THE NEW CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA

Indian society and the making of the British Empire

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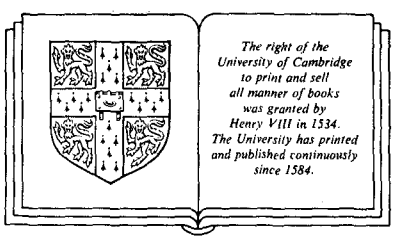

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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

The New Cambridge History of India covers the period from the beginning of the sixteenth century. In some respects it marks a radical change in the style of Cambridge Histories, but in others the editors feel that they are working firmly within an established academic tradition.

During the summer of 1896, F. W. Maitland and Lord Acton between them evolved the idea for a comprehensive modern history. By the end of the year the Syndics of the University Press had committed themselves to the *Cambridge Modern History*, and Lord Acton had been put in charge of it. It was hoped that publication would begin in 1899 and be completed by 1904, but the first volume in fact came out in 1902 and the last in 1910, with additional volumes of tables and maps in 1911 and 1912.

The *History* was a great success, and it was followed by a whole series of distinctive Cambridge Histories covering English Literature, the Ancient World, India, British Foreign Policy, Economic History, Medieval History, the British Empire, Africa, China and Latin America; and even now other new series are being prepared. Indeed, the various Histories have given the Press notable strength in the publication of general reference books in the arts and social sciences.

What has made the Cambridge Histories so distinctive is that they have never been simply dictionaries or encyclopedias. The Histories have, in H. A. L. Fisher's words, always been 'written by an army of specialists concentrating the latest results of special study'. Yet as Acton agreed with the Syndics in 1896, they have not been mere compilations of existing material but original works. Undoubtedly many of the Histories are uneven in quality, some have become out of date very rapidly, but their virtue has been that they have consistently done more than simply record an existing state of knowledge: they have tended to focus interest on research and they have provided a massive stimulus to further work. This has made their publication doubly worthwhile and has distinguished them intellectually from other sorts of reference book. The editors of the *New Cambridge History of India* have acknowledged this in their work.

The original *Cambridge History of India* was published between 1922 and 1937. It was planned in six volumes, but of these, volume 2 dealing with the period between the first century A.D. and the Muslim invasion of India never appeared. Some of the material is still of value, but in many respects it is now out of date. The last fifty years have seen a great deal of new research on India, and a striking feature of recent work has been to cast doubt on the validity of the quite arbitrary chronological and categorical way in which Indian history has been conventionally divided.

The editors decided that it would not be academically desirable to prepare a new *History of India* using the traditional format. The selective nature of research on Indian history over the past half-century would doom such a project from the start and the whole of Indian history could not be covered in an even or comprehensive manner. They concluded that the best scheme would be to have a *History* divided into four overlapping chronological volumes, each containing about eight short books on individual themes or subjects. Although in extent the work will therefore be equivalent to a dozen massive tomes of the traditional sort, in form the *New Cambridge History of India* will appear as a shelf full of separate but complementary parts. Accordingly, the main divisions are between I. *The Mughals and their Contemporaries*, II. *Indian States and the Transition to Colonialism*, III. *The Indian Empire and the Beginnings of Modern Society*, and IV. *The Evolution of Contemporary South Asia.*

Just as the books within these volumes are complementary so too do they intersect with each other, both thematically and chronologically. As the books appear they are intended to give a view of the subject as it now stands and to act as a stimulus to further research. We do not expect the *New Cambridge History of India* to be the last word on the subject but an essential voice in the continuing discourse about it.

PREFACE

The aim of this work is rather different from that of earlier Cambridge *Histories*, including the old *Cambridge History of India*, iv (1929) and the more recent *Cambridge Economic History of India*, 2 vols (1982 and 1983). All these works attempted to one degree or another to be 'authoritative', 'definitive' or at the very least, to provide a good deal of basic factual material. This volume cannot hope to do that in view of its length and the complexity of the subject. Besides, the notion of a Western history seeking to be authoritative, in some sense to master India, has become a little dubious. Rather, this should be seen as an attempt to provide a single author's synthesis of some of the more important work and themes which have appeared in historical studies of India, written in the subcontinent and outside, over the last twenty years. As such the book is partial, argumentative and thematic, rather than exhaustive, balanced and chronological.

The book deliberately deals with some episodes and types of history which were the staple of the older volumes, notably the conquests in India under Lord Wellesley and the Rebellion of 1857. This is because history cannot be written without the history of events, and because however subtly refracting are the mirrors through which area specialists now see India, these events remain critical to non-specialist understanding of the subcontinent, and indeed of world history. At the same time some current specialist themes, ecological change and the nature of resistance, for instance, have received attention because they demand some treatment at an all-India level. Other subjects, the history of the poor, of changes in the micro-economy of the districts, of specific policies implemented by provincial colonial governments: these are better tackled by the regional and thematic volumes which will appear in this series.

Much of the historical writing on India since 1960 has been a persuasive attempt to argue the importance of regionalism: political, economic and cultural. This volume notes regional differences as far as possible, but attempts to draw themes together at an all-India level. This is not because the powerful case for different regional histories

has been ignored, simply that most regional and local studies assume the existence of processes working at a broader level, and if only for heuristic reasons these should be considered in their own right.

For the same reason I have not hesitated to use terms such as 'capitalist', 'class', 'class formation', 'bureaucracy', 'aristocracy' and 'gentry' in my analysis. This is because I consider, firstly, that there were indigenous concepts and understandings of the social order which very closely approximated to these Western terms, though of course, one must always bear in mind the uniqueness of Indian cultural and social forms. There are dangers in glib comparison, but on the other side excessive Orientalist purism has done little except make India seem peculiar to the outside world. These terms are also employed because general changes in India's and the world's economy and governance during the period considered here were, in fact, bringing into being social groups and relationships which were similar to those of contemporary western Europe. These groups and relationships never lost their specifically Indian character but they are nevertheless amenable to comparison at an international level.

I have used the less 'corrupt' Anglo-Indian forms of Indian placenames and personal names used by the early twentieth-century literature. Poona is English for Pune, and Ganges for Ganga, as surely as Munich is for München and Florence for Firenze. On the other hand, I have not suppressed Indian names and terms simply to make things easy for a Western audience since audiences who read English are no longer overwhelmingly Western. In the old days the British used to like India without Indians and Indian words as they liked France without the French and French words. Those days are gone.

