Industrial Capitalism (1813-58)

- **Objective:** To convert India as a market for British manufactured goods and the supplier of raw materials
- **Political Policy –** bring maximum number of states under direct control. (Paramountcy and Annexationism)
- **Administrative Policy** – Substantial changes in the administrative structure
- **Economic Policy** – Commercialization of Agri, Deindustrialization, Free Trade, Drain of Wealth
- **Social Policy** – Reforms through English Education and Law (civilizing mission)
- **Cultural Policy** – Liberals, Utilitarians, Evangelism

There was a **significant change in the nature of British imperialism** in the early part of the 19th century. The British became more aggressive particularly after the Marathas were vanquished in 1818. At one level they became more **interfering**, at another level **aggressive**.

- One can trace the beginning from the time of **Wellesley**, but he was discouraged by the authorities in London.
- However, from 1820s onwards, we can also see a change in the policy of the British authorities in London. They were now becoming more supportive and in 1813 came governor-general **Hastings of Moira** (1813-23) who spelt it out with a certain **notion of paramountcy**.
  - It aimed to assert British supremacy over all Indian native states. The policy asserted the Governor General's right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Indian princely states, and to supersede their authority if necessary. This was in contrast to the previous policy of non-interference. The policy of paramountcy was justified because the Indian princely states were not capable of governing themselves effectively, and that British intervention was necessary to maintain order and stability.
- This trend climaxed in the 1840s. During 1848 when governor-general **Dalhousie** embarked on a **systematic policy of annexation** of the territories of many of the more prominent princely states including **Awadh** (annexed in 1856). So, the annexation of Punjab forms a very important chapter in this history of a new kind of imperialism that began to surface its head from the early part of the 19th century.

Afghan Wars, Annexation of Sindh and Punjab, Conquest of Burma, defeat of Nepal etc must be located has to be situated in this larger historical backdrop of a new kind of imperialism which was becoming more aggressive, more interfering, more conscious about the security of the empire.

Political Policy: Conquests and Annexations

- Lord Hastings (1813-23): Anglo-Nepal War, Third Anglo Maratha War
- Lord Amherst (1823-28): Assam, First Anglo-Burmese War
- Lord William Bentick (1828-35): Policy of annexation – regions of Mysore, Central/Northern Cachar and Jaintia etc
- Lord Auckland (1836-42): First Anglo-Afghan War
- Lord Ellenborough (1842-44): Annexation of Sindh
- Lord Hardinge (1844-48): First Anglo-Sikh War
- Lord Dalhousie (1848-56): Second Anglo-Sikh War, Doctrine of Lapse, Misgovernance

Great Game

- The Great Game was a rivalry between the 19th century British and Russian Empires over influence in Asia, primarily in Afghanistan, Persia, and later Tibet.
- Britain feared Russia's southward expansion would threaten India, while Russia feared the expansion of British interests into Central Asia. As a result, Britain made it a high priority to protect all approaches to India, while Russia continued its military conquest of Central Asia.
- To protect India, Britain aimed to create a protectorate in Afghanistan, and support the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Khiva, and Bukhara as buffer states against Russian expansion. This would protect India and key British sea trade routes by blocking Russia from gaining a port on the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean.

North-western Policy:

As part of its long-term objective of bringing under **imperial control the north-western** Indian subcontinent, the East India Company tried to extend its empire to Afghanistan by launching a war against the kingdom in 1839. This **First Afghan War** was in fact a much larger affair; it encompassed **Punjab**, **Sind**, and **Baluchistan** as well, culminating in the subjugation of all these regions by the end of the 1840s.

Indian context:
- First Anglo-Afghan War of 1838
- Annexation of Sindh in 1843
- First Anglo-Sikh War of 1845
- Second Anglo-Sikh War of 1848
- Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878
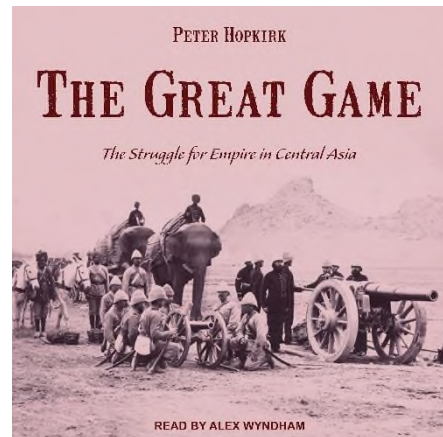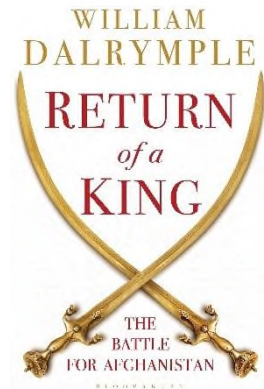
Afghanistan
The Graveyard of Imperial powers

- **Causes**
  - To check Russian expansionist policy.
 - Trade route – economic importance.
- **Dost Muhammad vs Shah Shuja:**
  - **Dost Mohammad** came to power in **1826**.
  - **Shah Shuja** mobilized support for a campaign to dislodge Dost Mohammad and regain power. In **1833**, he launched an **invasion** of Afghanistan. He was supported by **Ranjit Singh** and had obtained the 'best wishes' of the **British**. However, in the middle of 1834 **Shuja was defeated** by Dost Mohammad at Kandahar.
- **Auckland's Afghanistan Policy**
  - There was **sustained propaganda** in India and Britain suggesting that **Russia**, which was then penetrating Central Asia, might become a threat to the British Indian empire. This policy was vigorously pursued by **George Eden**, also known as the **Earl of Auckland** (governor general, 1836-42).
  - A servant of the Company named **Alexander Burnes**, was **deputed to Kabul in 1837** on a so-called commercial mission. Burnes was unsuccessful in diplomatic negotiations with Dost Mohammad relating to Peshawar.
  - It was now decided that **Shah Shuja be actively helped to overthrow Dost Mohammad.** Over the next few years, he committed themselves more seriously to the cause of Shah Shuja, making him an instrument of their policy of expansion in Afghanistan. As a prelude to the implementation of this scheme a treaty was signed between **Shah Shuja, Ranjit Singh, and the British (Tripartite Treaty of 1838).**
  - According to the original plan, Ranjit Singh was to render military support to Shah Shuja to enable him to acquire control over Afghanistan. In return, Shuja was to renounce claims over those territories of Afghanistan which had been acquired by the Punjab kingdom, particularly Peshawar.
  - In December 1838, Ranjit Singh fell seriously ill, and never fully recovered. He passed away on 27 June 1839. The removal of Ranjit Singh from the scene, and the uncertainties of succession in the Punjab kingdom, made Shuja even more dependent on the British. Eventually, it was decided that British troops would accompany Shuja on his march to Kabul.
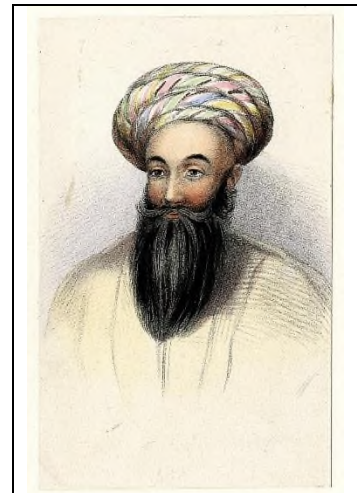
Shah Shuja Mulk

Dost Muhammad

The First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42)

- The Punjab army was to march from Peshawar to Kabul via the Khyber Pass. But it couldn't move beyond Peshawar.
- The Company's contingents, which now constituted the main force – **Army of the Indus** – was to take a southerly route through Sind and Baluchistan and proceed to Kabul through the Bolan Pass in 1839.
- **Initial British Victory (1839)**
    - The Army of the Indus was able to occupy Kandahar and Ghazni on its way to Kabul.
    - Dost Mohammad retreated from Kabul as the British army approached Kabul; and Shah Shuja was proclaimed as the ruler.
    - Soon, they became complacent without noticing Afghan discontent.
- **British stuck in Kabul**

Kabul during the First Anglo-Afghan War

    - It soon became apparent that the new ruler could not maintain his position without continuing British presence. Thus, it was decided that the British force would stay on for some time.
    - Two worries:
        - It was clear that a large armed force stationed at a considerable distance from the borders of the Indian empire was an **expensive proposition**.
        - Another cause of worry was that **Punjab was unwilling to allow the British army to march** through its territory.
- **Dost Mohammad decided to negotiate** with them since his forces were too small for a sustained offensive.

    - The British authorities agreed to his **voluntary exile in India**. He was placed under virtual house arrest in **Mussoorie**. He was to return a few years later as ruler of Afghanistan.
- The situation continued to deteriorate despite the exile of Dost Mohammad.
- **Retreat of the British Army (1842)**
    - **The Army of the Indus commenced its retreat** in January 1842.
    - It met with **stiff opposition from local tribal communities** on the <u>route linking Kabul with Jalalabad</u>.

- o Almost the entire British force (which consisted of a large number of Indian sipahis fighting a colonial war), of nearly 16,000 men, was wiped out much before Jalalabad.
- The First Afghan War was the **most comprehensive defeat the British faced** in their colonial wars during the nineteenth century, and one in which they suffered huge losses. British prestige was heavily damaged.
- **Auckland → Ellenborough**
  - o In February 1842, Auckland had been succeeded by **Lord Ellenborough** as governor general (1842-44).
  - o Shah Shuja → Dost Muhammad
    - ▪ The **final catastrophe** for the British cause was the **assassination of Shah Shuja** in April 1842, it was decided that Dost Mohammad be released so that he could return to power in Afghanistan. Upon his return to Kabul, Dost Mohmammad once again became the ruler of Afghanistan and reigned till his death in 1863.
  - o Army of Retribution
    - ▪ In order to salvage British prestige, and avenge the humiliation of the Afghan debacle, Ellenborough formed a so-called **Army of Retribution**, which indulged in senseless violence in Afghanistan and then returned to India. This allowed Ellenborough to claim that the British army was victorious and therefore invincible!

Lord Auckland (1836-42)

Lord Ellenborough (1842-44)
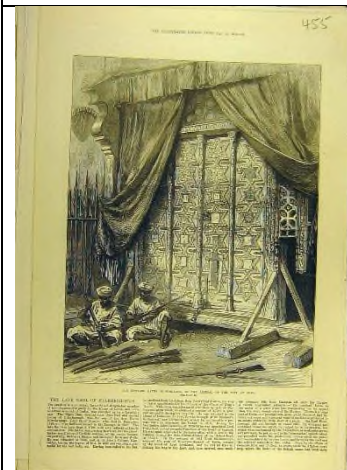
The supposed Gates of Somnath

Sindh

<u>The Afghan War had created conditions for the conquest of Sind.</u> The process which finally led to the annexation of the region was set in motion just as British forces retreated from Afghanistan.

