

BRITAIN AND INDIA 1750 - 1850

- I. India in the context of the expansion of Western Europe 1500 to 1750 (about 10 documents)
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I India in the context of the Expansion of Western Europe (1500 - 1750) ---

1. British expansion in India cannot be looked apart from the expansion and doings of Europe from 1500 onwards.
2. About half of the world had come under virtual European dominance (the Americas, the coast of West and S. Africa, Sri Lanka, S.E. Asia) although not altogether under its rule, by 1550.
3. The speed of European expansion comparable to the expansion of Islam in 7th century A.D.
4. From about 1600 onwards the task of expansion and trade (which implied and included every aggressive activity) begins to be entrusted to corporate bodies like the Merchant Adventurers of the Netherlands, and the various East India companies (of Britain, France, etc.) and similar bodies operating in the Atlantic ocean area.
5. It seems that from about 1600 the effort of Britain was to apply similar policies and vigour depending of course on the situation, as was being applied by the British in Ireland, or in North America.

1. Ireland: Sir John Davies, 1613 (reprint 1860, BM 1303. 1.17)

2. N. America: H.C. Porter: The Inconstant Savage: England and the N. American Indian, 1500-1660

6. During 1600-1750 the effort of Britain (as of France, Netherlands, etc.) in its ships and forces the East is to establish staging points for to clear the shipping lanes by destroying the ships of opponents (Indians, Arabs, of the East Asians, and then European opponents) and have monopoly of trade from particular areas. In this 'privateers' by plundering other ships play a major role.

7. Simultaneously, from 1550 onwards, the British are establishing themselves in the West Indies Islands, and on the Eastern Coast of North America. By 1670 the British had wrested New York (previously known as New Amsterdam) from the Dutch (see The Beautiful Tree p.50f.n.71, for God's decree in favour of English, etc).

8. Finding North America especially suitable for European settlement they, and more so the British, endeavour, step by step, to wrest the whole of North America (it takes nearly 300 years though, from about 1580-1880) from its indigenous people. The indigenous population of the America in 1500 is now estimated to have been between 90-112 million, much more than the total population of Europe at that time. Similar things happen somewhat later in Australia.

3. Current Anthropology: Estimating aboriginal American population by Henry F. Dobyns, Vol.7, No.4, 1966 pp 395-449.

4. Also in W.H. McNeill: Plagues & People: Anchor 1976, p.180; also p.222 "In 1763, for instance Lord Jeffrey Amherst ordered that blankets injected with smallpox be distributed among enemy tribes, and the order was acted on" (J.C. Long: Lord Jeffrey Amherst: Soldier of the King, NY, 1933, p.186-7)

5. William and Mary Quarterly Vol.30, 1973: The Ideology of English colonisation from Ireland to America by Nicholas P. CANNY, pp 574-598.

6. P.B. Ellis: Hell or Connaught: The Cromwellian Colonisation of Ireland, 1652-1660, Harnish Hamilton, 1975.

9. The period 1550-1750 may be treated as an encirclement of the Indian sub-continent attempting and succeeding in cutting it off from its southern, eastern and western neighbours, even from Sri Lanka, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia. As time passed it had been isolated from the world. In the late 17th C Aurangzeb and Shivaji, and earlier perhaps several other coastal rulers, like the Samudrin Raja of Calicut, realise the danger of this encirclement but, as is clear, without real success. Around the 1750's, naval resistance is offered by the Maratha Commander Tulaji Angre. But it is too late by then and finally in 1755-56 Tulaji is finally defeated by the British.

7. Bodleian, Oxford: M.S. A.171 ff 53, report on Aurangzeb
8. Bodleian, Oxford: M.S. A.257 ff 268 James II's order to Navy.
9. IOR : HM Vol. 93, pp 165-6 : Instructions to Admiral Watson, 2.3.1754.
10. IOR : HM Vol 94, Pitt to Watson 11.1.1757, to Col Alderoron, 27.1.1757/18.3.1757.

II. The British Background

1. Necessary to understand the British background for comprehending what the British did and wrote about India.
2. Norman conquest as the basis of 17th-18th C British polity; the conqueror appropriates 95% of the resources of Britain. These are apportioned as 25% to King, 25% to established Church, and 50% to followers (later forming nobility).
3. Rule of Law (12th c) mainly to legitimise and protect the above order.
4. Magna Carta largely indicates a settlement between King and Nobility.
5. 1870 data of ownership of land in England seemingly not very different to the position created by the conquest.

(1) Lingard, Vol. I, pp 238-249 (BM/9595a3)
(BM 2400 C 15 I):

(2) SANFORD, J.L. and TOWNSEND, M.W.
The Great Governing Families of England, 1865

(3) Great Landowners of Great Britain:
pp 500-501, 514-5,
(BM 10362. K.16)

6. Peasant revolts etc. especially in the late 14th c, the movement of levellers; the Cromwellian Commonwealth, but the basic fabric and structure stays.

7. Basically a hierarchical society; based on a combination of wealth, status and power.

(4) Collaughan data in my stencilled note
(in file pp-8-9).

8. Leadership position in the government, army, diplomacy, church, and navy all drawn from the nobility (younger sons) or the squire archy and gentlemen.

9. Laws becoming Harsher from 16th to 18th c.

(5) B.M. 6055ee17, A History of Penal Methods, 174-81

a) Witch burning 30,000 out of 2,00,000 in Europe
stoning to death, castration

(aa) burning alive: 61773 (abrogated 1790)
p-128

(8) PIKE BM: 2228.d. 14, Vol. 2, pp-376-81, 648-651.

b) boring the tongue with hot iron 17th C
pp 125-127

c) Chopping off of ears, arms etc. early 18th C
p-129

(cc) Branding 18th c
p-129

d) Torture 17th-18th c
pp 142-3

(dd) decimation of every 10th person etc. in army
C.1700
p-122-3

e) Corporal punishment (upto 2,000 strokes in early
19th C, widespread in army).

f) Manual correction (lashing, 30-50 or more lashes) by masters, also military officers.

g) 200 capital offences in 1818; some commuted to transportation for life; or 14 years hard labour by a House of commons committee after 1819.

(6) (PP 1819-Vol. VIII)
8. 7. 1819

(7) BM 1398.4. 10, ch.VII. Punishments in the Army:
pp 115-151, 312-316.

10. Wages: Statute of maximum wages, statutes against combinations (Adam Smith: Wrong to pay more than what is needed for subsistence).