My colleagues will know where in this book their work has been drawn upon, even if they are not directly referred to. I hope that it has not been distorted too much in the process. But some more specific debts must be acknowledged. Among many institutions in India the staff of the Connemara Library, Madras and Professor Mehboob Pasha and the staff of the Muhammadan Public Library, Madras, provided invaluable assistance. I must also acknowledge the help of Sri V.A. Sundaram, I.A.S. Among those who have provided useful criticism are Susan Bayly, Sugata Bose, Raj Chandavarkar, Sunil Chander, Hiram Morgan, David Washbrook and above all Peter Marshall who patiently corrected far too many errors. They are warmly thanked.

Finally, Neil McKendrick, David Fieldhouse and Graeme Rennie helped this project to completion in an indirect, but no less important manner. I am very grateful to them.

C. A. BAYLY

INTRODUCTION

When H. H. Dodwell published his fifth volume of the *Cambridge History of India* in 1929, this book also became the fourth volume of the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*. The aim of the work was to chronicle the conquest of India by British arms and its transformation by British institutions. This must have seemed a very appropriate theme in the years just preceding the Statute of Westminster of 1931, which laid new foundations for the British Empire and Commonwealth. But since that date there has been a considerable change of perspective. Historians working after 1929 have, if anything, emphasised the importance of India to Britain's world rôle in the nineteenth century even more strongly. However, the nature and extent of India's transformation has been vigorously debated from perspectives that would have seemed alien, even offensive to the interwar authors.

The importance of India for Britain's imperial system lay in both the military and economic fields. Seizure of the cash land revenues of India between 1757 and 1818 made it possible for Britain to build up one of the largest European-style standing armies in the world, thus critically augmenting British land forces which were small and logistically backward except for a few years during the final struggle with Napoleon. This Indian army was used in large measure to hold down the subcontinent itself, but after 1790 it was increasingly employed to forward British interests in southern and eastern Asia and the Middle East. More symbolically, the Indian army opened up a second front, as it were, against the other great Eurasian land powers, Russia, the Ottomans, France and Austria. This reinforced the significance of the dominance of the Royal Navy at sea. From its Indian base Britain had already begun to construct informal empires of influence and trade in the Middle East, on the China coast and in East Africa during the first two decades of the nineteenth century. The campaign against the French in Egypt in 1799 and the seizure of the Cape of Good Hope in 1795 and 1806 anticipated at key points the global strategy of Victorian England.

Scarcely less significant was the Indian contribution to Britain's

growing economic power. Though it is unlikely that East Indian fortunes made a critical contribution to the British industrial revolution, Indian raw material exports, notably cotton and opium shipped to Europe and Asia, helped balance Britain's whole Asian trade, while India's revenues were a significant indirect subsidy to the exchequer. True, Asian trade still only represented about 16 per cent of Britain's global trade in 1820. But India was already becoming a fair field for the exports of the key sector of Britain's industrial economy, the textile industry, and a market whose importance was to be greatly increased after the improvement in communications in the 1850s. India also provided cheap raw materials and indentured labour which had begun to open up valuable plantation economies in Sri Lanka, the Caribbean and Mauritius before mid-century.

However, this perspective from the history of the British Empire has come to seem rather restricted since 1929. For the East India Company's conquest and patchy exploitation of India can also be seen more broadly as one of the first and most striking examples of the forging of dependent economic relations between the north European world economy and non-European societies, a process which later engulfed much of the rest of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Far East. Though its per-capita income was certainly much lower than western Europe's, Asia still remained in 1700 the world's major centre of artisan production and accounted for a huge slice of world trade, consonant with its 70 per cent share of the world's population. Europeans were already important to Asian economies in that they provided much of the silver imports which helped Asia's great kingdoms to expand and develop. But their rôle in internal trade and even in inter-Asian trade remained relatively small. That situation was significantly altered by 1800, and transformed by 1860. By this time Europeans controlled the largest and most valuable parts of inter-Asian trade and Asia's international trade, while also commanding the most valuable parts of her internal economy. The epochal growth of differentials in income between Asians and Europeans that followed the shift of Asian economies from being producers and exporters of artisan products to mere exporters of agricultural raw materials is only now being reversed in parts of East Asia.

All these arguments would have been understood by the authors of 1929, even though they would have given much more weight to the political rather than economic aspects of European dominion in Asia.

Where they would have differed much more from recent historians was in their estimation of the causes of the East India Company's rise to power and the depth and the nature of Britain's transformation of India. The *Cambridge History* starts from the assumption that the centralised Mughal empire was in purely degenerative decline, along with the Indian economy and society. Consequently, the English East India Company was forced to intervene in order to protect its own trade and the political stability of its clients. Now, however, the Mughal empire seems a much less substantial hegemony, its decline a much more complex and ambiguous process, and the society of eighteenth-century India more varied than the stereotype of decline and anarchy which is the unwritten emblem of the authors of 1929.

The crisis of eighteenth-century India now appears to have three distinct aspects. First, there were cumulative indigenous changes reflecting commercialisation, the formation of social groups and political transformation within the subcontinent itself. Secondly, there was the level of the wider crisis of west and south Asia which was signalled by the decline of the great Islamic empires, the Mughals and their contemporaries the Ottomans and the Safavids. Thirdly, there was the massive expansion of European production and trade during the eighteenth century and the development of more aggressive national states in Europe which were indirectly echoed in the more assertive policies of the European companies in India from the 1730s, and notably of the English Company after 1757.

The first and second chapters of this book deal with the Indian aspect of the crisis and concentrate on commercialisation and political change within India itself. One of the interesting revisions which has arisen out of recent studies of the late-Mughal period and the early eighteenth century is the view that the decline of the Mughals resulted in a sense from the very success of their earlier expansion. Local gentry, Hindu and Muslim, prospered in Mughal service or flourished under their loose régime and began to separate themselves off as a more stable landlord element throughout much of northern India. It was not so much impoverished peasants but substantial yeomen and prosperous farmers already drawn into the Mughals' cash and service nexus, who revolted against Delhi in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Hindu and Jain moneylenders and merchants, who were the oil which worked the expansion of commodity production and the Mughals' taxation systems, easily provided the economic

basis for the local kingdoms and provincial magnates that ultimately supplanted the power of Delhi, or emerged to prominence in areas where the Mughal writ had never run. Commercial growth which had succoured the power of Delhi ultimately eroded it. Commercial men, scribal families and local gentry consolidated their power at the expense of the centre. Many of these elements later provided capital, knowledge and support for the East India Company, thus becoming its uneasy collaborators in the creation of colonial India.

