Bhutanese
days of alliance Warren Hastings concluded a treaty
Warren with Devaraja and permitted the Bhutanese to
Hastings carry on legitimate trade with Bengal by way of
Rangpur in 1774. Even after the commercial
relation was established, the political relation

Political with Bhutan did not show any sign of improve-
mission ment and disputes over boundary became
sent to frequent. A political mission was sent to Bhutan
Bhutan in 1815 but it failed in its object and the old
quarrel over the boundary remained unaltered.

When Britain annexed Assam by the
Yandaboo Treaty of 1826, this gave the British
the effective control of the Duars, a slice of
land that measured one hundred miles in length
from Darjeeling to the borders of Assam. But
Auckland's the fear of raids from the side of Bhutan
mission continued as before. In 1837 Lord Auckland
to Bhutan despatched a mission under Captain Pemberton
to secure some relief against such raids. But
the mission proved abortive. Auckland had to

Assurance remain silent until he occupied the Assam Duars
given by the with a promise of an annual payment of Rs.
rulers of 10,000 to the Raja of Bhutan. The Government
Bhutan were of Bhutan now came forward with explicit
not fulfilled assurance that Bhutan would recognise the
British boundary and there would be no recur-

rence of such a raid. But the assurance did not materialise.

**Ashley
Eden's
humiliating
experiences**

**War with
Bhutan, 1864**

The British Government made another attempt for a peaceful settlement by sending one more mission under Ashley Eden in 1864. But now Tongso Ponto, Governor of Eastern Bhutan inflicted severe insult upon the British envoy. What more is that the Bhutan Government not only turned down the proposal of the British but compelled under threat of physical force to sign a humiliating treaty (March 29, 1864). This kind of obstinacy on the part of Bhutanese Government compelled Sir John Lawrence, the Governor-General to declare war (November, 1864) against Bhutan. The British aimed at occupying Bhutanese Duars in Bengal and Assam and advancing as far as possible to prevent a future aggression from the side of Bhutan. The war ended for the victory of England and Bhutan was compelled to conclude terms (November, 1865). The treaty provided for surrender by Bhutan of all claims to Bengal and Assam Duars, payment of war subsidies and establishment of regular trade between Bhutan and the British territories.

Although the peace, was made, the hostility between England and Bhutan did not go and some occasion raids from Bhutan remained a problem. This was, however, permanently solved by 1897 when the relation between England and Bhutan improved and king Devaraja was recognised by the British as the lawful ruler of Bhutan. The British Government recognised the supremacy of the Bhutanese Government in internal affairs, while the foreign relations were to be handled by the British.

Anglo-Burmese Relation—The British

had to fight three wars with Burma to get complete control over this land and incorporate it into British India.

**Encroach-
ments of
the
Burmese on
British
Territory
led to the
War**

The First Anglo-Burmese War—It was an Act of aggression on the part of Burma that compelled England to take to arms to silence the aggressors and this was the vital cause of the First Anglo-Burmese War. In the middle of the eighteenth century a Burmese chief named Alompra conquered Pegu and founded a strong dynasty. His successors extended their dominion in different directions and began to push towards the eastern frontier of India. In 1784 the Burmese came very close to Chittagong after overrunning the independent kingdom of Arakan. Several refugees in panic crossed into Indian border and the Burmese demanded from the British the surrender of these fugitives. But the British authority in Chittagong refused to accept the demand. This strained the Anglo-Burmese relation. In 1813 the Burmese occupied Manipur and in 1818 the king of Burma sent a very unacceptable letter to Lord Hastings demanding the British possession of Chittagong, Dacca, Murshidabad and Kashimbazar. But matter came to a crisis in 1822 when Burma conquered Assam and thus made the British North Eastern Frontier vulnerable. Lord Amherst considered it time to declare war in 1824. The British under Sir Archibald Campbell captured Rangoon but could not for a time proceed further due to shortage of supply and heavy rainfall. There was a heavy fight and a British detachment was defeated by the Burmese General Bandula who was later on killed in another encounter. The British arrived at Yandaboo and the capital city of Burma was

**Treaty of
Yandaboo
closed the
First Anglo-
Burmese
War**

threatened, whereupon Burma surrendered and signed the Treaty of Yandaboo, by the terms of which Assam, Cachar and Manipur became British protectorate.

Ill-treatment of the Burmese to the British Merchants led to the Second Anglo-Burmese War.

The Second Anglo-Burmese War—The Treaty of Yandaboo did not bring real friendship between England and Burma. The Burmese people became more and more arrogant so that in 1840 the British Resident in Burma had to leave the land. The British merchants at Rangoon were subjected to ill-treatment so that Lord Dalhousie asked compensation from Burma. The Burmese turned down the demand as a ship belonging to the king of Burma was detained by the British. Dalhousie declared war in 1852. By a brief and simple operation Burma was taken by the British. The city of Rangoon was captured and the great Pagoda was stormed. The whole province of Pegu was under British control. As the Burmese authorities refused to hand over Pegu by a formal treaty the province of Pegu was annexed, in 1852 by a proclamation.

