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Arthur Rodgers

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Nawab of Awadh and Nawabs of Bhopal in the Battle of Bhopal

Nawab of Awadh

The **Nawab of Awadh** or the **Nawab of Oudh**/ˈaʊd/ was the title of the rulers who governed the state of Awadh (anglicised as Oudh) in north India during the 18th and 19th centuries. The Nawabs of Awadh belonged to a dynasty of Persian origin from Nishapur, Iran. In 1724, Nawab Sa'adat Khan established the Oudh State with their capital in Faizabad and Lucknow.

History

The Nawabs of Awadh were semi-autonomous rulers within the fragmented polities of Mughal India after the death of Aurangzeb. They fought wars with the Peshwa, the Battle of Bhopal against the Maratha Confederacy which was opposed to the Mughal Empire, and the Battle of Karnal as courtiers of the "Great Moghul".

The Nawab of Awadh, along with many other Nawab were regarded as members of the nobility of the greater Mughal Empire. They joined Ahmad Shah Durrani during the Third Battle of Panipat and restored the imperial throne Shah Alam II. The Nawab of Awadh also fought the Battle of Buxarin the aftermath of the Battle of Plassey, preserving the interests of

the Moghul. Oudh State eventually declared itself independent from the rule of the "Great Moghul" in 1818.

Saadat Ali Khan I

Saadat Ali Khan (c. 1680 – 19 March 1739) was the Subahdar Nawab of Awadh (Oudh) from 26 January 1722 to 1739 and the son of Muhammad Nasir. At age 25 he accompanied his father on the final campaign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb against the Maratha in the Deccan, and the emperor awarded him the title of Khan Bahadur for his service.

Early life

Khan's date of birth has not been recorded. According to historian Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, Khan was born in c. 1680 and his birth name was Mir Muhammad Amin. His father was Mir Muhammad Nasir, a merchant in Khorasan. Khan had one elder brother, Mir Muhammad Baqar. One of their ancestors was Mir Shamsuddin, a *sayyid* (descendant of Muhammad) and a *kazi* (Islamic judge) in Nishapur. He was a twenty-first-generation descendant of Musa al-Kadhim, the seventh imam of Shia Islam. No historian has recorded any events in Khan's early life.

The Safavid dynasty began declining in the mid-seventeenth century. Sultan Husayn (the last Safavid monarch) alienated his court's nobility, and Khan's family was reduced to poverty. To try his luck in India, Khan's father and elder brother migrated to Bengal in late 1707 during the reign of Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah I. From there they went to Bihar,

settled in Patna and were granted an allowance by Murshid Quli Khan. At this time, Khan lived in Nishapur. According to historian Kamaluddin Haider, his wife ridiculed him for being a hanger-on in her father's house. Stung, Khan migrated to India in search of job. According to historian Ghulam Ali, he arrived in Patna in 1708 or 1709. Khan's father died before his arrival, and was buried "some distance away from his new home". In 1709, the brothers started for Delhi in search of employment.

Khan was employed by an *amil* (village head), and lived in poverty during his first year in Delhi. In July 1710, he and his brother were employed by Sarbuland Khan. Sarbuland Khan, a fellow Persian and *sayyid*, was the *faujdar* (garrison commander) of Kara-Manikpur in Prayagraj and made Khan his *mir manzil* (camp superintendent). After the defeat and death of Azim-ush-Shan (Sarbuland Khan's employer), Jahandar Shah ascended the Mughal throne and transferred Sarbuland Khan to Ahmedabad; Khan accompanied him in November 1712. By the end of the year, the relationship between Khan and Sarbuland Khan had deteriorated. Heavy rain and high winds tore down Khan's tents; Sarbuland Khan had to spent the night in a bullock cart, and criticised Khan for putting the tents up in a poor place. Khan disagreed, and Sarbuland Khan accused him of behaving like a *haft hazari* (master of seven thousand troops). Khan replied that that was an "auspicious prophecy" of his career; after moving to Delhi and becoming a *haft hazari*, he would rejoin Sarbuland Khan's service.

On 12 January 1713, Farrukhsiyar ascended the Mughal throne with the help of the Sayyid brothers. During his reign Khan arrived at Delhi. With the patronage of Muhammad Jafar, a friend of Farrukhsiyar, Khan succeeded in getting a *mansab*

of a *hazari* (1,000 horses) and became the commander of the Wala-Shahi regiment. Jafar's death in 1716 left Khan without any patron in the royal court. He failed to get any promotion in the following three years.

In 1719, Farrukshiyar was deposed by the Sayyid brothers. During the reign of Shah Jahan II, Khan accompanied Syed Hassan Ali Khan Barha (the elder Sayyid brother) in his expedition against Maharaja Jai Singh II of Jaipur. Khan's *husn-i-akhlaq* (elegance of manners) and military skill won him the patronage of Syed Hussain Ali Khan, the younger Sayyid brother. Hussain Ali Khan appointed him *faujdar* (garrison commander) of Hindaun and Bayana in present-day Rajasthan on 6 October 1719, and Khan took charge in November. The Rajput and Jat zamindars (landlords) were rebelling; Khan began recruiting more troops, and borrowed from the *wazir* (minister) of the province. With the help of auxiliary troops, Khan suppressed the rebellion in the area; the zamindars, attacked one by one, were forced to surrender. After restoring law and order within six months of his appointment, Khan was promoted to the rank of 15 *sad-izat* (commander of 1,500 horses) in the army.

By the end of 1719, friction arose between Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Sayyid brothers. Nizam-ul-Mulk killed Dilawar Khan (Syed Hussain Ali Khan's agent) at the Asirgarh Fort in June 1720 and killed Sayyid Alam Khan, a relative (nephew, brother's son) of the Sayyid brothers, in August. Hussain Ali Khan decided to march to the Deccan Plateau, and Hassan Ali Khan agreed to march towards Delhi. Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah also started for the Deccan from Agra. A few days before Shah began his journey, a conspiracy was hatched at the royal camp

to kill Hussain Ali Khan. The chief conspirator was Muhammad Amin Khan Turani, an uncle of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Khan switched his allegiance to the conspirators, for reasons not documented in contemporary records. According to historian Ashirbadi Lal Srivastava, "worldly riches and power" were the reasons behind Khan's decision to change factions. Khafi Khan writes that Khan was incited to join the conspiracy due to his anger at the murder of Farrukhsiyar. The conspirators met frequently to outline a plan to assassinate Hussain Ali Khan, who was killed by Haider Begh Daulat on 8 October 1720. The following day, Muhammad Shah held a royal *durbar* and rewarded Khan and his co-conspirators. He was given the title Saadat Khan Bahadur (lord of good fortune), and was promoted to 5,000 *zat* and 3,000 horses. According to an anonymous Persian historian, Khan plundered Hussain Ali Khan's treasury with the consent of the Mughal emperor.

Governor of Akbarabad

Khan was promoted to a rank of 6,000 *zat* and 5,000 horses, and was appointed governor of Akbarabad province (present-day Agra), on 15 October 1720. He received the title *Burhan-ul-Mulk*, and appointed Nilkanth as his deputy.

When he reached Akbarabad, Khan decided to put down a Jat rebellion and defeated the Jats of Mathura and Bharatpur. They fled to their mud forts on the Delhi-Mathura road. Khan besieged them, capturing four of the forts. Nilkanth's troops fought Mukkam Singh (a son of Jat leader Churaman) in September 1721, and Nilkanth was killed in the battle.

In October, Khan decided to fight Churaman. Churaman's nephew, Badan Singh, defected to the Mughal side. However, Khan Dauran dismissed Khan as governor of Akbarabad.

Governor of Awadh

After his dismissal from Agra, Khan went to Delhi. He was appointed governor of Awadh (in present-day Uttar Pradesh) on 9 September 1722 after the transfer of provincial governor Girdhar Bahadur. Khan gathered his troops including Kalika Prasad Tandon and recruited more before leaving for the province. During his journey, he stayed at Farrukhabad. Muhammad Khan Bangash, the Afghan chief of the city, gave him information about the strength of Shaikhzadas (a community which ruled Lucknow). He advised Khan to befriend the sheikhs of Kakori, adversaries of the Shaikhzadas, before entering Lucknow. Khan did so, and the sheikhs informed him about the strengths and weaknesses of the Shaikhzadas of Lucknow. He then marched towards Lucknow, and camped on the city's outskirts. Khan crossed the Gomti River by night, and silently entered the city with his artillery. After pulling down the sword which hung on the gates of the city, he attacked the Shaikhzadas at the Akbari Gate. In the ensuing battle, the Shaikhzadas were defeated and driven from Panchmahala (their palace).

At the start of Khan's governorship of Awadh, its zamindars refused to follow Mughal regulations. Khan tried to solve Awadh's fiscal and *jagirdar* problems, sending agents to assess crop yields. He soon realized that, except for the zamindars, no one (including the local officials) welcomed his scheme; *jagirdar* agents tried to prevent its implementation. The

jagirdar's*amils* (personal staff) viewed his scheme as an attempt by Khan to subvert the existing *jagirdar* system. This alarmed him, since he did not want to alienate the *jagirdars*. In response, he offered a discount on the *jagir* assessment paid by the *jagirdars*. Saiyad Ghulam Ali, author of *Imad-us-Sadat*, calls this system *ijara*. This scheme stabilised provincial administration, since the *jagirdars*s no longer had to send their staff to the fields; the *amils* (appointed by the governor) were now accountable to him, and local officials were to approach them directly to resolve disputes. Thus, Khan ended the administrative authority of the *jagirdars* over their *jagirs*.

Confrontation with Nader Shah

In early 1739, Persian ruler Nader Shah invaded India. To help Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah, Khan marched with a cavalry of 30,000 from Awadh. During his stay at Panipat, Nader Shah's army tried vainly to intercept him. On 12 February, Khan joined Muhammad Shah's forces at Karnal. When Nader Shah learned about the reinforcement, he moved his camp three miles from the Mughal side.

The Persian army clashed with Khan's troops on 22 February. When he heard the news, Khan picked up the sword he had laid in front of Muhammad Shah and asked his permission to attack the Persian army. According to historian Hari Charan Das, the Mughal emperor distrusted the Persian Khan and made him swear allegiance in the name of the Quran. Nizam-ul-Mulk further delayed his advance by claiming that Khan's troops were tired from a month-long march, and Khan would soon have to retreat because there were only three hours of daylight left. Nusrat Jung told him that the Mughal forces were

not ordered to fight during the day. Khan, refusing to heed their pleas, ordered his troops to assemble. Although they were tired and most were reluctant to fight, 4,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry joined him.

When the Persian soldiers saw Khan advancing, they pretended to flee the battlefield; Khan chased them two miles from the Mughal camp, and sent couriers to Muhammad Shah asking for reinforcements. Khan Dauran, commander of the right wing and nearest to Khan, was dispatched with 8,000 horses. During the afternoon, the Mughal emperor joined Khan on the battlefield. Khan formed the right wing of the imperial army, on the east.

On 23 February 1739 at 1 pm, he began advancing towards Nader Shah's army. Shah's army shot arrows at Khan and his troops, and Khan charged them. The Persian army strategically retreated, leaving their weapons. Khan thought that they had fled, and again sent couriers to the Mughal emperor requesting reinforcements. The Persian army then began a cavalry attack, which killed many in Khan's army. This enraged Khan's nephew, Sher Jung, who chased Khan into the Persian ranks; Khan vainly shot arrows at him. A Turkmen soldier in the Persian army from Nishapur, Khan's birthplace, recognized him; he climbed to the *howdah* (seat on an elephant), hailed Khan and asked him to surrender. Khan was taken as a prisoner to Nader Shah's camp.

After the Isha prayer, he was brought before Nader Shah. Asked why he fought against a Persian of the same religion (Shia Islam), Khan replied that he did not want to betray the Mughal emperor. During their conversation, Shah appreciated

Khan's patriotism and love of his religion. He asked Khan to outline a plan in which he could extort money from Muhammad Shah and return to Persia to fight the Turks. Khan replied that Nizam-ul-Mulk "is the key of the empire of India", and advised Shah to negotiate with him. Shah and Khan wrote to the Nizam the next morning, and the Mughals agreed to pay □5 million (equivalent to □3.1 billion or US$43 million in 2019) to the Persian conqueror.

On 25 February, Muhammad Shah made Ghazi ud-Din Khan Feroze Jung II, the eldest son of Nizam-ul-Mulk, *mir bakshi* (equivalent to an army's paymaster general). This angered Khan, who desired the appointment and told Nader Shah that □5 million (equivalent to □3.1 billion or US$43 million in 2019) was a small portion of the Mughal treasury. He advised Nader Shah to conquer Delhi (where he could loot jewels, cash and other valuables), Shah gave Khan permission to attack the city. When Muhammad Shah arrived at the Persian camp, he was arrested and his harem was confiscated. Nader Shah made Khan the army's *wakil-i-mutaliq* (regent plenipotentiary), and Muhammad Shah was also forced to accept him.

Khan and Tehmasp Khan Jalair started for Delhi with an army of 4,000 horses on 7 March. Khan carried a letter from Muhammad Shah to Lutfullah Khan Sadiq, the governor of Delhi, asking Sadiq to give Jalair the key to the palaces. Khan reached Delhi on 9 March, and welcomed both the emperors in Shalimar Bagh eight days later. On the night of 19/20 March he retired to his house, and died before dawn. There is no consensus amongst historians about his cause of death. According to historian Abul Qasim Lahori, Khan died of "bodily ailments". Haricharan Das believes that he succumbed to a

cancer which had developed in his legs. Rustam Ali, the author of *Tarikh-i-Hind*, says that Khan committed suicide by drinking poison.

Issue and succession

Khan had five daughters and no sons. He gave his eldest daughter in marriage to his nephew, Muhammad Muqim, better known as Safdar Jung. Khan's sister was Jung's mother; his father was Sayadat Khan, a descendant of Qara Yusuf. Jung succeeded Khan as ruler of Awadh. All subsequent Nawabs of Awadh down to Wajid Ali Shah are thus descended from Khan through his daughter.

Safdar Jang

Abul Mansur Mirza Muhammad Muqim Ali Khan (b. c. 1708 – d. 5 October 1754), better known as **Safdar Jang**, was a major figure at the Mughal court during the declining years of the Mughal empire. He became the second Nawab Vazier of Awadh when he succeeded Saadat Ali Khan I (his maternal uncle and father-in-law) in 1739. All future Nawabs of Oudh were male line descendants of Safdar Jung.

Biography

He was a descendant of Qara Yusuf from the Kara Koyunlu. In 1739, he succeeded his father-in-law and maternal uncle, Burhan-ul-Mulk Saadat Ali Khan I to the throne of Oudh and ruled from 19 March 1739 to 5 October 1754.. The Mughal

Emperor Muhammad Shah gave him the title of "Safdar Jang". Safdar Jang was an able administrator. He was not only effective in keeping control of Oudh, but also managed to render valuable assistance to the weakened Emperor Muhammad Shah. He was soon given governorship of Kashmir as well, and became a central figure at the Delhi court. During the later years of Muhammad Shah, he gained complete control of administration over the whole Mughal Empire. When Ahmad Shah Bahadur ascended the throne at Delhi in 1748, Safdar Jung became his *Wazir-ul-Mumalik-i-Hindustan* or Prime Minister of Hindustan. He was also made the governor of Ajmer and became the "Faujdar" of Narnaul. However, court politics eventually overtook him and he was dismissed in 1753. He returned to Oudh in December 1753 and selected Faizabad as his military headquarter and administrative capital. He died in October 1754 at the age of 46 years in Sultanpur near Faizabad.

Tomb

Safdar Jang's Tomb was built in 1754 and is situated on a road now known as Safdar Jang Road, in New Delhi. Several other modern structures near the tomb also carry his name today like Safdar Jang Airport and Safdar Jang Hospital.

Shuja-ud-Daula

Shuja-ud-Daulah (b. 19 January 1732 – d. 26 January 1775) was the Subedar and Nawab of Oudh and the Vizier of Delhi from 5 October 1754 to 26 January 1775.

Early life

Shuja-ud-Daulah was the son of the Mughal Grand Vizier Safdarjung chosen by Ahmad Shah Bahadur. Unlike his father Shuja-ud-Daulah was known from an early age for his abilities to synthesize his subordinates, this skill would eventually cause him to emerge as the chosen Grand Vizier by Shah Alam II.