(9) Statute 5 Elizabeth C.4 (1562)
BM 8276. 1.13(III) C111-C1xvii, CC XI-CC1xiii

(10) BM 8276, 1.13 Vol. III: Wages of labourers 1725
pp civ-cxi, Lxxxviii-89

(11) Problem is very well discussed in SIDNEY and BEATRICE WEBB: The History of Trade Unionism (revised to 1929: Longman Green, 1920) pp 608-627 (late 19th C)

11. Labourers could leave their locality only with prior permission till 1700.

12. Forced Labour: on roads abolished in 1835, in Scotland in 1883.

(11a) En Britannica, 1911.

13. Revenue/rent: rent seems to increase in the 17th-18th C. According to Alexander Read and Thomas Munro (in the 1790s in Baramahals) the share of the British agricultural labourer was no more than 20% of the gross produce in Britain. Others put the land lord's rent at half to 3/4 of the gross produce. In France, it was said to be, wages: £ 19-10, Rent: £ 23. Revenue which the land lord paid to the British State was put at 10% of the rent he received.

(12) B.M. T-930 - A Plan for the Government of the Provinces of Bengal to the Directors of the East India Co., 1772, p-4 "In the low parts of Scotland, which are corn countries, the peasant retains the third of the produce; in England, which is much a grass country, somewhat less, in the northern provinces of France, he does not receive a third, in the southern provinces of France, the land lord gets half the crop: According to this author in Bengal on the other hand the rent/revenue which the peasant paid in the early 18th C was one fifth of the produce of the land."

(13) BM 1028 b.16(?) pp.22-5, 104-5, 134-7, France: Wages: £ 19-10, Rent: £ 23.

(14) The Baramahal Records: Sec XXI (Printed) pp.115-120 : 20% as British wages.

14. Enclosure movement (from mid- 16th c) gained great momentum in the 18th c and the peasants, especially copy holders etc. become pauperised.

15. Gentlemen: 35000 in Britain around 1810: definition Mingay p.2.

(15) G.E. MINGAY: The Gentry: The Rise and Fall of a Ruling Class: Longmans: 1976 : pp.1-23, 124-141, 188-197.

16. Justice of the Peace: from amongst the squirearchy and gentlemen entitled (perhaps till after 1800) to award summary punishment: Mingay : 124-41.

17. Electorate 4% of adult population in 1831, 9% in 1864, 16.4% in 1883.

(16) (En. Br).

(17) Also B.M. 228 e 5 (I) pp.398-401, 488-9, II 62-73.

18. Army organisation: recruitment to officer corps from amongst those who have stake in country. Official purchase price of commissions from 1720-1850 when abolished. Ensign £200, Lt. Col £4000 to £8000 depending on regiment. Even soldiers, theoretically, should have property of £ 100 for recruitment.

(18) B.M. 577.f.19 (I) (perhaps by a foreigner) pp-136-155, 206-11, 308-11, 318-21, II pp 20-33.

(19) BM PP (Parliamentary Papers) 1857: (2) Vol.18, pp-318-19: Purchase Price 1719 to 1821.

19. Reform of Administration, Army etc. (C1860); perhaps the main idea was to entrust actual ruling authority to a qualified elite group and keep parliament as a forum of legislative decision, discussion and venting of complaints.

(20) HM 10804.5.31 Victorian People: pp 100-123
168-173 (esp pp 117-18)

20. British State Income and Expenditure 1691-1869;
Largely paying of interest, military and ordinance, and a small portion for civil govt. Later periods also repayments of National Debt.

(21) PP 1868-69, Vol. 35, pp-430-435, 632-635,
PP 1831 Vol. 27, pp 770-777;
PP 1814-15 Vol. 10,
PP 1852 Vol. 30, p.2.

III. The Purpose and Machinery of British Conquest and Rule

1. Over centuries the British society had tried to achieve a certain internal balance between the crown, the government, the nobility, the gentry and from late 16th c onwards also of those who had acquired great new wealth through plunder overseas, ^{or} the oceans, or through banking and major overseas trade. As is to be expected the society thus tended to maintain this balance and ward off any great accession of wealth (and consequently patronage and power) to any of its particular sectors. If any particular sector eroded (as the monasteries etc. did at the time of the founding of the Church of England and its separation from Rome) the effort was to redistribute such wealth amongst the existing main orders.
2. The E I CO was thus one of the many corporations, established by British State Charters for the execution of British purposes abroad. A large number of its share holders from the beginning, came from the aristocracy, the gentry, as well as the mercantile families.
3. At each charter the EIC advanced loans to the state, reduced the interest on past loans etc., besides being instrumental in increasing state custom revenues and building of more ships, and increase in general employment.

(1) PP 1847-8(61): Oriental Commerce, pp.41
(Josiah Child 1670) pp 40-1, 44-7, 54-5,
114-5, 122-7, 224-5.

(2) BM 712.k.5 David Macpherson: The History of
European Commerce in India: 1812 pp 414 (414-21),
Charters etc.

4. From the beginning those engaged in this enterprise (either as merchants or as officers of the navy, or private ships, or as military officers) were in it for making personal fortunes. A prominent name is of Thomas Pitt (Governor of Madras in early 1700s and grandfather and great grandfather of two British Prime Ministers, Lord Chatham, and Wm. Pitt, the younger). There were a host of others including Josiah Childe (a prominent chairman of EICO and a major banker, and economic theorist of late 17th c) even prior to the beginning of the British political conquest of India from 1750 onwards.
5. Till 1748 the EICO. itself is apparently concerned with trade, and the protection of its trading posts (called factories) partly at its own and largely under the protection of British state forces. Justice in its settlements is a prerogative of the British state and was administered more or less according to prevailing English Law.
6. 1746-52 : British-French War in S. India; the British win and appoint their candidate, the 16 year old Muhammad Ali, as the Nawab of Arcot and start conquering S. India in his name. This conquest has full support of the British state as did the further battle with Commander Angre and later the battles with Sirajuddaula in Bengal in 1757. According to Clive, 20.6.1757, "The Nawab's forces at present are not said to exceed 8,000 men."

(3) N.L. Wales, Clive MS Vol. 207.

7. From then on the British get launched on conquest in the name of the Bengal Nawab, their own nominee, in Bengal and Bihar, and in the name of the Nawab of Arcot, who in fact follows their army, in South India and in areas of coastal Andhra.

(4) N.L. Scotland MS 1537, May Mackenzies' Journal, May 1, 1764.