British fear of French influence in Burma

The Third Anglo-Burmese War—Despite the two defeats in the two preceeding wars Burma did not take the measure lying down. The relation between Burma and England began to become more and more strained. When Thibaw came to the throne of Burma, the Anglo-Burmese relation became worse. He was inclined more towards France than to England. In 1883 a Burmese Misson went to Paris and this was followed by a French envoy at Mandalaya two years hence. The crises deepened when Thibaw imposed a heavy fine on a British commercial company which was known as the British and Burma Trading Company

**British
Ultimatum
to Burma**

and even ordered the arrest of several of its officers. The inner motive behind Thibaws, action was to transfer the trading right from the British to the French. A trade treaty concluded between Burma and France in 1883 confirmed this still further. The British government took exception to it and demanded that this issue should be referred to the arbitration by the Governor-General. The Burmese Government declined to accept the demand whereupon Lord Dufferin sent an ultimatum demanding that Thibaw should receive a British envoy at Mandalaya, cancel the action against the British Company till the arrival of the envoy and not to enter into any contract with foreign country except with the permission of the British authority. When the ultimatum was unheeded to, the British declared war upon Burma. Within a brief span of twenty days Mandalaya was occupied and Thibaw was taken prisoner. He was deposed. Upper Burma was annexed and along with Lower Burma formed the new province of Burma with its Leader ratters at Rangoon. The British Indian Empire thus reached its furthest extent in the north-east. The British policy with regard to Burma was prompted by fear of France as its policy towards Afghanistan was actuated by fear from Russia.

9. Anglo-Tibetan Relation—The British relation with Tibet began in 1774 when Warren Hastings was in charge of the British East India Company. Warren Hastings sent George Bogle, a young officer of the Company, to visit the Tashi Lama who is the spiritual head of Tibet. But Bogle could not secure any advantage for the British, because Tibet since the

early years of the eighteenth century had acknowledged the suzerainty of China and as a matter of fact, the Chinese authority over Tibet was represented by the presence of Chinese Residents called *Ambans* at Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. China and Tibet had a joint endeavour to keep Tibet closed for the British and they succeeded in keeping out the British from Tibet till the end of the nineteenth century. The situation became different after the Third Anglo-Burmese War and in 1886 the British made a treaty with China according to which the British recognised the authority of China over Tibet and China agreed to the British annexation of Burma. The Tibetans made an attack upon Sikkim which was a British protected state but the Tibetans were easily pushed back and in 1890 the boundary line between Tibet and Sikkim was demarcated by a treaty between China and Britain. Thus upto the beginning of the twentieth century Tibet was still a forbidden country to be British.

In the beginning of the twentieth century the Dalai Lama with the help of his tutor, Dorjieff, a Russian Buddhist was willing to throw out the Chinese authority and entered into some negotiation with the Government of Russia. Lord Curzon the prancing Viceroy was seized with fear of Russian preponderance in Tibet and in order to frustrate this design he sent an expedition under Col. Francis Younghusband that entered into Tibet without any resistance in July, 1903 and made an easy victory over the ill-armed Tibetan army at Guru in March 1904 and after defeating a huge army entered into Lhasa in August, 1904. A treaty was made at the dictation of Young-

husband by which the Tibetans agreed to open for the British three trade marts within Tibet, to pay an indemnity of 75 lakhs of rupees (later on reduced to 25 lakhs repayable in three annual instalments), to allow the British to take possession of Chumbi-valley that lay between Sikkim and Bhutan until the indemnity was paid off and not to allow any foreign power to annex any part of Tibet or to make railroad without giving such facilities to the British. This forestalled the Russian expansion in Tibet but brought Chinese authority over Tibet which was so long nominal. China on behalf of Tibet paid off the indemnity of rupees 25 lakhs and the British had to vacate Chumbi Valley.

In 1906 Britain and Nepal made another convention whereby Britain agreed not to annex any Tibetan territory or to interfere in the internal administration of Tibet and in return China agreed not to allow any foreign power to interfere in Tibet or disturb the territorial integrity of Tibet. Next year Britain and Russia agreed to carry on political relation with Tibet through China. Thus Tibet was given over to China as a political gift. In 1913 when China was busy in sorting out domestic squabbles Tibet took advantage of this situation and overthrew the suzerainty of China over Tibet. Russia was equally tied with her internal troubles since 1917 and this relieved England of taking any independent policy towards Tibet and for the next thirty years the relation between England and Tibet remained cordial and peaceful. But towards the fifties of the twentieth century political situation changed. China that became a Communist State and under the leadership of Mao Tse-Tung wanted to reassert her old

authority over Tibet and accordingly the Chinese overran Tibet in 1959 and forced Dalai Lama to flee for his life to India and the National Government of India looked as silent spectator. Thus Tibet became an integral part of China and it formed the northern boundary of India.

11

Epilogue

From time immemorial foreign people came to rule over India. It is in succession to the Sakas, Kushanas, Hunas and the Mughals that the British came to rule over India. Thus the British were the last of all aggressors of India. But the coming of the British had some difference from the coming of the other foreign peoples. When the other foreign stocks were never considered opposed to the Indian culture, the British were always regarded as enemies of Indian culture. When all other foreigners accepted the Indian way of life and gradually became Indianised, the British rather imposed upon India their own culture and civilisation. Moreover, the British ruled over India from the middle of the eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century—which was a time when the Indian people became conscious of nationality and this resulted in a struggle of freedom from the yoke of the British rule. The result was that the British had to quit India by transferring political power in the hands of the Indian

people, a like of which is unknown in other foreign rules. So a unique feature during the British rule is struggle for freedom and ultimate achievement of independence by the Indians.