Causes behind Sindh's annexation:

- Russophobia:
    - To counter Russian expansion in NW of India
    - Sind was passing through a phase of internal crisis it could have easily target for Russians.
- Tail of Afghan War:
    - After the defeat in the First Afghan War, the Company lost influence in Afghanistan. It was thus necessary for the company to strengthen its defence on Afghanistan-Sind border by annexing Sind.
    - Afghan expedition was a blow to British prestige. They wanted to restore it by annexing Sindh.

Evolution of Sindh Policy:

In the early nineteenth century Sind was ruled by **chiefs/amirs of the Talpur clan**.

The colonial penetration of Sind:

Sind was an independent state and the John Company had friendly relations with Sind. The Company repeatedly promised to protect unity and integrity of Sindh.
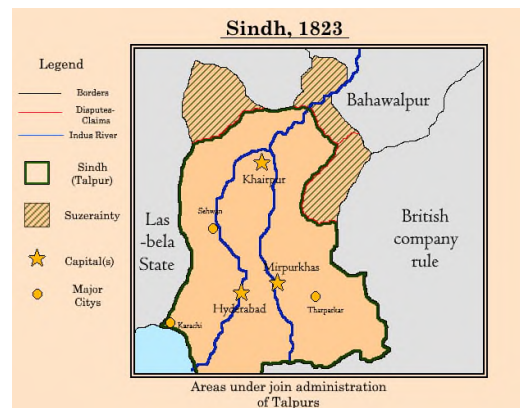
- For the 1st time the English company came into contact with Sind in 1775 when it set up 1st factory at Thatta. This factory was abondoned in 1792 due to commercial reasons.
- **French Menace and Early Treaties**
    - During the Napoleonic Wars, **a treaty (1809)** was signed with the amirs under which they agreed **not to allow the French** into the region.
    - This was followed up by another **treaty in 1820** intended to **exclude all Europeans** (and Americans) from Sind.
- **Commercial Explorations and Treaty of 1832**
    - Alexander Burnes's brother **James** visited Hyderabad in the late 1820s and published an account of his stay at the court of Hyderabad.
    - It was in the early 1830s that the British began to systematically gather information about Sind. **Alexander Burnes**'s espionage mission of 1831 was the first major attempt to explore the lower Indus.

- o Treaty of 1832 – A more substantial treaty was concluded in **1832** which compelled the amirs to **open their territories, the river Indus particularly,** to commerce. This marked the beginning of regular British intervention in the affairs of the Sind.
- **Punjab politics and a Treaty of 1832**
  - o The **southward expansion** of the **Ranjit Singh** in the direction of Shikarpur in northern Sind lent urgency to British manoeuvres.
  - o At this point, the British intervened and offered their **'protection'** to the amirs, forcing **another treaty (1838)** on them.

Alexander Burns
He traveled in 1831 up the Indus River from Sind, delivering gifts to the local rulers, exploring the regions he visited, and eventually reaching Lahore.

- It was this treaty that led to the appointment of a **resident** at Hyderabad. **Henry Pottinger** played a prominent role in the 1830s in undermining the authority of the Sind amirs.
- **Afghan Expedition and Treaty of 1839**
  - o During Kabul expedition, **Karachi** was occupied in **1839**, following which another treaty was signed with the amirs under which they were forced to accept a **subsidiary force** and pay Rs 3 lakhs per annum towards its expenses.
- **Ellenborough sends Charles Napier → another treaty and interference.**
  - o Shortly after Ellenborough took over as governor general, Charles Napier, a senior British military officer, was appointed the Company's supreme military commander and Resident in Sind and given wide-ranging political authority.

  - o Premeditated Plan
    - *"We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful and inhumane piece of rascality, it will be."* – Charles Napier.
  - o **False allegations**
    - He alleged that during the Afghan War the amirs had conspired against the British. This became the **pretext for imposing a new treaty** on them. The conditions were so **unreasonable** that the amirs were unwilling to comply. The terms included **virtual surrender of sovereignty, demands for territory, resources, and money.**
  - o **Interference in Khairpur Factionalism**
    - At the same time the British made use of a factional tussle at Khairpur, where they assisted Amir **Rustam Ali**'s half-brother **Ali Murad,** in dislodging him. Then British promptly accorded recognition to Ali Murad.

- The course of war
  - As news of what had happened at Khairpur spread, there was a **spontaneous mobilization** for resistance against the British. A major objective of this mobilization was the *reinstatement of Rustam Ali.*
  - Troops loyal to the amirs gathered at **Hyderabad**. On 17 February 1843, a battle took place between the two armies at **Miani**, on the outskirts of Hyderabad, and the **Sind forces were defeated**. The chief of **Mirpur** still held out. He finally retreated to Afghanistan where he lived in voluntary exile until his death.
- Outcome
  - Ali Murad was rewarded for his support by being acknowledged ruler of the principality of Khairpur.
  - The rest of Sind was annexed by the British. Napier was made governor of the province, a position he held till 1847.

Foreign Affairs.

IT is a common idea that the most laconic military despatch ever issued was that sent by CÆSAR to the Horse-Guards at Rome, containing the three memorable words " *Veni, vidi, vici,*" and, perhaps, until our own day, no like instance of brevity has been found. The despatch of SIR CHARLES NAPIER, after the capture of Scinde, to LORD ELLENBOROUGH, both for brevity and truth, is, however, far beyond it. The despatch consisted of one emphatic word—" *Peccavi,*" " I have Scinde," (*sinned*).

The Punjab

Aggressive policy of <u>paramountcy</u>, and <u>Russophobia</u> as security challenge to the British Empire came face to face with a situation in Punjab after the collapse of Ranjit Singh's Kingdom. British intervention in this region in 1840s, was provoked by the fear of a troubled frontier.

Punjab in the 18th century

- Sikh movement was basically a bhakti movement with agrarian base. It spread among the Jats and other castes of the Punjab. Originally, it was a peaceful religious sect, but it soon was militarized due to the prolonged wars with the Mughals. Sikhs soon emerged as a martial community and became well known for their fighting spirit by the reign of Aurangzeb.
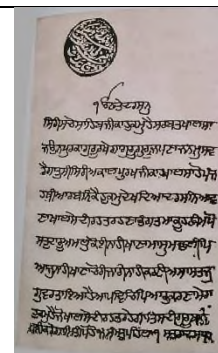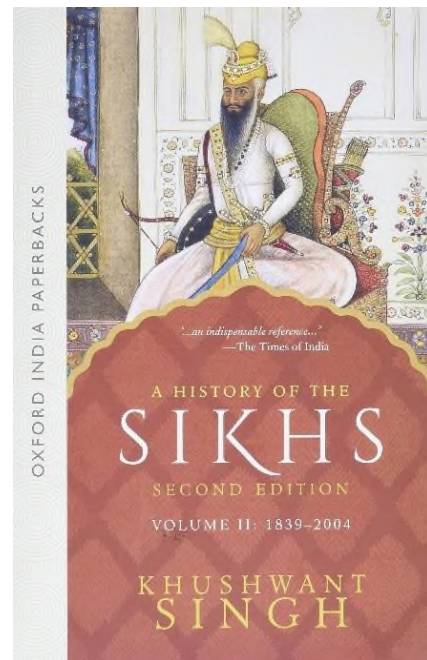
- **Banda Singh Bahadur (r. 1708-16)**
  - Short lived Sikh rule in Punjab with social and economic reforms.
  - He carried the Sikhs revolt against the Mughals, but a Mughal noble, Hussain Ali, defeated and killed Banda Bahadur at the fort of Lohagarh. Hence this rebellion subsided for some time.

- **Era of foreign invasions:**
  - There were frequent invasions from the northwest. Nadir Shah came to India via that route. Later, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was firmly anchored in Afghanistan in Kabul, made Punjab his target and certain regions of Punjab were occupied by Abdali.

- **Formation of Sikh Confederacy**
  - In this situation, many of these Sikh leaders managed to establish their little kingdoms in the latter half of the 18th century to create a kind of a centrifugal Sikh polity. These kingdoms came up in the region of **Doabs**.
  - Here various locally powerful sardars created certain institutions like **Rakhi**, whereby they promised protection for a certain amount of resource that the peasants were obliged to pay.
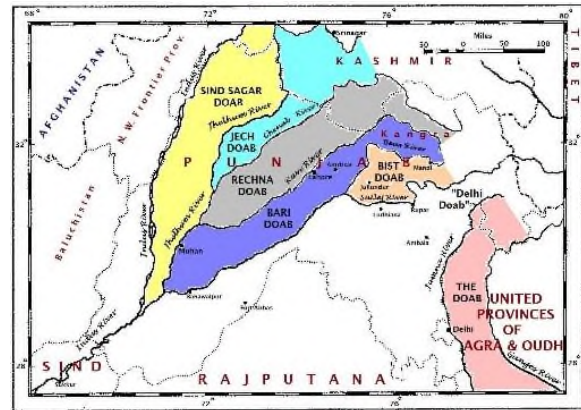

Hukmnama of Banda Singh Bahadur with his seal

First Sikh Coins – Banda Singh Bahadur (1712)

- Those who are capable of offering such protection were able to create **misls**, local military communities. (eg Bhangi, Sukerchakia, Ahluwalia etc)
- These misls together tried to create the kind of **Sikh polity** based on **Dal Khalsa** (military wing) on the one hand and **Gurmat** on the other.

Sikhism Mislas and Their Founders

S. No.	Sikhism Mislas	Founders
1.	Faizalpuria Misla (Singhpuria Misla)	Nawab Kapoor Singh
2.	Ahluvalia Misla	Jassa Singh Ahluvalia
3.	Bhangi Misla	Sardar Hari Singh
4.	Ramgarhia Misla	Jassa Singh Ichchhagilia
5.	Kanhiyan Misla	Jai Singh
6.	Sukar Chakia Misla	Charata Singh
7.	Fulkiya Misla	Chaudhary Phool
8.	Dallevasia Misla	Gulab Singh
9.	Nishanvalia Misla	Sangat Singh, Mahar Singh
10.	Karorsindhia or Panchagarhia Misla	Baghel Singh
11.	Saheed Misla or Nihang Misla	Baba Deep Singh
12.	Nakkai Misla	Sardar Hira Singh

19th century: Rise of Ranjit Singh (Punjab Kesari)

This Sikh polity had the memory of anti-Mughal resistance as in ideology and faced the military compulsion of containing the Afghans. This demanded the emergence of a more organized and more powerful leadership.