8. The Indian conquests lead to great rejoicing in Britain as well as discussion on how India should be ruled. Many are of the view that as the conquest was made possible because of the active support of the state, it should be ruled by the state directly. Clive seemed to share this view. Lord Chatham, who was the decisive British statesman at the moment, hesitated and Walsh reported to Clive on 26.11.1758, that Lord Chatham had said that "Upon some late transactions (The Company Charter) had been enquired into, whether the Company's conquests and acquisition belonged to them or the Crown, and the judges seemed to think - to the company. He said the Company was not proper to have it, nor the Crown, for such a revenue would endanger our liberties; and that you had shown your good sense by the application of it to the public" (pp 392-3). According to Walsh, while reporting his talk with Chatham to Clive in 1766, "On my giving him the state of the revenues, he seemed much surprised at the smallness of the amount, saying that Holwell and common report had made it much larger" (III p.95]. According to Clive, as he wrote to Chatham, on 7.1.1759, the acquisition of Bengal, "under the management of so able and disinterested a minister, would prove a source of immense wealth to the kingdom, and might in time be appropriated in part as a fund towards diminishing the heavy load of debt. (i.e. national debt of Britain which in 1758 stood at ;;;..... £) under which we at present labour" (pp.390) Rockingham, Burke, etc. are at the time supporters of the Company.

(5) B.M. G 2155 (Vol I-III) Correspondence of the Earl of Chatham - 1758-67 (extracts).

(6) B.M. Add MS 18469: Evidence before H of C Committee on the State of the East India Company: 27.3. to 13.4.1767 (extracts).

9. The 1773 Act appointing Governor General with Council, Supreme Court etc. with their emoluments, functions etc. fixed by statute.

(7) Clive's Speech - pp. 36-61 (1773)

10. Continuing debate on the machinery of rule to 1784.

(8) Type script^{no.} 1(47 pp), Memoranda etc. on British Policy on India - 1740-1812.

11. Academic and scholarly views on the medium of administering India.

(9) London: PRO : 30/8/54 II ff. 287-90: Jas Stuart to My Lord : 29.5.1766.

(10) Edin. University: DC 1.77: Prof A. Ferguson to John Macpherson - 3.11.1773, 9.4.1775, 10.1.1780.

(11) SRO : Edinburgh: GD 51/3/12, A. Ferguson to H. Dundas: 30.10.1783.

12. Act of 1784 appointing the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India consisting of six members, all Privy Councillors, three of whom were to be ministers of Government and the latter were invariably to include the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Board was to have access to all papers and records of the East India Company and was "to superintend, direct, and control, all acts, operations and concerns which in any wise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies." In due time these possessions extended from St. Helena in the Atlantic to areas in the China seas.

13. The Board explains its powers to the Company: 27.7.1803.

(12) Given in cyclostyled volume (I) pp 1-4.

14. The need to return with wealth to Britain felt by all, especially those in army and civil officer positions, from Governor General downwards, and even as early as 1770s by Warren Hastings. The same feeling is expressed in the correspondence of various Governor Generals (including Wellesely, Amherst, etc.) and also men like W. Jones, Macaulay, etc. Most of them in fact before accepting jobs in India had worked out how much they could save so as to have a life of leisure in England after a few years in India.

(13) BM : W. Hastings Paper: Advice to W. Hastings by Friends : "Hope you are worth a considerable sum, otherwise you will be much straitened when you come here. You know England."

IV. British Accounts of Indian Society

1. Impressions of simplicity of Hindu rajas etc., but of public festivity and prosperity in South India as well as Bengal in the early 18th Century.

(1) Cyclostyled note in file, pp 23-24 (Wm. Hodges, 1781, Bihar - Varanasi).

(2) N.L. of Scotland: MS 8326: James Stuart papers (Hyderabad 1779 by a Read).

2. Science and Technology, also listing of about 100 trades and professions in South India.

(3) File of Mohturpha and Veesabudy papers with tabulated data (some tabulated data in other typescript file at No.37).

3. Indigenous Education

4. Agriculture, Irrigation, village infrastructure.

(4) Alexander Dalrymple: A short account of the Gantoo Mode of Collecting the Revenues: 1783.

(5) IOR: BC Vol. 411 : Place's Report on Jaghire 6.6.1799.

(6) Appendix E on infrastructure pp 97-9 in above report.

5. Village organisation, Samudayam and bhai-chara communities:

(7) Cyclostyled Vol (I): Lushington Report on Hamnad Villages pp 7-10, 29.12.1800.

6. Agricultural productivity and wages higher than in Britain c.1800.

(8) Edinburgh Review: Vol. 4, July 1804: pp 323-24.

7. Ruler - Ruled relationship according to J. Mill: rulers in awe of their subjects: when aggrieved resort to dharna, traga, armed revdt, etc.

(9) PP 1831-2 Vol. XIV, Evidence of J. Mill
(Question 36 etc.).

(10) Francis BUCHANAN: Mysore: (Indian habit of public discussion).

8. Economic Disparities; according to Thomas Munro (1805) consumption pattern of high, middling and low in Bellary in proportion of 17:9:7 and in Cuddapah 35:18:15; Governor of Chitradurga Rs.100/- p.m., labourer Rs.4/- p.m.

(26) TNSA: BRP: Vol. 2030: Pro. 13.7.1846:
pp 9031-47; Bellary Consumption.

(27) TNSA: BRP: Vol. 2025: Pro 8.6.1846:
pp 7457: Cuddapah Consumption:

9. Dowry: no dowry according to Universal History: (C 1750), En Bri (1799), and Bod MX (1753).

(11) Cyclostyled note in file p 24.

10. Sati: Restricted to certain areas in Bengal, near Varanasi, ^{Konkan} Concan.

(12) Cyclostyled Note in file, pp 22.

Items 9 & 10: How far is the evidence conclusive? 'Sahagamana' may have come about in the wake of the Muslim invasions: so too child marriage.

11. Land rights, inalienable; no. of peasants, large and also from so-called pariahs.

(13) IOR: HM 382, pp 789: Beaufoy Minute (early 1792).

(14) Backwardness paper has data on number of peasants etc.

12. Pattern of Revenue Expenditure: Jahangir's Exchequer receipts estimated at about 6% of the revenues of the empire, and of Aurangzeb's at the height of his power at less than 20%. Appears over 80% of revenue stayed at local levels, from village to district. The number of application for registration of religious and cultural assignments in Burdwan district (c.1780), according to H.J. Prinsep were 72,000. The largest number of assignments seem to have been for religious and cultural purposes (Bazee Zamin in Bengal) and the other for developmental (irrigation etc.), administration and police and military purposes. According to various authorities in Bengal, South India, and also later Parliamentary evidence the rate of assessment of these assigned lands was no more than 1/3rd or 1/4th of the rate for Khalsa or Sarkar land which paid assessment to British authorities.