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 was not the first expression of Indian nationalism as is generally believed to be. The mutiny was the outburst of the discontent at the rapidity of the changes that were being imposed on a culturalty stagnant and politically maladministered society and due to the growing strength of alien power. Yet, the mutiny forms an important landmark in the history of British rule in India. This exposed the wrongs of the government so that the Queen of England directly took over the administration of the country.

The post-1857 epoch brought great social changes. It witnessed the foundation of the first universities on the western model. In a few decades this resulted in the coming up of a small but influential class of scholars who had gained a fair acquaintance with western literature and science. They were capable and ready to take high offices in the administration. The increasing use of the printing press and the improved means of communication that came into vogue accelarated the progress of the unification of the country both from the administrative and cultural point of view. At the same time new outlook for a search of India's ancient history and civilisation by philologists, archaeologists and historians created a new sense of pride among the Indians and created a nationalist feeling which aimed at the political and cultural independence of the country. In the religious field a great resurgence was marked by the reformist movement started by the *Prarthana Samaj*, *Brahmo Samaj*, *Arya Samaj* and the *Ramakrishna Mission*. This gives evidence of a turn-back to the ancient Hindu faiths of the land. In the political field the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 was the most conspicuous event. The spirit of nationalism that was growing slowly and steadily was quickened by the contemporary political events in the world. The Chinese Revolution of 1911, the First World War (1914-1919) and the Russian Revolution of 1917 gave a new fillip to the nationalist and liberalist movement in India. But the movement towards the final goal will

take a definite shape with the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi in the scene. This was further accelerated by the outbreak of the Second World War (1939-45) that sounded the death-knell of colonialism. This made England recognise that an honourable withdrawal from her untenable position in India was the best solution for both England and India. This was done on August 15, 1947 when India became an independent country by an act of the Parliament of England.

On August 15, 1947² a new chapter opened in Indian history. After a century of political anarchy and social chaos that followed the breakdown for the Mughal Empire and nearly two centuries of foreign rule, India again emerged as an independent nation. The British withdrew from India as a result of political agreement which, however, had to special characteristics. The first was the partition of the old Indian empire into India and Pakistan. The new state of Pakistan was carved out of India consisting of the Muslim-majority areas *viz.* Baluchistan, the North West Frontier Province, Sind and the western part of the Punjab in the North-west and East Bengal in the North-east. The creation of Pakistan as an Islamic state and large-scale repercussions in the Indian subcontinent, as it led not only to the uprooting of millions of men on both sides of the frontier, but created a new problem of rehabilitation of the on-comers from the newly created Pakistan. Secondly, Britain released the princely states of India from the obligation of paramountcy which had during the period of British authority created a facade of political unity. Thus the departure of the British also brought to the forefront the problem of the princely states. During the British regime there were about six hundred princely states over which the British did not claim sovereignty. The first notable achievement of independent India was the integration of these princely states with the Union of India. The achievement was indeed spectacular as the princely states voluntarily entered into agreements creating thereby a single state from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin. In Hyderabad alone it required a police action to bring the Nizam in line with the rest of the princes. Kashmir, a state contiguous to both India and Pakistan hesitated for a

time but when Pakistan sought to force the issue by an unofficial invasion by tribesmen from the frontier, the Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to India. (November, 1947). For the first time in history, India was united into a state obeying a single authority which writ was large from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Neither the Mauryas nor the Guptas, nor the British even at the height of their power exercised sovereignty over the whole of this territory. Again, although the new state of Pakistan had been carved out of the old Indian empire, the Indian Union continued the historic identity of India and represented its civilisation and traditions. Two small areas under foreign occupation, the French and Portuguese settlements, alone remained to complete the territorial unity of India. Understanding the new political trend France gracefully withdrew from her occupations in Chandannagar, Pondicherry, Karikal and Mahe (1954). But Portugal remained obstinate so much so that it required a military operation in 1961 for liberating Goa, Daman and Diu.

To what extent India progressed or declined under the British rule is a subject that calls for dispassionate study. For many years this subject was bone of contention for the critics some praising the British rule and others condemning it at the same time. While the British statesmen advocated that they had done tremendous good to India, the counter charge was put forward by the nationalist that the British had bled India white. Ever since the East India Company acquired political power, an enlightened section of public opinion in Britain had been strongly critical of British rulers of India. This opinion, to some extent provided points of criticism to Indian nationalism in its early years, and realisation began to grow that British were exploiting India's economic resources, by a series of devices for the good of their countrymen particularly the big businessmen of England. There was resentment which grew into sturdy nationalism and many writers joined in giving expression to it. The time for an unbiased review of British rule began on August 15, 1947 when the control of the British Parliament over India came to an end.