Shuja-ud-Daulah was a giant man. Nearly seven feet tall, with oiled moustaches that projected from his face like a pair of outstretched eagle's wings, he was a man of immense physical strength. By 1763, he was past his prime, but still reputedly strong enough to cut off the head of a buffalo with a single swing of his sword, or lift up two of his officers, one in each hand. Shuja-ud-Daulah is also known to have assisted the famous Alivardi Khan on various occasions when the territories of the Nawab of Bengal, were being ravaged by Raghoji I Bhonsle and his Marathas. Thus Shuja-ud-Daulah is known to have been a very respected figure among the servicemen of Alivardi Khan.

Nawab of Awadh

After the death of his father the Mughal Grand Vizier Safdarjung in the year 1753, Shuja-ud-Daula was recognized as the next Nawab by the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah Bahadur.

Shuja-ud-Daula despised Imad-ul-Mulk, an ally of the Marathas of the Maratha Empire whose regime emerged after

the Battle of Sikandarabad with the support of the Sadashivrao Bhau. Imad-ul-Mulk blinded Ahmad Shah Bahadur and placed Alamgir II on the Mughal imperial throne. Alamgir II and his son Prince Ali Gauhar, were often persecuted by Imad-ul-Mulk because they refused to abandon their peaceful terms with Ahmad Shah Durrani, they also demanded the resignation of Imad-ul-Mulk mainly due to his relations with the Marathas.

Grand Vizier of the Mughal Empire

Prince Ali Gauhar fled from Delhi when he realized a conspiracy that would eventually lead to the murder of the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II. Shuj-ud-Daula welcomed and protected Prince Ali Gauhar, who then declared himself Shah Alam II and officially recognized Shuja-ud-Daulah as the Grand Vizier of the Mughal Empire. Together they challenged the usurper Shah Jahan III, who was placed on the Mughal imperial throne by Sadashivrao Bhau and his forces, which plundered much of the Mughal Empire. Shah Alam II was then advised to lead an expedition that would attempt to retake the eastern regions of the Mughal Empire from Mir Jafar who was supported by the British East India Company. While Shuja-ud-Daula, Najib-ul-Daula and Mirza Jawan Bakht allied themselves with Ahmad Shah Durrani and assisted his forces during the Second Battle of Sikandarabad in the year 1760 and later led a Mughal Army of 43,000 during the Third Battle of Panipat.

Third Battle of Panipat

After escaping from Delhi due to the murder of his father the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II, the young Prince Ali Gauhar was

well received by Shuja-ud-Daula. The Nawab of Awadh and the newly appointed Mughal Grand Vizier Shuja-ud-Daula assured Prince Ali Gauhar that he and Najib-ud-Daula would initiate a struggle that would overthrow the Maratha if Prince Ali Gauhar would lead what remained of the Mughal Army against the expanding British East India Company in Bengal.

Shuja's decision about whom to join as an ally in the Third Battle of Panipat was one of the decisive factors that determined the outcome of the war as lack of food due to the Afghans cutting the supply lines of Marathas was one of the reasons that Marathas could not sustain the day-long battle. Their forces were weak due to starvation and also fighting facing the sun.

Shuja was earlier not very sure about whose side should he take before the Third Battle of Panipat. Marathas were still further south then and it would have taken them considerable time to reach Shuja's province. In spite of His mother was of the opinion that he should join the Marathas as they had helped his father previously on numerous occasions he Joined Abdali.

As the chosen Grand Vizier of the Mughal Empire, Shuja-ud-Daula commanded a sizeable army of Mughal troopers, who cut off the supplies of the Marathas and even defeated them in pitched confrontations during the Third Battle of Panipat and dispatched the Maratha leader Sadashivrao Bhau.

Battle of Buxar

Shuja is also known for his role in the Battle of Buxar, a battle that was no less definite in Indian history. He along with the

forces of Mughal emperor Shah Alam II & Mir Qasim ruler of Bengal were defeated by the British forces in one of the key battles in the history of British East India company.

Allahabad Treaty

He again fought British with the help of Marathas at Kara Jahanabad and was defeated. On 16 August 1765 AD he signed the Treaty of Allahabad, which said that Kora and Allahabad district will go to Company and the Company will get 5 million rupees from Awadh. British will be allowed free trade in Awadh and will help each other in case of war with other powers, which was a very shrewd politics of the Company.

To pay for the protection of British forces and assistance in war, Awadh gave up first the fort of Chunar, then districts of Benaras, Ghazipur and finally Allahabad.

Reemergence of Shah Alam II

After the defeat in the Battle of Buxar Shah Alam II realised that he needed the help of the East India Company to retain his throne with respect rather than becoming a puppet emperor dominated by Maratha's and he did so.

Death and burial

Shuja-ud-Daula died on 26 January 1775 in Faizabad, the then capital of Awadh, and was buried in the same city. His burial place is a tomb and known as Gulab Bari (Rose Garden).

Personal life

Shuja-ud-Daula's Turkic and Iranian Persian Twelver Shia Muslim royal family ruling the Oudh (Awadh) state in India obtained their eunuchs (khwajasarais) through crushing Hindu rebellions by their Indian Hindu subjects that they ruled, massacring Hindu men and enslaving the Hindu women and children with the South Asian Indian Hindu boys being castrated and sent into the harems for service as eunuchs. Jawahir Ali was a eunuch of Oudh state who was born a Hindu. The rulers of Oudh (Awadh) state were Twelver Shia while Rajput Hindus made up most of the local cultivator landholding rajas.

The Hindu Rajas of Khairabad rebelled since they refused to pay taxes to the Twelver Shia district administrator Nawab Muhammad Ali Khan so Nawab Muhammad Ali defeated the Hindus in battle and the Muslim historian Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh recorded in his book Tarikh Farahbakhsh that Muhammad Ali sent "hundreds of unbelievers (Hindus) to hell", enslaving their children and women and castrated the Hindu boys among the children. Adult Hindu women, Hindu girls, and Hindu boys like Jawahir Ali were enslaved by their Twelver Shia ruler. One Hindu boy died from being castrated but the rest of the Hindu boys including Jawahir Ali survived the castration and entered Muhammad Ali's service as eunuchs. The castrated Hindu boys were converted to Twelver Shia Islam and given Muslim names after being enslaved and then educated. The Twelver Shia Turkic Nawab of Oudh Shuja-ud-Daula (a descendant of the Turkic Twelver Shia Qara Qoyunlu dynasty through his father Safdar Jang) made Nawab

Muhammad Ali Khan give his eunuchs including Jawahir Ali to him. Jawahir Ali (Joahir Ali) served as nazir eunuch to Bahu Begum (Bahu Begam, Bahoo Begum or Buhoo Begum) (Begum Amanat-uz Zahra Bano), the Iranian Persian wife of the Turkic Twelver Shia ruler of Oudh, Shuja-ud-Daula. Bahu Begum owned multiple eunuchs, all of them of Indian Hindu background. One of them was born a eunuch with defective genital and sold to the Nawab by his family, Darab Ali Khan and he was a general agent of Bahu Begam after Jawahir Ali. Another was a Brahmin Hindu boy who was kidnaped by castrators, enslaved and castrated when he was 14 after his famine stricken parents sold him to a woman of Sayyid background and he was the treasurer of Bahu Begam, Bahar Ali. Jawahir Ali was the first general agent of Bahu Begam.

Bahu Begam's estates were managed by Javahir 'Ali Khan. The Twelver Shia cleric Mawlavi Muhammad Munir who came to Faizabad and was there during a riot in 1779 between Sufi pirs and physicians against Twelver Shia clerics. Muhammad Munir was paid a stipend and backed up by Javahir Ali. Javahir Ali sent soldiers to support the Twelver scholars against the physicians.

The Twelver Shia Usuli ulama were also supported by Javahir Ali when they implemented Friday prayers 7 years after the riots. Javahir paid 20 people to make people attend the 5 mandatory prayers and Friday prayer during the winter and rainy season. Bahu Begum was of Persian Iranian descent. The British East India Company under Warren Hastings tortured the eunuchs Bahar Ali and Jawahir Ali after they arrested Bahu Begum in 1781 in order to force them to give their treasure over.

Jawahir Ali Khan ordered 2 fellow eunuchs belonging to Bahu Begum, Sa'adat and Basharat to assist the Qadi (Qazi) at Ali Beg Khan mosque.

Due to cold weather, the eunuch minister Darab Ali Khan tried to stop Bahu Begam from reciting Fatiha at Imam Husain's tazia during Muharram but she went regardless and got a fever and cold.

Bahu Begum only allowed Jawahir to enter when she was on her Sedan Chair speaking before British East India Company representative Mr. Lumsden in Lucknow. Darab Ali Khan came from the Salone district, Rusulabad. Jawahir was interred in an imambarah made out of wood after he died in 1799 in Faizabad.

Bahu Begum had another favourite eunuch, Tehsin Ali Khan who died on 27 August 1818. He constructed a mosque and owned a Serai. Bahu Begum's name was Amanat-uz Zahra and her eunuch Jawahar Ali Khan built an Imambara in Faizabad. Bahu Begam was the younger sister of Mirza Muhammad

As there is a full account given of Jawahir 'Ali Ḳbán in connection with Faizábád, there is no need to speak of him here. Having filled the office of the Nazárat on earth for thirty-four years after the death of Nusrat 'Ali ḳhán, he was summoned in 1214 A.H. [1799 A.D.), to superintend the huris of Firdaus, and hastened. to Paradise. Then the lucrative appointments which he had vacated were conferred on Muhammad Dáráb. Ali Ḳbán. Although Jawahir . 'Ali Khán had thrice the dignity and opulence of his father, for his authority extended from the mountain of Butwal on the north to the banks of the Ganges on the south, and he had more than 10,000 horse and foot, and*

had personal property greater than all the other eunuchs of Faizábád had been able to collect in their whole lives, yet he was never known to utter an arrogant or haughty word, and never assumed any manner or a form of speech which savoured of pride or arrogance. As he had evinced from his early boyhood a taste for literature, he was constantly engaged in reading, and when any literary discussion took place, he used to leave the most urgent business to go and share its advantages. In his early years he was fond of Arabic, and becoming proficient in etymology, syntax, and logic, he entered on the study of Ṣadra; but owing to his tours and journeys, which he had to make to Lucknow each year and sometimes to the mountain of Butwal, he was unable to make further progress.

He was an able expositor of the ambiguities of Persian poetry. Enigmas and riddles were solved in gatherings around him. Above all, he was especially fond of historical works. He read from beginning to end the Sháhnáma, Hamla-i-Haidarí, the Masnavís of Jalálu'ddín Rúmi, Ma'arifu'nnabuwat, Rauzatu'ssafa, Habibu'ssiyar, Shahjabánnáma, Akbarnáma, Taimúrnáma, Táriḳh Farishta, and every other book on which he could lay his hands. The duty of reading these aloud to him was imposed on me. He used to listen to them from sunset until midnight. I heard many narratives and tales while thus privileged with the enjoyment of his society. He always sought the company of scholars, poets, and men of science. He is dead and gone.

* The relation of an old eunuch to a younger one as guru and chelá (priest and novice) is often referred to in this work. When a eunuch adopted another they were spoken of as father and son. This is the relation here alluded to, Jawábir 'Ali being looked on as the adopted son of Nusrat 'Ali, whom he

succeeded. Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh, "Memoirs of Delhi and Faizábád: Being a Translation of the Tárí□h Farahba□hsh of Muhammad Faiz Ba□hsh from the Original Persian, Volume 1", pages iv-v.

Yusuf Ali Khan and Ambar Ali Khan were 2 other eunuch boys who were raised with Jawahir Ali Khan. Ambar Ali Khan was taken prisoner in the same battle as Jawahir Ali Khan when the Twelver Shia Commissioner Muhammad Ali Khan defeated the Hindu Rajputs of Khairabad (Sitapur) and castrated the Hindu boys. Jawahir Ali Khan used white clothing for Mewatis, black clothing for irregulars and livery in mango green for household troops (Sahib Khanis) when he ordered his servants and soldiers to parade in Lucknow while he was administrator. Jawahir Ali patronized intellectuals and culture as well as engaging in horsemanship and archery practice every day. He did not wear ornate, expensive or elaborate clothing and did not do extravagant grooming, since as a high ranking eunuch (khwajasarai) his mistress did not need to flaunt her wealth through him. Jawahir Ali Khan cone had 1,000 servants shout "Din, Din" while raising banners and wearing white robes after taking off their black robes. One of his officials was Akhund Ahmad. Jawahir Ali had a dispute with his mistress Bahu Begum when he was blocking a road once and she sent a eunuch to tell him to stop it.

Asaf-ud-Daula

- **Asaf-ud-Daula** (b. 23 September 1748 – d. 21 September 1797) was the Nawab wazir of Oudh (a vassal of the British) ratified by Shah Alam II, from

26 January 1775 to 21 September 1797, and the son of Shuja-ud-Dowlah. His mother and grandmother were the Begums of Oudh.

Reign

Asaf-ud-Daula became nawab at the age of 26, on the death of his father, Shuja-ud-daula, on 28 January 1775. He assumed the throne with the aid of the British East India Company, outmanoeuvring his younger brother Saadat Ali who led a failed mutiny in the army. British Colonel John Parker defeated the mutineers decisively, securing Asaf-ud-Daula's succession. His first chief minister was Mukhtar-ud-Daula who was assassinated in the revolt.

The other challenge to Asaf's rule was his mother Umat-ul-Zohra (better known as Bahu Begum), who had amassed considerable control over the treasury and her own *jagirs* and private armed forces. She, at one point, sought the Company's direct assistance in the appointment of anti-Asaf ministers. When Shuja-ud-Daula died he left two million pounds sterling buried in the vaults of the zenana. The widow and mother of the deceased prince claimed the whole of this treasure under the terms of a will which was never produced. When Warren Hastings pressed the nawab for the payment of debt due to the Company, he obtained from his mother a loan of 26 lakh (2.6 million) rupees, for which he gave her a jagir (land) of four times the value; of subsequently obtained 30 lakh (3 million) more in return for a full acquittal, and the recognition of her jagirs without interference for life by the Company. These jagirs were afterwards confiscated on the ground of the begum's complicity in the rising of Chait Singh, which was

attested by documentary evidence. Ultimately this removed Umat-ul-Zohra as an obstacle to Asaf's reign. In the aftermath of Saadat's revolt, Asaf sought to restructure the government particularly by appointing nobles favourable to his cause and British officers to his military. Asaf appointed Hasan Riza Khan as his chief minister. Although he had little experience in administration, his assistant Haydar Beg Khan turned out to be a valuable support. Tikayt Ray was appointed finance minister.

Asaf was known for his generosity, particularly the offering of food and public employment in times of famine. Notably, the Bara Imambara, a mosque in Lucknow, was constructed during his reign by destitute workers seeking employment. A popular saying of the time of his benevolence: *jisko na de maulā, usko de Asaf-ud-daulā* "to whom even God does not give, Asaf-ud-Daula gives." He was painted several times by Johann Zoffany.

Shifting the capital

In 1775 he moved the capital of Awadh from Faizabad to Lucknow and built various monuments in and around Lucknow, including the Bara Imambara.

Architectural and other contribution

Nawab Asaf-ud-Dowlah is considered the architect general of Lucknow. With the ambition to outshine the splendour of Mughal architecture, he built a number of monuments and developed the city of Lucknow into an architectural marvel. Several of the buildings survive today, including the famed

Asafi Imambara which attracts tourists even today, and the Qaisar Bagh area of downtown Lucknow where thousands live in resurrected buildings.

The Asafi Imambara is a famed vaulted structure surrounded by beautiful gardens, which the Nawab started as a charitable project to generate employment during the famine of 1784. In that famine even the nobles were reduced to penury. It is said that Nawab Asaf employed over 20,000 people for the project (including commoners and noblemen), which was neither a masjid nor a mausoleum (contrary to the popular contemporary norms of buildings). The Nawab's sensitivity towards preserving the reputation of the upper class is demonstrated in the story of the construction of Imambara. During daytime, common citizens employed on the project would construct the building. On the night of every fourth day, the noble and upper-class people were employed in secret to demolish the structure built, an effort for which they received payment. Thus their dignity was preserved.

The Nawab became so famous for his generosity that it is still a well-known saying in Lucknow that "he who does not receive (livelihood) from the Ali-Moula, will receive it from Asaf-ud-Doula" (*Jisko na de Moula, usko de Asaf-ud-Doula*).

Rumi Darwaza (*Turkish Gate*)

The Rumi Darwaza, which stands sixty feet tall, was modeled (1784) after the Sublime Porte (Bab-iHümayun) in Istanbul, is one of the very important examples of the exchange between the two cultures.

Death

He died on 21 September 1797 in Lucknow and is buried at Bara Imambara, Lucknow.