(15) BM 14779. a.14, Letters of the Emperor Aurangzeb (1788), letter XCVII.

(16) Moreland WH: Jahangir's India (typed extract) 1925;
Moreland WH: Review on Vincent Smith's
Akbar the Great Mogul: JRAS: 1917-18.
Reviews in New Statesman, 10.7.1920 and Spectator,
12.6.1920 of moreland's India at the Death of Akbar.
Irfan Habib: Agrarian System of Mughal India,
1963: pp 272-3 etc.

- (17) IOR : BC : F/4/1861 (No.79053) note on the Course of Proceedings to be adopted., towards the holders of the rent free lands by H.J. Prinsep (1832; 1837).
- (18) PP 1831.32, Vol. 11, Appendix 6 pp 44-45, on ceded dists, assignments, 19:16; Assessment 1/4 to 1/3 of Govt. Rate.
- (19) EM 8023.aa.6 (1861) Mysore (Wilks) pp 83-84, (7,752 places of worship; 13,330 religious instructors.)
- (20) C.J. Baker & D.A. Washbrook: South India: Political Institutions and Political Change, 1975. "About the turn of the (19th) century there were 75000 temples in the Madras Presidency" p-70.
- (20a) IOR HM 325: from Committee of Assigned Rev., 21.1.1782: on Trichy.
- (20b) IOR P/316/49: Nellore book, No. 101 (Accounts 2.12.1781-21.4.1782) Rev. Rs.12,98,509; Expenses 9,87,579.

13. Role of temples, Chatram etc, and their revenues.

- (21) IOR ~~P/~~ 286/Madras Bd. of Rev. 2.2.1801: on Tanjavur Tanjore Chatrams.
- (22) IOR: Deed of Grant (AD 1797) in favour of Kedar Nath temple.
- (23) Typed File No. 19(pp 20) & No. 21(pp 4) on Madras Presidency temples.

14. Indigenous rate of land assessment: In Malabar, No. land revenue before 1750; in ^{Tiruvānkūr} Travancore/ and ^{Kochi} Cochin, 5-10% of gross produce; in ^{Tinnevely} Tinnevely in early 18th c 1/6 or less.

(24) PP 1831-2, Vol. VI, Evidence of Col. John Munro on Travancore (1420-1506).

(25) PP 1812 Vol. 7, Rev. of Tinnevely AD 1738-1805: pp 965-7.

(25a) BM : T 930 (1772) A Plan - (extract pp 3-9).

15. Numbers, names and divisions of castes in South India, especially the division into right hand and left hand.

(28) BM 142.d. 10 : Oriental Repertory (1793) pp 49-51, of Veg/Non. Veg. castes.

(29) IOR : Machenzie Coll : No. r : Trades of the Hindoos: 5 pages

(30) IOR: Machenzie General : Vol. 23 : Rights ^{and} of Left Hand Castes: pp 572-5

(31) IOR : Machenzie General : Vol. 23 Tribe the Fifth : Shunora : 2 pp.

16. Account of gross produce of various grains in Vizagapatnam:

(32) E 142.d.10 (1793) Oriental Repertory pp 95-6.

17. Dharna and Traga and the tradition of voluntary dying if incurable.

(33) See. esp. typed Vol. II. Bd.Ct. correspondence, esp. pp 110-151.

18. Report on ^{Tanjāvūr} Tanjore/by British Commissioners, 1799.
 (34) TNSA : BR Misc. Records: Misc. Vol. No. 183 A : Report 31.1.1799.
19. Alex Walker on India.
 (35) Typed Vol. V on mythology, education, misc.
 (36) Observations on Indian practices.
 (36-a) NLS : 184 a : 15, nos. 121, 122, & 123
 Indian's greetings : Sketches)
20. Irrigation construction: 1/4 land as permanent assignment:
 (37) IOR : P/316/92. A, Read to Bd. of Rev. 1792.
21. Varanasi in 1801 : 300 six storeyed houses etc. Also other descriptions:
 (38) BM : 10058. e. 13 (I) pp.104-5, 461-65.
 (39) Raynal, Abbe GTF, A Philosophical and Political History - I, pp 398-402, (Trans. 1776 : 1798 edition).
22. Varanasi - Bihar 1781-83.
 (40) Wm. Hodges: Travels in India during the years 1781-3 (1793) pp 39.

V. Process of British conquest and control of India:

1. Chronology of conquest

- i. Encirclement and comprehending Indian polity
1600 to 1750.
- ii. Control and conquest of South India on behalf of
Nawab of Arcot 1750 to 1799.
- iii. Defeat of Nawab of Bengal (Palasi, June 1757) and
conquest of areas of Bengal and Bihar 1757-65.
- iv. Rohul Shahjada becomes British dependent^a;
declare him Emperor : keep him in Allahabad on
pension, etc.
- v. Assumption of Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, etc. and
initiation of formal systems of revenue and
judicial control, 1765--.
- vi. Beginning of control of Avadh, 1772--.
- vii. Battles with South Indian Rajas, Hyderali, death
of Hyderali (c. 1782).
- viii. First defeat of Tipoo^u and annexation of part
territory, and sons as hostages.
- ix. Supremacy over Banaras 1780 (?)
- x. Defeat and death of Tipoo, supremacy over Mysore,
Malabar, ^{Tiruvankur} Travancore, etc. 1799.
- xi. Supremacy over Nizam 1799 - .
- xii. Annexation of South India, Coastal Andhra, etc.
1799
- xiii. Annexation of large parts of Uttar Pradesh
(c. 1800-)
- xiv. Defeat of Marathas, annexation of Orissa, etc.
also Central India areas (c.1803)

xv. Annexation of rest of India (except areas West of Sutluj) and supremacy over Rajasthan, Maratha states etc. 1818

(1) File of Typescripts

2. Diplomatic means and assessment of Indian rulers

(1) (a) Warren Hastings to Eliot : NLS : Minto Papers

(b) Warren Hastings to Eyre Coote : BM : Warren Hastings papers : Hastings to Coote 31-10-1779.

(c) Henry Dundas on Indian politics : SRO : GD/51/ 3/30/9 pp 520 - 531.

(2) File of typescripts

3. Military means : initial proportion of European to Indian 1 : 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, in 1850s 1 : 6, after 1858 1 : 2.

i. Frequent movements of regiments over hundreds of miles.

ii. Show of invincibility.

iii. Blowing from guns of military offenders (1766 etc) and lashings etc.

iv. Vast scale enforcement of forced labour and supplies for military uses, and transportation etc: gratis, or at little payment, 1770 to 1920.

(3) Some data on this indicated in the bound note on bondage.