To measure the good or evils produced by the British rule the yardstick should be what the Indians achieved under the British rule and what the British deprived her of. During the period when England was ruling over India the whole of Europe and more particularly England made rapid progress in social, political and economic spheres. Compared with it, India's progress was slow and in the nineteenth century India remained where Europe was in the seventeenth century. In India the practice of *Sati* continued till the early decades of the nineteenth century and it was a British Governor-General who took courage to stop it despite the fear that the religious minded people might attack the Government for injuring their religious rites. There are several aspects of life that can be similarly compared. The most precious British gift to India is the 'rule of law.' Until the early twenties of the nineteenth century England's penal Code provided death penalty for about two hundred offences, even for pickpocketing or for stealing a fish. In 1823 about a hundred offences were excluded from this list. This criterion of justice moulded the contemporary judicial system of India. Eventually the British system of jurisprudence blossomed in India and this is the major contribution of the British made to the evolution of the judicial administration obtaining to-day. Another marvel of the British rule is the modern education system. At the beginning the British neglected the education of the Indians but in the twentieth century they claimed rightly to have disseminated democratic ideas in India.

When India became free, the Indians began to feel that the national integration has already been achieved. But this is a mistaken notion. Disintegration and communal virus came to play a dominate role in the wake of independence. Jawaharlal Nehru once asked : "There is an India but where are the Indians. He uttered such words during the last years of his life when he was distressed at the emergence of narrow trends and tendencies. It is sad that even after twenty eight years of freedom we still have to deal with the problems of national integration. It is the time that we understand the basic postulates of national integration. The basic postulate is that India

is one country. For some times past several narrow loyalties have rudely shake the paramount concept of India's unity. Narrow loyalties take different forms from time to time and from place to place. Sometimes they take an aggressive form of regional loyalties, sometimes of religious loyalties and some times of linguistic loyalties.. A citizen's allegiance to his province, religion and language must be subordinated to his allegiance and loyalty to the unity of India. In other words, though we belong to different regions, follow different religions and speak different languages, we should never forget that we are Indians first, Indians second and Indian last. The dark clouds of narrow loyalties that have raised a big question mark in our national life have threatened the very existence of democracy in the country. It is hoped that such narrow trends would disappear and the Indians would feel to realise that no sacrifice is greater than the sacrifice for the unity of the country. That day would be celebrated as the day of Indian nationalism, independence and democracy. Let us hope that this day is not far off.

India is one of the few, or perhaps even the only country in the world, where the people's link with their ancient culture and traditions have been maintained through thousands of years. There have been many invasions but each successive wave of a foreign culture have been absorbed and has become part of Indian culture. Our culture, therefore, is a composite one and thanks to the wisdom of our ancient sages and wise men, there is cultural unity throughout the country and a basic quality of Indianess which persists in spite of many superficial differences. We have fourteen national languages, each with an ancient literature, drama, poetry, etc. There is infinite variety in costumes, dances, customs and so on. It was only the latest occupation—the British one which did not adopt India as its home and which is resulted in the suppression, directly and indirectly of every aspect of our culture. It was this suppression which gave the impetus for a determined spirit of nationalism and also for the fierce regional and linguistic pride which culminated in the demand for linguistic states and which is today creating thorny problems for us.

However, many of these problems are passing phases and can be solved. The strong cultural bonds along with the economic dependence of one region on another will keep us united. What holds people together is not religion, not race, not an economic system. It is a sense of Indianess which unites our people despite ethnic, linguistic and religious diversity.

The UNESCO constitution states that "war begins in the minds of men." To catch up with the more economically advanced nations, India needs a complete reorientation of her thinking. It is not enough to pass social legislation, the public must recognise the need for it and be willing to implement it. It is not enough to have scientific and technical institutions, the public itself must become scientific and technical minded. To change the minds of men, to put in one set of ideas instead of another, is difficult enough, but we are aiming beyond this. We want to open the doors and windows into minds which have been conditioned by centuries of tradition and conformity, which have become unaccustomed to new ideas and shun all innovations. The people are being trained to think for themselves. This is the big and the most important evolution which is taking place in the minds of the Indian people. Professor Humayun Kabir writes, "The ferment that characterises much of India's life today is evidence of her efforts to assimilate new forces which contact with the west has brought." Here again we are forging a new path for ourselves by attempting to evolve a way of life which will embrace the best of both worlds. Material welfare is essential to man, but is not sufficient for his total means. The wisdom of our ancient scriptures is timeless, for it stresses the dignity of the individual, the many sidedness of truth and teaches tolerance and understanding of differing view points and the acceptance of change as a way of life.

This year India celebrated her twentyeighth anniversary. These years have been years of changes and turmoil everywhere. Many crises and dangers from within and without have obstructed our path but we have taken them in our stride. Contrary to predictions, the country has not broken into

warring states. We have not succumbed to civil anarchy. There has been no widespread starvation. On the contrary, we have become self-sufficient in cereals. We have not jettisoned our free institutions, but instead gained greater political cohesion and economic strength. This does not justify complacency but it does give us confidence that the Indian people can rise to whatever challenge the future may hold. Two centuries and more of history made by foreign intervention, domination and exploitation left India backward, apathetic and stagnant. The general scene was not of decay, reflected in the misery of masses. For us political independence became inseparable from economic freedom, which in turn could be meaningful to the extent that it served the interests not only of the few but of the many, of the nation as a whole. Hence our energies at home have been chiefly directed towards the reconstruction of our society and to overcome the light of poverty.