Wazir Ali Khan

- **Wazir Ali Khan** (b. 19 April 1780 – d. 15 May 1817) was the fourth Nawab wazir of Oudh from 21 September 1797 to 21 January 1798, and the adopted son of Asaf-Ud-Daulah.

Life

He was the adopted son of Asaf-Ud-Dowlah, who had no son. He adopted a boy who was the son of his sister. At 13 years of age, Ali was married at the cost of £300,000 in Lucknow.

After the death of his surrogate father in September 1797, he ascended to the throne (*musnud*), with the support of the British. Within four months they accused him of being unfaithful. Sir John Shore (1751–1834) then moved in with 12 battalions and replaced him with his uncle Saadat Ali Khan II.

Ali was granted a pension of 3,00,000 Rupees and moved to Benares. The government in Calcutta decided that he should be removed further from his former realm. George Frederick Cherry, a British resident, relayed this order to him on 14 January 1799 during a breakfast invitation at which Ali had appeared with an armed guard. During the ensuing argument,

Ali struck Cherry a blow with his saber, whereupon the guards killed the resident and two more Europeans. They then set out to attack the house of Samuel Davis, the Magistrate of Benares, who defended himself on the staircase of his house with a pike until rescued by British troops. The affair became known as the Massacre of Benares.

Subsequently, Ali assembled a rebellious army of several thousand men. A quickly assembled force commanded by General Erskine moved into Benares and "restored order" by 21 January. Ali fled to Azamgarh then to Butwal, Rajputana where he was granted asylum by the Raja of Jaipur. On request of Arthur Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, the Raja turned Ali over to the British on the condition that he neither be hanged nor be put in fetters. Ali surrendered to the British authorities in December 1799 and was placed in rigorous confinement at Fort William, Calcutta.

The colonial government complied with this: Ali spent the rest of life – 17 years – in an iron cage in Fort William in the Bengal Presidency. He was buried in the Muslim graveyard of *Kasi Baghan*.

Children

- Mirza Jalaluddin Haidar Ali Jhan Bahadur born 1798, married and got Issue
- Nawab Mubarak ud-Daula, who moved to Ottoman Empire
- Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan
- Sahibzadi Saadatunnisa Begum

Saadat Ali Khan II

Yameen-ud Daula Saadat Ali Khan II Bahadur (bf. 1752 – c. 11 July 1814) was the sixth Nawab of Oudh from 21 January 1798 to 11 July 1814, and the son of Shuja-ud-Daula. He was of Persian origin.

Life

He was the second son of Nawab Shuja-ud-daula. Saadat Ali Khan succeeded his half-nephew, Mirza Wazir `Ali Khan, to the throne of Oudh in 1798. Saadat Ali Khan was crowned on 21 January 1798 at Bibiyapur Palace in Lucknow, by Sir John Shore.

In 18, the British concluded a treaty with him, by which half of his dominions were ceded to the East India Company, in return for perpetual British protection of Oudh, from all internal and external disturbances and threats (the British were to later renege on this promise).

The districts ceded (then yielding a total revenue of 1 Crore & 35 Lakhs of Rupees) are as under:

- Etawa
- Kora
- Kurra
- Rehur
- Farruckabad
- Khyreegurh
- Mounal

- Kunchunpore
- Azimgarh
- Benjun
- Goruckpore
- Botwul
- Allahabad
- Bareilly
- Moradabad
- Bijnore
- Budown
- hilibheet
- Shahjehanpore
- Nawabgunge
- Rehlee
- Mohowl (less Jaulluk Arwu)

Following the cessation, he reduced the Oudh Army from 80,000 to 30,000 men.

He had three sons, Ghazi ad-Din Haydar, Shams-ud-daula, and Nasser-ud-daula. His son Ghazi ad-Din succeeded him, and later his grandson, Nasser ad-Din Haydar.

After that, his son Nasser-ud-daula succeeded the throne, whilst his grandson, Iqbal-ud-daula, son of Shams-ud-daula, made claims to the throne in 1838. It is important to note that Saadat Ali Khan preferred his son Shams-ud-daula and desired to proclaim his heir, but was prevented by British interference.

Most of the buildings between the Kaiserbagh and Dilkusha were constructed by him. He had a palace called Dilkusha Kothi designed and built by Sir Gore Ouseley in 1805.

Death

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan died in 1814 and he was buried with his wife Khursheed Zadi at Qaisar Bagh.

Nawabs of Bhopal

The Nawabs of Bhopal were the Muslim rulers of Bhopal, now part of Madhya Pradesh, India. The nawabs first ruled under the Mughal Empire from 1707 to 1737, under the Maratha Empire from 1737 to 1818, then under British rule from 1818 to 1947, and independently thereafter until it was acceded to the Union of India in 1949. The female nawabs of Bhopal held the title Nawab Begum of Bhopal.Nawabs of Bhopal

- Nawab Dost Muhammad Khan (circa 1672-1728); founded the state of Bhopal in 1707 and ruled it until 1728. He also founded the city of Islamnagar, founded by Dost Mohammad Khan in 1716 and early 1720s.
- Nawab Sultan Muhammad (1720-?); ruled from 1728 to 1742.
- Nawab Yar Muhammad Khan (1709-1742), Regent of Bhopal; 1728-1742.
- Nawab Faiz Mohammad Khan (1731-1777); ruled from 1742 to 1777.
- Nawab Hayat Muhammad Khan (1736-1807); ruled from 1777 to 1807.
- Nawab Ghaus Muhammad Khan (1767-1826); ruled from 1807 to 1826.

- Nawab Muiz Muhammad Khan (circa 1795-1869); ruled from 1826 to 1837.
- Nawab Jahangir Muhammad Khan (1816-1844); ruled from 1837 to 1844.

Dost Mohammad of Bhopal

Dost Mohammad Khan (c. 1657–1728) was the founder of Bhopal State in central India. He founded the modern city of Bhopal, the capital of the Madhya Pradesh state.

A Pashtun from Tirah, Dost Mohammad Khan joined the Mughal Army at Delhi in 1703. He rapidly rose through the ranks, and was assigned to the Malwa province in central India. After the death of the emperor Aurangzeb, Khan started providing mercenary services to several local chieftains in the politically unstable Malwa region. In 1709, he took on the lease of Berasia estate, while serving the small Rajput principality of Mangalgarh as a mercenary. He invited his Pashtun kinsmen to Malwa to create a group of loyal associates. Khan successfully protected Mangalgarh from its other Rajput neighbors, married into its royal family, and took over the state after the death of its heirless dowager Rani.

Khan sided with the local Rajput chiefs of Malwa in a rebellion against the Mughal empire. Defeated and wounded in the ensuing battle, he ended up helping an injured Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan Barha, one of the Sayyid Brothers. This helped him gain the friendship of the Sayyid Brothers, who had become highly influential king-makers in the Mughal court. Subsequently, Khan annexed several territories in Malwa to his state. Khan also provided mercenary services to the Rani

Kamlapati, the ruler of a small Gond kingdom, and received the territory of Bhopal (then a small village) in lieu of payment. After the Rani's death, he killed her son and annexed the Gond kingdom. During the early 1720s, he transformed the village of Bhopal into a fortified city, and claimed the title of Nawab, which was used by the Muslim rulers of princely states in India.

Khan's support to the Sayyid Brothers earned him the enmity of the rival Mughal nobleman Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Nizam invaded Bhopal in March 1724, forcing Khan to cede much of his territory, give away his son as hostage and accept the Nizam's suzerainty. In his final years, Khan sought inspiration from Sufi mystics and saints, veering towards spiritualism. He and the other Pathans who settled in Bhopal during his reign, brought the Pathan and Islamic influence to the culture and architecture of Bhopal.

At its zenith, the Bhopal State comprised a territory of around 7,000 square miles (18,000 km). Nearly a century after Khan's death, the state became a British protectorate in 1818, and was ruled by the descendants of Dost Mohammad Khan till 1949, when it was merged with the Dominion of India.

Early life

Dost Mohammad Khan was born in the Tirah region of Bangash district on the western frontier of the Mughal Empire (now in Federally Administered Tribal Areas, Pakistan). His father Nur Mohammad Khan was a Pashtun nobleman belonging to the Mirazikhel clan of the Orakzai tribe. This tribe lives in Tirah and the Peshawar region.

In his mid-20s, Dost Mohammad Khan was engaged to Mehraj Bibi, an attractive girl from a neighboring Orakzai clan. However, Mehraj was later betrothed to his cousin, because Khan's character was seen as too aggressive and rough. An angry Khan killed his cousin, leading to his ostracism from his family.

Attracted by the promise of a bright future in the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb's service, Khan set out for Jalalabad, near Delhi, where his Pashtun relatives had settled. He was welcomed by the family of his relative Jalal Khan, the Mughal mansabdar (a military aristocrat) of Jalalabad's suburb Lohari. He arrived in Jalalabad sometime between 1696 and 1703, and spent some time with Jalal Khan's family. During a birthday celebration, a fight broke out between Dost and one of Jalal Khan's sons, over one of the young housemaids. Jalal Khan's son attacked Dost with a bow and arrow, and Dost killed him with a dagger in retaliation.

Following this incident, Dost Mohammad Khan decided to flee to Delhi, the Mughal capital. His horse collapsed and died after six hours of galloping. Khan continued his journey on foot and reached Karnal.

While waiting in front of a bakery to steal some food, he was recognized by the old clergyman Mullah Jamali of Kashgar, who had taught him Koran in Tirah. Mullah Jamali had left Pushtunistan, and had founded a madrasa (Muslim school) in Delhi. Khan spent around a year in Delhi under Mullah Jamali's shelter, after which he decided to join the Mughal army. The Mullah helped him financially by giving him a horse and five *asharfi*s (gold coins).

Mughal military service

In 1703, Dost Mohammad Khan enlisted with Mir Fazlullah, Aurangzeb's Keeper of Arms. Around 1704, he was ordered to quell a rebellion by the governor Tardi Beg, who commanded a sizable force in the Bundelkhand region. Khan led the Mughal regiment of Gwalior in a battle with the Tardi Beg's forces headed by General Kashko Khan. Although injured by the swords of Kashko Khan's guards and a *mahawat* (elephant rider), Khan managed to kill Kashko Khan in the battle. He delivered Kashko's severed head to Mir Fazlullah in Delhi.

In 1705, Mir Fazlullah presented Dost Mohammad Khan's regiment to the emperor Aurangzeb. According to the Khan's *rozanmacha* (daily diary), Aurangzeb was impressed by him, presented him with two fistful of gold coins, and asked Fazlullah to treat him well and give him an appropriate command. In return, Khan conveyed his loyalty to the Emperor. Following this, Khan rose rapidly through the ranks, and was assigned to the Malwa province in central India. Malwa was politically unstable at the time, and Aurangzeb had been replacing the governors in rapid succession. The Marathas, the Rajput chieftains and Muslim feudal chiefs were agitating for power in and around the region, and the Mughals were facing several revolts.

News of the death of Emperor Aurangzeb on 20 February 1707 reached Khan, when he was at Bhilsa. A war of succession broke out between Aurangzeb's sons, two of whom approached Khan for allegiance. However, Khan refused to side with either of them, saying that he could not raise his sword against any

of his sons since he had taken an oath of being loyal to the late Emperor.

Mercenary career

Following the death of the emperor Aurangzeb, Malwa started witnessing power struggles between the various chieftains in the area due to lack of a central authority. Dost Mohammad Khan became the leader of a band of around 50 Pathan mercenaries, and started providing the local chieftains protection against pillage and strife. These chieftains included the Raja Reshb Das (1695–1748) of Sitamau, Mohammad Farooq (Governor of Bhilsa), Diye Bahadur (the Mughal Deputy Governor of Malwa) and Raja Anand Singh Solanki of Mangalgarh.

Mangalgarh was a small Rajput principality in Malwa, ruled by Raja Anand Singh Solanki. The dowager mother of the Raja had taken a great liking to Dost Mohammad Khan. After the Rajas's death at Delhi, she appointed him the *kamdar* or *mukhtar* ("guardian") of Mangalgarh, around 1708. Khan was tasked with protecting the dowager Rani (queen) and her estate. During his service at Mangalgarh, he married Kunwar Sardar Bai, the daughter of Anand Singh, who later converted to Islam and adopted the name Fatah Bibi (also spelled Fateh Bibi). Khan married several other women, but Fatah Bibi remained his favorite wife.

Over the next few years, Khan operated out of Mangalgarh, working for anyone willing to pay for his reputed mercenary services.

Berasia estate

In 1709, Dost Mohammad Khan decided to build a feudal estate of his own. Berasia, a small *mustajiri* (rented estate) near Mangalgarh, was under the authority of the Delhi-based Mughal fief-holder Taj Mohammad Khan. It suffered from anarchy and lawlessness due to regular attacks from highwaymen and plunderers. On advice of Mohammed Sala, Sunder Rai and Alam Chand Kanoongo, Dost Mohammad Khan took on the lease of Berasia. The lease involved an annual payment of 30,000 rupees, which he was able to pay with help of his wife Fatah Bibi, who belonged to the Mangalgarh royal family. Khan appointed Maulvi Mohammad Saleh as the *qazi* (judge), built a mosque and a fort, and installed his loyal Afghan lieutenants in various administrative capacities.

Dost Mohammad Khan also tried to gain some territories in Gujarat, but was unsuccessful. After being defeated by a Maratha warlord during an unsuccessful raid in Gujarat, he was imprisoned by his own rebel soldiers. He was freed after his wife Fatah Bibi paid a ransom to his captors.

The rampant power struggles and disloyalty, especially his imprisonment by his own men after the Gujarat raid, had made Khan distrustful of people around him. He, therefore, invited his kinsmen in Tirah to Malwa. Khan's father, Mehraj Bibi (his wife – the girl he was engaged to in Tirah) and his five brothers arrived in Berasia in 1712, with around 50 tribesmen of the Mirazikhel. His father died in 1715, shortly after arriving in Berasia. His five brothers were Sher, Alif, Shah, Mir Ahmad and Aqil; all except Aqil died in subsequent battles. The Pashtuns who had accompanied Khan's immediate family, later

came to be known as "Barru-kat Pathans", and their families became highly influential in Bhopal. They were known as the *Barru-kat* ("reed cutter") Pathans since they initially made their homes with thatched reeds.

Struggles with the local chieftains

The Rajput neighbors of Mangalgarh, led by the Thakur (chief) of Parason, formed an alliance to counter the growing power of the Rani of Mangalgarh. The ensuing battle between Mangalgarh and the Thakur went on for days. During the festival of Holi, the Thakur insisted on a truce for celebrations. Dost Mohammad Khan agreed to the ceasefire, but also sent a spy dressed as a beggar to the Thakur's camp. The spy came back with the news that the Rajputs were in a state of drunken revelry. Khan violated the truce and raided the enemy camp at night, defeating the Rajput chieftains decisively. Dost also conquered the other adjoining Rajput territories such as Khichiwara and Umatwara.

In 1715, Khan ran into conflict with another neighboring Rajput chief, Narsingh Rao Chauhan (also known as Narsingh Deora), who owned the fortified village of Jagdishpur near Berasia. Narsingh Deora demanded tribute from the Patel of Barkhera in Dillod, who had earlier given shelter to Dost after he fled away from the Mughal camp. Khan agreed to negotiate a treaty with Narsingh, and the two parties met at Jagdishpur, with 16 men on each side. Khan pitched a tent on the banks of Thal river (also known as Banganga) for the meeting. After a lunch arranged by him for both the parties, he stepped outside on the pretext of ordering *ittar* (perfume) and *paan* (betel leaf), which was actually a signal for Khan's hiding men to kill the

Rajputs. It is said that the Thal river appeared red with the blood of the victims, and therefore was renamed to "Halali" river (the river of slaughter). After this incident, Khan renamed Jagdishpur to Islamnagar, strengthened the fort and made the place his headquarters.

Khan's cousin Diler Mohammad Khan (or Dalel Khan) had also acquired some territory, establishing the Kurwai State. In 1722, he visited Berasia with a proposal that the two cousins join hands in extending their territory, and their acquisitions of land and property be equally divided. However, Dost Mohammad Khan got his cousin murdered.

Dost Mohammad Khan also fought against Diye Bahadur, a Rajput general and Mughal subedar (governor). Diye Bahadur's forces initially defeated Khan's army, which fled from the battlefield. A badly wounded Khan, who had lost one of his brothers in the battle, was taken prisoner. He was well-treated by the Rajputs, and was presented before Diye Bahadur after recuperating from his wounds. Diye Bahadur offered Khan a position in his own forces, but Khan declined, while expressing gratitude for Bahadur's kindness. When asked what he would do if set free, Khan replied that he will wage another battle against Diye Bahadur. Bahadur, impressed by the Khan's bravery, released him. A few months later, Khan defeated Diye Bahadur with his newly raised force.