It was Ranjit Singh of the **Sukarchakia** misl, who, by dint of his leadership, competency and muscle power, fused the various Sikh misls into a powerful state.

Born in 1780, assumed the leadership of the **sukarchakia** misl at the age of 12 after the premature death of his father.

- His main source of strength for was his **army**. He modelled it on European style, on East India Company's army. It became the second largest army in Asia.
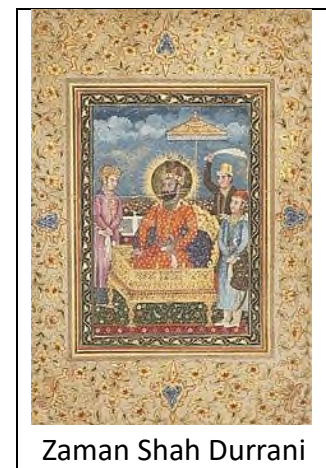
Zaman Shah Durrani

- He also introduced the **system of vassalage** – all these great Sikh sardars in other places were enticed to be his vassals. But this vassalage was only a step towards final subjugation of these Sikh leaders by Ranjit Singh.

There was a period of **expansion**.
- Initially, Ranjit Singh was firmly established in **Lahore in 1799** then **Amritsar** came under his control in **1805**. The control over the holy city of Amritsar gave him a certain advantage. Thus, both the political and religious capital of Sikhism was under him.
- Shortly thereafter, he forced **all the Sikh chiefs west of the river Sutlej** to acknowledge him as the King of Punjab and thus **created a unified state.**
- With his control established in the doab, he began to move further **westwards and northwards**, bringing under his control the **hill chiefs in Jammu, Kashmir and Kangra (1819)**, and containing the **Afghans**. The Afghan strongholds at **Multan (1818)** and **Peshawar (1834)** fell one after another.
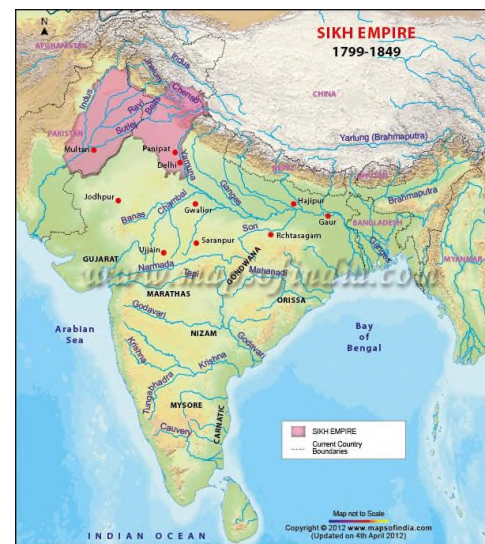
This powerful Kingdom was capable of generating a measure of **prosperity** as well.
- It was natural for Ranjit Singh to look after **irrigation** facilities for the peasants because ultimately rural peasantry (esp. Jat Sikhs) was the main support base.
- At the same time, Ranjit Singh brought **order and security** to the region was was beleaguered by invasions and instability for a long time. There began the **trade revival** which brought more prosperity, greater income and propelled the **artisanal industry.**

So, this is how the basis of **a powerful kingdom** was created. It was not just a kind of a **military** state. It could draw on **huge economic resources** (agriculture, trade revival, handicraft revival) which gave Ranjit Singh the kind of power that he was able to wilt over the entire region.

Treaty of Amritsar (1809)
- When Ranjit Singh tried to capture **cis-Sutlej**, the states here appalled British for help.
- The English, who had been so far <u>watching Ranjit Singh's expansionist policy</u> with a deep sense of concern, **responded instantly**. They now **found a pretext to poke their nose into** the Punjab. The Punjab had become particularly important from the British point of view as at that time they **apprehended Napoleonic invasion** into India through Afghanistan.
    - British officer at Ludhiana, **David Ochterlony**, declared the states under British **patronage** and provided **protection**. It was an open warning to Ranjit Singh to control his ambition by threat with open conflict.
- Ranjit Singh finally entered into the **Treaty of Amritsar with EIC not to invade the cis-Sutlej region.** By this treaty:
    - Ranjit Singh was forced to give up all his claims on the Cis-Sutlej states which were to be hanceforth under the protection of the British. (British sphere of influence)

- In return, the British too, acknowledged Ranjit Singh's sovereign authority on the western side of Sutlej.

Causes of the Anglo-Sikh war: Both Strategic and Economic

Though Ranjit Singh could not permanently eradicate the possibility of foreign aggression, he could give a stable and strong administration to the people of the Punjab. So far as Ranjit Singh was alive, he checked the ambitions of local nobles and controlled the army. Once he was dead, **internal turmoil and conspiracies** started in the Court. Thus, Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 was followed by a **period of political uncertainty, family rivalry and factionalism.**

- A series of **weak rulers** sat on throne one after another.
- Sikh court was divided into **two factions** – who wanted to be kingmakers.
- Maharaja Ranjit Singh had created 2nd biggest **army** in entire Asia but after his death in 1839, a situation of internal **disorder** developed. There was also a division between **civil authority and military authority.**

The internal political turmoil was watched by the British. In fact, they had been throwing their greedy glances on the western bank of Sutlej since the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The time was now ripe for them. This situation of <u>relative instability</u> made for an important change in British policy. This was a <u>departure from the position</u> that the British had taken in 1809 in the Treaty of Amritsar.

- British were still **apprehensive of a Russian invasion.**
- First half of the 19th c **neo-Victorian Imperialism under the influence of Industrial Revolution**: Objective to exploit the resources of the colonies.

After 1839, it was very troublesome time for Punjab.

Sikh Emperors		
Till1839	Maharaja Ranjit Singh	
1839	Kharak Singh (eldest son)	He one of Ranajit Singh's sons and became the ruler as per the desire of Ranajit Singh himself. However, Kharak Singh didn't have a long life.
1839–1840	Nau Nihal Singh	Kharak Singh died on 5 November 1840; Nau Nihal Singh (his own son) died on the same day when a gateway, likely accidentally, fell on him.
1841–1843	Sher Singh	Sher Singh became the new ruler in 1841 with the support of Dhyan SIngh. He in turn was assassinated in 1843, and Dhyan Singh too was killed.
1843–1849	Duleep Singh (youngest son)	The army now supported the claim of Dalip Singh the youngest son of Ranjit Singh, to be the maharaja. Dalip Singh was a minor, barely five years old at this time. **Rani Jindan** became regent for the minor maharaja. The strong support of the army ensured the ascendancy

The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846) – Lord Hardinge (1844-1848)

Certain factors made the military friction between the English and the Sikhs inevitable.

- Major Broadfoot, was appointed as the British agent in 1844. He provoked the khalsa army by repeatedly insulting and alienating the Sikh sardars and army officials.
- This was a premeditated war. The British mobilized their army on the other side of Sutlej. Sikhs too started preparations to counter a possible British attack. By this time, the Khalsa/Sikh army become somewhat independent of the control of the palace or of the control of the rulers.
- Rani Jindan, under the influence of a section of the Sikh chiefs ordered the army to strike at the British. The governor general, Henry Hardinge, who had succeeded Ellenborough in 1844, declared war on 13 December 1845. Sikh Army crossed the river, and the wars were fought. The First Punjab War dragged on for nearly two months. Eventually the Sikh Army lost out.
- Then in **1846**, the Sikh court had to sign the **Treaty of Lahore**.
  - Subsidiary Alliance Treaty
  - The size of the Khalsa army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry
  - The **British Army** was stationed at Lahore for some time.
  - A **British resident** was appointed in the Sikh court.
  - British were to be **indemnified** with Rs 1.5 crores for the expenses of the war
  - British took possession of the **fertile Jullundhar Doab** (between Sutlej and Beas)
  - Sikhs had to lose a large area including **Kashmir**. Kashmir was sold to a Dogra Sardar **Gulab Singh** for 50 Lakh rupees.

Tensions soon surfaced between the resident at Lahore, Henry Lawrence, and the regent, Rani Jindan. **A new treaty was signed** in December 1846 to strengthen the position of the resident and simultaneously marginalize Rani Jindan.

- A council of regency was constituted, comprising eight Punjab chiefs. The council was to function under the supervision of the resident.
- British troops were to remain in Punjab, for whose maintenance Rs 22 lakhs had to be paid annually.
- This arrangement would continue till 1854 when Dalip Singh came of age.

Rani Jindan, as might have been expected, continued to be very hostile to the Company's officials. In August 1847, Rani Jindan was compelled to leave Lahore so as to curtail her influence.

Thus, the British control over domestic policy and foreign policy was established in a Sikh state. Sikhs lost their autonomy. Virtually, the British control was established by 1847. **British resident** was practically running the Sikh state after the first war. Duleep Singh was just a nominal ruler. Still, the Punjab was a kind of a princely state with a British resident. Between 1946 Treaty and annexation in 1849, it was a small step.

The Second Anglo-Sikh War (1849) – Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)

The Treaty of Lahore could not satisfy the British imperialist appetite. On the other hand, the freedom loving Sikhs were not happy with the Treaty of Lahore. What really worried the Sikhs was the presence of the British army in the Punjab. The British army which had penetrated the Punjab was never withdrawn by the British. The Punjab army had not yet reconciled to British presence in the kingdom. So, another conflict was inevitable.

Dalhousie came to India in 1848 and started his aggressive imperial policy. He undertook the annexation of Punjab in 1849.

Such a prominent presence of the British the resident trying to control the government, to undermine the Council of Regency, to pension of Rani Jindan; all this created a certain kind of grievance in the Punjab and there was resistance against it. It led to the Sikh revolt in 1848. There ensued a **series of rebellions in Multan and Lahore led by Mulraj and Chattar Singh** respectively. Once the preparations for the invasion were completed, British forces under Gough crossed into Punjab in November 1848. This marked the beginning of the war, even though no formal declaration of war was made.

Battle of Chillianwala
13th January, 1849

Remembering the **historic day** in the **fight** for **Indian Independence.**

Battle of Chillianwala was fought during the **2nd Anglo-Sikh war** and the **sikh army** was **led** by **Sher Singh** while the **British army** was led by **Commander in Chief, Hugh Gough.**

Both armies held their positions at the end of the battle and both sides claimed victory. The battle was a strategic check to immediate British ambitions in India and a shock to British military prestige. It dealt a blow to British morale and is testament to the tenacity and martial skill of the Sikh army.