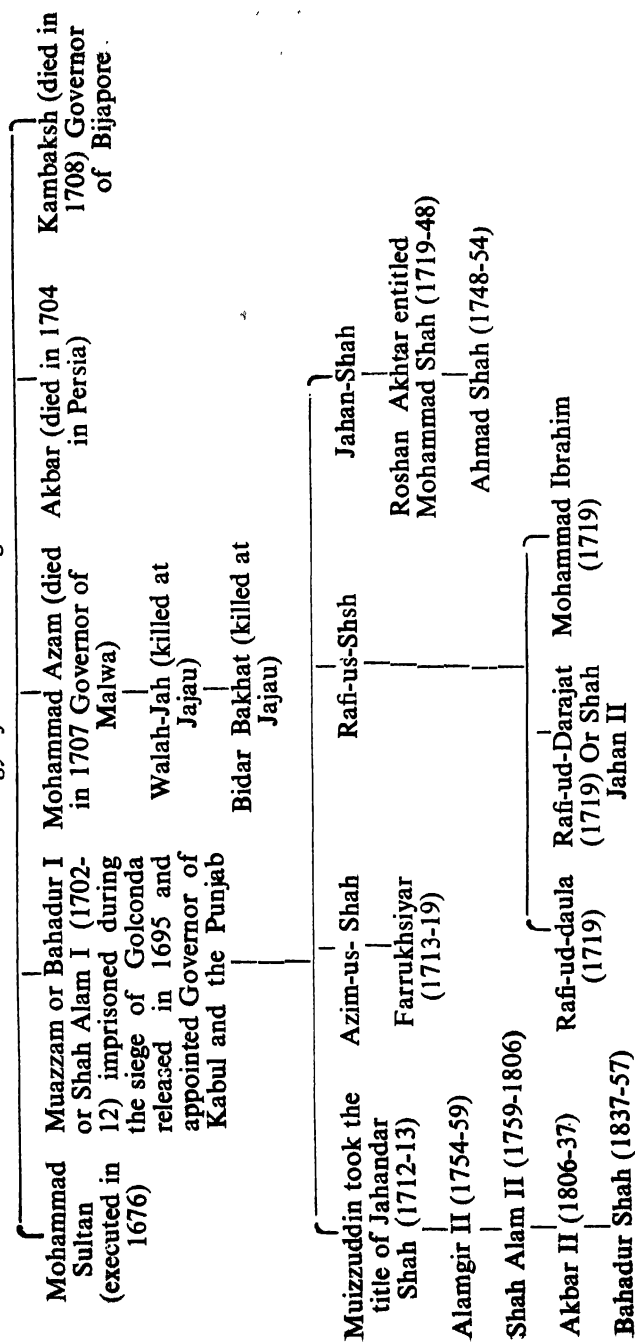
Democracy, Socialism and Secularism in internal affairs and non-alignment in our external relations are a set of principles which have served as our guidelines. One or the other of the principles has been the subject of criticism within the country and abroad. But these principles have come to form the essential elements of a national programme virtually by all sections of our people. Our quest has been friendship with all, and submission to none. Our fight was not for ourselves alone but for all mankind. Nor was it merely for political independence in its narrow sense. We were determined to change the old order, to eradicate poverty, to emancipate society from rigid stratification, evil custom and superstitions. The greatness for which we strive is not the arrogance of military power or the avarice of economic exploitation. It is the true greatness of the spirit which India has cherished through the millennia.

Today we have reached a stage where physical obstacles cannot stand on the road to human unity. Today man's march towards civilisation has been characterised by the demolition of barriers and of widening of sympathies. Man in the nuclear

age stands at a crucial crossroads in his destiny. Let us rededicate ourselves not only to the service of India and her people but beyond to the broader goals of world peace and human welfare so that generations yet unborn can live with dignity and fulfilment, as part of the great world family. Only those who are free in spirit can be the torch bearers of freedom and pioneers of the future.