Allegiance to the Sayyid Brothers

The Sayyid Brothers were two nobles, who had become highly influential in the Mughal Court after the emperor Aurangzeb's death. Aurangzeb's son Bahadur Shah I defeated his brothers

to capture the throne with the help of Sayyid Brothers and Nizam-ul-Mulk, another influential administrator in the Mughal court. Bahadur Shah I died in 1712 and his successor Jahandar Shah was assassinated on the orders of the Sayyid Brothers.

In 1713, Jahandar's nephew Farrukhsiyar was installed as a puppet king by the Brothers, who conspired to send Nizam-ul-Mulk to the Deccan, away from the Mughal Court. Disillusioned with the Mughal court, Nizam-ul-Mulk also intended set up his own independent state, and left for the South as the Governor of Malwa and Deccan.

When the Mughals sent a force from Delhi to curb the rebellion by the Rajput chiefs of Malwa, Dost Mohammad Khan sided with the Rajputs. In the resulting battle, his men fled from the battlefield, leaving him badly wounded and unconscious. In his diary, Khan wrote that he regained consciousness only when jackals began nibbling his limbs. Khan offered the little water remaining in his *mushuk* (water carrier) to an injured and thirsty Mughal soldier, who was moaning to ward off the jackals. This man was Sayyid Hussain Ali Khan Barha, the younger of the Sayyid Brothers.

When the Mughal soldiers arrived to rescue Sayyid Hussain Ali, Dost Mohammad Khan was also rescued as a reward for his kindness in offering water to the injured Mughal nobleman. Khan subsequently recuperated under the care of Sayyaid Hussain Ali, who offered to make him the Governor of Allahabad. Khan declared his loyalty to the Sayyid Brothers, but refused the offer, because he did not want to leave Malwa. He was sent back to Mangalgarh with gifts of gold coins, a

sword and a band of horses. Khan's closeness to the Sayyid Brothers later earned him the ire of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who sided with the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah to get the Sayyid Brothers killed during 1722–24.

Expansion of fiefdom

Shortly after Dost Mohammad Khan's return to Mangalgarh, the dowager Rani (queen) of the principality died heirless. Following the Rani's death, Khan usurped the Mangalgarh territory. Supported by his loyal "Barru-kat" Pathan associates, Khan set to carve out a fiefdom of his own. He waged battles to annex several territories, losing two of his brothers in the fights. Several local chieftains (jagirdars and zamindars) accepted his suzerainty without putting up a fight.

While Khan was away from Mangalgarh, Mohammad Farooq Hakim, the Governor of Bhilsa, imprisoned his men and confiscated his personal property. When Khan returned and confronted him, he said that he believed that Khan had died in the battle with the Mughals. He released the imprisoned men, but returned only half of the Khan's belongings. The resulting hostility eventually led to a battle near Bhilsa. Farooq's army included 40,000 Maratha and Rajput soldiers, while Khan commanded just 5000 Afghans, supported by some Rajput soldiers.

In a one-sided battle, Khan lost his brother Sher Mohammed Khan, and his men fled from the battlefield. Dost Mohammad Khan, with some of his most loyal men, had to hide in a thicket near the battlefield. As he lay hidden, he saw Farooq riding an elephant in the victory procession. He dressed himself in the

uniform of one of Farooq's slain soldiers, hiding his face with a scarf and a helmet. Amid the din of the victory drums, he mounted the *howdah* (seat) on the elephant, killed Farooq and his guard, and claimed victory.

Khan also seized control of several territories in Ashta, Debipura, Doraha, Gulgaon, Gyaraspur, Ichhawar, Sehore and Shujalpur.

Rani Kamlapati

- In the 1710s, the area around the upper lake of Bhopal was mainly populated by the Bhil and the Gond tribals. Nizam Shah, the strongest of the local Gond warlords, ruled his territory from the Ginnor fort (Ginnorgarh in the present-day Sehore district). Ginnor was considered an impregnable fort, located at the summit of a steep 2000-foot-high rock, and surrounded by thick forest. Rani Kamlapati (or Kamlavati), the daughter of Chaudhari Kirpa-Ramchandra, was one of the seven wives of Nizam Shah. She was famous for her beauty and talents: the local legends describe her as more beautiful than a *pari* (fairy).

Nizam Shah was poisoned to death by his nephew Alam Shah (also known as Chain Shah), the raja of Chainpur-Bari, who wanted to marry Kamlapati. Kamlapati offered Dost Mohammad Khan a hundred thousand rupees to protect her honor and her kingdom and to avenge her husband's death. Khan accepted the offer, and Kamlapati tied a rakhi on his wrist (traditionally tied by a sister on her brother's hand). Khan led a joint army

of Afghan and Gond soldiers to defeat and kill Alam Shah. The slain king's territory was annexed to Kamlapati's kingdom. The Rani did not have one hundred thousand rupees, so she paid him half the sum and gave the village of Bhopal in lieu of the remainder. Khan was also appointed the manager of Kamlapati's state, and virtually became a ruler of the small Gond kingdom. Khan remained loyal to the Rani and her son Nawal Shah till her death. Historians have debated the reason for Khan's loyalty: some say he was enchanted with Kamlapati's charm and beauty; others think that he believed in keeping his word to women (he had been loyal to the Rani of Mangalgarh till her death as well). In *Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan*, James Tod mentions a folk story that describes how the "Queen of Ganore" killed Khan with a poison dress, when he asked her to marry him.

In 1723, Rani Kamlapati committed suicide near her palace (present-day Kamla Park in Bhopal). Dost initially feigned allegiance to the Rani's son Nawal Shah, who controlled the Ginnor fort, and was invited to live in the fort. Khan disguised 100 of his soldiers as women and sent them to Ginnor in dolis that were supposed to contain his wife and family. The unsuspecting guards of Nawal Shah let the dolis inside the fort without examination. At night, Khan's soldiers killed Nawal Shah and his guards. Khan then took the control of Ginnor fort and other territories of Kamlapati's kingdom.

Development of Bhopal

Dost Mohammad Khan ruled his state from his capital at Islamnagar. At the time of Kamlapati's death, Bhopal was a village of about 1000 people, to the south of Islamnagar. One

day, during a shikar (hunting) trip, Dost Mohammad Khan and his wife Fatah Bibi decided to rest in the Bhopal village. Dost fell asleep, and dreamt that an old saint had asked him to build a fort. He told his wife about the dream, who asked him to construct a fort at the spot. This resulted in construction of Fatehgarh fort, named after Fatah Bibi. The foundation of the fort was laid on 30 August 1723. The first stone was laid by Qazi Mohammad Moazzam of Raisen, who later became the qazi (Islamic judge) of Bhopal. The fort was eventually expanded to encircle the village of Bhopal. It never fell to an enemy, and as late as 1880, the city was mainly confined to this fort.

The first mosque of Bhopal, the Dhai Seedi Ki Masjid, was also built during this time, so that the fort guards could perform namaaz (prayers).

A handwritten copy of the Quran with a Persian language translation was also kept at the fort – the book had pages of size 5x2.5 feet (this copy was later given to the Al-Azhar University by Khan's descendant Nawab Hamidullah). Dost Mohammad Khan and his family gradually started using Bhopal as their main bastion, though Islamnagar still remained the official capital of his state.

During 1720–1726, Dost started surrounding the city with a protective wall. Thus, Bhopal was transformed from a village to a fortified town with six gates:

- Ginnori (the gate leading to Ginnorgarh)
- Budhwara (Wednesday gate)
- Itwara (Sunday gate)
- Jumerati (Thursday gate)
- Peer (Monday gate)

- Imami (used for Tazia possession on the day of Muharram)

Bijay Ram (or Bijjeh Ram), the Rajput chieftain of Shujalpur, was made the dewan (chief minister) of the Dost's state. Being a Hindu, he helped Dost win over the local population.

Conflict with the Asaf Jah I

By the early 1720s, Dost Mohammad Khan had transferred himself from a mercenary to the ruler of a small state. After the death of the Mughal emperor Aurangzeb, the Malwa territory was claimed by the Marathas and some kings of Rajputana, in addition to the Mughals. All these powers made such claims mainly through proxies (such as the local chieftains), although they did engage in occasional punitive raids when the local chiefs refused to pay the tribute demanded by them. Dost Mohammad Khan acknowledged Mughal authority by sending expensive gifts (such as an elephant) and flattering letters to the Mughal Emperor, who was controlled by the Sayyid Brothers. Emperor Farrukhsiyar conferred on him the title *Nawab Diler Jung*, probably on the recommendation of the Sayyid Brothers. Dost also prevented the Maratha invasions by regularly paying them chauth (tribute).

In 1719, the Sayyid Brothers murdered Emperor Farrukhsiyar, who had been plotting against them. Subsequently, they placed Rafi Ul-Darjat and Rafi ud-Daulah as the emperors, both of whom died of sickness in 1719. Muhammad Shah then ascended the Mughal throne with the help of the Sayyid Brothers, who acted as his regents till 1722. The hostility

between Sayyid Brothers and the rival nobleman Nizam-ul-Mulk had been growing in the recent years. Dost Mohammad Khan was well-aware of the power of Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was the Subahdar (Governor) of Malwa; he had seen his strong force passing through Bhopal on its way to the Deccan in the south. However, he allied himself with the Mughal Court controlled by the Sayyid Brothers, with whom he had developed a close friendship.

In 1720, the Sayyid Brothers dispatched a Mughal force led by Dilawar Ali Khan against Nizam in Malwa. When Dost Mohammad Khan was asked to support this force, he sent a contingent commanded by his brother Mir Ahmad Khan to fight on the Mughal side. The Mughal force ambushed the Nizam at Burhanpur near Khandwa on 19 June 1720, but was decisively defeated by the Nizam, who was supported by the Marathas. Dilawar Khan, Mir Ahmad and other generals sent by the Sayyid Brothers were killed in the battle, and Dost Mohammad Khan's forces retreated to Malwa, pursued and plundered by the Nizam's Maratha auxiliaries. Thus, Dost earned the wrath of both the Nizam and the Maratha Peshwa for opposing them.

Subsequently, Nizam-ul-Mulk helped the emperor Muhammad Shah in getting the Sayyid Brothers killed. After having established control over the Deccan, he decided to get even with Dost Mohammad Khan for supporting the Sayyid Brothers. On 23 March 1723, he despatched a force to Bhopal, where Khan put up some fight from his fort. After a brief siege, Khan agreed to a truce the next day. He arranged an expensive welcome banquet for the Nizam, presented him with an elephant and stationed his forces on a hillock renamed to *Nizam tekri* (Nizam's hillock) in the Nizam's honor. He agreed to

cede part of his territory, including the Islamnagar fort. He also paid a tribute of ten lakh (one million) rupees with a promise to pay a second installment later. He was also forced to send his 14-year-old son and heir Yar Mohammad Khan to Nizam's capital Hyderabad, as a hostage.

The Nizam assumed control over Bhopal, and appointed Dost Mohammad Khan as a *kiledar* (fort commander). In return for a fort, the payment of Rs. 50,000 and the pledge of 2000 troops, the Nizam granted a *sanad* (decree) to Khan recognizing the latter's right to collect the revenues from the territory.

Death and legacy

In his final years, which saw his humiliation at the hands of the Nizam, Khan's aggression had mellowed down considerably. He sought inspiration from Sufi mystics and saints, and veered towards spiritualism. He admonished his brother Aqil for desecrating a Buddhist statue in Sanchi. He encouraged several scholars, hakeems (doctors) and artists to settle in Bhopal. Several Pashtuns, including those of Yusufzai, Rohilla and Feroze clans, settled in Bhopal during his reign due to relatively peaceful environment of the area.

Dost Mohammad Khan died of an illness in March 1728. It is said that he had 30 wounds on his body from the various fights and battles he had participated in. He was buried in the Fatehgarh Fort beside his wife Fatah Bibi.

Dost Mohammad Khan was survived by 5 daughters and 6 sons (Yar, Sultan, Sadar, Fazil, Wasil and Khan Bahadur). He married several times, but only few of his wives have been

chronicled. Four of his children were from his first wife Mehraj Bibi. Kunwar Sardar Bai (later Fatah Bibi), his favorite wife of Rajput descent, was childless, but had an adopted son called Ibrahmin Khan. Khan had three children from Jai Kunwar (later Taj Bibi), who had been presented to him by the zamindar (landowning chieftain) of Kaliakheri.

The court of Bhopal appointed Khan's younger son, Sultan Mohammad, as his successor. Sultan Mohammad Khan was 7 or 8-year-old at the time.

The Nizam overruled the appointment, and sent the Dost's hostage teenage son Yar Mohammad Khan to Bhopal with a thousand horsemen. Yar Mohammad Khan was the eldest son of Dost, but he was not his first wife Mehraj Bibi's son; he could have been born of a consort soon after Dost came to Malwa. The court of Bhopal refused to grant him the title of Nawab on the grounds that he was an illegitimate son. Yar Mohammad was, however, allowed to execute the royal functions as the regent.

The Bhopal State later became a protectorate of the British India, and was ruled by the descendants of Dost Mohammad Khan until 1949, when it was merged into independent India.

Faiz Mohammad Khan

Faiz Muhammad Khan Bahadur, (r.1742–1777) the third Nawab of Bhopal, was the son of Yar Muhammad Khan, the second Nawab of Bhopal (as a reagent), and the stepson of Mamola Bai a very influential Hindu wife of Y Muhammad and a direct descendant of Dost Mohammad Khan.

Nawab Begums of Bhopal

Qudsia Begum, (ruler from 1819 to 1837) - In 1819, 18-year-old Qudsia Begum (also known as Gohar Begum) took over the reins after the assassination of her husband. She was the first female ruler of Bhopal. She declared that her 2-year old daughter Sikander will follow her as the ruler. None of the male family members dared to challenge her decision. She ruled till 1837 when she died having adequately prepared her daughter for ruling the state.

- Nawab Sikandar Begum (ruled from 1860 to 1868)
- Begum Sultan Shah Jehan (ruled from 1844 to 1860 and 1868 to 1901) - Shahjahan was the only surviving child of Sikandar Begum, sometime Nawab of Bhopal by correct title, and her husband Jahangir Mohammed Khan. She was recognised as ruler of Bhopal in 1844 at the age of six; her mother wielded power as regent during her minority. However, in 1860, her mother Sikandar Begum was recognised by the British as ruler of Bhopal in her own right, and Shahjahan was set aside. During her reign the first postage stamps of the Bhopal state were issued. In 1876 and 1878 there were issues of half and quarter anna stamps. Those of 1876 have text "HH Nawab Shahjahan Begam" in an octagonal frame; the 1878 stamps the same text in a round frame and the Urdu form of the Begum's title. The last stamps bearing her name were issued in 1902 with inscription: "H.H. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam".
- Begum Kaikhusrau Jahan (ruled from 1901 to 1926, died 1930)

Sikandar Begum

Her Highness Nawab **Sikander Begum** Sahiba, Nawab Begum of Dar ul-Iqbal-i-Bhopal, GCSI (10 September 1817 – 30 October 1868) was the Nawab of Bhopal from 1860 until her death in 1868.

Although she was initially appointed regent of her nine-year old daughter Shah Jahan Begum in 1844, she was recognized as nawab in 1860. During the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, Sikandar's pro-British stance made her a Knight Grand Commander. In 1863, she was the first Indian ruler to perform Hajj. Sikandar enacted many reforms in the state, including the creation of a mint, a secretariat, a parliament and a modern judiciary.

Early life

Sikandar was born at Gauhar Mahal in Bhopal State, British India, on 10 September 1817. Her parents, Nasir Muhammad Khan and Qudsia Begum, were former nawabs of the state.

Reign

On 3 January 1847, Sikandar Begum's nine-year old daughter Shah Jahan Begum ascended the throne of Bhopal. Joseph Davey Cunningham, political agent of the Governor-General of India, announced on 27 July of that year that Sikandar was appointed regent. The governor-general bestowed the state's executive powers on her.

During the 1857 Sepoy Mutiny, Sikandar sided with the British. To prevent rebellion in Bhopal, she banned the publication and circulation of anti-British pamphlets, strengthened her intelligence network, and bribed anti-British soldiers to switch sides.

In August, however, a group of sepoys attacked British garrisons in Sehore and Berasia; anger with her increased in the state due to her pro-British stance. The same group of sepoys, encouraged by Sikandar's mother, surrounded her palace in December.

Sikandar sent her son-in-law, Umrao Daulah, to negotiate with them. The soldiers ended their siege when she announced that their salaries would be increased.