The decisive war: battle of Gujarat (battle of guns). Sikhs were finally defeated and Dalhousie annexed Punjab in 1849. The Khalsa militia was disbanded. British forced Dileep Singh, the infant ruler, to sign the document of annexation. Dileep was sent out to England, and he lived the rest of his life in England as an exile. Thus, the last major autonomous Indian state became a part of the British Indian Empire.

the roots of collapse of shikh state can been seen in reign of ranjeet singh

1) despite its big size and military strength shikh state was in medieval in nature it did not evolve its own modern institutions. even Thoe Ranjeet singh united shikh under the banner of national monarchy he actively aided the process of feudalities as he did not have enough resources to pay Hugh army, he started Distributing jagir in leave of salary it created class of feudal military aristocrats how are tight to land and not to the state.

2) so long as there existed powerful monarch like Ranjeet singh ,shikh against the common enemy British however the under the week successor of ranjeet singh there was mutual rivalry in the family and shikh court to factualism fail pray factionalism

3) the jagir system also weekend the army and contributed to undiscipline character ranjeets singh turn the khalsa army to heroic fighting force but British were superior in army and ammunition and resources.

4) ranjeet singh was powerless to Havert future brish dangerous he protected the panjab from british expansion temporally but effectively he pass the matter onto his successor
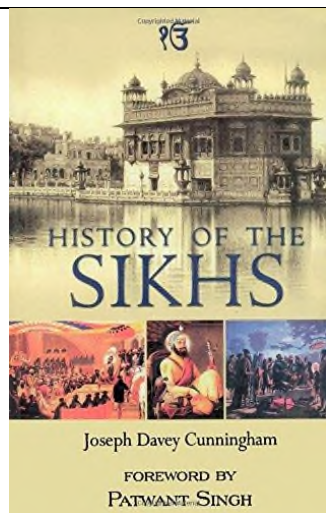
| | **Joseph Cunningham**, brother of Alexander Cunningham, was a solder-scholar in the Company army. He wrote the History of the Sikhs in 1849. |

The Expansionist Policy of Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)
Greatest Imperialist of the Victorian Era

In 1848, Dalhousie arrived in India as the Governor-General. He followed a policy of expansion with great vigour. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 was one of the first acts of Governor-General Lord Dalhousie (1848–56), and it was a portent. Over the next seven years Dalhousie enormously increased the area of British India and, with the exception of the Second Burma War in 1852, he did it with paperwork, as part of the relentless logic of paramountcy. As a result, the British imperialistic design reached its zenith and the British Indian Empire reached its greatest extent within a short span of time.

- Industrial capitalism
- Neo-Victorian imperialism
- Utilitarian ideas – better and efficient government

Lord Dalhousie was greatest imperialist in the history of British India and he used every method and opportunity to carry out the territorial expansion of British East India possessions.

Three-fold Policy of Dalhousie:
- Continued the British **policy of conquest** – Vast Territorial Expansion
    - Second Anglo-Sikh War (1849) – Annexation of Punjab
    - Sikkim fell into the clutches of Dalhousie's imperialist policy (1850)
    - Second Burmese war (1852) – pushed the eastern frontier to the Salween river.
    - Snatched Berar from the Nizam (1853)
- Dalhousie invented the policy of **Doctrine of Lapse**
    - This doctrine was enunciated with the objective of justifying the formal annexation of the territories of several princely states in the late 1840s and early 1850s. It was earlier vaguely used by Auckland in the past, but Dalhousie gave it a concrete shape.
    - Under this, the British claimed that they had the prerogative of taking over a state in the event of an unsatisfactory succession. If the ruler did not have a natural heir, his kingdom could be annexed by the British authorities (unless the adopted son was specifically approved by the British earlier). Thus, no succession was considered valid without the recognition of the Company.

Type of State	Doctrine of Lapse	
Independent and Friendly States	Not Applicable	Free to choose successors without any British intervention
States earlier subordinated by Mughals or Marathas	Not Applicable	In the matter of succession, these states had to seek British approval, which was easily granted

States created by the Company	Applicable	If there was no legal heir to the throne, the ruler was not permitted to adopt for succession purpose. As per the British, it amounted to the delegated power.

- o The Doctrine paid rich dividends to the Company. On this basis, Dalhouise annexed **seven states**: Satara (1848), Jaitpur and Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854)
- o This infamous doctrine is often considered to be one of the major factors responsible for the revolt of 1857.

- **Doctrine of Mis-governance**
  - o **Awadh** had a great economic and strategic importance, but the doctrine of lapse was not applicable to it. So, Dalhousie invented another doctrine of mis-governance in context of Awadh – Company could annex any state based on mis-governance caused by an incompetent ruler. Thus, Nawab Wajid Ali of Awadh was removed from power on this pretext and Awadh was annexed in 1856 CE.
  - o It is interesting however, that the British actually bred political uncertainty in the native states with their intervention.

Within 8 years of his tenure, Dalhousie increased the territories of British India by almost 50%. Since most of his annexation were carried out through peaceful methods in a very swift manner, it is said that the territorial expansion of Dalhousie could have not been matched by a military campaign.

The policies pursued from the late 1840s till the outbreak of the revolt had to be urgently **reconsidered in 1858.**

- Considering that a large number of princely rulers had actively assisted the British in the suppression of the revolt, it was felt that their support was vital for stabilizing the Indian empire on a long- term basis.
- Moreover, given that that most of the princely rulers and the ruling classes of princely states were politically and socially conservative, they were unlikely to encourage elements that might disturb the status quo. They would therefore be useful in keeping discontent in check.

For this reason, when the crown directly assumed control over the Indian empire in 1858, Queen Victoria issued a **Proclamation** (1 November 1858) guaranteeing to the princely rulers their autonomy and assuring them that they would not be divested of their territories. This amounted to **publicly disowning the policy of annexation** which had been so vigorously implemented during Dalhousie's term as governor general.

Balaghat and Udaipur were returned by Canning to the Indian rulers.

As the Company's domains expanded and its responsibilities diversified, a series of new questions had to be faced. What type of government should be set up in the new territories? What kind of political institutions would fit most suitably with Indian social structures? And what of the 'pacified' Indians? Should they be educated, or even converted to more acceptable forms of religion? Was the EIC really a fit organ of government? Should its monopoly be maintained? Distinct approaches to these questions emerged, each with its partisan advocates.

Industrial Capitalism

In the 18th century, the EIC faced domestic opposition due to the fears of pernicious influence of corrupt nabobs on English society and politic leading to the Acts of 1773, 1784 and attempts at professionalization of its bureaucracy. Still, the EIC remained powerful and entrenched in parliamentary politics and never lost its trade monopoly. In the 19th century, however, the scale of opposition to it changed after industrial capitalists became powerful.

Growing Opposition to the Company in London
- Conflict between the old mercantile interests and the new industrial interests
  - By the late 18th century, there was growing opposition to the East India Company's (EIC) monopoly over commerce with India and China. **Private traders** wanted to share in the profits. With 'free trade' becoming the dominant economic doctrine in Britain, it was difficult for the government to resist demands for the termination of the Company's monopoly.
  - **Industrial capitalists** wanted open overseas Indian market for industrial products of Lancashire and Manchester and procure raw materials from India (indigo, opium, long staple cotton). The EIC's interests conflicted with those of the manufacturers since the Company mainly imported Asian commodities into Britain, rather than selling British manufactured products in Asia.
- The East India Company's expanded activities, including political, administrative, military, commercial, and technical pursuits, required the cooperation of various groups in British society. By the early 19th century, the Company's Indian empire was no longer solely the concern of a small number of merchant capitalists.

Thus, a loose free trade pressure group had been operating in British politics for some time and had tried, unsuccessfully, to have the Company's monopoly withdrawn in 1793. With renewal of the charter due in 1813, this alliance of manufacturers and exporters reinvigorated its efforts. These industrial capitalists successfully bribed/pressurized the government to abolish trade monopoly by Charter Act of 1813 partially and 1833 fully.

The Charter of 1793

- The Charter Act of 1793 **renewed the charter** of the Company for **twenty years**, giving it possession of all territories in India during that period.
- Only a **modest concession to the free-traders** in face of resistance from the London merchants
  - The Company was empowered to give **licences to individuals** as well as the Company's employees to trade in India. These licences, known as 'privilege' or 'country trade', paved the way for shipments of opium to China. It allowed for a part of the Company's fleet to be used by the private merchants. Private merchants complained of high freight rates and didn't want to be tied to the Company's warehouses.
- The **Home Government** members were to be **paid out of Indian revenues** which continued up to 1919.
- The **royal approval was mandated for the appointment** of the governor-general, the governors, and the commander-in-chief.
- In Indian administration, the **governor general's power** over the council was extended and the Governors of Bombay and Madras were brought more decisively under his control.
- It introduced in India the **concept of a civil law**, enacted by a secular human agency, and applied universally.
  - The regulation applied to all rights, person and property of the Indian people and it bound the courts to regulate their decisions by the rules and directives contained therein. All laws were to be printed with translations in Indian languages, so that people could know of their rights, privileges, and immunities.

The Charter Act of 1813

The Company fiercely contested the proposal to abolish its Indian monopoly when its charter came up for renewal in 1813. Parliament was, on the other hand, unconvinced of the Company's arguments and the Charter Act of 1813 put an end to its monopoly over India.
Provisions:
- Renewal of charter for 20 years.
- Partial abolition of trade monopoly: Except for trade in tea and trade with China.
  - While abolishing the Company's monopoly of trade, it **imposed restrictions on long-term residence** by private British individuals (private merchants, free traders) in India. A licence had to be obtained from the Company for residing in India.
- The act also allowed Christian missionaries to enter India and propagate their religion.
- Rs. 1 lakh per annum for promotion of Indian languages, literature, and scientific education in India.

The Charter Act of 1813 was thus an important benchmark in the **push towards westernisation** of India. At pace with the altered conditions, Company rule in India now had to act as an accessory, an instrument to ensure 'the necessary conditions of law and order' to make the vast Indian market captive for British goods.

The Charter Act of 1833

When the time came to renew the Charter in 1833, there was **increased pressure** in Britain for the government to take over the Indian administration directly and abolish the Company. **The Reform Act of 1832** had recently been passed, which fuelled a general desire for reform in Britain. A parliamentary inquiry was conducted, and the resulting Act of 1833 became a significant moment in the constitutional history of India.