(3a) PRO/30/9/4/II/2 : Ellenborough papers : Charles Metcalfe minute dated 11-10-1829 on dependence upon ourselves.

4. Establishing legitimacy : grants for possession (like of Surat, Madras, Calcutta, etc), or of Diwani (as of Bengal, Bihar, etc), or of temporary or permanent assignments (as in Avadh, Madras presidency Jagir, the northern Sarkar) from all possible political claimants.

From the beginning such grants etc. were sought for the same purpose both from local ^{and from} ~~as well as~~ more central authorities (like emperor of Delhi) irrespective of whether such grant actually lay in the power of such central authority to bestow. For instance, the Diwani of Bihar, Bengal was based on the grant of the nominal emperor of Delhi who in fact had been made emperor by the British and at the time was under their own protection.

(4) File of typescripts

5. Finding backing in supposedly ancient Indian law (Hindoo/ as well as Muslim) and the alledged practice of centuries back for the legal or revenue system which the British wished to build in India. The criteria of choice seem to have been that it more or less conform to the idea the British already had. At times the interpretation of what was chosen as Indian precedent might have been against the spirit of the Indian text; and even some interpolation[^] seem to have been made in the chosen texts.

(5) File of typescripts

- (6) Volume 2 of bound typescript on Board Court correspondence.

6. Establishing new criminal judicial system. The process started soon after the acquisition of the Diwani in 1765. In 1772 Warren Hastings formed his criminal regulations (approved later by the British Parliament) and section 35 of them related to Dacoits. The dacoits, according to Hastings were mostly persons who had been the militia and police of Bengal and Bihar and had been deprived of their assigned incomes by the British. According to the regulation the dacoit when captured should be carried to his home place, there executed publicly, and his family

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etc. sold as slaves of the State. Cornwallis in 1790 further elaborated on the criminal law and at this stage took it altogether out of the jurisdiction of Muslim or Hindoo judges. The major change Cornwallis made in punishments was that wherever the Muslim law had demanded the chopping of a limb as an extreme penalty, he replaced it with 14 years imprisonment with hard labour, or transportation for life, or in lesser instances 7 years hard labour. Working on the roads with the legs shackled was also made a common practice. The building of prisons started apace, as the building of residences for British officers, and rest houses at halting places etc. The work of building and construction of roads etc. was under military management. Dharana and Traga also became criminal offences.

- (7) Parliamentary papers Vol 79, p.507 (1-4),
8-1-1753 : Burning in the hand, whipped, etc.
- (8) Typed note (No.3 : 28 pages)
- (9) Warren Hastings regulations: Revenue Deptt.
3rd November, 1772, Dacoits Sec. 35.
- (10) Cornwallis criminal regulations, 1790
- (11) PP.1796-7, Vol 101, no. 873 (2) on Madras
judicial matters (Alexander Read advocated
execution at place of offence).

7. Reducing of wages, rights, limiting right of riding in
Palkis by Indians, masters punishing servants.

- (12) Typed note (No.3 : 28 pages)
- (13) NLW : MS 5476 D : William Jones charge to
grand jury 1788 (dying of servant after
reasonable chastisement implies no crime).
- (13 a) WBSA : Revenue Department : Pro 19-5-1847
reducing public works rates (2 typed pages)

8. Maximising the revenue from 1750 onwards in South India and from 1757 in Bengal extorting the maximum from the peasants of India. Over the next 30 to 40 years building of a system based on the concept that the land of India belonged to the ruler and that he had the right to receive half of the gross produce of the land as revenue. Allauddin Khilji used as a precedent. This half converted into money and received as cash instead of grain. Till about 1850 (or even later) in most areas the 50% revenue, especially in years of depression, became 70 to 80%, or at times even more of the total gross produce. By 1850 one-third of the irrigated areas of Madras Presidency was reported to have gone out of cultivation because even the total produce of land was unable to meet the revenue demand.

- (14) IOR : CHW : 1956 (printed) p. xxviii-xxix
Revenue collection in Bengal 1759-68.
- (15) IOR : CHW : 1956 (printed) xii, xxiv-xxvii.
strictness in collection (report 24-5-1769)
- (16) IRO : 300 A 71 B, Chittagong, Vol.1 (1760-63)
pp 33 - 35 : Revenue at rupees 5 instead of
previous rupee one.
- (17) IOR : (55) 2285 Vol.2, p.68 (earlier "what was
collected here was spent here").
- (18) IOR : HM 111, East Indies 19 : Harland to
Earl of Rochford 25-9-1772, 28-9-1772 on the
complaints of the Nawab of Arcot.
- (19) PP. 1803 Vol. Hobart minutes 24-10-1795,
24-11-1795 on rates of interest, methods of
realisation of revenue, etc., in South India,
pp. 525 - 533.

(19a) TNSA : BRP : Vol. 1141 : PRO 27-3-1828 Madras
reply to Bombay on revenue battalions, giving
data etc.

(20) PP. 1812 Vol. 7 : 5th report, p.16, cultivator
had 40%, Government 60% (out of the latter
Zamindar 10%).

9. Exorbitant rates of interest by British Officers from
Nababs, Jamindars, renters, etc., especially in the
periods 1750 - 1800. Rates as high as 14% per month
were prevalent.

((18)) Harland 25-9-1772 etc. (given under (8))

(20a) Major Mackenzies Journal (given under III.7)

((19)) Hobart minute 24-10-1795 given under (8)

(21) IOR : (55) 2285, vol. 11 (22-6-1772) pp.
202 - 209 : interest of 14% per month.

(22) PP : 4th report of the committee of secrecy
1773 (IV) pp. 114 to 116 : 14% per month
interest.

10. Use of Revenue Battalions, and torture and the
realisation of revenue, or other individual demands.

(23) IOR : 300A 71B Rangpur, Vol.4, pp. 136-141,
Force, torture, insurrection, 1783.

(24) BN : ADD MS 9793, ff 251-(extracts) Torture
charges at Rangpur against Warren Hastings.

((18)) Harland 25-9-1772.

((18a)) IRO : HM 181, Nawab of Arcot to Chairman
Company on force, torture etc. 6-9-1783
pp. 561-574, 607-610.

(25) PP. 1854-55, Vol. 40, Madras torture Commission.
pp. 580, 562-667, 683-689.

(26) Hansard : 11-7-1854 Tenure of land in Madras,
Cols. 43-90 (torture)

(27) TNSA : BRP : Vol. 2362 : 28-2-1853 : Chingelput
petition on force, torture etc.