However, these processes of economic change, and the emergence of regional kingdoms in eighteenth-century India were fraught with conflict. Wars between the Mughals and their recalcitrant subalterns damaged trade and production in many areas even if commercialisation and the creation of kingdoms fostered it in others. India's crisis, then, reflected the conflict between many types of military, merchant and political entrepreneur wishing to capitalise on the buoyant trade and production of the Mughal realm. In the early eighteenth century this conflict was supercharged with a wider regional conflict reflecting commercialisation and a crisis of empire throughout the whole central and eastern Islamic world. In 1739 a Persian army invaded India and conquered Delhi. In the 1750s and 1760s Afghans invaded north India, following their harrying of Iran. The military and tribal leaders of these regions had also been drawn into the wider mercantile and political world of the great Islamic empires. Now they too demanded their patrimony in silver, booty and land-control as those older supremacies dissolved.

Yet the third, and widest, level of conflict was associated with the growing power of the Europeans who had for long operated on the fringes of Asian trade and politics. Asia still remained marginal to European trade and world power; until 1820 the Caribbean and the Americas were vastly more important. Yet the increase of European, and especially British trading activity and commercial power had already transferred much of the most valuable areas of inter-Asian trade into British ships before 1750. Burgeoning private trade and the ruthless creation of monopolies in tropical produce by the East India Companies had bitten deep into the wealth of coastal India by the 1780s. To begin with, as the second chapter of this book shows, Europeans working in India were dependent on the support of Indian commercial groups which had augmented their own wealth and influence during the transformation and commercialisation of the late Mughal

empire. In a sense Indian capital and expertise was drawn inexorably into a partnership with the alien invader. But in time the English East India Company began to create its own state using the territorial revenues of Bengal. This fusion of military and commercial power revealed the Europeans achieving on a larger and more ominous scale what Indian local rulers had been doing for the last century. The demands for tribute, the sale of military power for protection and the growth of European inland trade all conspired to erode the foundations of regional and local kingdoms in the subcontinent's interior.

This expansion was a slow, piecemeal penetration using lines of power and flows of commodities and silver which already existed. But two developments transformed the crisis and speeded it up after 1780. These new forces are dealt with in Chapter Three. First, was the change in the ideology and grasp of the state in Europe which accompanied the French revolutionary and Napoleonic wars. The French threat to Britain and its overseas possessions was well understood by Dodwell and his generation. But the matter went deeper. War galvanised the whole taxation and political base of British society. The reaction of gentry and merchant was distantly reflected in the governor-generalship of Wellesley (1798–1805) when the Company went on a general offensive against oriental government in India which was now legitimated by a true imperialist ideology.

Secondly, the stakes in India had been raised by the emergence of more powerful and determined kingdoms in the shape of Mysore in the south and the Marathas in the west. These realms also sought to harness and canalise the buoyant trade and production which had been given play during the expansion of the seventeenth century. Yet, unable to deploy power at sea and restricted to less productive inland tracts of India, these powers withered and were defeated. Nevertheless, their resistance and response forced the British to construct yet more powerful armies and also significantly changed the social and economic face of large parts of inland India. Indians remained, therefore, active agents and not simply passive bystanders and victims in the creation of colonial India.

There were thus many threads of continuity between pre-colonial India and the India of the Company. One thread was commercialisation and the marketing of political power. This had created many of the conditions for the decline of Mughal hegemony and had provided the Europeans with the tools to unlock the wealth of inland India. As

the British sought to tax the subcontinent and also to extract commodities for international trade from her, Indian commercial people continued to underpin the growth of imperium. On the fringes of the colonial state Indian capital, peasant colonists and inferior administrators played a vital part in the subordination of tribal and nomadic peoples and culture to the discipline of production for the market. Indian gentry, now transformed into landlords, and scribal people also supported a political framework within which the conflicts which arose from these social changes could be accommodated. India was made tributary to the capitalist world system, but the dynamism of its deeper social changes and the endemic resistance of its rural leadership helped determine the nature and extent of the subcontinent's tribute. The first chapter therefore begins by considering some general social and political changes which seem to emerge from the complex historical record of late pre-colonial India.

CHAPTER 1

INDIA IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE FORMATION OF STATES AND SOCIAL GROUPS

India in 1700 had a population of some 180 million people, a figure which represented about 20 per cent of the population of the entire world. Over much of this huge land mass from Kashmir in the north to the upland plateau of the Deccan in the south, the Mughal dynasty at Delhi fought to maintain an hegemony which had been consolidated in the second half of the sixteenth century by the Emperor Akbar. In the farther south of the peninsula Hindu warrior chieftains vied for control of villages, many claiming parcels of the authority of the Hindu Vijayanagar kingdom which had faded from the scene in the later sixteenth century.

Under the Emperor Aurangzeb (1658–1707) the Muslim power at Delhi still shook the world. The Emperor remained capable of commanding a remarkable concentration of soldiers and treasure, if only in certain places and during some months of the year. In the 1680s the Mughals had destroyed the last independent Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan. In the following generation they continued to expand. Their lieutenants pushed down to the south-eastern coast and began to demand tribute from the Hindu warrior chiefs of all but the most remote parts of the former Vijayanagar domain. In 1689 they had beaten off the threat from the Hindu Maratha warriors of the western Deccan and had savagely executed their war-leader, Shambaji. In 1700 the Maratha capital, Satara, was taken by the Emperor's siege trains. Even in the north Mughal power was still strong. In 1716 they had suppressed a revolt of Sikh landholders and farmers in the Punjab. By the time of Aurangzeb's death imperial finances were already in disarray, strained to breaking point by the need to maintain constant campaigns throughout the whole subcontinent. After 1712, the imperial centre was immobilised by factional conflicts which culminated in the murder of the Emperor Furrukhsiyar in 1718. Despite this, however, Indian notables and Europeans trading from the ports of the coast still regarded the Mughal emperor as one of the great kings of the world.

CHAPTER 2

INDIAN CAPITAL AND THE EMERGENCE OF COLONIAL SOCIETY

Europeans had been domesticated into the Indian scene since the early seventeenth century. Like the great Arab, Asian and Jewish trading communities, the Europeans – Portuguese, Dutch, French and English – were attracted to the Indian trade by her fine manufactures of cloth and silk and her agricultural raw materials, notably indigo, pepper, cardamum and other spices. Around their coastal settlements, particularly Portuguese Goa, Europeans already exercised considerable local influence in the wars and politics of the maritime states. However, under the great Mughals their trade had even begun to affect the inland economy in one important respect. Europeans paid for their commodity purchases in silver bullion from the New World, in Japanese copper and sometimes in gold. Precious metals were only found in India in small quantities, yet India's revenues and much of her rents were paid in cash. Europeans therefore filled an important function in providing the raw materials for the coin which made the internal economy – indeed the Mughal hegemony as a whole – function smoothly. In this sense India was already linked to and partly dependent on the European world economy from earlier than was once thought.