This Act became a landmark in the constitutional history of India and had a larger significance. Most of its provisions pertained to arrangements for governing the Indian empire. The framework evolved in 1833 was to continue almost unchanged down to 1858, and some elements were retained in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Provisions:
- The charter gave to the Company the authority to govern the Indian empire for **another twenty years, till 1854**, when the charter was to come up for renewal (the 1833 Act came in force in 1834).
- With the **abolition of the monopoly** of tea trade with China, the Company ceased to be a commercial concern.
  - All its business activities were wound up. Henceforth, it was to be **only a political-administrative body.** And here too the Indian possessions of the Company were to be held in trust for the British Crown.
  - This did not amount to a loss for its shareholders who were guaranteed an annual dividend of 10.5 per cent by the British government.
- The Charter Act of 1833 further **strengthened the authority of the board of control** and gave more powers to the president of the board of control.
  - The President of the Board of Control now became the **Minister for Indian Affairs,** while the board was empowered to superintend all administrative affairs in India.
- The governor general was henceforth to be known as the **'governor general of India'.** (Lord Bentinck). He would, in consultation with his council, control all civil, military and revenue matters in the whole of India.
- The Act **removed licensing restrictions on British settlement** in India. Also, British settlers could henceforth acquire land in India.
- The Charter Act of 1833 also introduced some **administrative changes.**
  - Formation of a fourth presidency (**Agra Presidency**) by splitting the Bengal Presidency into two.
  - **Indians to be recruited** in jobs and no discrimination based on race.
    - The Company's services in India were thrown open to the natives; but there was no provision for their being nominated to the covenanted services.
    - Although the reality was different, this declaration formed the sheet-anchor of political agitation in India.
  - It enjoined the Company's government **to abolish slavery** in India. (Slavery was finally abolished in 1843.)
- Some crucial changes were made in the composition and functioning of the governor general's council. It made a distinction between the executive and legislative duties of the

Governor-General and provided for the election of a fourth member who could participate only when legislation was being decided.

- o With the extension of territories and influx of British settlers into India, there was need for uniform laws. The governor general in council was, therefore, **empowered to legislate** for the **whole of British territories in India** and these laws were to be applicable to **all persons, British or Indian**. The Act **centralized the process** of framing laws, giving to the laws and regulations framed by the governor general's council the **force of statutes.**
    - The council thus became the main legislative body in India. Presidency governments could submit drafts of legislation to the council for consideration.
- o Since the making of laws required legal expertise, a provision was made for adding a **'law member'** to the council.
    - The law member became the fourth member and his presence was supposed to be essential when the council was deliberating upon any legislation. This **two-fold function of the council, executive and legislative**, had significant implications for subsequent constitutional developments.
    - **Thomas Macaulay** was the first law member to be appointed to the governor general's council. Macaulay had played an important role in drafting the 1833 charter.
- o In order to do away with the multiplicity of laws, the process of **codification** and **systemization** of law was initiated by the Act. A **law commission** was set up for the purpose; the four-member commission was **headed by Macaulay**.

The Charter Act of 1853

In 1853, during the renewal of the Company's charter, the parliament asserted its right to decide how India was to be governed more strongly than before. The free traders' demand to end the Company's mechanism of governing India, which had already won a significant victory with the **repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846**, could not be ignored much longer. Yet the Company could still muster sufficient political support to be able to continue with its hold over the Indian empire, even though this hold was considerably weakened by the 1853 Act.

Provisions:
- The Charter Act of 1853 subjected the EIC's empire in India to much **tighter control** by the British government. A decisive measure was the provision for **reconstituting the court of directors.**
  - The strength of the court of directors was brought down from the existing twenty-four to eighteen: six members of the court were henceforth to be nominees of the government.
- The charter of 1833 was **renewed** in 1853, but this time not for another twenty- years. It did not specify the duration for which it would be valid.
  - The Company was allowed to retain the Indian possessions "in trust for Her Majesty, her heirs and successors until Parliament shall otherwise provide", thus keeping the door ajar for a future takeover.
- The **selection of covenanted civil servants** was now to be on the basis of an **open competition**.
  - After 1833, competitive examinations were introduced, though directors' nominees could still be recruited on a nod and a wink. After 1853, selection was entirely examination-based, and thrown open to all white Britons. Members of the court of directors were deprived of the privilege of nominating candidates for appointment to superior posts in the civil service.
  - A committee was constituted by the board of control to work out the modalities of the competition. **Public examinations commenced in 1855.**
- It substantially modified the composition of the governor general's council when it met for **legislative purposes.**
  - The 1833 Act had, it was felt, led to excessive legislative centralization. The provinces no longer had any authority to enact laws or regulations. To have adequate inputs from the several presidencies and provinces, as well as from the judiciary, **six more members were added to the council when it met to deliberate upon legislative matters**.
    - These additional members were the chief justice and a judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; and one member each from the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and from the North-Western Provinces.
  - The **law member** (added in 1833) was now made a **full member** of the council.
    - Earlier he could only attend meetings of the council when legislative matters were on the agenda.

- o The **idea of a distinct 'legislative council'**, which was already conceptually present in the Charter Act of 1833, was now developed further. This was now a body of **twelve members** comprising the
    - Governor general
    - Four 'ordinary members' (including the law member)
    - The commander-in-chief
    - Six 'additional members'. (Did not sit when the council met to discuss executive matters)
- The Act also provided for the appointment of a **separate governor** for the **Bengal Presidency.**
    - o In 1854, a lieutenant governor was appointed for Bengal, instead of a full-fledged governor.

> *The robber-ruler synthesis eventually gave way to what would become classical colonialism, with the recognition of the need for law and order and a modicum of reasonable governance.* – Amartya Sen

Major overhauling of administrative structure:

Factors	Features
• Material Compulsion: Need of Industrial Capitalism of London • Ideological Factor: Liberalism and Utilitarianism advocating administrative reforms to pull out of backwardness and stagnation.	• Better law and order • Judicial reforms, Contract Law • New land revenue settlements • Reforms in civil service, police, and army

(1) Law and Order

Improvement in the law-and-order condition was essential if India had to develop as a market for the British manufactured goods. That's why during this phase, several Governor Generals took steps for improvement in the law-and-order situation.

Suppression of Pindaris and Pathans

- **Pindaris** plunderers created law and order problems in parts of India. Earlier they were auxiliary forces to the Maratha army. But when Maratha declined, they turned into freelance marauders, involved in loot and plunder.
- GG Hastings decided to suppress the Pindari menace. He dispatched a big army under the command of General Thomas Hislop. Hislop started to encircle Pindaris from three sides. Most important Pindari leaders like Heeru, Buran and Wasir Md. Chitu were killed. Only Karim Khan surrendered before the army. He was offered a Jagir near Jaipur after he promised to lead a peaceful life.

Villagers burning themselves after a Pindari raid.

Thugs stabbing the eyes of murdered traveler before throwing the body into a well.

- **Pathans** were also a threat to law and order. Hasting started a military offence against the Pathans. Pathan leader Aamir Khan surrendered and promised to lead a peaceful life. He was afforded Jagir of Gauspur.

Suppression of Thugee
- Thugs were the criminals, who were mainly linked with road robbery, ritualized murder and mutilation on highways. Poverty and unemployment created by British rule that gave a new fodder to this profession.
- Bentinck decided to suppress Thugee.
  - Thuggee and Dacoity Department 1830.
  - Colonel William Sleeman headed it from 1835-39 to eliminate the problem. Sleeman developed elaborate profiling and intelligence techniques that pre-dated similar methods in Europe and the US by decades.
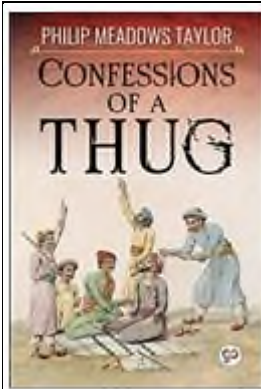
Sensational Ethno-graphic Thriller (1839) and bestseller in 19th century Victorian England. It was the most influential novel about India prior to Rudyard Kipling's Kim (1901). Its popularity established the word "thug" in the English language.

(2) Judicial Reforms

During this period, the judicial reforms were being implemented under the influence of utilitarian ideas. Utilitarian ideas were deeply associated with the rise of industrial capitalism in Britain. Jeremy Bentham was a critic of the Indian Judicial system, and he underlined following weaknesses in it.
- The absence of Habeas Corpus
- Lack of codification and uniformity in legal system
- Some Indian laws were cruel and inhuman.

Therefore, under Benthamite influence, following steps were undertaken:

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) - first person to be an aggressive advocate for the codification of all the common law into a coherent set of statutes, first to use 'codify' as a verb.

Codification of Laws	Uniformity of Laws
Charter Act of 1833 provided for a law member in the Governor General's council. Lord Macaulay was appointed as the first law member to start codification and a Law Commission was established.	Earlier, a duality existed in the Indian Judicial System. On the one hand, the courts like Sadar Diwani Adalat and Sadar Nizamat Adalat existed in Calcutta, in which Indian laws were prevailing. On the other hand, there was a Supreme Court in Calcutta, where English laws were invoked. This duality was

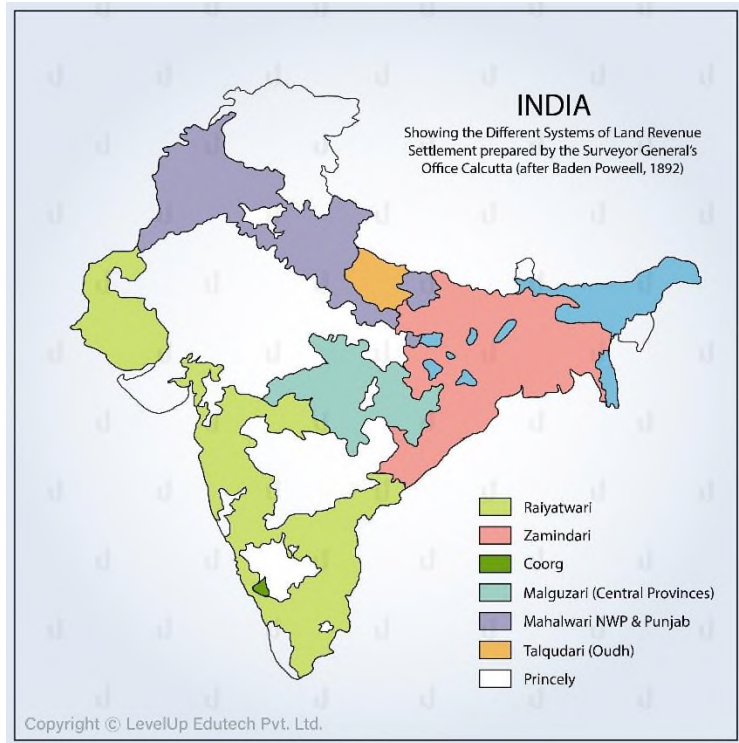|	
Later, it became the basis for IPC 1860, CrPC 1872, CPC 1908 etc.	abolished. The Sadar Diwani Adalat, Sadar Nizamat Adalat and the Supreme Court were abolished, and the High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay on the basis of High Court Act of 1861.