11. Past annexation of assigned lands (as well as revenue from salt pans, sea ports, etc.) to government. Initial step is to take over resources assigned for purposes of police and militia then it was the assignment of the administrative, developmental, and revenue personnel which are taken over, and those who are kept in employment paid in money. Finally it was the turn of the cultural, religious and charitable assignments to be taken over to the extent possible. The aim was that the assigned lands etc. ordinarily should not exceed 5% of the lands paying revenue to the government in any district. In the meanwhile through various means, at times handing over the charge of the temples, chatrams, mutts, etc. to collectors in the Madras presidency the expenses on these institutions etc. are reduced on the one hand and on the other the assessment on the lands which were assigned to them begin to be taxed at the higher governmental rates of assessment. When after some time these bigger temples etc. are handed back to local committees it was with much reduced areas and over-taxed assessed lands with which they had to deal with. Consequence was the creation of an unresolvable clash between these institutions and the peasants who cultivated these lands. Most others who lived on assigned incomes become pauperised, some of them also turn to dacoity etc.

(27 a) IOR : G/6/4 : 23-5-1775 assigned rates $\frac{1}{4}$ th or $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of government rates in Bengal districts.

(27 b) TNSA : BRP : Vol. 930 : 7-11-1822 : Munro
minute on Bellary assignments, pp. 10292-96.

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12. Plunder and its distribution.

(28) BM : BS Ref. 7, Vol. 3, 3rd report of committee pp.311-12 (distribution in Bengal) 1757-66.

(29) BM : 1311 & 15 (1) Arthur Wellesley Supplementary despatches and memoranda, Srirangpattam, 1799, pp. 222-3 and 236-43 (C-in-C 18000 shares, European corporal one share (18 pagodas)

(30) Mackenzie Journal (given under III.7)

13. Controlling the Indian Princely states; erection of a subsidiary system. Compulsory stationing of British officers and troops. Enforcement of similar revenue practices (over assessment, annexation of assignments, etc) Detaching the rulers from their people and leading them to disinterestedness as political rulers but towards luxury, debauchery, etc. Occasional replacement of rulers (in Mysore, Maratha States, Gujarat, etc.) and direct rule under the control of the British political Resident. Also the policy of total annihilation, or over awing by fiscal generosity of opponents as expounded by Lord Wellesley in 1799.

(31) PP. 1831-32 Vol. 14 for James Mill on "Indian rulers in awe of their subjects".

14. Commission to District Collectors etc. as an incentive for increase in revenue collection.

(32) BM : BS Ref. 7, Vol. 4, 4th report 1773, pp.162-3 Commissions on revenue collections in Bengal 1767-68 (Rupees 5,48,571).

15. Efforts at establishing some sort of link (identity, relationship) between the rulers and the ruled.

1. The theory of Indo-European common origins

ii. Establishing links and loyalty through Christianization (Wilberforce)

(36) Hansard : Debate on propagation of Christianity in India, June-July 1813.

iii. Anglicisation of the upper Indian strata, introduction of European habits, etc.

iv. Macaulay's efforts at the creation of the black Englishman.

v. Growing of myths that British rule was for the good of India, atleast for its poor people, and how terrible it was previously; also myths of destiny.

vi. Efforts at secularisation and Westernisation and onslaughts on Indian community organisation (including castes etc.) as symbols of bondage, of lack of liberty, etc.

16. Decline of Indian industry and crafts and the beginning of India becoming a supplier of raw materials like "Amood", Surat cotton rather of cloth.

(33) NLS : MS 1060 : pp 296 & - 299 &, George Smith to Cornwallis, 26-10-1789.

17. 1837 account of forced labour by Honourable F.J. Shore.

(34) BM # 583.9.2.(I) Notes on Indian affairs, pp. 307-45

(34 a) Leeds Public library : Canning papers : Ellenborough to Canning 12-10-1855 (these are the things which --- cause insurrection)

18. 1859 Report on colonisation

(35) PP. 1859-II, Vol. 5, pp.262-75 (also forced labour as hindrance, p. 275).

19. Organisation of Government departments by Cornwallis, 1788 (junior officers should be able to live like gentlemen).

(35 a) IOR : HM : Vol. 79 : pp.411-25, 31-1-1788.

VI. Rack Renting of India

1. Ideas of fabulous revenues based on two centuries of travellers' reports. Revenues of the Mogul Empire at times estimated at 70 crores.

2. Chatham, and others, disappointed at the low receipt in early 1760's.

(1) Chatham correspondence Walsh reporting to Clive (given in III. 8(5) p. 95 (3)).

3. Instructions from London to raise as much as possible : also to reduce expenses

(2) IOR : CHW 1956 p.xii Mr. Becher to Hon'ble president 24-5-1769 (given in V.8)

4. Encouraging individuals' greed (Commission on collections, and other devices to resort to larger collection).

(3) DOQ : Macartney papers : MSS Eng. Hist. b 180, ff 228, district accounts 1781-82, reducing district charges.

5. Ostensible reason for 1784 Act was to do justice to the aggrieved in India; Company prepares draft accordingly; overridden by Board and the point dropped.

(4) IOR : HM Vol. 342 : pp 56-93 Company to Board on 2-11-1784 protesting at Board's stand against enquiry.

6. Fixing of Bengal settlement at the maximised revenue.

(5) Cornwallis : The right of Government to fix the amount of these rents has never been denied.

7. Similar operation in South India.

(6) SRO : GD 51/3/499/6 ff 533r. Doubling of revenue from Tippu's time in two to three years. Report by Alexander Read.

8. Munro's arguments for further enhancing of assessments in Baramahal, 1793.

(7) Baramahal records : Vol. 1 (?): Land rent : Munro to Read esp. p. 59 (pp 58 - 65).

9. L. Place's exposition of London position on peasant rights.

(8) See III.4(5) for para 92-95 of Place's exposition.

(9) Place to A. Welsley : little spent on 2000 irrigation tanks in Jagir during 1763-95.

10. We have ridden the country too hard : Bentinck to Castlereagh.

(10) Nottingham University : Fw jb 722 pp 272-83
(p 276) B to C 18-10-1804.

11. Illustrations of enhancements in revenue collections. Also utilizing older Indian practices like hospitality to travellers, etc. for purposes of the army, etc.

(11) IDB : Madras Mil. Cons : p/255/27 : 15-11-1803, Minute of Commander in Chief 5-11-1803.

12. Madras Board of Revenue blames London for rack renting.

(12) IOR : Madras Board of Revenue proceedings : 5-1-1818, extracts, especially para 288 on rack renting at London's behest.