The European rôle did not begin to grow significantly until the war of the Austrian Succession, 1744–7. In their attempt to destroy each others' trade and political influence on the southern (Coromandel) coast, the English and French East India Companies became embroiled in the factional conflicts between Muslim military leaders, and these intensified following the death of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Asaf Jah, in 1748. Superior British naval strength and larger capital resources allowed them to beat off the French challenge and at the same time to consolidate their hold over their Indian client, Mahomed Ali, Nawab of Arcot, who was officially a subordinate of the Hyderabad régime. By the time of the Peace of Paris (1763) which ended the Seven Years' War between Britain and France, the French had been reduced to minor intrigue and impotence throughout India.

In 1757 Robert Clive used the now greatly augmented forces of the English Company at Madras in a dispute with the Nawab of Bengal.

CHAPTER 3

THE CRISIS OF THE INDIAN STATE, 1780–1820

The British had been drawn into the politics of coastal India by lust for profit and the intricate connections between markets in produce and markets in revenue and political perquisites. The need to control the conflicts of a society in the process of rapid change forced them to elaborate their own style of Indian government. Their success at the art of combining the sale of military services with entrepreneurship in the management of cash revenues embroiled them further in indigenous society. But Indian powers were not hypnotised victims of the cobra's strike. Those which drew on the strength of the subcontinent's tradition of military sultanates and mobilisation of peasant warriors, notably Mysore, the Marathas and the Sikhs, remained a challenge. For these states also had the capacity to put together flexible combinations of cash and men. Moreover, the changes which these martial régimes wrought on rural India were as much formative influences on the Company's nineteenth-century empire as the British revenue settlements. This chapter examines the working out of the processes of expansion both of the British and of the last independent Indian states. First though, it turns to the new pressures on the Company's Indian establishments which finally forged a European military despotism out of the loose congeries of independent mercantile corporations and creole armies which it had been in Hasting's time.

Richard Wellesley's period as Governor-General (1798–1805) represented a new phase of British imperialism in India. The ambition of the Wellesley 'family circle' – his brothers Henry and Arthur along with an assortment of younger military acolytes and Orientalists – was strident. It was complemented by a new aggressive spirit in an embattled Britain and the 'voracious desire' for lands and territories announced by Henry Dundas, President of the Board of Control established to oversee Company affairs under Pitt's India Act of 1784. Wellesley had a clear plan for British India when he arrived in Madras in April 1798 and foresaw two great problems. The first was how to stabilise the military organisation of those Indian states with which the

CHAPTER 4

THE CONSOLIDATION AND FAILURE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S STATE, 1818–57

The East India Company rose to power because it had provided a secure financial base for its powerful mercenary army. The land revenues of Bengal, combined with the capital – Indian as much as European – generated in the coastal trading economy, allowed the Company's Indian operations to sustain the massive debts incurred in its fight to the finish with the Indian kingdoms. However, political dominion did not solve the Company's financial problems. The ominous presence and constant pressure of this part-oriental, part-European state continued to tempt petty rulers within and outside its domains into revolt. Though aspects of the social and political conflict which had drawn the Company into expansion were suppressed under its rule, so too was much of the economic dynamism which had given rise to that conflict. India's huge agricultural economy was not performing well enough to underwrite the costs of European dominion. The East India Company's rule widely came to be seen as a dismal failure long before the Great Rebellion of 1857 blew up its foundations. This chapter demonstrates how the British maintained their fragile dominance over the subcontinent in the early years of the nineteenth century before considering this economic impasse and the attempts of administrators to escape from it.

MILITARY DOMINATION AND POLITICAL SUASION

The development of a cavalry arm and efficient siege methods for use against small fortresses put the Company on the offensive again throughout India. The British could begin to suppress what Arthur Wellesley called 'the freebooting system' and corral those armed plunderers – Pindaris, 'Arabs', and Rohillas – who threatened the land-revenue yield in western and central India. The first principles of British administration were moulded by strong prejudices in favour of

CHAPTER 5

PEASANT AND BRAHMIN: CONSOLIDATING 'TRADITIONAL' SOCIETY

The East India Company inherited on a greatly magnified scale the conflict between state entrepreneurship – the desire to squeeze up land revenue or create monopolies – and the entrepreneurship of merchant and peasant which had bedevilled many eighteenth-century Indian kingdoms. The result for the British was a long period of economic lethargy which was barely obscured by the slow introduction of the panoply of the modern state. Yet this should not be taken to imply that the early nineteenth century was an era devoid of significant social change. On the contrary, as this chapter will show, these years were critical in the creation of the modern Indian peasantry, its patterns of social divisions and its beliefs.

Many early Victorian writers were convinced that India was on the brink of a rapid transformation. Hinduism was fading in the face of evangelical Christianity; 'caste disabilities' suffered by the lower orders would disappear in the face of good laws; the 'isolation' of the Indian village would be blown apart by the impact of industrialisation. Writers in the second half of the twentieth century have dissented. Some have argued that the subcontinent was condemned to stagnation by its subjection to colonial interests – that society was frozen into caricatures of its feudal past by British land-revenue systems and the destruction of its artisan producers. Others have argued that colonial rule was peripheral to most of Indian society: it could effect changes neither for good nor ill because the new export trades were fitful and the waves of reform and regeneration were merely paper debates conducted in the corridors of Government House, Calcutta.

Neither of these formulations is entirely satisfactory. The deep changes expected by the early Victorians evidently never occurred – or at least not until better means of communication, the railways and the printing press came into their own after 1860. Yet there is no doubt either that society was different in important respects on the eve of the rebellion of 1857 from what it had been one hundred years earlier.

CHAPTER 6

REBELLION AND RECONSTRUCTION

Three basic forces moulded the nature of Indian society in the early colonial period. First, social relations and modes of thought and belief which had consolidated themselves in the later years of Mughal India continued to develop under British rule. These were distorted or modified by the second range of influences which derived from the military and financial needs of the colonial state and from sporadic and uneven developments in the European world economy. In turn, armed and unarmed resistance from within India itself blunted and deflected these influences. So pressure and rebellion operating at all levels of political power within the subcontinent, provided the third determinant of the nature of colonial Indian society. Revolts and armed rebellions were not hopeless causes as the old District Gazetteers tended to suggest. On the contrary, they frequently forced the British to modify their system. In some cases the colonial authorities were constrained to deploy expensive armies to utterly uproot centres of resistance. This had been the case with some of the poligars of the far south or the Pindari raiders. More often collectors were forced to come to an accommodation with the powerful social groups who retained control of resources in the villages and small towns. Thus resisting village leaderships such as the mirasidars of parts of the wet South were afforded preferential treatment. Tribal magnates were selected out and given the rights of rajas. Recalcitrant princes retained some share of power within the system of native states. None of the rebellions and uprisings with which this chapter deals 'succeeded' in the sense that they were able to exclude the influences of the world market or the Company's state. Yet many of them forced reassessments of policy and practice which partly disarmed these influences.