In 1861, Sikandar received the Knight Grand Commander award for her pro-British stance during the mutiny. The British recognized Sikandar as Nawab of Bhopal on 30 September 1860, and her military salute was increased to 19 guns the following year.

Hajj

In 1863, Sikandar was the first Indian monarch to perform Hajj. She was accompanied by about 1,000 people, mostly women. Sikandar wrote a memoir of her trip in Urdu, and an English translation was published in 1870. In the memoir, she wrote that the cities of Mecca and Jeddah were "unclean" and the Arabs and the Turks were "uncivilised" and "possessed no religious knowledge." Also included in the memoir is an anecdote about her confrontation with Turkish customs officials who wanted to levy duties on everything she brought.

Reforms

Sikandar divided the state into three districts and 21 sub-districts. A revenue officer was appointed for each district and an administrator for each sub-district. She repaid the state's □3 million (US$42,000) debt. Sikandar also established a customs office, a secretariat, an intelligence network, a mint, a postal service which connected the state with the rest of India, and a modern judiciary with a court of appeal.

She founded the Victoria School for girls and at least one Urdu and Hindi middle school in each district of the state. Sikandar introduced a Majlis-e-Shoora (parliament) in 1847. Consisting of nobles and intellectuals, its purpose was to pass and recommend laws and to suggest reforms. In 1862, she replaced Persian with Urdu as the court language.

Architecture

Sikandar constructed a Moti Masjid (mosque) made of red sandstone, and built the Moti Mahal and Shaukat Mahal palaces. The latter was a blend of European and Indo-Islamic architecture, with Gothic features.

Personal life

On 18 April 1835, Sikandar married Nawab Jahangir Mohammad Khan. They had one daughter, Shah Jahan Begum. Like her mother, Qudsia Begum, Sikandar was a devout Muslim; however, she did not wear the niqab (face veil) or practise purdah (female seclusion). She hunted tigers, played polo and was a swordsman, archer, and lancer. Sikandar

commanded the army, and personally inspected courts, offices, the mint, and the treasury. Sikandar Begum died of kidney failure on 30 October 1868. She was buried at Farhat Afza Bagh, and was succeeded by her daughter as Nawab of Bhopal.

Shah Jahan Begum

Shahjahan BegumGCSI CI (29 July 1838 – 16 June 1901) was the Begum of Bhopal (the ruler of the princely state of Bhopal in central India) for two periods: 1844–60 (her mother acting as regent), and secondly during 1868–1901.

Biography

Born in Islamnagar, near Bhopal, Shahjahan was the only surviving child of Sikandar Begum of Bhopal, sometime Nawab of Bhopal by correct title, and her husband Jahangir Mohammed Khan. She was recognised as ruler of Bhopal in 1844 at the age of six; her mother wielded power as regent during her minority. However, in 1860, her mother Sikandar Begum was recognised by the British as ruler of Bhopal in her own right, and Shahjahan was set aside. Shahjahan succeeded her mother as Begum of Bhopal upon the death of the latter in 1868.

Having been groomed for leadership of the state, Shahjahan improved the tax revenue system and increased state intake, raised the salaries of her soldiers, modernised the military's arms, built a dam and an artificial lake, improved the efficiency of the police force and undertook the first census after the state suffered two plagues (the population had

dropped to 744,000). To balance her budget deficit, she commissioned the farming of opium.

She has been credited with the authorship of several books in Urdu. Among them are the Gauhar-i-Iqbaal, which describes the major events between the 1st and 7th years of her regime and the socio-political conditions of Bhopal at that time. *An Account of My Life* is the English translation of Sultan Jahan Begum's autobiography, *Gauhar-e-Iqbal*. It was written by C. H. Payne, who was the education advisor to the Begum. She wrote the *Akhtar-i-Iqbaal* which is the second part of *Gauhar-i-Iqbaal*. In 1918 she wrote the *Iffat-ul-Muslimaat*, where she describes the notions of purdah ad hijab in customs in Europe, Asia, and Egypt.

She was instrumental in initiating the construction of one of the largest mosques in India, the Taj-ul-Masajid, at Bhopal. The construction however remained incomplete at her death and was later abandoned; work was resumed only in 1971. She also built the Taj Mahal palace at Bhopal. While Shahjahan had desired to perform the Muslim pilgrimage to Mecca, frail health and her phobia of shipwrecks prevented her from ever doing so. Shahjahan Begum made sizeable donations towards the building of a mosque at Woking, Surrey in the UK. She also contributed generously towards the founding of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh, which developed into the Aligarh Muslim University. She also subsidised the cost of a railway to be constructed between Hoshangabad and Bhopal.

In 1855, Shahjahan Begum married Baqi Muhammad Khan, a nobleman of middle rank of Bhopal, as his third wife. He died

in 1867. Four years later, Shahjahan married Siddiq Hasan Khan of Kannauj in the then United Provinces. The second marriage was childless. In addition to the deaths of two husbands, Shahjahan also experienced the deaths of two granddaughters.

Shahjahan Begum's final years were spent in leadership of a reasonably well-run state. In 1901 she was afflicted with cancer of the mouth; shortly thereafter, a message was published for the people of Bhopal asking forgiveness if Shahjahan had wronged any of her subjects, causing public grief over the illness of a popular ruler.

Shahjahan was visited for one last time by her daughter Sultan Jehan, with whom Shahjahan had not spoken for thirteen years as Shahjahan had blamed her daughter for the death of her first granddaughter; even at this final meeting, Shahjahan refused to forgive her daughter. Shahjahan died shortly thereafter on 6 June 1901, and Sultan Jehan assumed the throne.

Postal services

During her reign the first postage stamps of the Bhopal state were issued. In 1876 and 1878 there were issues of half and quarter anna stamps. Those of 1876 have text "HH Nawab Shahjahan Begam" in an octagonal frame; the 1878 stamps the same text in a round frame and the Urdu form of the Begum's title. The last stamps bearing her name were issued in 1902 with inscription: "H.H. Nawab Sultan Jahan Begam". (The state postal service of Bhopal issued its own postage stamps until 1949; from the second issue of stamps in 1908 official stamps

were issued until 1945 and these had the inscriptions "Bhopal State" or "Bhopal Govt." In 1949 two surcharged stamps were issued, the last of Bhopal's own stamps.)

Battle of Bhopal

The **Battle of Bhopal**, was fought on 24 December 1737 in Bhopal between the Maratha Empire and the combined army of the Nizam and several Mughal generals.

Background

As the Mughal empire continued to weaken after Aurangzeb's death, the Maratha Peshwa Bajirao I invaded Mughal territories such as Malwa and Gujarat. The Mughal emperor was alarmed by Marathas conquest. In 1737, the Marathas invaded the northern frontiers of the Mughal empire, reaching as far as the outskirts of Delhi, Bajirao defeated a Mughal army here and were marching back to Pune.

The Mughal emperor asked for support from the Nizam. The Nizam intercepted the Marathas during the latter's return journey. The two armies clashed near Bhopal.

Battle

The battle was fought between the Maratha Empire and Mughal forces led by Nizam of Hyderabad near Bhopal in India in December 1737. The Marathas poisoned the water and the replenishment supplies of the besieged Mughal forces. Chimaji

was sent with an army of 10,000 men to stop any reinforcements while Bajirao blockaded the city instead of directly attacking the Nizam. The Nizam was forced to sue for peace after he was denied reinforcements from Delhi. The battle resulted in decisive Maratha victory mainly through the swift tactics of Maratha Peshwa Baji Rao.

Aftermath

Later, on 7 January 1738, a peace treaty was signed between Peshwa Bajirao and Jai Singh II, in Doraha near Bhopal. Marathas were given the territory of Malwa

Chapter 16

Battle of Vasai

The **Battle of Vasai** or the **Battle of Bassein** was fought between the Marathas and the Portuguese rulers of Vasai (Portuguese, *Baçaim*; English, *Bassein*), a town lying near Mumbai (Bombay) in the Konkan region of present-day state of Maharashtra, India. The Marathas were led by Chimaji Appa, a brother of Peshwa Baji Rao I. Maratha victory in this war was a major achievement of Baji Rao I's reign.

Background

The *Provincia do Norte* (Province of the North) region ruled by the Portuguese included not just the town of Baçaim but also areas far away as Bombay, Thana, Kalyan, Chaul and Revdanda. Baçaim is located about 50 kilometers north of Bombay, on the Arabian Sea. Baçaim, was an important trading center, and its sources of wealth was trade in horses, fish, salt, timber, basalt and granite, as well as shipbuilding. The town was a significant trading center long before the Portuguese arrived. Ancient Sopara was an important port that traded with the Arabs and Greeks, Romans and Persians. It was also a wealthy agricultural region with rice, betel nut, cotton, and sugar-cane widely grown.

16th Century

In 1530, Portuguese army captain António da Silveira burnt the city of Baçaim and continued the burning and looting up to

nearby Bombaim, when the King of Thana surrendered islands of Mahim and Bombaim. Subsequently, the towns of Thana, Bandora, Mahim and Bombaim (Bombay) were brought under Portuguese control. In 1531, António de Saldanha while returning from Gujarat to Goa, set fire to Baçaim again — to punish Sultanate of Gujarat king Bahadur Shah for not ceding Diu.

- In 1533, Diogo (Heytor) de Sylveira, burnt the entire sea coast from Bandora, Thana, Baçaim, to Surat. Diogo de Sylveira returned to Goa with 4000 slaves and spoils of pillaging. For the Portuguese, Diu was an important island to protect their trade, which they had to capture. While devising the means to capture Diu, Portuguese General Nano da Cunha, found out that the governor of Diu was Malik Ayaz whose son Malik Tokan was fortifying Baçaim with 14,000 men.Nano da Cunha saw this fortification as a threat. He assembled a fleet of 150 ships with 4000 men and sailed to Baçaim. Upon seeing such a formidable naval power, Malik Tokan made overtures of peace to Nano da Cunha. The peace overtures were rejected. Malik Tokan had no option but to fight the Portuguese. The Portuguese landed north of the Baçaim and invaded the fortification. Even though the Portuguese were numerically insignificant, they fought with skill and valor killing off most of the enemy soldiers while losing only a handful of their own.On 23 December 1534, the Sultan of Gujarat Bahadur Shah, signed a treaty with the Portuguese and ceded Baçaim with its dependencies of Salsette, Bombaim (Bombay), Parel, Vadala, Siao (Sion), Vorli

(Worli), Mazagao (Mazgao), Thana, Bandra, Mahim, and Caranja (Uran). In 1536, Nuno da Cunha appointed his brother-in-law Garcia de Sá as the first Captain/Governor of Baçaim. The first corner stone for the Fort was laid by António Galvão. In 1548, the Governorship of Baçaim was passed on to Jorge Cabral.

In the second half of 16th century, the Portuguese built a new fortress enclosing a whole town within the fort walls. The fort included 10 bastions, of these nine were named as: Cavallerio, Nossa Senhora dos Remedios, Reis Magos Santiago, São Gonçalo, Madre de Deos, São Joaõ, Elefante, Saõ Pedro, São Paulo and São Sebastião, São Sebastião was also called "Potra Pia" or pious door of Baçaim. It was through this bastion that the Marathas would enter to defeat the Portuguese. There were two medieval gateways, one on seaside called *Porta do Mar* with massive teak gates cased with iron spikes and the other one called *Porta da Terra*. There were ninety pieces of artillery, 27 of which were made of bronze and seventy mortars, 7 of these mortars were made of bronze. The port was defended by 21 gun boats each carrying 16 to 18 guns. This fort stands till today with the outer shell and ruins of churches.

In 1548, St. Francisco Xavier stopped in Baçaim, and a portion of the Baçaim population was converted to Christianity. In Salsette island, the Portuguese built 9 churches: Nirmal (1557), Remedi (1557), Sandor (1566), Agashi (1568), Nandakhal (1573), Papdi (1574), Pali (1595), Manickpur (1606), Merces (1606). All these beautiful churches are still used by the Christian community of Vasai. In 1573 alone 1600 people were baptized.

17th Century

As Baçaim prospered under the Portuguese, it came to be known as *"a Corte do Norte"* or "Court of the North", it became a resort to "fidalgos" or noblemen and richest merchants of Portuguese India. Baçaim became so famous that a great Portuguese man would be called *"Fidalgo ou Cavalheiro de Baçaim"* or "Nobleman of Bassein". Baçaim during the Portuguese period was known for the refinement and wealth and splendor of its buildings, palaces and for the beauty of its churches. This northern province, included a territory which extended as far as 100 kilometers along the coast, between Damão (Daman) and Bombaim (Bombay), and in some places extended for 30-50 kilometers inland. It was the most productive Indian area under Portuguese rule.

In 1618, Baçaim suffered from a succession of disasters. First it was struck by a disease then on 15 May, the city was struck by a deadly cyclone. It caused considerable damage to the boats and houses, and thousands of coconut trees were uprooted and flattened. The winds pushed sea water into the city. The monasteries and convents of the Franciscans and Augustinians were ruined. The roofs on three largest churches in the city and both the house and the church of the Jesuits were ripped off and ruined almost beyond repair. This storm was followed by so complete a failure of rains which resulted in near-famine conditions. In a few months, the situation grew so precarious that parents were openly selling their children to Muslim brokers into slavery rather than to starve them to death. The practice was stopped by the Jesuits, partly by saving from their own scanty allowances and partly by

donations from the rich. In 1634, Baçaim's population numbered about 400 Portuguese families, 200 Indian Christian families and 1800 slaves (Indians and Africans). In 1674, Bassein had 2 colleges, 4 convents, and 6 churches.

In 1674, 600 Arab pirates from Muscat landed at Baçaim. The fort garrison panicked and was too scared to oppose the pirates outside the fort walls. The pirates plundered all the churches outside of the fort walls and spared no violence and cruelty towards the people of Baçaim. In 1674, More Pundit stationed himself in Kalyan, and forced the Portuguese to pay him one-fourth of Baçaim's revenues. Two years later, Shivaji advanced near Saivan. As the Portuguese power waned towards the end of the 17th century, Baçaim suffered considerably. The importance of Baçaim was reduced by transfer of neighboring Bombaim island to the British in 1665. The British had coveted and eyed Bombaim for many years before it came into their possession under the terms of the marriage treaty. They had ventured to seize it by force in 1626 and had urged the Directors of the East India Company to purchase it in 1652. The intolerance of the Portuguese to other religions seriously hindered the growth of Baçaim or Bombaim as a prosperous settlement. Their colonization efforts were not successful because they had gradually divided the lands into estates or fiefs, which were granted as rewards to deserving individuals or to religious orders on a system known as *aforamento* whereby the grantees were bound to furnish military aid to the king of Portugal or where military service was not deemed necessary, to pay a certain rent. The efficiency of the Portuguese administration was weakened by frequent transfers of officers, and by the practice of allowing the great nobles to remain at court and administer their provinces. They soon

became a corrupt and opulent society based upon slave labour. The cruelties of the Inquisition (from 1560) alienated the native population of New Christians, and the Iberian Union of Portugal with Spain (1580) deprived the Indian settlements of care of the home government. The Portuguese trade monopoly with Europe could henceforth last only so long as no European rival came upon the scene.

18th Century and Maratha Invasion

In 1720, one of the ports of the Northern Province, Kalyan, was conquered by the Marathas and in 1737, they took possession of Thana including all the forts in Salsette island and the forts of Parsica, Trangipara, Saibana (Present-day Saivan, south bank of the Tansa river), Ilha das Vaccas (Island of Arnala), Manora (Manor), Sabajo (Sambayo/Shabaz near Belapur), the hills of Santa Cruz and Santa Maria. The only places in the Northern Province that now remained with the Portuguese were Chaul (Revdanda), Caranja, Bandra, Versova, Baçaim, Mahim, Quelme (Kelve/Mahim), Sirgão (Present day Shirgao), Dahanu Sao Gens (Sanjan),

Asserim (Asheri/Asherigad), Tarapor (Tarapur) and Damão. By 1736, the Portuguese had been at work for 4 years constructing the fortress of Thana, and aside from the long delays, the workers were unpaid and unfed. The locals who were tired of the oppression, finally invited the Marathas to take possession of the island of Salsette, preferring their rule to the oppression of the Portuguese. These were some of the factors that weakened Baçaim and set the stage for Maratha attacks.