In the era of William Bentinck, English and regional languages replaced Persian as the court language (1835).

(3) Revenue Reforms

Earlier, the Permanent Settlement was guided by mercantilist interest. But, in the early decades of the 19th century, India was being developed as a British commodity market. While on the one hand, British capitalists wanted to reduce land revenue to increase purchasing power of peasants, there was increasing cost due to infrastructure development (roadways, canals and rail), and imperial military cost of expansion which put the company in financial stress. So, the company was not ready to reduce the amount of land revenue. As a solution, finally, intermediaries/zamindars were targeted and deprived of agricultural surpluses.

Thus, new revenue arrangements viz. Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems were developed during this period to suit the changed requirements of the British government. Permanent settlement was not expanded to other areas. The nature of land revenue settlements in these parts of India varied. The British adjusted their revenue-strategy according to the special characteristics of the agrarian structure in each region. The fixing-up of the revenue arrangements depended, to a very great extent, on their understanding of the agrarian system which appeared to be strange and complex from the point of view of the British.

INDIA
Showing the Different Systems of Land Revenue Settlement prepared by the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta (after Baden Poweell, 1892)

- Raiyatwari
- Zamindari
- Coorg
- Malguzari (Central Provinces)
- Mahalwari NWP & Punjab
- Talqudari (Oudh)
- Princely

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(A) Ryotwari System

The Europeans thought that in south and south-western India there were no zamindars holding big estates with whom revenue settlement could be struck. It was also felt that the super-imposition of the zamindari settlement would completely disrupt the existing order there. Many English civilians like Reed and Munro, who had first hand knowledge about the region recommended that the arrangement should be made directly with the actual cultivators or the ryots.

Ryotwari System: Madras Presidency
- Ryotwari was first implemented in Barahmahal region by **Colonel Alexander Reed** in 1792 when the region was taken from Tipu Sultan. Soon, **Thomas Munro** elaborated and implemented it in some districts (combined several villages as revenue unit and collected revenue directly) in 1810, in the areas of Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Dindigul.
- In Madras province, there was usually no purchase of land by moneylenders from the peasants till 1854, because even moneylenders were afraid to invest money due to high revenue rate. However a Ryotwari Commission setup in 1854 introduced certain reforms, and non-agricultural classes like moneylenders started to purchase lands from peasants.

Ryotwari System: Bombay Presidency
The British took away the land of western India from the Marathas and there needed the management of land revenue. Elphinstone, a disciple of Munro, attempted to implement the Ryotwari system in Bombay but the land revenue was too high upto 1836. In 1836, certain reforms were brought in after the survey conducted by Wingate and Goldsmith, and based on this land revenue rate was reduced.

Ryotwari: Characteristics
- Unlike the Zamindari system, every registered raiyat was considered as the owner of the land, and the agreement of land revenue was made with him.
- The land was made salable. The ryots were given right of transaction of land.
- The land revenue was temporarily fixed for 30-40 years. Thus, a temporary agreement (not permanent) was done with the ryots and the revenue could be increased periodically.
- Land revenue to be paid was very high, sometimes even 50-55% of the total produce.
- Community land was owned by the government.

This system was introduced in Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, Assam and some other portions covering 51% area of British India.

Ryotwari: Evaluation
The Ryotwari system had two objectives: to Increase in state income (success); and to protect tenants (not successful)
- In reality, under the Ryotwari Settlement the state became the virtual zamindar.
- Not only the revenue rate was very high, the peasants were also not allowed any exemption in case of bad harvests or natural calamities.
- No uniformity in the determination of land revenue. Privileged farmers had to pay relatively less revenue.
- Gradually, due to over-assessment, the land shifted from the poor peasants to rich peasants. Therefore, a landlord class established (like zamindar), which began crop-sharing.
- It encouraged the Money-lending later, thus **rural-indebtedness** became a big problem in the Ryotwari region.

(B) Mahalwari System
Here, the revenue settlement was made mahal-wise or estate-wise. The name mahalwari has been derived from the word mahal or village. Here the deal was struck with the village headman or with the leading families of the village collectively.

It was implemented by Holt McKenzie first time in 1822. He is regarded as the father of Mahalwari settlement. Later, in the era of Bentinck, Thomson and Martin Bird played a role in its evolution.

During the era of William Bentinck and Dalhousie, this system was introduced over a large area of North India. First it came into force in North (central region of the Mughal Empire – UP, Punjab, MP), and later implemented in NW, Awadh etc. In these regions, stretching from Punjab to Awadh and CP, panchayat system was quite active.

Mahalwari features
- Community Ownership
    - In this system, a village or mahal as a whole, was held responsible for realizing revenue and members of the Mahal paid their revenues collectively. Thus, the concept of community ownership on the land was accepted. Land revenue would be collected through the head of the village (Muqaddam)
    - However, the private responsibility of the farmers remained. The community had to pay the revenue on behalf of the members who failed to pay the land revenue, but the community would acquire the property of that farmer and distribute it among other co-sharers.
- Rate and duration
    - Very exorbitant rate. (Normally 65%, going up to 95% of surplus)
    - Unlike zamindari, it was fixed temporarily.

Mahalwari Impact
- In this arrangement too, the oppression of the cultivators by the leaders of the village was inevitable. The headmen of the village misused their power and swindled the poor peasants.
- In the Mahalwari assessment area, especially in Awadh, the taluqdars (big landlords) were uprooted who opposed Mahalwari.
- Exorbitant rates of the land revenue put tremendous pressure. Thus, in Mahalwari region, there was intense peasant rebellion in 1857.

Zamindari	Ryotwari	Mahalwari

GS Foundation 2024: Modern India
Handout 13: Industrial Phase: Colonial Economy
Nikhil Sheth

Commercialization of Agriculture

It means cultivation of cash crops in place of food crops. The food crops like wheat, barley and rice were replaced with cash crops like tea, indigo, sugaracane, tabacco, opium and coffee etc. this change in the character of Indian agriculture was the outcome of circumstances created by British colonial rule.

Objective:

1. To make the collection of the increased land revenue easier.
2. To secure raw-material for the British industries
3. To facilitate export of food grains from India to Britain
4. To maintain balance of trade globally (Tea-Opium Triangle)

Introduction of contract system in agriculture faciliatated commercialization. The Charter Act 1833 allowed European to purchase immovable property in India. As a result of this tea plantation, coffee, and jute plantation emerged contract farming was practiced by European in plantations.

- Cotton – Encouraged in western India
- Indigo – For dying of clothes in north and east India
- Opium – Warren Hastings made opium production a company monopoly first in 1773. It was exported to China.
- Tea – encouraged in northeast, mainly based on British capital. It gave rise to the problem of indentured labour.
- Coffee – encouraged in south India
- Jute – encouraged in eastern India
- Sugarcane – it was encouraged after 1830s in various parts, especially in north India.

Pattern:

- It was a forced process for the majority of peasants. It was not adopted by them under free will.
- Only those crops which were required by British industries or were having market in Europe were cultivated such as indigo, cotton and sugarcane.
- It was carried out by using the traditional old tools and no modern technology was introduced.
- The use of small farms for cultivation of cash crops was another typical feature.
- Different kinds of practices were used by Europeans to cultivate cash crops in India.
    - Teenkathiya (3/20) used in Champaran district of Bengal for Indigo cultivation.

- It was <u>exploitative in nature</u>. The peasants suffered immensely due to cultivation of cash crops.

Effects:

1) it facilitated the drain of wealth from the Indian because Commerical easy sold in the European market it beneficiated only European it failed to benefit Indian peasant in any significant manner cultivation of cash crop another instrument used by British to exploited Indian resources.

2) the easier self-sufficient economy was now connected to world the peasant force crop which are greater dement in global market.

3) it helps in the emergent subservient economy in Indian because Indian economic fulfil British economy.

4) it led to monetization of agriculture.

5) it led to village in datedness

6) it resulted in rural instability because prices of commercial crop fluted accordance to ability in international market. this instability trigger crises in decan rights.

7)in 1870 cultivation of the cash crop reduce the production of food grain. as result of this hunger and famine become regulator phenomenon in Indian economy.

8) cultivation of cash crop adverse affected the soil fertility biodiversity and overall economy which in the long run ruined the agriculture.

Deindustrialization

Decline of Handicraft (de-industrialization)
In overall economy, if there is increase in the contribution of primary sector and decrease in that of secondary sector, it is called as de-industrialization.

India held the title of the world's largest manufacturing nation until the mid-18th century. European countries, in particular, had a high demand for Indian products. The British during colonial rule systematically dismantled India's handicraft industry, and by the mid-19th century, it was almost decimated.

Causes for the decline of urban industry:
- Indian handicrafts industries were dragged into an uneven competition.
  - British capitalist class pressurized from the very beginning to open the Indian markets for British finished goods. The Company was forced to import British finished goods worth the value of 3.8 lakh pounds in 1769 to India.
  - A condition was imposed upon EIC whereby it was mandatory to carry British goods of around 3000 tons free of cost to India in 1793.
  - The monopoly of the EIC for trade with India was abolished by the Charter Act of 1813 which opened India completely for the British goods.
- Market abroad lost
  - British market was closed for India products. Heavy duties were imposed on the Indian handicraft products in Britain.
    - Import duty of 67.5% on Indian cotton clothe and 37.5% on Indian muslin in 1824.
    - For Indian sugar, the import duty was 3 times the cost of production.
    - On some Indian goods, the duty went upto 400%.
- Indian handicraft industries lost the home market also.
  - Loss of patronage: British annexed Indian states which were a big purchaser of handicraft products.
  - Through railways even remote areas of India were penetrated with British industrial goods.
  - British cultural policy encouraged the sale of British products in India. (English education produced a class)

Causes for the decline of village handicraft industry:
- The exploitative policy of the Company after 1757.
- Appointment of intermediaries for exploitation of artisans
- Competition with the finished goods from British factories
- Decline of village economy
- Introduction of railways

Destruction of Cotton Textile Industry

- Extremely important role in the Indian economy as well as culture. Throughout the history, Alexander's fellow historians, Chinese traveler, Marco polo, all referred to it.
- India's cotton textiles and muslin were unparallel in the world.
  - Taken by Arab merchants to Basra (Iraq) where Europeans became familiar with it and named it Muslin (Malmal). Portuguese named it Calico (brought from Calicut).
  - Important centres: Dhaka, Qasim Bazar, Murshidabad
  - Western India important for cotton goods production
- The traditional Indian cotton industry had a pre-modern technology. Indian cotton piecegoods were manufactured by the handicraftsmen. It was, indeed a rural craft. In pre-colonial times there was a perfect union between agriculture and domestic industry in the countryside. The cotton industry had been an integral part of India's village economy. Millions of cotton weavers and spinners had been engaged in this rural craft since time immemorial.