RESISTANCE IN EARLY COLONIAL INDIA

Among the myths which became current in the wake of the rebellion of 1857–8 was the idea that it was a unique event, something that had to be explained in terms of the peculiar folly of the revenue policy of the

CONCLUSION

THE FIRST AGE OF COLONIALISM IN INDIA

By 1860 India was locked into a pattern of imperial subordination which was to be essentially maintained, despite formal constitutional changes, until 1935. The Indian Army had rid itself of the troublesome Hindi-speaking villagers of the Gangetic plains. The post-Mutiny army, furnished with a steady supply of Punjabi recruits, now carefully segregated on grounds of caste and religion, was forged into a reliable mercenary force for internal security or protection of the North-West Frontier against the supposed Russian threat. Indian troops were also dispatched with more confidence to East and South Africa, South-East Asia and ultimately, in 1914, to Europe itself. Detachments of troops from quiescent native states added to the paper strength of this large land army. Most pleasing of all to the new India Office in London and to the British Treasury, Indian taxation, which had been reorganised after 1857, continued to bear the cost of this expensively re-equipped force.

A more satisfactory imperial economic relationship – from the British point of view – had also emerged after the 1840s, though this was somewhat obscured by the bloody drama of 1857. Exports of British-manufactured textiles picked up sharply, despite a lull in the 1860s. Indian merchants created an excellent inland retailing system for Lancashire goods in eastern and southern India and they were now linked to the sea-ports by railway lines. It was calculated that one-third of the demand for moderate and finer cloth in Bengal and Bihar was met by British imports by 1860. Raw material exports to the developed world had also achieved a more stable trend. Railways and the penetration of the buying agents of large European firms into smaller markets helped supply. Demand for cotton was boosted by the American Civil War and grain by the opening of the Suez Canal. Opium exports from India which continued to supply more than ten per cent of the income of the Indian government maintained their insidious grip on the markets of China. Specialist plantation crops – notably tea and

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

Note: Indian words which have only been used once or twice have been translated in the text. The renderings below are, of course, approximate and incomplete:

Arya Samaj	a movement of Hindu religious reform which sought to return to the pristine beliefs of the Vedas, or first Hindu scriptures. Active in the Punjab and North-Western Provinces.
bania	a Hindu grain trader; used more generally for members of the Hindu mercantile castes; mildly derogatory when applied to a substantial merchant.
banian	an Indian manager or factotum for a European merchant or East India Company servant; usually Bengal.
Banjara	the community of nomadic pack-bullock carriers.
Bedar	a hunting tribe of the Deccan, often employed in eighteenth-century armies as guerrillas.
bhakti	'devotion'; used of the Hindu religious path which emphasises loving devotion to the will of the deity.
Bhatti	a Hindu nomadic, cattle-keeping community found south of Delhi.
Bhil	a tribal group of central and western India.
Bhumihar Brahmin	'landholding' brahmin caste which had adopted the agrarian life style of the Rajput (q.v.); common in the Benares region.
Brahmin	the Hindu priestly order, though widely involved in 'secular' occupations by the eighteenth century.
Brahmo Samaj	a Hindu reform movement of the nineteenth century, founded by Ram Mohun Roy. It was monotheistic and rationalist and absorbed Christian and deist influences.
Chamar	a ritually impure, leather-making caste-cluster of north India; Chamars had widely taken to labouring in agriculture by 1750.
Chishti	an order of Islamic Sufi (q.v.) mystics.

Chitpavan Brahmin	a brahmin caste of the west coast (Konkan) which migrated into the Deccan and became powerful in the Maratha states.
Coorg	a tribal group of Mysore which had created its own dynasty of rajas of Coorg.
diwan	the financial minister of a Mughal province or Indian state. *Diwani*: the financial control of a province; taken by the British in Bengal in 1765.
dubash	an Indian manager or factotum, for, e.g., a European administrator or merchant. From '*do bhasha*', one who spoke two languages; particularly in Madras.
Gond	a tribal group of central-south India.
Gujar	a semi-nomadic, pastoralist Hindu grouping found in north-central India; sometimes agriculturalists by 1850.
guru	a Hindu spiritual guide.
Jain	a member of an Indian religion, originating in or before the sixth century B.C., common among merchants of Gujarat and the north and some agriculturalists in Kanara and Mysore. Stressed attainment of perfection through humbling of earthly desires.
Jat	a Hindu agriculturalist caste-cluster of Gujarat, Rajasthan, the Punjab and the North-Western Provinces. Jats rose in revolt against the Mughals in the late seventeenth century.
jotedar	an under-tenure holder in Bengal, often a substantial magnate who controlled production and bodies of share-croppers.
Kallar	a warrior and hunter people of the south; Kallar leaders became rajas in the dry parts of Tamilnadu.
kazi	the official in Mughal government; a jurisconsul learned in Muslim law; under the British became little more than a registrar.
Komati	a Hindu merchant caste of the Andhra Coast; some emigrated to Madras in service of the East India Company.
Kotwal	the chief executive officer of a Mughal city; became a sort of police chief under the British.
Kunbi	a major agricultural caste-cluster of western India; from them 'Maratha' war leaders were recruited.
Kuran (kuranic)	the Muslim sacred book; dictated by God to the Prophet Muhammad.

Lingayat	member of a religious community common among farmers and merchants of Kanara, the Deccan and Mysore. Lingayats comprised several castes and were characterised by a special form of worship of Lord Shiva (q.v.)
madrassa	a Muslim teaching foundation; specialising in the Kuran, Arabic and Persian.
Maratha	a resident of Maharashtra (western Deccan); applied to the more prestigious families of non-Brahmin agriculturalists who provided the war-leaders and rajas of the Maratha movement.
Maravar	a warrior pastoralist group of dry south India; created their own kingdoms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
Mewatti	a Rajput herdsman caste-cluster (usually converted to Islam) found in the Delhi region.
mirasidar	holder of a coparcenary proprietory tenure usually found in the wet areas of Tamilnadu.
mufti	a leading member of the *ulama* (q.v.) or Muslim learned who advised rulers on matters of religious law.
Naqshbandi	an order of Islamic sufi (q.v.) mystics.
Navaiyit	a Muslim kin group of south India, prominent in learning and administration throughout the Deccan, Mysore and Madras from about the sixteenth century; the early Nawabs of Arcot were Navaiyats.
Nawab	deputy or viceroy of the Mughal emperors; nawabs became semi-independent rulers after their decline.
Nayar	the Hindu warrior caste-cluster of Kerala.
Parayan	a ritually inferior set of agricultural labouring castes of south India.
Parava	a Christian maritime caste of south-east India.
pargana	the lowest level of Mughal administration. Often coterminous with the highest level of kinship organisation of Hindu warriors and land controllers.
Parsi	Zoroastrian merchant people and artisans of Gujarat; prominent traders and intelligentsia of Bombay.
patel	village headman in western India and the Deccan.
Pattidar	a term applied to the major peasant caste of Gujarat, similar to the Kunbis (q.v.) of Maharashtra.