Siege of Baçaim

- The Siege of Baçaim began on 17 February 1739. All the Portuguese outposts around the major fort at Baçaim had been taken. Their supply routes from the north and south had been blocked, and with the English manning the seas, even that route was unreliable. Chimaji Appa arrived at Bhadrapur near Baçaim in February 1739. According to a Portuguese account, his forces numbered 40,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry, and around 4,000 soldiers trained in laying mines. Furthermore, he had 5,000 camels and 50 elephants. More joined from Salsette in the following days, increasing the total Maratha troops amassed to take Baçaim to close to 100,000. The Portuguese, alarmed at this threat, decided to vacate Bandra, Versova and Dongri so as to better defend Baçaim. As per orders of the Portuguese Governor, only Baçaim, Damão, Diu and Karanja (Uran) were to be defended. These were duly fortified. In March 1739, Manaji Angre attacked Uran and captured it from the Portuguese. This was followed by easy Maratha victories at Bandra, Versova and Dharavi which the Portuguese garrison had vacated. Manaji Angre joined Chimaji Appa at Vasai after this. Thus by April 1739, the noose around Baçaim had further tightened. The capture of Thana and Dharavi meant that even small boats could not reach Baçaim without being fired upon by Maratha cannons. Still, General Martinho De Silva wanted to fight a losing battle. Chimaji Appa now decided to bring down the

> fort of Baçaim itself. All except Vasai in Maratha hands, including the forts at Bandra, Versova, Dongri and Uran. The fort at Baçaim is situated on land with the Arabian sea on one side, and the Vasai creek on another two sides.

The village of Baçaim itself and the large Maratha camp at Bhadrapur were to the north. Within the fort itself, the towers of São Sebastião and Remedios faced the Marathas at Bhadrapur.

The barracks and everything else was inside, with the main gate facing the Vasai creek. Chimaji Appa began the siege on the 1st of May 1739 by laying 10 mines next to the walls near the tower of Remedios.

Maratha soldiers charged into the breach caused by exploding four of them. Almost immediately, they came under fire from Portuguese guns and muskets. Chimaji Appa, Malhar Rao Holkar, Ranoji Shinde and Manaji Angre goaded their contingents to scale the walls throughout the day.

Next day on 2 May, the tower of São Sebastião and Remedios were repeatedly attacked. More mines were set off during the day, causing large breaches in the walls, between the two towers. Around 4,000 Maratha soldiers tried to pour into the fort, but the Portuguese opposition was fierce. They also managed to defend the two towers by lighting firewood. On 3 May, the tower of São Sebastião was demolished by a Maratha mine. Maratha armies could now easily march into the fort, without the fear of being fired upon from the tower. The encirclement and defeat of the Portuguese was complete. Chimaji Appa decided to settle the war at this point by sending

an envoy to the Portuguese. In his letter, he warned them that the entire garrison would be slaughtered and the fort levelled if the war continued. The Portuguese commander in charge of the fort duly surrendered on 16 May 1739. On 23 May 1739, the saffron flag flew atop Baçaim.

Chapter 17

Bharatpur State Defeat the Marathas in Battle of Kumher

Bharatpur State, that is also known as the **Jat State of Bharatpur**, historically known as the **Kingdom of Bharatpur**, was a Hindu Kingdom in the northern Indian subcontinent. It was ruled by the Sinsinwar clan of the Hindu Jats. At the time of reign of king Suraj Mal (1755–1763) revenue of the state was 17,500,000 rupees per annual.

History

The formation of the state of Bharatpur was a result of revolts by the Jats living in the region around Delhi, Agra, and Mathura against the imperial Mughals. Gokula, a local Jat zamindar of Mathura, lead the first of such revolts in 1669. Even though the Jats were defeated and Gokula was executed, the movement was not completely crushed and discontent continued to simmer. In 1685, there was a second uprising of the Jats under Raja Ram Jat, that was better organized this time and used guerrilla warfare, combining it with loot and plunder. Now Aurangzeb approached the Kachhwaha ruler Bishan Singh to crush the uprising and appointed him as the faujdar of Mathura, granting him the entire area in zamindari. Conflict between Jats and Rajputs for zamindari rights also complicated the issue, with Jats primarily being landowners, whereas the Rajputs were primarily revenue collectors. The Jats put up a stiff resistance but by 1691, Raja Ram Jat and

his successor Churaman were compelled to submit to the Imperial Mughals. However unrest among Jats continued and later on in the beginning of the 18th century, Churaman, taking advantage of the Mughal civil wars, was able to oust the Rajputs from the area and establish an independent state where Jat chiefs formed the ruling class. Raja Ram Jat who also exhumed and burned the remains of Akbar is known for setting up a small fort at Sinsini. It was the key foundation of this kingdom. The most prominent ruler of Bharatpur was Maharaja Suraj Mal. He captured the important Mughal city of Agra on 12 June 1761. He also melted the two silver doors of the famous Mughal monument Taj Mahal. Agra remained in the possession of Bharatpur rulers till 1774. After Maharaja Suraj Mal's death, Maharaja Jawahar Singh, Maharaja Ratan Singh and Maharaja Kehri Singh (minor) under resident ship of Maharaja Nawal Singh ruled over Agra Fort. The Jats were deafeated by the Mughal army under the command of Mirza Najaf Khan in 1774. Mirza Najaf Khan re-captured most of the Jat lands including Agra and Aligarh.

In 1805, war between the British and the Holkars broke out. Maharaja Ranjit Singh of Bharatpur agreed to help the Holkars and the two Maharajas fell back to the Bharatpur fort. The British surrounded the fort and after three months, Ranjit Singh agreed to peace and signed a treaty with the British, thus becoming a princely state. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Bharatpur provided great support for the British during the Indian Rebellion of 1857 and this aid was greatly acknowledged by the British. The young Maharaja was made a G.C.S.I and his personal gun salute was increased. In August 1947, the state of Bharatpur acceded to the newly independent Dominion of India. In 1948, it became part of the Matsya Union and in

1949, it was absorbed into the state of Rajasthan. Members of the ruling family continue to be active in national and regional affairs. Several members of the family have served as members of parliament and in the state legislature.

Expansion and decline

In the 1760s the Kingdom of Bharatpur reached its zenith and covered present day capital Delhi and district of Agra, Aligarh, Alwar, Bharatpur, Bulandshahr, Dholpur, Etah, Etawa, Faridabad, Firozabad, Ghaziabad, Gurgaon, Hathras, Jhajjar, Kanpur, Mainpuri, Mathura, Mewat, Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Palwal, Rewari, and Rohtak. The areas under the control of Jats broadly included parts of modern eastern Rajasthan, southern Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh and Delhi. The Jats were deafeated by the Mughal army under the command of Mirza Najaf Khan in 1774. Mirza Najaf Khan re-captured most of the Jat lands including Agra and Aligarh.

Military power

The Kingdom had a large army of 25,000 Infantry and 15,000 Cavalry with addition to the Troops stationed at his forts.

Rulers

The chronology of Sinsinwar dynasty rulers is as follows:

- Badan Singh, 1722–1756. 1st Raja of Bharatpur 1722/1756, of Deeg and founder of Bharatpur; he

was granted the title of Brijraj by Maharaja Jai Singh II on 23 November 1722; he constructed the Royal Palace and Gardens at Deeg as well as a temple at Dhir Samir ghat of Vrindavan; he was also an accomplished poet; he married 25 Ranis, including Rani Devki of a Jat family from Kama, and had issue, 26 sons. He died 7 June 1756 at Deeg.

- Maharaja Suraj Mal, 1756–1763. 2nd Maharaja of Bharatpur 1756/1763, born about 13 February 1707, created Raja Brajendra Bahadur, he took a large part in the numerous struggles of the first half of the 18th century between the Mughals, Marathas, Rohillas and Afghans and extended his borders until they included; married 14 wives.
- Maharaja Sawai Jawahar Singh, 1763–1768 (son of Maharaja Brajendra Surajmal Bahadur by Rani Ganga), 3rd Maharaja of Bharatpur 1763/1768,was murdered at Agra in 1768 during hunting.
- Maharaja Ratan Singh, 1768–1769 son of Maharaja Brajendra Surajmal Bahadur by Rani Ganga), 4th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1768/1771 or 1768/1769, married and had issue. He too was murdered after a short reign.
- Maharaja Keshri Singh, 1769–1771, 5th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1771 or 1769/1776, died 1776.
- Maharaja Nawal Singh, 1771–1776 (son of Maharaja Brajendra Surajmal Bahadur by Rani Kavaria), Regent of Bharatpur 1771/1776, died 1776.
- Maharaja Ranjit Singh, 1776–1805 (son of Maharaja Brajendra Surajmal Bahadur by Rani Khet Kumari), 6th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1776/1805, during his reign, Najaf Khan, stripped the Jats of all their

possessions leaving only the fort of Bharatpur and territory of nine lakhs in value; after Najaf Khan's death in 1782, Maharaja Scindia seized what was left but was persuaded by Suraj Mal's widow to restore 11 districts to which a further 3 districts were later added, which afterwards remained as Bharatpur State; he provided assistance to General Lake at Agra in 1803 and was rewarded with a number of districts, however the following year, in November 1804 at the Battle of Deeg, he made open war on the British forces, repelling four assaults on his fort, until after a nearly two month siege he was compelled to make peace and a new treaty was made on 4 May 1805, by which he was made to pay an indemnity of 20 lakhs, though he was confirmed in his possessions except for the parganas made over to him in 1803; married and had issue. He died in 1805.

- Maharaja Randhir Singh, 1805–1823, 7th Maharaja of Bharatpur, died 1823. An 1805 siege by the British ended in the latter's withdrawal.
- Maharaja Baldeo Singh, 1823–1825, 8th Maharaja of Bharatpur, married and had issue. He died in 1825.
- Maharaja Durjan Sal, 1825–1826, 9th Maharaja of Bharatpur (usurper), opposed his cousin's accession and imprisoned him. British forces eventually laid siege to Bharatpur for three weeks and on 18 January 1826, the fort was stormed by troops under Lord Combermere and dismantled, the Maharaja was then imprisoned at Allahabad.
- Maharaja Balwant Singh, 1825–1853, 10th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1826/1853, born 1819, he was

imprisoned by his cousin in 1825, but restored to the gadi in January 1826, under the Regency of his mother and the superintendence of the Political Agent, the Rani was removed later that same year and a Council of Regency was put in place; married and had issue. He died 1853.

- Maharaja Jashwant Singh, 1853–1893, 11th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1853/1893, born 1851, during his reign the State rendered loyal assistance to the British Government in 1857 and maintained order in the vicinity of Bharatpur; the state was administered by a Council under the Political Agent until 1872 when he was granted full ruling powers; married firstly, 1859, Maharani Bishan Kaur, daughter of Maharaja Narendra Singh of Patiala, married secondly, Maharani Darya Kaur, and had issue. He died 12 December 1893. Maharajkumar (name unknown) Singh (by Rani Bishan Kaur), died 4 December 1869. Maharaja Ram Singh (qv); Rao Raja Raghunath Singh, born 7 January 1887, educated at Mayo College, Ajmer 1895/1905 (Class-Captain 1903/1905), then with the Imperial Cadet Corps, Dehra Dun; he was appointed to the Bharatpur State Council in 1911, married and had issue. He died after 1930. Kunwar (name unknown) Singh, married and had issue. Kunwar (name unknown) Singh, married a daughter of Rai Amarjeet Singh of Kuchesar, and had issue.
- Shri Brijindar Si Maharaja Ram Singh Bahadur Jang, 1893 – 1900 (Exiled); 12th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1893/1900, born 9 September 1872 at Lohagarh, Bharatpur; installed 25 December 1893, removed

from the administration of his state in 1895 and finally deposed in 1900 (#1); married firstly, Maharani Kishan Kaur, married secondly, Maharani Giriraj Kaur, died after 1918 and before 1931, and had issue, two sons and two daughters. He died 1929. Lt.Col. Shri Maharaja Shri Brajendra Sawai Kishen Singh Bahadur Jang (by Maharani Giriraj Kaur)(qv) Maharaj Giriraj Singh; Maharajkumari Gajindar Kaur; Maharajkumari Gokul Kaur

- Maharani Giriraj Kaur, regent 1900–1918.
- Lt.Col. Shri Maharaja Shri Brajendra Maharaja Kishen Singh Bahadur Jang, 1900–1929, 13th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1900/1929, born 4 October 1899, K.C.S.I. [cr.1926]; educated at Mayo College, Ajmer (College Diploma 1916) and for a short time at Wellington College, England in 1914; he was granted full ruling powers in November 1918, he was responsible for a number of reforms in the state of Bharatpur, including a reorganization of the army in 1919, Hindi was made the state language, primary education was made compulsory, Ayurvedic hospitals were set up, an exhibition to promote trade and arts was set up on an annual basis, the introduction of a system of participation of public in state affairs through credit banks, issuing society and village panchayat acts was started, the Brij-mandal in Shimla was established, and Social Reform Acts were enacted; he was appointed an Honorary Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army on 24 October 1921, he presided over the Jat Mahasabha Adhiveshan organized at Pushkar in 1925; in consequence of the disorganisation of the State Administration and

Finances he was deprived of his ruling powers in September 1928; married 3 March 1913, a daughter of Kunwar Gajindar Singh of Faridkot, died 18 August 1929, and had issue, four sons and three daughters. He died 27 March 1929 (#2). Shri Maharaja Shri Brajendra Sawai Vrijendra Singh Bahadur Jang (qv); Rao Raja Gajendra Singh [Girendra Raj Singh], died 1940. Rao Raja Edward Man Singh, born in July 1920 (1922?), married Rani Anant Mala, Princess of Kagal Junior, born 1926, died 1991, and had issue, three daughters. He died in February 1985. (Rajkumari Girrendra Kaur, born 5 November 1946, married 23 May 1972, Brig. Jitendra Pal Singh of Saidpur, and has issue, one son and one daughter. Kumari Gauri Singh; Kanwar Gaurav Singh; Rajkumari Ravindra Kaur, born 4 June 1952, unmarried. Rajkumari Krishnendra Kaur, born 10 April 1954, married 26 April 1982, Kanwar Vijay Singhji of Sihi, and has issue, one son and one daughter. Kumari Ambika Singh; Kanwar Dushyant Singh; Rao Raja Giriraj Saran Singh, born in September 1924?, M.P.(Lok Sabha) from Mathura, serving two terms, married firstly, January 1942 (div.1958), Maharajkumari Sushila Devi of Kapurthala, born 14 December 1918 at Kapurthala, died 1974 in Simla, married secondly, 1962, Mrs. Pamela Singh (divorced from her first husband), and had issue. He died December 1969. Rajkumar Anup Singh, born 25 December 1942, educated at Bishop Cotton School, Simla and Cornell University in the US, studying a course in agricultural management, married firstly, 1969 (div. 1974), Kumari Vijaya

Kumari, born 1951, daughter of Thakur Gopal Singh of Bhajji State, a forest range officer better known as Mooshoo Mian, married secondly, May 1980, Surrinder Kaur, born 1946, a Sikh lady from Shahzadpur jagir in Haryana, no issue. Rajkumar Arun Singh [Prince Oogie], born 13 February 1947, educated at Bishop Cotton School, Simla and at St. Stephen's College, Delhi University; M.L.A. (three times) from Deeg constituency in Bharatpur District, first elected M.L.A.in 1993 as an independent. He was twice an independent M.L.A. and the third time he stood and won from the I.N.L.D. party ticket. He died unmarried 15 March 2006 at the All India Institute of Medical Sciences Hospital of kidney failure. His body was taken to Bharatpur on the same day, and he was given a state funeral (as he was an M.L.A.) at the Bharatpur Royal Cemetery. Maharajkumari Bibiji Kusum Kaur, married 1933, Kanwar Surendra Pal Singh of Unchagaon, Bulandshar District in the United Provinces. Maharajkumari Bibiji (name unknown) Kaur, died 19 May 1930 at Mussoorie. Maharajkumari Bibiji Padma Kaur (Kunwarani Vrish Bhan Kunwar), born 18 September 1919, married Kunwar Brijendra Singh of Moradabad District., and had issue. She died 1945 in Mysore.

- Colonel Shri Maharaja Brajendra Sawai Vrijendra Singh Bahadur Jang, 1929–1947 (Signed the instrument of accession to the Indian Union), 14th Maharaja of Bharatpur 1929/1995, born 1 December 1918; he succeeded to the gadi on 14 April 1929; Member of the Lok Sabha 1962/1971; married firstly

June 1941, Yuvarajkumari Jaya Chamunda Ammani Avaru [the Maharani of Bharatpur], died 1954, daughter of Yuvaraja Sir Sri Kantirava Narasinharaja Wadiyar of Mysore, and his wife, Yuvrani Kempu Cheluvammanniyavaru, married secondly, 1961 (div. 1972), Maharani Videh Kaur of the Urs family of Mysore, born 1933, died 1985, by whom he had issue. He died 8 July 1995.