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13. Decay of revenue in Madras Presidency (TNSA : BRP :
Vols. 1849 - 50 : 6-3-1843 (report)
- (13) TNSA : Revenue consultations Vol. 456 :
23-7-1838 pp. 3690-95, appointment of
Cotton commission.
- (14) Sheffield Public Library : Whm 504 : letter
to Lord Wharncliffe, August 1851 on irrigation
neglect.
14. Large-scale torture in revenue collection in Madras
Presidency.
- (15) Hansard and report on torture (given in V.10)
- (16) Also Minchin less torture in Zamindaris.
15. "It may truly be said that revenue of India has hitherto
been levied at the point of ^{the} bayonet."
- (16 a) Leed's : Canning papers : Papers of Military
Secretary on miscellaneous subjects : No. 289
by Major G.T. Haly.
- (17) TNSA : BRP : 2362 : 28-2-1853 : Chingalput
memorial : also BRP Vol. 2383 pp 9728-31 for
Board's comments.
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VII. Indian Response

1. Realisation, perhaps from the time of the European Occupation of Goa, by Indian rulers of the danger from Europe. This realisation felt more deeply in the 17th century by Shivaji, Aurangzeb, and perhaps many South Indian rulers. The danger and its design became more apparent by mid-18th century, especially to ^aman like Aliwardi Khan of Bengal. Yet there appears to have been some inability to take a combined stand.

(1) Madras printed proceedings 1707, also Thomas Pitt to T. Cooke 15-12-1707 (BM).

(2) BM : ADD MS 22419 : Macartney papers, pp 818 (AD 1782) Nawab to Macartney.

2. Resistance by individual Rajas, peasants, etc. in South India as well as Bengal to British expansion and the extortion, misery accompanying it. Rangpur rebellion (of the peasants) ^{and} as well as the British clash with the Sanyasis were a few instances of such resistance.

3. Hyderali's attempt to build a combination against the British.

(3) BM : T 686 (5) Hyderali ^{Khan?} Cawns remonstrance to natives of India.

4. Peasant movements in South India starting from about 1770's involving non-cooperation, bunds, gheraos, etc. and going on to till about 1850.

(4) IOR : P/274/17 : 20-12-1774 from Jagir on peasant non-cooperation.

(5) IOR : Board's collections : Vol. 1415 (No.55844A) pp.158-161 report dated 17-1-1831 on Canara Koots.

5. Civil Disobedience in Varanasi, Bihar towns etc.
1810-11 against House-tax : agitation against Salt
tax in Surat 1844.

(6) IOR : Board's collections : Vol. 2072-2073 :
Salt agitation at Surat, letter from Bombay
28-9-1844 (?)

6. Petition from about 1,040 persons in Madras city to
Madras Judges against the doings of Government, including
opening of arrack shops, enhancement of price of salt etc.

(7) IOR : Madras Public consultations : 17-7-1807
(pp 4101-4127 signatures : pp 4082-4100 for text)
(in Vol. 10 of bound typescript : origin,
principles, and structure of Madras police
1806-7).

7. Armed conflicts : Madras poster 1807 : Army revolts
Vellore 1806, Barrackpore 1824, others.

(8) SRG : GD 51/3/129 address of Mardoh Paundayen
(482 R - 484 V)

8. Indian withdrawal from public functioning.

9. Contempt for Europe, also great fear.

10. Also copying of Europe especially by the wealthy and
upper strata from the beginning of the 19th century. *ten.*

11. List of tribal revolts 1778 - 1971 ~~(2) 1811-1860~~
(9) BM : X 809/15895. *2*

12. Indian peasants waiting for 'time of law, justice and
humanity'.

(10) IOR : Francis papers : MSS Eur. F13A, No.85
"A note on impositions on the ryots", 1776 by
justice Lemaistre, Calcutta.

VIII. The consequences of India's defeat:

1. Allround impoverishment

a. Economic

According to J.S. Mill, in 1858, it was an unique event in history that a country has been conquered, subjugated and administered through its own revenues. From 1757 onwards Indian revenues paid not only for these (and India as decades passed began to mean areas from St. Helena in the Atlantic to the China Seas, whose conquest administration etc. was all defrayed from Indian revenues) but substantial proportion of them were also exported to Britain through various means and forms. That this export of wealth from India to Britain had become very marked by 1773 is noted in an address to Lord North (dt. 24-4-1773). Around 1820 Alexander Walker wrote "it has been computed that Nadir Shah carried out of India 30 million sterling : but the spoils of the East India Company (i.e. Britain) have probably exceeded that sum a hundred fold." That the exportation continued for another century after 1820 is public knowledge. It may not be far wrong to say that most of the coastal towns of southern England, in addition to Indian wealth helping the expansion of the British Industry, trade, commerce, Banking etc. were in a major measure built on wealth from India.

But export of wealth to Britain was only one ~~manifestation~~ ^{manifestation} of economic impoverishment. Others were the 100 years wars which were waged in the Indian area, their support and supplies (from revenues as well as forced labour, commodities, etc), the building of the metropolitan centres and their palaces and secretariats, the residences of the British officers, the building of the scores of hill stations, and hundreds of military cantonments, the building of prisons for those who resisted British rule, and (the building) of rest houses as well as roads for the transportation and stay of the British.

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The building of the railways, or any attention to irrigation began only after 1850 and even for these purposes any money which was subscribed to in Britain had earlier flowed to Britain from India itself.

b. Decline in agriculture, its tools, irrigation, etc.

Illustrative of such decline is the statement that one third of the irrigated land in the Madras presidency is said to have gone out of cultivation by about 1850. This is largely said to have been due to over assessment. The total produce of such land at times was said to have been unable to pay the revenue demand. Partly all such decline was also because of the neglect of irrigation sources. The revenues which earlier had gone for their maintenance and management became no longer available after the onset of British rule. Inevitably in such precarious conditions the tools of the ~~peasants~~ ^{the} as well as ~~his~~ draught animals deteriorated also. In fact most of them carried on from crop to crop and on the basis of borrowed seeds, tools, draught animals.

c. Decline in Cattle-wealth :

The decline in agriculture as well as the demands of the British army for draught cattle (as well as other cattle and sheep, goats, etc for food) for the movement of army regiments (every regiment being moved practically every year and over hundreds of miles, and requiring at least 300-400 bullock-carts for its official purposes alone) naturally brought a decline in the cattle wealth of the peasantry, particularly of the sturdier breeds, or of such milch-cows, etc, which seemed more attractive as beef. A detailed survey of the military records should be able to indicate the extent of these requirements, as well as the manner in which such cattle were procured whether for army movements or for food. Even when the railways had taken over most of the transportation of the army, the agitation against the killing of cattle in the 1880s and early 1890s made

Queen Victoria observe, in 1893, that the agitation by the Hindus was aimed against the British, rather than against the Muslims.