Pindari	originally irregular horsemen attached to Maratha armies, became military plunderers in Deccan during early nineteenth century.
Poligar	Hindu warrior chief of South India.
raj(a)	a Hindu kingdom, king.
Rajput	the great Hindu warrior caste category of north India; especially dominant in Rajasthan.
Ramanandi	a sectarian devotee of the Hindu God Rama; established powerful 'monastic' institutions in north India.
Rangar	a nomadic herdsman caste-cluster of the Delhi region.
Rohilla	lit. 'dweller in the northern hills'; Afghan warriors who established kingdoms in north and central India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.
ryotwari	a form of land-revenue administration common in western and southern India, whereby tax was levied on the fields of each individual holder.
Saint Thomas Christian	a Christian religious community formed by west-Asian traders and local people of Kerala in the first centuries of the Christian era.
Sanskrit	the classical priestly language of the Hindus.
Satya Narayanis	a *bhakti* (q.v.) sect of western India; followers of the god Vishnu.
Shaivite	devotee of Lord Shiva, the Hindu God of procreation and destruction.
Shakta (from *shakti*)	Hindu sect prominent in east and north India, devoted to the worship of the universal female principle of divine power.
Shia	lit. the 'faction'; a main division of the Muslim faith deriving from an early succession dispute over the inheritance of the spiritual authority of the Prophet Muhammad. Shias, prominent in Iran and central Asia, provided important Muslim ruling families in Bengal and Awadh.
Sikh	member of an Indian religion founded in the fifteenth century, influenced by Hindu *bhakti* sects of the Punjab, centred on the revelations of a line of Gurus as preserved in the sacred book, the Guru Granth Sahib.
Sufi	a devotee of hidden or mystical knowledge within the Muslim religion. Since the thirteenth century divided into orders, notably the Naqshbandiya, Chishtiya and Qadiriya; centred on hospices (*khanqas*) and the tombs of

	their teachers, popularly regarded as saints.
Sunni	the majority division within Islam, dominant in India, often in conflict with the Shias (q.v.).
talukdar	a great *rentier* landholder, usually in Awadh.
Tamil	the major Dravidian language of south India; hence Tamilnadu, the land of the Tamils.
Thug	member of a brotherhood of murderous highway robbers.
Telugu	a major Dravidian language of south India and the Deccan; Telugu-speaking warriors created kingdoms in Tamilnadu after 1400.
ulama (sing. *alim*)	Muslim learned man specialising in the Kuran and Islamic law.
Umara (sing. *amir*)	the (Mughal) nobility.
Urdu	originally a language of the army, combining Persian words with a Hindi base, it became the literary language of Islamised north India after the decline of Persian.
Vaishnavite	devotee of Lord Vishnu, God of beneficence and protection of the Hindus.
Zamindar	lit. 'landholder'; a superior proprietor who paid land revenue to the government. Often, as in Bengal, a large *rentier* landowner, but sometimes, as in the North-Western Provinces, a peasant owner-occupier.

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3 THE CRISIS OF THE INDIAN STATE, 1780–1820

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Mysore's social organisation during the sultanate would be a good field for detailed research, and Devadas Moodley of S.O.A.S., London, has begun to work in this area. Some basic information can be gleaned from *Mysore and Coorg. A Gazetteer compiled for the Government of India*, 2 vols, Bangalore, 1877, and from the relevant sections of Buchanan's *Journey*. Attempts to conceptualise Mysore's state and society are found in Stein's *MAS*, 1985 article and A. Sen, 'A pre-British economic formation in India of the late eighteenth century', in Barun De (ed.), *Perspectives in Social Sciences*, Calcutta, 1977, i, *Historical Dimensions*. The career of Haidar Ali is treated in a fascinating contemporary account by a French officer, N.M.D.L.T., *History of Ayder Ali Khan Nebab-Bahadur*, London, 1784. The politics of Tipu's reign are covered in Mohibbul Hasan, *History of Tipu Sultan*, Calcutta, 1971 and in W. Kirkpatrick, *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan*, London, 1811, though the latter is biased by contemporary British propaganda against Tipu. Another lively indigenous account is M.H.A.K. Kirmani, trans. W. Miles, *History of the Reign of Tipu Sultan. Mir Husein Ali Khan Kirmani's 'Neshani Hyduri'*, London, 1844. M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South Of India*, 2 vols, London, 1810, new edn, Mysore 1930–2 completes the 'Black Legend' of Tipu.

The classic Anglo-Indian account of Maratha politics, replete with scheming Brahmins and heroic Englishmen is J. Grant-Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, 2 vols, London, 1826. S. N. Sen's two volumes provide a much more balanced account, but by a Bengali historian who still thought of the Marathas as a centralised state system prey to processes of 'feudalisation'. Indigenous sources in plenty exist in the form of K. B. Marathe (ed.), *Selections from Satara Rajas' and Peshwas' Diaries*, 12 vols, Bombay 1908–11, J. N. Sarkar (ed.), *Persian Records of Maratha history*, 3 vols, Bombay, 1953, in the letters of Mahadji Scindia, A. V. Vakankar (ed.), *Shri Shindeshahi Itihaschin Sadnanen*, Gwalior, 1930–40 and in R. D. Choksey (ed.), *The Last phase. Selections from the Commissioner's Files, the Peshwa Daftar*, Bombay, 1948. An interesting contemporary British account is H. Broughton, *Letters from a Maratha Camp*, London, 1812. Attempts to rethink the nature of Maratha polity are Wink, Perlin, G. T. Kulkarni and D. P. Divekar, 'The emergence of an indigenous business class in Maharashtra in the eighteenth century', *MAS*, xvi, 2, 1982.