The line is nominally continued

- Shri Maharaja Shri Brajendra Sawai Vishvendra Singh Bahadur Jang, 15th Maharaja of Bharatpur.

Symbols

The former flag of the princely state was a rectangular tricolor with three horizontal stripes of saffron, white and blue. Its design and colour scheme happened to be very similar to the official flag that would be adopted for the future independent Dominion of India.

In the last three years before joining the Indian Union a new flag was adopted for Bharatpur that had a broad Chartreuse coloured band and the coat of arms in the middle. During that brief period (c.1943 – 1947) Bharatpur became the only political entity ever to have a chartreuse coloured flag. Bharatpur State also had an elaborate coat of arms.

Chapter 18

Black Hole of Calcutta

The **Black Hole of Calcutta** was a dungeon in Fort William, Calcutta, measuring 4.30 × 5.50 metres (14 × 18 feet), in which troops of Siraj ud-Daulah, the Nawab of Bengal, held British prisoners of war on the night of 20 June 1756. John Zephaniah Holwell, one of the British prisoners and an employee of the East India Company, said that, after the fall of Fort William, the surviving British soldiers, Indian sepoys, and Indian civilians were imprisoned overnight in conditions so cramped that many people died from suffocation and heat exhaustion, and that 123 of 146 prisoners of war imprisoned there died. Modern historians believe that 64 prisoners were sent into the Hole, and that 43 died there.

Background

Fort William was established to protect the East India Company's trade in the city of Calcutta, the principal city of the Bengal Presidency. In 1756 India, there existed the possibility of a military confrontation with the military forces of the French East India Company, so the British reinforced the fort. Siraj-ud-daula ordered the fortification construction to be stopped by the French and British, and the French complied while the British demurred.

In consequence to that British indifference to his authority, Siraj ud-Daulah organised his army and laid siege to Fort William. In an effort to survive the battle, the British

commander ordered the surviving soldiers of the garrison to escape, yet left behind 146 soldiers under the civilian command of John Zephaniah Holwell, a senior bureaucrat of the East India Company, who had been a military surgeon in earlier life.

Moreover, the desertions of Indian sepoys made ineffective the British defence of Fort William, which fell to the siege of Bengali forces on June 20, 1756. The surviving defenders who were captured and made prisoners of war numbered between 64 and 69, along with an unknown number of Anglo-Indian soldiers and civilians who earlier had been sheltered in Fort William. The English officers and merchants based in Kolkata were rounded up by the forces loyal to Siraj ud-Daulah and forced into a dungeon known as the "Black Hole".

The Holwell account

Holwell wrote about the events that occurred after the fall of Fort William. He met with Siraj-ud-Daulah, who assured him: "*On the word of a soldier*; that no harm should come to us". After seeking a place in the fort to confine the prisoners (including Holwell), at 8.00 p.m., the jailers stripped the prisoners of their clothes and locked the prisoners in the fort's prison—"the black hole" in soldiers' slang—a small room that measured 4.30□×□5.50 □metres (14□×□18 □□feet). The next morning, when the black hole was opened, at 6.00 a.m., only about 23 of the prisoners remained alive.

Historians offer different numbers of prisoners and casualties of war; Stanley Wolpert reported that 64 people were imprisoned and 21 survived. D.L. Prior reported that 43 men of

the Fort-William garrison were either missing or dead, for reasons other than suffocation and shock. Busteed reports that the many non-combatants present in the fort when it was captured make infeasible a precise number of people killed. Regarding responsibility for the maltreatment and the deaths in the Black Hole of Calcutta, Holwell said, "it was the result of revenge and resentment, in the breasts of the lower *Jemmaatdaars* [sergeants], to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege."

Concurring with Holwell, Wolpert said that Siraj-ud-Daulah did not order the imprisonment and was not informed of it. The physical description of the Black Hole of Calcutta corresponds with Holwell's point of view:

The dungeon was a strongly barred room and it was not intended for the confinement of more than two or three men at a time.

There were only two windows, and a projecting veranda outside, and thick iron bars within impeded the ventilation, while fires, raging in different parts of the fort, suggested an atmosphere of further oppressiveness. The prisoners were packed so tightly that the door was difficult to close.

One of the soldiers stationed in the veranda was offered 1,000 rupees to have them removed to a larger room. He went away, but returned saying it was impossible. The bribe was then doubled, and he made a second attempt with a like result; the *nawab* was asleep, and no one dared wake him.

By nine o'clock several had died, and many more were delirious. A frantic cry for water now became general, and one

of the guards, more compassionate than his fellows, caused some [water] to be brought to the bars, where Mr. Holwell and two or three others received it in their hats and passed it on to the men behind. In their impatience to secure it nearly all was spilled, and the little they drank seemed only to increase their thirst. Self-control was soon lost; those in remote parts of the room struggled to reach the window, and a fearful tumult ensued, in which the weakest were trampled or pressed to death. They raved, fought, prayed, blasphemed, and many then fell exhausted on the floor, where suffocation put an end to their torments.

About 11 o'clock the prisoners began to drop off, fast. At length, at six in the morning, Siraj-ud-Daulah awoke and ordered the door to be opened. Of the 146 only 23, including Mr. Holwell [from whose narrative, published in the *Annual Register*&The Gentleman's Magazine for 1758, this account is partly derived], remained alive, and they were either stupefied or raving.

Fresh air soon revived them, and the commander was then taken before the *nawab*, who expressed no regret for what had occurred, and gave no other sign of sympathy than ordering the Englishman a chair and a glass of water. Notwithstanding this indifference, Mr. Holwell and some others acquit him of any intention of causing the catastrophe and ascribe it to the malice of certain officers, but many think this opinion unfounded. Afterward, when the prison of Fort William was opened, the corpses of the dead men were thrown into a ditch. Moreover, as prisoners of war, Holwell, and three other men were transferred to Murshidabad.

Imperial aftermath

The remaining survivors of the Black Hole of Calcutta were freed the next morning on the orders of the nawab, who only learned that morning of their sufferings. After news of Calcutta's capture was received by the British in Madras in August 1756, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive was sent to retaliate against the Nawab. With his troops and local Indian allies, Clive recaptured Calcutta in January 1757, and went on to defeat Siraj ud-Daulah at the Battle of Plassey, which resulted in Siraj being overthrown as Nawab of Bengal and executed.

The Black Hole of Calcutta was later used as a warehouse.

Monument to the victims

In memoriam of the dead, the British erected a 15-metre (50') high obelisk; it now is in the graveyard of (Anglican) St. John's Church, Calcutta. Holwell had erected a tablet on the site of the 'Black Hole' to commemorate the victims but, at some point (the precise date is uncertain), it disappeared. Lord Curzon, on becoming Viceroy in 1899, noticed that there was nothing to mark the spot and commissioned a new monument, mentioning the prior existence of Holwell's; it was erected in 1901 at the corner of Dalhousie Square (now B. B. D. Bagh), which is said to be the site of the 'Black Hole'. At the apex of the Indian independence movement, the presence of this monument in Calcutta was turned into a nationalist *cause célèbre*. Nationalist leaders, including Subhas Chandra Bose, lobbied energetically for its removal. The Congress and the Muslim

League joined forces in the anti-monument movement. As a result, Abdul Wasek Mia of Nawabganj thana, a student leader of that time, led the removal of the monument from Dalhousie Square in July 1940. The monument was re-erected in the graveyard of St John's Church, Calcutta, where it remains.

The 'Black Hole' itself, being merely the guardroom in the old Fort William, disappeared shortly after the incident when the fort itself was taken down to be replaced by the new Fort William which still stands today in the Maidan to the south of B.B.D. Bagh. The precise location of that guardroom is in an alleyway between the General Post Office and the adjacent building to the north, in the north west corner of B.B.D. Bagh. The memorial tablet which was once on the wall of that building beside the GPO can now be found in the nearby postal museum.

"List of the smothered in the Black Hole prison exclusive of sixty-nine, consisting of Dutch and British sergeants, corporals, soldiers, topazes, militia, whites, and Portuguese, (whose names I am unacquainted with), making on the whole one hundred and twenty-three persons."

Holwell's list of the victims of the Black Hole of Calcutta:

- Of Counsel – E. Eyre, Esqr., Wm. Baillie, Esqr., the Rev. Jervas Bellamy.

Gentlemen in the Service – Messrs. Jenks, Revely, Law, Coales, Valicourt, Jeb, Torriano, E. Page, S. Page, Grub, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Robert Byng, Dod, Dalrymple, V. Ament Theme.

Military Captains – Clayton, Buchanan, Witherington.

Lieutenants – Bishop, Ifays, Blagg, Simson, Bellamy.

Ensigns – Paccard, Scot, Hastings, C. Wedderburn, Dumbleton.

Sergeants, &c. – Sergeant-Major Abraham, Quartermaster Cartwright, Sergeant Bleau (these were sergeants of militia).

Sea Captains – Hunt, Osburne, Purnell (survived the night; died on the morn), Messrs. Carey, Stephenson, Guy, Porter, W. Parker, Caulker, Bendall, Atkinson, Leech, &c., &c.

The list of the men and women who survived their imprisonment in the Black Hole of Calcutta:

Messrs. Holwell, John Zephediah, Court, Secretary Cooke, Lushington, Burdett, Ensign Walcott, Mrs. Carey, Captain Mills, Captain Dickson, Mr. Moran, John Meadows, and twelve military and militia (blacks & whites).

In popular culture

Literature

Thomas Pynchon refers to the Black Hole of Calcutta in the historical novel *Mason & Dixon* (1997). The character Charles Mason spends much time on Saint Helena with the astronomer Nevil Maskelyne, the brother-in-law of Lord Robert Clive of India. Later in the story, Jeremiah Dixon visits New York City, and attends a secret "Broad-Way" production of the "musical drama", *The Black Hole of Calcutta, or, the Peevish Wazir*,

"executed with such a fine respect for detail ...". Kenneth Tynan satirically refers to it in the long-running musical revue *Oh! Calcutta!*, which was played on Broadway for more than 7,000 performances. Edgar Allan Poe makes reference to the "stifling" of the prisoners in the introduction to "The Premature Burial" (1844). The Black Hole is mentioned in *Looking Backward* (1888) by Edward Bellamy as an example of the depravity of the past.

In the science-fiction novel *Omega: The Last Days of the World* (1894), by Camille Flammarion, the Black Hole of Calcutta is mentioned for the suffocating properties of Carbonic-Oxide (Carbon Monoxide) upon the British soldiers imprisoned in that dungeon. Eugene O'Neill, in *Long Day's Journey into Night*, Act 4, Jamie says, "Can't expect us to live in the Black Hole of Calcutta." Patrick O'Brian in *The Mauritius Command* (1977) compared Jack Aubrey's house to the black hole of Calcutta "except that whereas the Hole was hot, dry, and airless", Aubrey's cottage "let in draughts from all sides."

Diana Gabaldon mentions briefly the incident in her novel *Lord John and the Private Matter* (2003). The Black Hole is also compared with the evil miasma of Calcutta as a whole in Dan Simmons's novel *The Song of Kali*. Stephen King makes a reference to the Black Hole of Calcutta in his 1983 novel *Christine*, and his 2004 novel *Song of Susannah*.

In Chapter V of *King Solomon's Mines* by H. Rider Haggard (1885) the Black Hole of Calcutta is mentioned: "This gave us some slight shelter from the burning rays of the sun, but the atmosphere in that amateur grave can be better imagined than described. The Black Hole of Calcutta must have been a fool to

it ...". In John Fante's novel *The Road to Los Angeles* (1985), the main character Arturo Bandini recalls when seeing his place of work: "I thought about the Black Hole of Calcutta." In *Vanity Fair*, William Makepeace Thackeray makes a reference to the Black Hole of Calcutta when describing the Anglo-Indian district in London, (Chapter LX). Swami Vivekananda makes a mention of the Black Hole of Calcutta in connection with describing Holwell's journey to Murshidabad.

Television

In the period drama *Turn: Washington's Spies*, the character of John Graves Simcoe claims in Season 4 that he was born in India and that his father died in the Black Hole of Calcutta after being tortured. (In historical reality, Simcoe was born in England and his father died of pneumonia). In an episode of the British sitcom *Open All Hours* Arkwright orders his assistant and nephew Granville to clean the outside window ledge. He attempts to say "There's enough dirt there to fill the Black Hole of Calcutta", but his extensive stuttering when trying to say 'Calcutta' causes him to change it to "There's enough dirt there to fill the Hanging Gardens of Babylon". In an episode of British sitcom *Only Fools and Horses*, while discussing Uncle Albert's history of falling down numerous holes, Del Boy infers that the only hole Albert has not fallen down is "the black one in Calcutta".

In an episode of *The Andy Griffith Show*, S. 6 Ep. 11 The Cannon, Deputy Warren is placed in charge of security at the Mayberry Founders Day ceremony and he becomes obsessed with the town decorative cannon. He peers into the fuse breach and claims "It is darker than the Hole of Calcutta in there". In

an episode of *The L Word*, Alice refers to the bad vibes in the coffee shop as “The Black Hole of Calcutta.” In an episode of British television series *Yes, Minister*, the permanent secretary refers to a packed train compartment as the Black Hole of Calcutta.

In an episode of *Have Gun, Will Travel*, S. 2 Ep. 10 "The Lady", Paladin warns a British woman of the danger of an imminent Comanche attack by reminding her of indigenous reprisals in India, including “the Khyber Pass, the Sepoy Mutiny, and the Black Hole of Calcutta.”

In an episode of the British comedy *Peep Show*, the character Mark is quoted as saying "The more, the merrier, they said as another poor soul was crammed into the Black Hole of Calcutta."

Movies

The Black Hole of Calcutta was referenced early in the movie, *Albert, R.N.* (renamed, *Break to Freedom*), a 1953 British film dealing with a German prisoner-of-war camp for allied naval officers. It was also referenced in the 1991 film The Addams Family as one of the locations visited by Gomez and Morticia Addams during their honeymoon.

Astronomy

According to Hong-Yee Chiu, an astrophysicist at NASA, the Black Hole of Calcutta was the inspiration for the term *black hole* referring to objects resulting from the gravitational collapse of very heavy stars. He recalled hearing physicist

Robert Dicke in the early 1960s compare such gravitationally collapsed objects to the prison.

Prison reform

A minority opinion in the August 1910 report of the Penitentiary Investigating Committee of the State of Texas (USA) referred to the prison conditions in this way:

I trust that this report will sufficiently arouse the people of Texas to the atrocities daily heaped upon this mass of thirty-six hundred breathing, human souls, wards of the State, to such an extent that the people will rise up and demand a Called Session of the Legislature of this State in order that legislation may be enacted whereby this organized hell and **"Black Hole of Calcutta"** will be in the course of a few months only a ghastly memory in the minds of the people.

- —C. B. Hudspeth, *"Report of the Penitentiary Investigating Committee" (1910)*

Chapter 19

Durrani Empire, in the Battle of Narela

- The **Durrani Empire** also called the **Sadozai Kingdom** and the **Afghan Empire**, was an Afghan empire founded and built by Ahmad Shah Abdali in parts of Central Asia, the Middle East and South Asia. At its maximum extent, the empire ruled over the modern-day countries of Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as parts of northeastern and southeastern Iran, eastern Turkmenistan, and northwestern India. Next to the Ottoman Empire, the Durrani Empire was the greatest Muslim empire of the second half of the eighteenth century.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was the son of Muhammad Zaman Khan Abdali (Chieftain of the Abdalis) and the commander of Nader Shah Afshar. After the passing of Ahmad Shah, the Abdalis remained heirs of Afghanistan for generations. Conquering the disunity in his tribe, in June 1747, Ahmad Shah Abdali secured Afghanistan and became the King of Afghanistan. After his accession, Ahmad Shah Abdali changed his tribal name to "Durrani", henceforth becoming known as Ahmad Shah Durrani.

After the death of Nader Shah Afshar in June 1747, Ahmad Shah Durrani laid claim to the region of Kandahar. From there, he conquered Ghazni, Kabul, and Peshawar in the same year. In 1749 the Mughal ruler had ceded sovereignty over much of

northwest India to the Afghans. Ahmad Shah then set out westward to take possession of Mashhad, which was ruled by Shahrokh Shah. He next sent an army to subdue the areas north of the Hindu Kush, and in short order, all the different tribes began joining his cause. Ahmad Shah and his forces invaded India four times, taking control of Kashmir and the Punjab region. Early in 1757, he sacked Delhi but permitted the Mughal dynasty to remain in nominal control as long as the ruler acknowledged Ahmad Shah Durrani's suzerainty over the Punjab, Sindh, and Kashmir.