Causes:
The oppression practised by the merchants of the English East India Company during the second half of the eighteenth century broke the backbone of this great industry initially. Later on, the fatal blow came from the Lancashire manufacturers after the advent of free trade capitalism.

- Initial oppression by the Company
  - Exploitation of artisans and craftsmen played an important role in the decline of Indian handicrafts.
  - The weavers were forced to accept dadan or advance from the English merchants. They were subject to a penalty of 35% on the advance if they defaulted together with repayment of the advance received.
  - The East India Company's policy as reflected in its regulations in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had made the weavers sink into the position of indentured workers. Indian craftsmen were made to work for company at a very low wage and at times without any wage at all. These craftsmen were forced to sell their goods to company at cheap rate and by company's raw material from company's merchants at high prices. Many of craftsmen cut their thumb to escape this exploitation.
- Industrial development – The foreign machine-made products were superior in quality and cheaper in price. The primitive technology of Indian handicrafts could not compete with the modern technology of an industrial economy.
- Lancashire and Manchester exports flooded Indian markets
- The fate of the Indian cotton industry was sealed with the arrival of railroad.
- Export of raw materials made them dear for Indian artisans and made their products uncompetitive.
- Indian cotton products were banned in Britain (protectionism)

- The policy of <u>one-way free trade of</u> British ruined Indian handicraft high tariff barrier were enacted to prohibit the entry of Indian goods in Britain and <u>duty free</u> goods were <u>allowed in India</u>. This was an unnatural competition.
- British also <u>ousted Indian products</u> from other markets (West Asia, Africa etc)
- <u>Diminishing local markets</u>
    - With the gradual decline of the Indian states and their <u>courts</u>, who were the chief patrons of Indian weavers and spinners, there was no chance for the <u>Indian cotton industry to survive.</u>
    - Policy of westernization changed demand by Indian middle class too.

Thus, Indian cotton industry went down in the face of foreign competition. India had been an <u>exporter of</u> cotton textiles to the international market in the past. But, now, India was transformed into a market for the <u>cotton goods produced</u> in England. In the interest of British economy, she was now converted into a supplier <u>of raw materials</u>.

Destruction of other Industries

- Jute Industry (handicraft in Bengal): Collapsed due to the competition with the products of modern factory system at Dundee (Scotland).
- Silk Industry: Indian silk industry flourished in various regions. In Kashmir, it employed nearly 45,000 workers. Competition from industrial silk products of <u>Paisley</u> (Scotland) decimated it.
- Iron Industry (world famous <u>wootz</u>): Indian industries could not produce low quality steel, thereby eliminating a huge chunk of market from them.
- <u>Ship building industries at Surat</u>, Malabar and Bengal were crushed. In <u>1814</u>, another law was passed under which Indian built ships were refused to be considered 'British-registered <u>vessels' which</u> could trade with America and the <u>European continent</u>.


Impact of De-industrialization:

1) it ruin Indian prosperity resulted in wild spread impoverishments it led to excusive unemployment for ex weaver cotton groover, thinner dresser emborders. it has been extradited that around 10 lack people thought a out of employment instantly the disaster heighted by the fact that declined by the fact that by the rise of modern industries in India

3) deurbanization the destruction of Indian cotton industry mirror in the decline of town which were famous for there manufacturing city like Dhaka ,Murshad Surat become depopulated the connection between the agriculture and industry was snap.

increase burdened in agriculture. The weaver are over thrown no over option to turn to agriculture for survival. thousands of them become sharecropper for agriculture labors they added to general pressure on the land and feather contributed general empowerment of agriculture.

fragmentation of land holding converts many of them to land less labors.

4) reduction in the per capita income increase in the rural poverty and hunger.
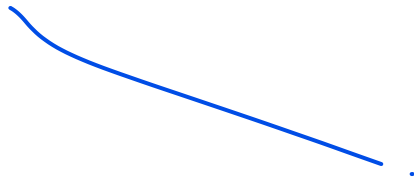
Charles Elliot, a member of the Council wrote, "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal."

GS Foundation 2024: Modern India
Handout 14: Industrial and Financial Phase: Economic Policy
(Dalhousie, Railways, Famine, Drain of Wealth)
Nikhil Sheth

Dalhousie's Reform and modernization: (1848-1856)
(Modern Transportation and Communication System)

Efficient transportation and communication required to develop India as a market for the British manufactured goods and as a supplier of raw materials,

- **Roads, Bridges and Canals:**
    - Separated public works from military department and establishment of **Public Works Department (PWD)** for construction of roads, canals, bridges, and government buildings. The chief Engineer and other highly trained engineers were brought from England to supervise the work of construction. Irrigational works were undertaken on an extensive scale.
    - Calcutta-Peshawar **GT Road** was renovated.
    - Construction of **Ganga canal** and Bari doab canals in Punjab
    - Stared **engineering colleges** to assist in construction work:
    - **Light houses** were developed in the harours of Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi to increase the foreign trade from the ports. Soon, the sea-trade was captured by English traders.
- **Postal Department:**
    - Dalhousie established the postal department by passing a separate Post Office Act in 1854 which started the modern correspondence system. A new post of DG (Post) was created.
    - The postage stamps were issued, and the letter could be sent to any region of India by posting a ½, 1, 2, 4 anna stamps.
    - As a result of these reforms the post offices became the sources of revenue of the government. The people benefited from the modern postal system.
- **Telegraph Department:**
    - A separate department was created.
    - William O'Shaughnessy was the chairman of the department.
    - The first electric telegraph line was established between Calcutta and Agra in 1852. By 1856, it was extended to Lahore and Peshawar.
- **Construction of Railways:**
    - In 1831, the idea of railways first came in Madras. In 1834, the Court of Directors decided to introduce the steam engine.
    - In 1853, the first railway line was established between Mumbai and Thane. In 1854, the second line between Calcutta and Raniganj was operated.

Trivia	
	The Ganga canal was the brainchild of Sir Proby Cautley; construction began in 1840, and it was inaugurated by Governor-General Lord Dalhousie in 1854.
	Sir Arthur Cotton He constructed works on the Kaveri (Cauvery), Kollidam (Coleroon), and Godavari rivers. His dams on the Kollidam (1836) and the Godavari (1847–52) rivers irrigated wide areas. Cotton worked on the Kaveri River to and made these areas prosperous part of Madras state.
	Trigonometric Survey of India (1802-52) - Surveyor **Radhanath Sikdar** measured **Mount Everest** in 1852 and named after Sir George Everest who was the Surveyor General of India from 1830-43.

Other significant works of Dalhousie

- **Charter on Indian Forests, 1855**
  - Beginning of systematic forest policy in India
  - He reversed previous laissez-faire policy to establish the India Forest Department and annex large areas of sparsely populated lands.
  - He suggested that teak timber should be retained as state property and its trade strictly regulated.
- **Education**
  - Dalhousie oversaw the **implementation of Wood's Dispatch**. He established the **Department of Public Instruction** to implement the recommendations of the Dispatch, and he encouraged the establishment of schools and colleges across India.
  - In 1857, the first three modern **universities** – Calcutta, Bombay and Madras – were established.
  - **Colleges**
    - St. Xavier's College, Calcutta – It was founded in 1860, but it was Lord Dalhousie who gave permission to the Jesuits.
    - Elphinstone College, Bombay – It was founded in 1856, during Lord Dalhousie's tenure.

Railways Construction

British claimed that they made railway for the benefits of Indian empire in India, but this notion is debunked by nationalist historians. The motives of the British behind railway construction were not benign.

- Lord Hardinge in 1843 memo – "Railways would be beneficial for the commerce, government and military *control* of the country."
- Lord Dalhousie in 1853 – "The important role that India could play as a market for British goods and as a source for agricultural raw materials for Britain would be facilitated by the railways."

From the very top and from the very beginning, it was clear that the British wanted to build the railways for their purposes.

Objectives

- Economic
  - To carry the British manufactured goods from the port to the interior region.
  - To carry the Indian raw material from the interior region to the ports.
  - To provide a better market for the British iron and steel companies.
  - To create an outlet for investment of the British capital.
- Strategic
  - The Railways could provide an added mobility to the British army. (Proved useful in sending troops during 1857 to quell popular unrest)
  - Construction of 'frontier lines' to meet army movement.

Construction cost:
Shashi Tharoor in the Era of Darkness called building of the Railways as "gigantic colonial scam." The railways were built by the British at the expense of Indians. Indian taxpayers paid for the entire construction of the Indian Railways, but the profits were all made by the English. And even the construction costs were extortionist.
- Minimum guaranteed 5% profits on investment in East Indian Railway Company and Great India Peninsular Company.
- 99 years lease
- Wasteful expenditure:
  - Railways didn't try hard to earn profits.
  - One mile of railway in India cost 18,000 pounds (US: 2,000 pounds)

Private profit at public risk: the private profit was made by the Englishmen who were investing the public risk was borne by the Indians. MG Ranade pointed out that Railway construction was an important part of Drain of Wealth and refused to believe that it brought any

development in India. (In 1901-2, one-third or more of the annual Home Charges. (Fiscal burden)

Consequences:

Long term unintended Positive Contribution	Negative Impact
Geographical integration of India (rise of modern nationalism)	Proved useful in controlling India, e.g. in 1857
• In the long run, it prepared the way for the rise of modern factory system in future.	Unlike the west, industrialization (iron, steel, transport, mining, engineering etc) didn't follow the construction of railways in India. Till 1910, all rail-tracks and till 1940, all railway engines were imported from England. There was no technology transfer.
• Indian market was integrated. • This also resulted in uniformity in the price of goods and controlled inflation.	• Instead of connected Indian centres to each other, the lines connected ports to hinterland for import of British goods and mineral areas and agrarian hinterland with export centres. • British traders paid one of the lowest fright rates in the world. • Led to the destruction of traditional Indian industries. (deindustrialization)
• Also helped in the reduction of famines. (eg famine lines)	• Rather than transporting grain surplus to grain scarce area as a purported solution to famine, it exported grains from India to Britain even during the time of scarcity. It rather encouraged commercialization of agriculture and intensified the conditions of famine and hunger. • Due to excessive focus on railway, other sectors like irrigation were starved of capital and neglected. Till 1902-03, only 75 crore rupees were spent on irrigation while about 359 crore on railway construction.
• Promoted social mobility through weakening the social evils like untouchability.	• Racism in Railway operation. Right upto the first world war, British insisted on hiring white people for all jobs except menial jobs. • Third-class travellers paid among the highest passenger fares in the world travelling in sub-human conditions.