4 THE CONSOLIDATION AND FAILURE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S STATE, 1818–57

The British revenue systems have generated an enormous and largely indigestible literature. The classic treatment is B. H. Baden-Powell, *The Land Systems of British India*, 3 vols, Oxford, 1892. Brief summaries of the present state of knowledge about their effects in different parts of India are to be found in *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ii, with suggestions for further reading. B. Cohn, 'Structural change in Indian rural society' in R. Frykenberg (ed.), *Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History*, Madison, 1961, added yeast to the dough, as did E. T. Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj*, Cambridge, 1978, and interesting regional studies of land control have more recently emerged, notably: T. R. Metcalf, *Land, Landlords and the British Raj*, Berkeley, 1976, A. Siddiqi, *Agrarian Change in a Northern Indian State. Uttar Pradesh, 1818–33*, Oxford, 1973, Ratnalekha Ray, *Change in Bengal Rural Society*, R. Kumar, *Western India in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1968, N. Charlesworth, *Peasants and Imperial Rule*, Cambridge, 1984, S. Guha, *The Agrarian Economy of the Bombay Deccan, 1818–1941*, New Delhi, 1985, and D. Ludden, *Peasant History in South India*. Much can still be learned from the early colonial reports, e.g., G. W. Forrest (ed.), *Report of the Territories conquered from the Peshwa*, London, 1884, or M. Wilks, *Report on the Interior Administration, Resources ... of the Government of Mysoor*, Calcutta, 1805.

Cultural change and social control in early colonial India have received some attention, notably in A. Appadurai, *Worship and Conflict*, N. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown*, and Pamela Price, 'Resources and rule in Zamindari South India, 1802–1903: Sivaganga and Ramnad as kingdoms under the Raj', unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1979. Muslims are, as usual, better covered: Barabara Metcalf, *Muslim Revival in British India*, Princeton, 1983 can be set in context of P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972, and F. Nizami, 'Madrasahs, scholars and saints'. In addition the works of Cole, Fisher and Fusfeld mentioned under Chapter 1 can be consulted. A useful article on the residency system is M. H. Fisher, 'Indirect rule in the British Empire. The foundations of the Residency System', 1764–1858, *MAS*, xviii, 3, 1984. See also, D. A. Washbrook, 'Law, state and agrarian society in colonial India', *MAS*, xv, 3, 1981.

On early colonial economic change, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, ii, has a full bibliography and succinct treatments; but see also I. Habib, 'On writing colonial history without perceiving colonialism', *MAS*, xix, 3, 1985 for a 'nationalist' counter-blast and F. Broeze, 'Underdevelopment and dependence. Maritime India under the Raj', *MAS*, xviii, 1984.

The Age of Reform and the debates connected with it have received attention from the 1830s onward. The classics here are E. Stokes, *The English Utilitarians in India*, Oxford, 1959, and K. Ballhatchet, *Social Policy and Social*

Change in Western India, 1817–30, London, 1961. A revisionist interpretation has been advanced by J. Rosselli, *Lord William Bentinck. The making of a Liberal Imperialist, 1774–1839*, Berkeley, 1974, and J. Clive's *Thomas Babington Macaulay. The Shaping of a Historian*, London, 1973, provides useful material. The whole subject has benefited from the publication of C. H. Philips (ed.) *The Correspondence of Lord William Cavendish Bentinck*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1977, which makes it possible to perceive some of the limitations of 'reform' imposed by finance as much as by ideology. E. T. Stokes also considered some of these issues in his later essays notably, 'The rationale of Indian Empire', paper presented to the S.O.A.S Study Group on policy and practice under Bentinck and Dalhousie, 1978 and 'Bureaucracy and Ideology in Britain and India in the ninteenth century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5 series, xxx, 1980. For the later modernisers, D. J. Howlett, 'An end to expansion. Influences on British policy in India, *c.* 1830–1860', unpub. Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 1981, convincingly links the dilemmas of this period with the evolution of British policy since Wellesley. M. Yapp gives a magisterial account of India's external policies in his *Strategies of British India*, 2 vols, Oxford, 1980, while H. T. Lambrick, *Sir Charles Napier and Sindh*, Oxford, 1952, remains an excellent book on this little-known region. On Afghan events, see J. A. Norris, *The First Afghan War, 1838–42*, Cambridge, 1967.

5 PEASANT AND BRAHMIN: CONSOLIDATING 'TRADITIONAL' SOCIETY

Ecological change in India is the coming subject, but no overview has yet appeared; see, however, M. Gadgil, 'Towards an ecological history of India' and N. Sengupta, 'Irrigation traditional v. modern', *Economic and Political Weekly*, xx, 45–70, and J. F. Richards, J. Hagen and E. Haynes, 'Changing land-use in Bihar, Punjab and Haryana, 1850–1970', *MAS*, xix, 3, 1985, which is the first fruits of a large-scale quantitative study which will deal with the period after 1870. R. Grove's forthcoming Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation opens up the official debates on deforestation for a somewhat earlier period, *c.* 1820–60. Material on the tribals' incorporation into 'India' is to be found in G. Prakash, 'Production and the reproduction of bondage', unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1983, and in C. Bates, 'Regional dependence and rural development in central India, 1820–1930', unpub. Ph.D. diss., Cambridge, 1984. The Bhils are receiving attention from S. Gordon, 'The Bhils and the idea of a criminal tribe in nineteenth-century India', in A. Yang, *Crime and Criminality in British India*, Arizona, 1985, and B. Chatterji of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi. See also E. S. Brandstater, 'Human sacrifice and British-Kond relations, 1759–1862', in the Yang volume. But information on many facets of ecological, social and climatic change can only be gathered from contemporary works and documentary sources. There is a good deal in the various works of Buchanan, E. Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of the East India Com-*

pany, 5 vols, London, 1854, E. Balfour, *Cyclopaedia of India and of eastern and southern Asia*, 6 vols, Madras, 1857 and 'Pharao's' *Gazetteer of Southern India*, Madras, *c.* 1850.

Social change in 'settled' India is dealt with more fully in the various regional economic histories mentioned above, but the quantitative dimensions of these changes and the evolution of social groups and standards of living remains very unclear. G. Pandey, 'Economic dislocation in nineteenth-century Eastern U.P.', Centre for Studies in Social Science, Calcutta, Occasional Paper, 37, 1, 1983 deals with the social effects of 'deindustrialisation' while A. K. Bagchi, 'Deindustrialisation in Gangetic Bihar, 1809–1901', in B. De (ed.), *Essays in Honour of S. C. Sirkar*, Calcutta, 1976, and M. Vicziani, 'The deindustrialisation of India in the nineteenth century. A methodological critique of A. K. Bagchi', *IESHR*, xvi, 2, 1979, deals with the quantitative evidence. The evolution of professional and commercial communities during this period is dealt with by K. Leonard, *The Kayasths of Hyderabad*, Berkeley, 1979, F. Conlon, *Caste in a Changing World. The Chitrapur Saraswat Brahmins, 1700–1935*, Berkeley, 1977. T. Timberg, *The Marwaris. From Traders to Industrialists*, New Delhi, 1978, C. A. Bayly, *Rulers, Townsmen and Bazaars*, L. I. and S. H. Rudolph, 'A Bureaucratic Lineage in princely India', *JAS*, xxxiv, 3, 1975, and in Nizami, 'Madrasahs, Scholars and Saints', B. Kling, *Partner in Empire. Dwarkanath Tagore and the Age of Enterprise in Eastern India*, Berkeley, 1976.