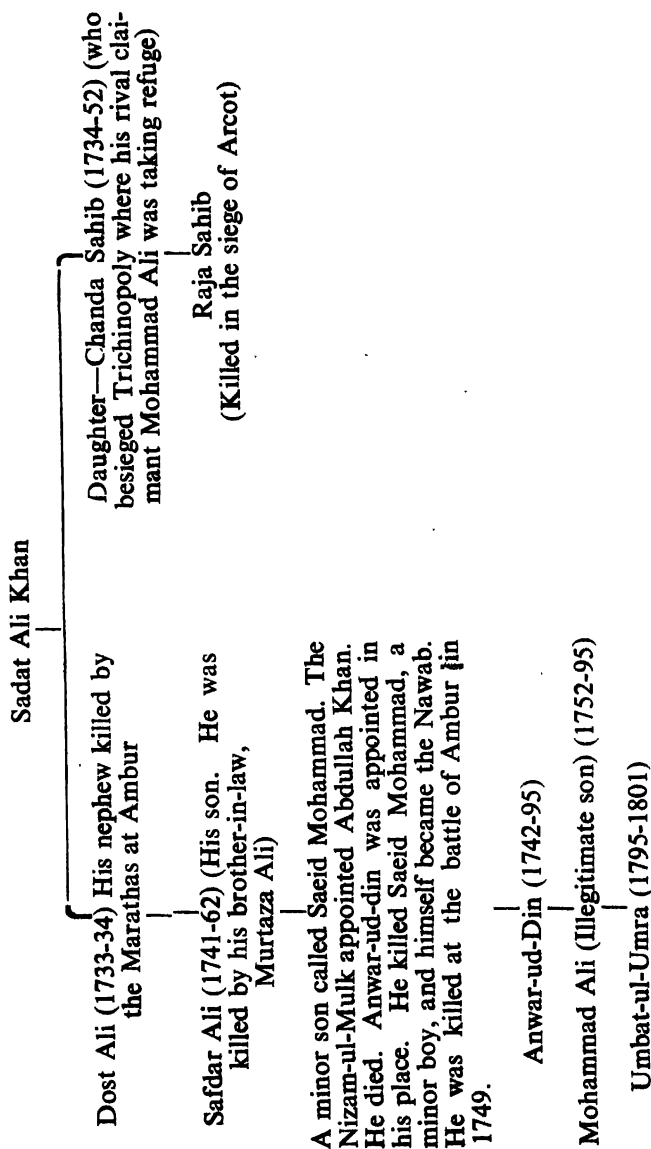


APPENDIX—A

Genealogy of the Later Mughals

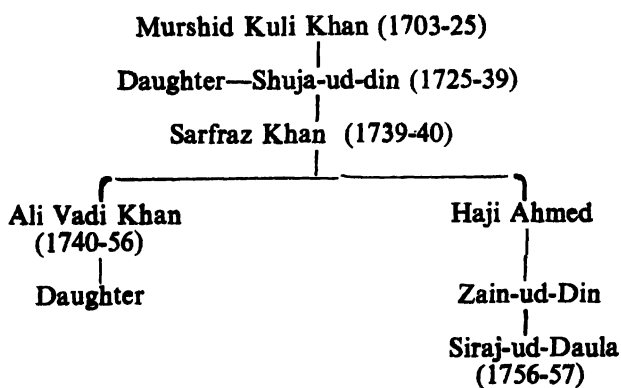
APPENDIX—B

Genealogy of the Nawabs of the Carnatic



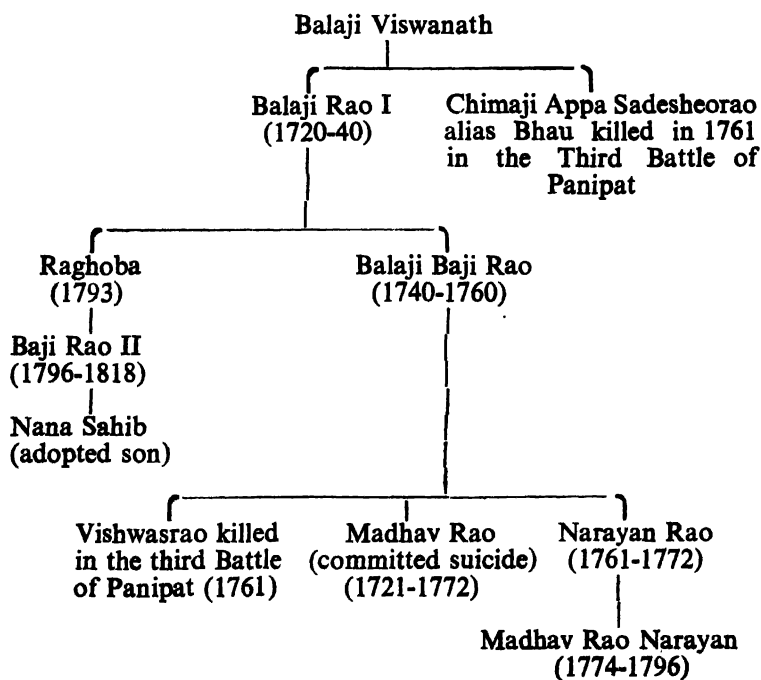
APPENDIX—C

Genealogy of the Nawabs of Bengal



APPENDIX—D

Genealogy of the Peshwas



APPENDIX—E

Chronological List of the Governors of Bengal

Clive 1757-1760 (First Governorship)

Holwell 1760 (Officiating Governor)

Vansittart 1760-65

Clive 1765-67 (Second Governorship)

Verelst 1767-1769

Cartier 1769-72

Warren Hastings 1772-74

APPENDIX—F

* Chronological list of Governors-General

- I. Governors-General of Bengal or of Fort William
(Regulating Act of 1773)
1774 (October) Warren Hastings
1785 (February) *Shri John Macpherson*
1786 (September) Cornwallis
1793 (August) Sir John Shore
1798 (March) *Sir Alured Clarke*
1798 (May) Wellesley
1805 (July 30) Cornwallis (for second time)
1805 (October) *Sir George Barlow*
1807 (Baron (Earl of) Minto I
1813 (October) Lord Hastings
1823 (January) *John Adam*
1823 (August) Lord Amherst
1828 (March) *William Butterworth*
1828 (July) Lord William Bentinck
- II. Governors-General of India (Charter Act of 1833)
1833 Lord William Bentinck
1835 (March) *Sir Charles (Lord) Metcalfe*
1836 (March) Lord Auckland

* Temporary and officiating in italics.