Marx

- "The railway-system will therefore become, in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry." (1853). Initially, Karl Marx was enthusiastic about the positive impact of railways on India. He made a prophecy that the railways would industrialize and modernize India.
- Just before his death in 1883, Marx was frustrated with the performance of Indian railways and declared that the railways were 'useless to Hindus.'

Identify the iconic still:

Famine (1770 to 1943)
## The impact of British economic policy on rural life

- Incident of famines exposed the true character of British rule in India. The incidents of famine were not new in Indian history, but under the British rule the incidents of famine multiplied in number.
  - 12 major famines in India under the Company's rule.
  - 10 severe famines under the rule of the British crown.
- Where climatic and environmental factors were responsible in most of the earlier incidents, but under British rule British policy was responsible to a large extent.

Causes of Famine

- The famines were a product both of uneven rainfall and British economic and administrative policies.
- FAD (food availability decline)
  - Monsoon failure, draught, epidemic etc
  - Land revenue settlements destroyed agriculture.
  - Commercialisation of agriculture → Decline in production of coarse grains
  - Railway construction → Easier to transport grains to port
  - Export of grains to Britain in large quantities even during shortage
  - Black marketing and hoarding
- FEE (failure of exchange entitlements)
  - Heavy land revenue + collapse of handicraft → Drain of wealth → Decline in purchasing power
- The main cause that worsened the famine conditions was the lack of ameliorative measures to be taken by the colonial government as was customary.

Map of Indian famine of 1899–1900 from Prosperous British India by William Digby

Corpse removal trucks in Calcutta during the famine of 1943.
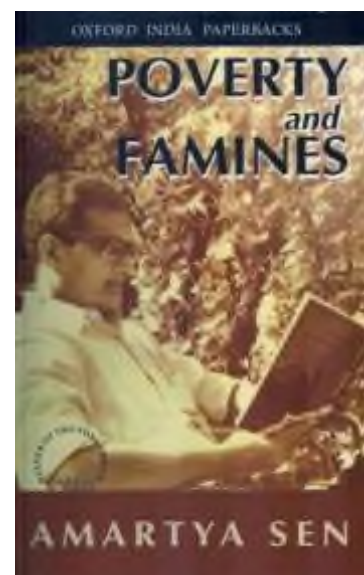
Examples of Famines:

Year	Region	Death Toll
1769	Bengal	1/3rd population died
1833	Guntur famine	40% population wiped out
1866-67	Odisha	13 lakh people died
1876-77	Madras	50 lakh people died
1896-97	Deccan, All India	50 lakh people died
1899-1900	All India	10 lakh people died
1943	Bengal	15 lakh people died

Famine Relief Steps

During the period of the Company's rule, no effort was ever made to understand the causes of famine and to help the people. Indians continued to die without any help of government.

However, factors such as growing awareness of the scale of the problem, public awareness and pressure, Indian activism, humanitarian concerns, economic considerations, and technological advances led to a change in approach, with the British government eventually recognizing their responsibility to provide relief to those affected by famine and establishing a framework for government intervention. Still, the efforts largely remained theoretical till the end.

Famine	Commission and Steps
Delhi and Agra (1860-61)	Inquiry commission under **Colonel Smith** for the first time. But despite some inquiry there was no significant outcome.
Orissa famine (1865-66)	**George Campbell** committee for famine relief. It recommended that government should undertake relief measure to help famine affected people, steps must also be taken for employment generation. This commission blamed the official system for reoccurring famines.
Central India and Deccan (1877-78)	• Studied opposition by Justice Ranade. • Thus, **Strachey** Commission considered the causes of famine. It suggested irrigation development, revenue remission, relief operations, and creation of famine fund, apart from Famine Code formulation.

	• **Famine Code (1883):**
	      • If 75% crop destroyed due to famine, waive-off the land revenue.
	      • The establishment of a system for the continuous flow of information from every local area to the provincial Government.
	      • Nature of the relief works to be constructed on famine/scarcity.
	      • The classification of relief labour and the scale of wages to be paid.
	      • The organisation of free relief and the establishment of a system of village inspection.
	      • Suspension of land revenue
	      • Grants of Taccavi loans.
	      • Relaxation in forest laws for the duration of famine
	      • Protection of cattle.

Deccan famine (1898-99)	In 1897, James Lyall committee was appointed but before it could recommend anything another famine struck India in 1899–1900.
1900 famine	**McDonald** Committee by Curzon • Acknowledge moral responsibility, launch relief measures • Appoint Famine Relief Commissioner • Revise famine code • No delay in providing food grains and other assistance • Develop Irrigation facilities • Agriculture bank to be established • Develop transport facilities • Advance for purchase of seeds and other material.
1943 Bengal famine	**Woodhead Commission** • The Department of food and agriculture should be merged. • All India food council should be established. • Steps should be taken for the production of food grains.

The British Indian government's famine policies and relief initiatives failed to help Indians significantly. Sufferings of Indians persisted as millions continued to die.

Florence Nightingale (1820-1910)

- Considered as the founder of modern nursing, she made efforts to educate British subjects about India's famines through her writing.
- She identified two types of famine: grain famine and a "money famine". She pointed out that the famines in British India were not caused by the lack of food in a particular geographical area. They were instead caused by inadequate transportation of food, which in turn was caused due to the absence of a political and social structure.

Drain of wealth

The term Drain of Wealth refers to unilateral outflow of a part of Indian resources to Britain for which Indian received nothing in return. Drain of Wealth was carried out by British by misusing their political authority. Every section of Indian population was exploited to drain out maximum possible amount of wealth from India.

Changing nature of Drain of Wealth:

In the mercantile phase, apart from loot and plunder, it was the Indian handicraft products were exported to Britain after being purchased through Indian revenues. (Investment, after Diwani rights)

In the industrial phase, raw materials and agricultural products were exported from India to Britain while British industrial goods were sold in India.

The Charter of 1813 abolished the trade monopoly with India. The Charter of 1833 finally abolished Chinese trade and tea monopoly. Thus, in order to continue earning profit:
- More commodities: Certain items including agrarian products as well as exclusive items like indigo, cotton and opium continued to be exported from India. Then other items were also added to the list of exportable items, such as tea, coffee, cereals, sugar, etc.
- Coercion: As the products were procured through coercive means, India could not get any return against these products.
- Triangular Trade: The company had already controlled the production of opium, now it started exporting opium to China massively and in return, silk and tea were purchased from China and exported to Britain. Thus developed a triangular trading system.

In the financial phase, a substantial amount from India was regularly transferred to Britain in the form of home charges.

Home charge
- The term home charges refer to expenditure carried out by company (upto 1858) and by British Indian government (after 1858) in London on behalf of India. It was the amount that the British Indian government was liable to pay to the British government and the private British capitalist.
- It consisted of many items such as the
  - **Dividend:** paid by the company to the shareholders (before 1858)
  - **Administrative expenditure:**
    - Salary of the official working in London for India (eg Secretary of Office charges)
    - Excessive employment of European was another cause of drain because their salary and other allowances were very high when compared with Indians.
    - Pension to the retired British officers etc.

- **Investment:** paid on loans raised abroad. E.g. Guaranteed profit of railways (major one), shipping, plantations etc.
- **Loan:** Interest on government loans
- Military expenditure
  - Amount which was spent in Britain for **military purchase** for the Indian army and its use outside India. Indian army working for British colonial interests outside India but was paid by India. eg Persian Gulf Aden Port, in Africa Zanzibar – two important naval bases both paid by India
  - The wars and battles fought by Indian soldiers for the benefit of Britain also incurred huge expenditure. Afghan wars, Burma wars and WW1 and 2 fought by Indian soldiers were financial out of Indian revenue.

- The home charge constituted about 13% of total Indian revenue upto 1857 and increased upto 24% during 1897-1907 (Data calculated by R C Dutt). By 1927, it became 40%. In 1901-02, almost 40% of the total home charges was the only guaranteed interest on the railways.

European finance capital

- As the result of industrial revolution there was huge accumulation of capital in Britain.
- The Charter Act of 1833 paved the way for the entry of European capital in India. It also allowed to Europeans to purchase movable as well immovable properties in India. Thus, there was a huge influx of the foreign capital in India.
- European capital was invested in the development of infrastructure, shipping, mining, insurance, and plantation industries.
- The investors had shares in multiple businesses and all of these were used to ensure the maximum possible profit for European investors.
- All these business ventures were controlled by Europeans by interlocking managing agencies. Indian businessmen were kept out of business activities involving Europeans. The European banks, shipping and ports etc denied services to Indians to keep them out and provided services to Europeans.

economical wealth: drain of wealth of India economical hollowness because substantial portion of resources is not available to Indian for consumption.

data bai Naoroji concede drain of wealth is real cause of Indian poverty all other causes are secondary to this cause.

3) another nationalist leader also argued the drain was not only wealth but also capital. drain cause loss employment and income. had it been it spend here instated of in England it would have generated income here too. drain was responsible for slow growth modern industry in India. Indian had limited capital to invest on the contrary the accumulated thanks to drain from India help in the rapid industrialization there.

4) It played important role decline handicraft in Indian the raw material exported from indian led to rise input cost for handicraft there was no captical to upgrade the technology british industrial good now readly to ruin indian industries. thus drain of wealth also deindustrialization of indina

5) It affected pleasant directly the high land revaue rate due to drain. the frequent occurances of famine and food shorttes was also because of drain.

 6) it resulted in the greater british economial control over indian economic because wealth thus drain out of indian return as european capitial later. which was used for railway construction and other bussiness activity.

political effects:

1) the early nationalist like dada bai naoroji , RC dutt, mg randande. put forward analysis of the drain their critics expose the true colonial test of British rule

2) the nationalist leader through paper books newspapers highlighted the drain theory and clarified in the simple terms for common people to grasp. drain theory thus created awareness amongst common people anti British discontent.

3) though drain theory the nationalist leader brought the inherent pollical conflict between Indian and England to the surface they high listed that economical remedies would resolve other economic problem the drain requires the pollical solution.

when the congress party adopted the resolution of swaraj in 1905 at Calcutta presided by the dada bai Naoroji. It was long term outcome of drain theory.