Works on change in religion and mentalities are heavily concentrated on issues connected with the 'Bengal renaissance': D. Kopf, *British Orientalism and the Bengal Renaissance*, Berkeley, 1969, and the same author's *The Brahmo Samaj and the Shaping of the Modern Indian Mind*, Princeton, 1979, B. Kling, *Dwarkanath Tagore*, A. F. Salahuddin Ahmed, *Social Ideas and Social Change in Bengal, 1818–35*, Leiden, 1965. Ideology is also treated in C. Killingley, 'Vedanta and modernity' in C. H. Philips and M. D. Wainwright (eds.), *Indian Society and the Beginnings of Modernisation, 1830–50*, London, 1979, which also contains an iconoclastic article by B. De, 'The colonial context of the Bengal renaissance' which neatly debunks the whole notion. Some material on the early history of 'reform' in Bombay is to be found in C. H. Heimsath, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, Princeton, 1964. The best edition of the works of Ram Mohun Roy is by K. Nag and D. Burman, *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy*, Calcutta, 1958 and Brojendranath Bannerji and Sajanikanta Das, *Rammohun Granthabali*, Calcutta, 1359, A.D. 1952; see also, D. Tagore, *An Autobiography of Maharishi Debendranath Tagore*, London, 1914, and on literature, Rajnarayan Basu, *Sekal or Ekal*. Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta, 1929.

Changes in Hindu organisation and belief less directly influenced by the west are much more poorly treated in the English literature. There is a little material on the Vallabhacharyas and other sects in N. A. Thoothi, *The Vaishnavas of Gujarat*, London, 1935, and the old missionary work by J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, London, 1918, remains useful. R. Suntharalingham, *Politics and National Awakening in South India, 1852–*

91, Arizona, 1974, contains references to contemporary changes in Tamilnadu as do the works by Appadurai, Price and Dirks. There is a good Hindu study for the north Indian heartland in Prabhu Dayal Mital, *Braj ke Dharm Sampradaiyon ka Itihas*, 2 vols, Delhi, 1968, Dr Motichandra's, *Kashi ka Itihas*, Bombay, 1962, and much more in Indian languages.

Here again the recent works on the Muslims are more developed, notably, B. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India*, and the early chapters of C. Troll, *Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan. A Reinterpretation of Muslim Theology*, Delhi, 1978, and W. Fusfeld, 'The Chishti Silsilah' (see Ch.1 section). Q. Ahmed, *The Wahhabi Movement in India*, Calcutta, 1966, and S. A. A. Rizvi, *Shah Abd al-Aziz. Puritanism, Sectarian Polemics and Jihad*, Canberra, 1982, deal with the 'Muhamadiya' persuasion. See also, S. F. Dale, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier. The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498–1922* (Oxford, 1980).

6 REBELLION AND RECONSTRUCTION

There have been several attempts at overviews of Indian resistance in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century: K. K. Datta, *Anti-British Plots and Movements before 1857*, Meerut, 1970, S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Disturbances during British Rule in India*, Calcutta, 1955, and notably, R. Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*, New Delhi, 1984, which deals with the symbolic codes of peasant resistance. Rajayyan's *History of Madurai* has much on the Poligar wars, as has his *South Indian Rebellion. The First War of Independence, 1800–01*, Mysore, 1971. N. Kaviraj, *A Peasant Uprising in Bengal, 1783* and A. N. Zilli-Chowdhury, *The Vagrant Peasant. Agrarian Distress and Desertion in Bengal, 1770–1830*, Wiesbaden, 1982, treat Bengal. The only modern account of the Vellore Mutiny is P. Chinnian, *The Vellore Mutiny, 1806*, Madras, 1982.

The standard Anglo-Indian version of 1857 is J. W. Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, London, 1867 while the best of modern Indian versions are S. N. Sen, *Eighteen Fifty-seven*, New Delhi, 1958 and S. B. Chaudhuri, *Civil Rebellion in the Indian Mutinies*, Calcutta, 1965. See also J. Pemble, *The Raj, the Indian Mutiny and the Kingdom of Awadh*, London 1983. S. A. A. Rizvi and B. Bhargava, *Freedom Movement in Uttar Pradesh*, 5 vols, Lucknow, 1972–6 are an excellent source for contemporary material. The most sophisticated modern accounts are to be found in E. T. Stokes, *The Peasant and the Raj*, Cambridge, 1978, *The Peasant Armed*, Oxford, 1986, and T. R. Metcalf, *The Aftermath of Revolt*, Berkeley, 1973, and *Land, Landlords and the British Raj, 1857–70*, Princeton, 1964. Useful essays by E. I. Brodkin, 'The struggle for succession. Rebels and Loyalists in the Indian Rebellion of 1857, *MAS*, vi, 3, 1972, and 'Proprietary Mutations in Rohilkhand', *JAS*, xxviii, 4, 1969 qualify the notions of 'loyalty and resistance'. Awadh is extremely well treated in R. Mukherjee, *Awadh in Revolt. A Study of Popular Resistance*, New Delhi, 1984, and this along with G. Pandey's 'View of the observable. A positivist 'understanding' of agrarian

society and political protest in colonial India', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, vii, 3, 1980, provide a corrective to what these authors regard as an 'economistic' approach to the events of the rebellion. Ideology is also treated in a different way by F. W. Buckler, 'The political theory of the Indian Mutiny of 1857', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4 series, v, 1922, B. S. Cohn, 'Representing authority in Victorian India', in T. Ranger and E. J. Hobsbawm (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge, 1983, and by F. A. Nizami (above). Social background to rural society can be found in R. G. Fox, *Kin, Clan, Raja and Rule*, Berkeley, 1971 and M. C. Pradhan, *The Political System of the Jats of Northern India*, New Delhi, 1974.

The aftermath of 1857 is studied in T. R. Metcalf (above), M. McLaggan, *Clemency Canning*, London, 1962 and in S. Gopal, *British Policy in India, 1858–1905*, Cambridge, 1967. A useful article on this period is F. C. R. Robinson, 'Consultation and Control, the United Provinces Government and its allies, 1860–1906, *MAS*, v, 4, 1971.

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