1842 (February) Lord Ellenborough
1844 (July) Lord Hardinge
1848 (January) Lord Dalhousie
1856 (February) Lord Canning

III. Governors-General and Viceroy (Queen's proclamation)

1858 (November) Earl Canning
1862 (March) Lord Elgin I
 1863 *Sir Robert Napier*
 1863 *Sir William Denison*
1864 (January) Lord Lawrence
1869 (January) Lord Mayo
 1872 *Sir John Stratchey*
 1872 *Lord Napier of Marchistoun*
1872 (May) Lord Northbrook
1876 (April) Lord Lytton
1880 (January) Lord Ripon
1884 (December) Lord Dufferin
1888 (December) Lord Lansdowne
1894 (January) Lord Elgin II
1899 (January) Lord Curzon
 1904 (April) *Lord Amothill*
1904 (December) Lord Curzon (second time)
1905 (November) Lord Minto II
1910 (November) Lord Hardinge
1916 (April) Lord Chelmsford
1921 (April) Lord Reading
 1925 *Lord Lytton II*
1926 (April) Lord Irwin
 1929 *Lord Goschen* (during the absence of Lord Irwin
 on leave)
1931 (April) Lord Willingdon
 1934 (May-August) *Sir George Stanley* (officiating)
1936 (April) Lord Linlithgow

IV. Governors-General and Crown Representatives (Act of 1935)

1937 (March) Lord Linlithgow

*Temporary and officiating in italics.

- 1938 (June) *Lord Brabourne* (officiating)
 - 1938 (October) Lord Linlithgow
 - 1943 Lord Wavell
 - 1945 *Sir John Colville* (officiating)
 - 1947 (March-August) Lord Mountbatten (Last Viceroy of United India, First Governor-General of the Indian dominion (1947-48))
 - V. Governors-General (Indian Independence Act, 1947) Indian Union
 - 1947 Lord Mountbatten
 - 1947 (November) Sri Chakravorti Rajagopalachari
 - 1948 (June) Sri Chakravorty Rajagopalachari
-

*Temporary and officiating in italics.

APPENDIX—G

Chronology of Important Events

1498	Vasco-da-Gama reaches Calicut
1503	Arrival of Albuquerque
1600	Formation of the English East India Company
1602	The (Dutch) United East India Company
1611	Arrival of Captain Hawkins
1615	Sir Thomas Roels Embassy
1619	English factories at Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach
1661	Acquisition of Bombay by the East India Company
1664	Formation of the French East India Company
1690	Foundation of Calcutta
1711	Gains obtained by the Surman Embassy
1740	The First Carnatic War
1749	The Second Carnatic War
1754	Recall of Dupleix
1756	Accession of Sirajuddaula
1757	Treaty of Alinagar
1757	English conquered Chandarnagore
1757	Battle of Plassey
1757-60	Mir Jafar, Nawab of Bengal
1758	Clive, Governor of Bengal

1760	Departure of Clive, Deposition of Mir Jafar, Accession of Mir Kasim
1763	End of the Third Carnatic War
1764	Battle of Buxar
1765	Return of Clive ; Grant of Dewani ; Double Government
1767	Clive's final return to England
1772	Warren Hastings—Governor of Bengal
1773	Lord North's Regulating Act
1774	The Rohilla War
1775	Execution of Nanda Kumar
1775-82	The First Anglo-Maratha War
1775	Treaty of Surat
1776	Treaty of Purandar
1779	Convention of Wadgaon
1780-84	The Second Anglo-Mysore War
1782	Treaty of Salbai ; Death of Haidar Ali
1784	Treaty of Mangalore ; Pitt's India Act
1785	Retirement of Warren Hastings
1786	Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General
1790-92	The Third Anglo Mysore War
1792	Treaty of Seringapatam
1793	Permanent Settlement
1793-98	Sir John Shore
1794	Death of Mahadaji Sindhia
1795	Nizam's defeat at the hands of the Marathas
1796	Accession of Baji Rao II as Peshwa
1798-1805	Administration of Lord Wellesley
1799	Death of Tipu ; Fall of Mysore ; British control over Surat and Tanjore
1800	Death of Nana Fadnavis
1801	Extension of British authority over the Carnatic and Oudh
1802	Treaty of Bassein
1803-05	The Second-Anglo Maratha War
1804	Battle of Dig
1805	Lake's failure at Bharatpur ; Recall of Wellesley, second Governor-Generalship of Lord Cornwallis

1806	Vellore Mutiny
1807-13	Administration of Lord Minto I
1808	Missions to Persia and Kabul
1809	Perpetual Amity with Ranjit Singh ; Travancore rising
1813	Renewal of the Charter
1813-23	Administration of Lord Hastings
1814-16	War with Nepal
1816	Treaty of Sagauli
1817	Battle of Khirki
1818	Abolition of Peshwaship
1824-26	First Burmese War
1826	Treaty of Yandabo
1828	Foundation of Brahmo Samaj, Arrival of Lord William Bentinck
1829	Abolition of <i>Sati</i>
1830	Annexation of Cachar
1833	Charter Act of 1833
1835	Foundation of Calcutta Medical College, Sir Charles Metcalfe as Governor-General
1838-42	First Afghan War
1839	Death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh
1841	Afghan Rising
1843	Conquest of Sind, abolition of slavery
1845	First Sikh War
1846	Treaties of Lahore and Amritsar
1848-56	Administration of Lord Dalhousie
1848-49	Second Sikh War
1852	Second Burmese War
1853	Charter Act Renewed
1857	Outbreak of the mutiny, Foundation of the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras
1858	Act for the Better Government of India ; Queen Victoria's proclamation
1861	Indian Councils Act
1864	Bhutan War
1864-69	Viceroyalty of Sir John Lawrence
1869	Arrival of Lord Mayo as Viceroy