- (1 a) IOR : Baramahal Records, vol. 16, pp. 118-24, 149; on demand for cattle, Alexander Read to Government, 29-12-1798.

d) The decline in crafts, professions and technical knowhow. The beginning of this decline may be dated from about 1800. Before that there is much compulsion on a variety of craftsmen to compulsorily produce for the British dominated foreign market at the lowest possible wages. Reports indicate that, in places, to escape such compulsion, many of the weavers of fine cloth chopped their thumbs. But from 1800 onwards a deliberate policy is initiated to reduce Indian craft production whether in textiles, or in steel, and a whole variety of other crafts. All crafts, profession and trades began to be taxed, their raw material supplies gradually controlled and as time went on British products given fiscal and other encouragement. With the decline of the Indian peasantry, and even of the relatively rich in rural society, the internal market for such products shrank more and more.

great
similarity

- (1) B.M. 100 m. 44 - A letter to Lord North on the present proceedings of the E.I. Co. (p-12) (signed A.B. 1773).
- (2) NLS : Walker of Bowland Papers : Note seemingly in Walker's hand C.1820 (un-numbered).
- (3) NLS:- Walker - James Mill Correspondence : 14.9.1819 to 4.1820.
- (4) Cambridge University Thesis No.1773 of 1969-70: J.G. Borpujari Cotton Textile Industry (1757-1865) - (pp. 207-213)✓

2. Social Breakdown:

The accelerating impoverishment on the one hand and the deliberate replacement of Indian norms, legal arrangements, and priorities by British norms, laws etc, on the other led to an accelerating disintegration of Indian society, much more so in the areas directly under British Rule or under the complete control of political residents. Initially the people tried to make do with their reduced means, and for the next few decades the religious and cultural framework somehow kept on. With mounting pressure (not only economic, juridical but also of downright prohibitions and ridicule), even this framework more or less collapsed. In cases ^{where} it continued, it became a participant in the oppression of the people (of the peasants who for ages past had cultivated the lands assigned to such institutions or framework at more or less nominal rates compared to the rates of assessment imposed by the British, of others whom it had helped to educate and raise their cultural level, and yet others who came to such institutions as pilgrims etc, and were previously provided free hospitality and now tended to be ^{at times} symbolically plundered).

Eventually the social system, and its mores, began to shrink within itself and became more and more literal and ritualistic. Even sayings about social relationships etc. (like explaining the distance between a Brahmin and a Chandala) which anciently may have been symbolic in their meaning began to be taken more and more literally. Inevitably for their own survival the relatively powerful (individuals, groups, castes etc.) began to be indifferent to others and losing all hope and protection the weaker and poorer became wholly destitute. The British taking away the assigned incomes of millions (who had been part of the social infra-structure), most of them became even more destitute than those who had become landless labourers or unemployed craftsmen. Impoverishment, social chaos, and callousness then fast began to be the symbols of Indian life.

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(5) IOR (55) 2285 Vol. 12 : Pattle pan Luskerpore
to Council of Rev. Murshidabad : 22.8.1772 :
On a case of abortion - waiting for punishment.

3. General Decline in Culture

With large number of people becoming paupers (it became ^{the} policy to drive out the small peasant out of his land, the small craftsman out of his craft as happened in 18th-early 19th Century Britain itself) the whole culture went in decline too. Education definitely declined and along with it public festivity. The terror of being forced for begar (even if actually not many people in terms of percentages were forced into it) made living even more uncertain and one was reduced to be on a constant hop to keep away from the eyes of authority. Even after 1900 even the home-coming Kumaon soldiers were liable for enforcement as porters for British military or civil personnel. The argument used was how could they be exempted when even the 'pujaris' of the Himalayan temples were liable to be enforced for such tasks. Around 1800 at times even the steel-manufacturers of South India were kept away ^{from} ~~from~~ their furnances to carry military loads.

For large parts of India the scene of cleanliness and dignity described by Wm. Hodges in 1781 became things of the past. The result was that after some 135 years, Gandhiji had to ask the question at the BHU in February 1916, that if our temples and lanes were in such insanitary conditions is that going to be the State of our Swaraj too?

That Indian culture meant less than nothing to great Englishmen is clear from the observation of Wm. Wilberforce, James Mill, Macaulay and even Karl Marx. But it also meant little to most of those British people who lived in India and ruled it directly. Lord Bentinck, as Viceroy, at one time, contemplated selling of the marble of the Taj Mahal to raise additional revenue. According to the British art historian of India, J. Fergusson, the Konark Temple "had a

narrow escape from being employed to build a light house on False point. It was however found that the river afforded an easier communication to the fort and palace of Barabatti, which was therefore (employed) for this laudable purpose". Fergusson added, "The road to Puri, the nearest European station, is so bad that it has hitherto escaped being employed to build a gaol or repair the station bridges. But as there can be little doubt that the native intelligence of the present rulers of India will soon find some useful purpose to which to apply so splendid a quarry, I can only regret that the burning sun and dashing rain of the month of June on the shores of the bay prevented me from doing more than I was able to accomplish for the illustration of so splendid a building."

(6) IOL : X.473 : Fergusson. Temple of Konark : p.28

4. The Impact on Adjoining Areas:

In a way India's weakness, and its falling prey to European dominance had tragic consequences for the areas around India, particularly all those bounded by the Indian ocean from the Eastern coast of Africa, West Asia, Afghanistan, Tibet, Burma, to the areas of S.E. Asia. The possession of India required the possession or at least the domination of these areas too.

(7) e.g. see about influencing Arabs SRO : GD/51/3/544 if 201-207 V - J. Milne MD, 5.11.1809, to (perhaps) Board of Control.

5. The Erosion of Dignity and Self-image:

The most damaging and prolonged effect however has been in the sphere of the emerging of an enforced subservient attitude (or at times a double facedness) and the inculcation

amongst the people of their cultural, racial and moral inferiority. This phenomena in fact got accelerated from 1850 onwards, especially after 1857-8, and owes a great deal to the literary outputs of scholars (mainly British, but others too including westernised Indian) who began to present Indian society and history as of perenial misery and the ordinary Indian always having led a miserable and sub-servient life. This phenomena had to an extent even begun before 1820 and Elphinstone and his Council in Bombay at that time had thought that this was the inevitable consequence of British rule. It is only after the coming of Gandhiji, i.e. ^{from about} ~~from about~~ 1916 onwards that the Indians began to regain a sense of dignity and stand up to authority. But the residues of 150-200 years of subjugation do not seem to disappear that easily.