1872	Viceroyalty of Northbrook
1873-75	Famine in Bihar and Bengal
1876	Arrival of Lord Lytton
1877	Delhi Durbar ; Proclamation of Queen Victoria Empress of India
1878-80	Second Afghan War
1880	Arrival of Lord Ripon as Viceroy
1882	Hunter Commission
1884	Lord Dufferin as Viceroy
1885	The Third Burmese War, Foundation of the Indian National Congress
1886	Annexation of Upper Burma
1892	Indian Council Act
1894	Lord Elgin II as Viceroy
1899	Lord Curzon as Viceroy
1902	Acquisition of Berar
1904	Indian Universities Act
1905	Partition of Bengal
1909	Indian Councils Act—Morley-Minto Reforms
1911	Annulment of the Partition of Bengal
1914	Outbreak of the First World War
1917	Montagu's Declaration
1919	Rowlatt Act, Government of India Act
1921-22	Non-Co-operation Movement
1927	Appointment of Simon Commission
1928	Nehru Report
1930	Civil Disobedience Movement, London Round Table Conference
1932	Communal Award
1935	Government of India Act
1937	Acceptance of ministries in the provinces by the Congress
1939	World War II ; Resignation of the Congress ministries
1940	Lahore Session of the Muslim League ; Demand for Pakistan
1942	Cripps Mission ; Quit India Movement
1943	Bengal Famine, Lord Wavell as Viceroy

- 1945 **Wavell Plan**
- 1946 **Mutiny in Royal Indian Navy ; All Parties Conference in Simla, Cabinet Mission Plan for Indian Government, Muslim League's 'Direct Action Day', Interim Government formed (September), Muslim League joins Interim Government (October), Constituent Assembly—first meeting.**
- 1947 **British Government's historic announcement regarding, 'Transfer of Power' to Responsible Indian hands', Appointment of Lord Mountbatten, Communal Riots, Announcement of Mountbatten's plan for partition of India (June 3), Indian Independence Act (August 15)**
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APPENDIX—H

Name of the Congress President

1885 Bombay	W.C. Bonerji
1886 Calcutta	Dadabhai Nauroji
1887 Madras	Syed Badruddin Tyabji
1888 Allahabad	George Yule
1889 Bombay	Sir William Wedderburn
1890 Calcutta	Sir Phirozeshah Mehta
1891 Nagpur	Ananda Charlu
1892 Allahabad	W.C. Bonerji
1893 Lahore	Dadabhai Nauroji
1894 Madras	A. Webb.
1895 Poona	Surendranath Banerji
1896 Calcutta	M. Rahimtullah Sayani
1897 Amraoti	C. Sankaran Nair
1898 Madras	Ananda Mohan Bose
1899 Lucknow	Rameshchandra Dutt.
1900 Lahore	N.G. Chandravarkar
1901 Calcutta	E.D. Wacha
1902 Ahmedabad	Surendranath Banerji
1903 Madras	Ialmohan Ghose

1904 Bombay	Sir Henry Cotton
1905 Banaras	G.K. Gokhale
1906 Calcutta	Dadabhai Nauroji
1907 Surat	Rashbehari Ghose
1908 Madras	Rashbehari Ghose
1909 Lahore	Madan Mohan Malviya
1910 Allahabad	Sir William Wedderburn
1911 Calcutta	Bishan Narayan Dhar
1912 Patna	R.N. Mudholkar
1913 Karachi	Nayab Syed Mahommed Bahadur
1914 Madras	Bhupendranath Bose
1915 Bombay	Sir S.P. Sinha
1916 Lucknow	A.C. Majumdar
1917 Calcutta	Mrs. Annie Besant
1918 Bombay (<i>Special</i>)	Syed Hasan Imam
1918 Delhi	Madan Mohan Malviya
1919 Amritsar	Pt. Motilal Nehru
1920 Calcutta (<i>Special</i>)	Lala Lajpat Rai
1920 Nagpur	C. Vijaya Raghvachariyar
1921 Ahmedabad	Hakim Ajmal Khan
1922 Gaya	C.R. Das
1923 Coconada	Maulana Mohammad Ali
1923 Delhi (<i>Special</i>)	Abul Kalam Azad
1924 Belgaon	M.K. Gandhi
1925 Kanpur	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu
1926 Gauhati	Srinivas Ayengar
1927 Madras	M.A. Ansari
1928 Calcutta	Pt. Motilal Nehru
1929 Lahore	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
1930 No Session	
1931 Karachi	Vallabhbhai Patel
1932 Delhi	Seth Ranghhorlal Dass Amritlal
1933 Calcutta	Mrs. Nellie Sengupta
1934 Bombay	Rajendra Prasad
1935 No Session	
1936 Lucknow	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
1937 Faizpur	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru

1938 Haripur	Subhash Chandra Bose
1939 Tripuri	Subhash Chandra Bose
1940 Ramgarh	Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
1941-1945	No Session
1946	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru
1946 Meerut	Acharya J. B. Kripalani
1947	Rajendra Prasad

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