After the death of Ahmad Shah Durrani in about 1772, his son Timur Shah Durrani became the next ruler of the Durrani dynasty who decided to make Kabul the new capital of the empire, and used Peshawar as the winter capital. The Durrani Empire is considered the foundation of the modern state of Afghanistan, with Ahmad Shah Durrani being credited as "Father of the Nation".

Reign of Ahmad Shah Durrani (1747–1772)

Foundation of the Afghan state

In 1709 Mir Wais Hotak, chief of the Ghilji tribe of Kandahar Province, gained independence from the Safavid Persians. From 1722 to 1725, his son Mahmud Hotak briefly ruled large parts of Iran and declared himself as *Shah of Persia*. However, the Hotak dynasty came to a complete end in 1738 after being toppled and banished by the Afsharids who were led by Nader Shah Afshar of Persia.

The year 1747 marks the definitive appearance of an Afghan political entity independent of both the Persian and Mughal empires. In July of that year a *loya jirga* (grand council) was called into session. The *jirga* lasted for nine days and two chief contestants emerged: Hajji Jamal Khan of the Mohammadzai lineage and Ahmad Khan of the Saddozai. Mohammad Sabir Khan, a noted *darwish* (holy man), who had earlier predicted that Ahmad Khan would be the leader of the Afghans, rose in the *jirga* and said

Why all this verbose talk? God has created Ahmad Khan a much greater man than any of you; his life is the most noble of all the Afghan families. Maintain, therefore, God's work, for His wrath will weigh heavily upon you if you destroy it.

Ahmad Khan reputedly hesitated to accept the open decision of the *jirga*, so Sabir Khan again intervened. He placed some wheat or barley sheaves in Ahmad Khan's turban, and crowned him *Badshah, Durr-i-Dauran* (Shah, Pearl of the Age). The *jirga* concluded near the city of Kandahar with Ahmad Shah Durrani being selected as the new leader of the Afghans, thus the Durrani dynasty was founded. Despite being younger than the other contenders, Ahmad Shah had several overriding factors in his favor. He belonged to a respectable family of political background, especially since his father had served as Governor of Herat who died in a battle defending the Afghans.

Early victories

One of Ahmad Shah's first military actions was to capture Qalati Ghilji and Ghazni from the Ghilji, and wrest Kabul and Peshawar from Mughal-appointed governor Nasir Khan. In

1749, the Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah Bahadur was induced to cede Sindh, the Punjab region and the important trans Indus River to Ahmad Shah Durrani in order to save his capital from Afghan attack. Having thus gained substantial territories to the east without a fight, Ahmad Shah turned westward to take possession of Mashhad, which was ruled by Nader Shah Afshar's grandson, Shahrukh Afshar. Ahmad Shah next sent an army to subdue the areas north of the Hindu Kush mountains. In short order, the powerful army brought under its control the Tajik, Hazara, Uzbek, Turkmen, and other tribes of northern Afghanistan. Ahmad Shah invaded the remnants of the Mughal Empire a third time, and then a fourth, consolidating control over the Kashmir and Punjab regions, with Lahore being governed by Afghans. He sacked Delhi in 1757 but permitted the Mughal dynasty to remain in nominal control of the city as long as the ruler acknowledged Ahmad Shah's suzerainty over Punjab, Sindh, and Kashmir. Leaving his second son Timur Shah to safeguard his interests, Ahmad Shah left India to return to Afghanistan.

Relations with China

Alarmed by the expansion of China's Qing Dynasty up to the eastern border of Kazakhstan, Ahmad Shah attempted to rally neighboring Muslim khanates and the Kazakhs to unite and attack China, ostensibly to liberate its western Muslim subjects. Ahmad Shah halted trade with Qing China and dispatched troops to Kokand. However, with his campaigns in India exhausting the state treasury, and with his troops stretched thin throughout Central Asia, Ahmad Shah lacked sufficient resources to do anything except to send envoys to Beijing for unsuccessful talks.

Third Battle of Panipat

The Mughal power in northern India had been declining after the death of Emperor Aurangzeb, who died in 1707. In 1751–52, *Ahamdiya* treaty was signed between the Marathas and Mughals, when Balaji Bajirao was the Peshwa. Through this treaty, the Marathas controlled virtually the whole of India from their capital at Pune and the Mughal rule was restricted only to Delhi (the Mughals remained the nominal heads of Delhi). Marathas were now straining to expand their area of control towards the Northwest of India. Ahmad Shah sacked the Mughal capital and withdrew with the booty he coveted. To counter the Afghans, Peshwa Balaji Bajirao sent Raghunathrao. He defeated the Rohillas and Afghan garrisons in Punjab and succeeded in ousting Timur Shah and his court from India and brought Lahore, Multan, Kashmir and other subahs on the Indian side of Attock under Maratha rule. Thus, upon his return to Kandahar in 1757, Ahmad was forced to return to India and face the formidable attacks of the Maratha Confederacy.

Ahmad Shah declared a jihad (or Islamic holy war) against the Marathas, and warriors from various Afghan tribes joined his army, including the Baloch people under the command of Khan of Kalat Mir Nasir I of Kalat. Suba Khan Tanoli (Zabardast Khan) was selected as army chief of all military forces. Early skirmishes were followed by victory for the Afghans against the much larger Maratha garrisons in Northwest India and by 1759 Ahmad Shah and his army had reached Lahore and were poised to confront the Marathas. Ahmad Shah Durrani was famous for winning wars much larger than his army. By 1760, the Maratha groups had coalesced into a big enough army under

the command of Sadashivrao Bhau. Once again, Panipat was the scene of a confrontation between two warring contenders for control of northern India. The Third Battle of Panipat (14 January 1761), fought between largely Muslim and largely Hindu armies was waged along a twelve-kilometer front. Despite decisively defeating the Marathas, what might have been Ahmad Shah's peaceful control of his domains was disrupted by many challenges. As far as losses are concerned, Afghans too suffered heavily in the Third Battle of Panipat. This weakened his grasp over Punjab which fell to the rising Sikh misls. There were rebellions in the north in the region of Bukhara. The Durranis decisively defeated the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat on 14 January 1761. The defeat at Panipat resulted in heavy losses for the Marathas, and was a huge setback for Peshwa Balaji Rao. He received the news of the defeat of Panipat on 24 January 1761 at Bhilsa, while leading a reinforcement force. Besides several important generals, he had lost his own son Vishwasrao in the Battle of Panipat. He died on 23 June 1761, and was succeeded by his younger son Madhav Rao I.

Final years

The victory at Panipat was the high point of Ahmad Shah's—and Afghan—power. However, even prior to his death, the empire began to unravel. In 1762, Ahmad Shah crossed the passes from Afghanistan for the sixth time to subdue the Sikhs. From this time and on, the domination and control of the Empire began to loosen, and by the time of Durrani's death he had completely lost Punjab to the Sikhs, as well as earlier losses of northern territories to the Uzbeks, necessitating a compromise with them.

He assaulted Lahore and, after taking their holy city of Amritsar, massacred thousands of Sikh inhabitants, destroyed their revered Golden Temple. Within two years, the Sikhs rebelled again and rebuilt their holy city of Amritsar. Ahmad Shah tried several more times to subjugate the Sikhs permanently, but failed. Durrani's forces instigated the Va□□ā Ghallūghārā when they killed thousands of Sikhs in the Punjab in 1762. Ahmad Shah also faced other rebellions in the north, and eventually he and the Uzbek Emir of Bukhara agreed that the Amu Darya would mark the division of their lands. Ahmad Shah retired to his home in the mountains east of Kandahar, where he died on June 4th 1772. He had succeeded to a remarkable degree in balancing tribal alliances and hostilities, and in directing tribal energies away from rebellion. He earned recognition as Ahmad Shah Baba, or "Father" of Afghanistan.

The Durrani Empire lost its control over Kashmir to the Sikh Empire in the Battle of Shopian in 1819.

Other Durrani rulers (1772–1823)

Ahmad Shah's successors governed so ineptly during a period of profound unrest that within fifty years of his death, the Durrani empire*per se* was at an end, and Afghanistan was embroiled in civil war. Much of the territory conquered by Ahmad Shah fell to others in this half century. By 1818, the Sadozai rulers who succeeded Ahmad Shah controlled little more than Kabul and the surrounding territory within a 160-kilometer radius. They not only lost the outlying territories but also alienated other tribes and lineages among the Durrani Pashtuns.

Timur Shah (1772–1793)

Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah, who had been deputed to administer his father's conquests in Northern India, but had been driven out by the Marathas. Upon Ahmad Shah's death, the Durrani chieftains only reluctantly accepted Timur's accession. Most of his reign was spent fighting a civil war and resisting rebellion; Timur was even forced to move his capital from Kandahar to Kabul due to the insurgency. Timur Shah proved an ineffectual ruler, during whose reign the Durrani empire began to crumble. He is notable for having had 24 sons, several of whom became rulers of the Durrani territories. Timur died in 1793 and was then succeeded by his fifth son Zaman Shah

Zaman Shah (1793–1801)

After the death of Timur Shah, three of his sons, the governors of Kandahar, Herat and Kabul, contended for the succession. Zaman Shah, governor of Kabul, held the field by virtue of being in control of the capital, and became shah at the age of twenty-three. Many of his half-brothers were imprisoned on their arrival in the capital for the purpose, ironically, of electing a new shah. The quarrels among Timur's descendants that threw Afghanistan into turmoil also provided the pretext for the interventions of outside forces.

The efforts of the Sadozai heirs of Timur to impose a true monarchy on the truculent Pashtun tribes, and their efforts to rule absolutely and without the advice of the other major Pashtun tribal leaders, were ultimately unsuccessful. The Sikhs started to rise under the command of Sikh chief, Ranjit

Singh, who succeeded in wresting power from Zaman's forces. Later, when Zaman was blinded by his brother, Ranjit Singh gave him asylum in Punjab.

Zaman's downfall was triggered by his attempts to consolidate power. Although it had been through the support of the Barakzai chief, Painda Khan Barakzai, that he had come to the throne, Zaman soon began to remove prominent Barakzai leaders from positions of power and replace them with men of his own lineage, the Sadozai. This upset the delicate balance of Durrani tribal politics that Ahmad Shah had established and may have prompted Painda Khan and other Durrani chiefs to plot against the shah. Painda Khan and the chiefs of the Nurzai and the Alizai Durrani clans were executed, as was the chief of the Qizilbash clan. Painda Khan's son fled to Iran and pledged the substantial support of his Barakzai followers to a rival claimant to the throne, Zaman's younger brother, Mahmud Shah. The clans of the chiefs Zaman had executed joined forces with the rebels, and they took Kandahar without bloodshed.

Mahmud Shah (first reign, 1801–1803)

Zeman Shah's overthrow in 1801 was not the end of civil strife in Afghanistan, but the beginning of even greater violence. Mahmud Shah's first reign lasted for only two years before he was replaced by Shuja Shah.

Shuja Shah (1803–1809 and 1839–1842)

Yet another of Timur Shah's sons, Shuja Shah (or Shah Shuja), ruled for only six years. On June 7, 1809, Shuja Shah signed a

treaty with the British, which included a clause stating that he would oppose the passage of foreign troops through his territories.

This agreement, the first Afghan pact with a European power, stipulated joint action in case of Franco-Persian aggression against Afghan or British dominions. Only a few weeks after signing the agreement, Shuja was deposed by his predecessor, Mahmud. Much later, he was reinstated by the British, ruling during 1839–1842. Two of his sons also ruled for a brief period in 1842.

Mahmud Shah (second reign, 1809–1818)

Mahmud's second reign lasted nine years. Mahmud alienated the Barakzai, especially Fateh Khan, the son of Painda Khan, who was eventually seized and blinded. Revenge would later be sought and obtained by Fateh Khan's youngest brother, Dost Mohammad Khan.

Sultan Ali Shah (1818–1819)

Ali Shah was another son of Timur Shah. He seized power for a brief period in 1818–1819.

Ayub Shah (1819–1823)

Ayub Shah was another son of Timur Shah, who deposed Sultan Ali Shah. The Durrani Empire lost its control over Kashmir to the Sikh Empire in the Battle of Shopian in 1819. Ayub Shah was himself later deposed, and presumably killed in 1823.

Military

The Durrani military was based on cavalry armed with flintlocks who performed hit-and-run attacks, combining new technology in firearms with Turco-Mongol tactics. The core of the Durrani army were the 10,000 *sher-bacha* (blunderbuss)-carrying mounted ghulams (slave-soldiers) of which a third were previously Qizilbash of Nader Shah. Many others were also former troops of Nader Shah. The bulk of the army were Afghan irregular tribal cavalry armed with lance and broadsword. Mounted archers were still used but were uncommon due to the difficulty of training them. Infantry played a very small role in the Durrani army and, with the exception of light swivel guns mounted on camels, the Zamburak, so did artillery.

Battle of Narela

The **Battle of Narela** took place on 16 January 1757, at Narela, on the outskirts of Delhi, between the Maratha Army led by Antaji Mankeshwar and an advance column of Ahmad Shah Abdali's army, in which the Maratha Army won.

The battle

Ahmad Shah Durrani, the emperor of Afghanistan was heading towards Delhi his yet another invasion. The Marathas had signed a treaty with the Mughal emperor in 1752 to give him protection from the foreign invader. The Maratha Peshwa had appointed Antaji Mankeshwar along with 50,000 strong

Maratha force to guard the emperor. However, the Maratha troops were called back by the Peshwa for Deccan operations. As a result, most of the Maratha force left Delhi leaving behind some 3,400 troops under Antaji Mankeshwar.

So, the small garrison of Marathas along with the forces of Imad-ul-mulk and Najib-ud-daula had the responsibility to guard the Mughal capital from Durrani. By 14 January 1757, Durrani had reached Sonipat and decided to stay there. He sent a Rahim Khan with 5,000 strong Afghan force to capture the regions around Delhi.

Antaji was asked to move along with his contingent along the road towards Karnal to check the progress of the Afghan invader. The Marathas and Afghans collided in a fierce battle in Narela, on the outskirts of Delhi. The Afghans were defeated and finally they retreated to Sonipat, where their emperor was staying.

Aftermath

When Antaji was returning from Narela, after his initial victory over the invader's advanced guard, his troops were intercepted by a huge army on the outskirts of Delhi in the night of 16–17 January.

The Marathas were totally taken unawares, but they fought desperately and hurriedly retreated towards Faridabad, 30 km from Delhi with a loss of about 1000 troops. The next day, it became known that the unidentified foe who had treacherously lead a surprise attack on the Marathas, the night before was Najib-ud-daula, a courtier of the Mughal emperor. Najib

betrayed the emperor and his wazir at the most critical time and moved out of Delhi with his 20,000 well equipped troops to join the invader's camp. As a result, the emperor got alone once again and Abdali successfully marched to the Red Fort unopposed and looted the capital city of Mughals.

Chapter 20

Nawab of Bengal in the Battle of Plassey

The **Nawab of Bengal** (Bengali: বাংলারনবাব) was the hereditary ruler of Bengal Subah in Mughal India. The *Nawab* of a princely state or autonomous province is comparable to the European title of Grand Duke. In the early 18th-century, the Nawab of Bengal was the *de facto* independent ruler of the three regions of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa which constitute the modern-day sovereign country of Bangladesh and the Indian states of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. They are often referred to as the **Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa** (Bengali: বাংলা, বিহারওওড়িশারনবাব). The Nawabs were based in Murshidabad which was centrally located within Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. Their chief deputy was the Naib Nazim of Dhaka.

Bengal Subah was one of the largest, wealthiest and most influential provinces in the Mughal Empire. In 1717, the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar replaced the imperial viceroy of Bengal with the position of a hereditary Nawab. Murshid Quli Khan, a former prime minister, became the first Nawab. The Nawabs continued to issue coins in the name of the Mughal Emperor. But for all practical purposes, the Nawabs governed as independent monarchs. Bengal continued to contribute the largest share of funds to the imperial treasury in Delhi. The Nawabs, backed by bankers such as the Jagat Seth, became the financial backbone of the Mughal court. During the 18th-century, the Nawabs of Bengal were among the wealthiest rulers in the world.

The Nawabs of Bengal oversaw a period of proto-industrialization. The Bengal-Bihar-Orissa triangle was a major production center for cotton muslin cloth, silk cloth, shipbuilding, gunpowder, saltpetre, and metalworks. Factories were set up in Murshidabad, Dhaka, Patna, Sonargaon, Chittagong, Rajshahi, Cossimbazar, Balasore, Pipeli, and Hugli among other cities, towns, and ports. The region became a base for the British East India Company, the French East India Company, the Danish East India Company, the Austrian East India Company, the Ostend Company, and the Dutch East India Company.

The British company eventually rivaled the authority of the Nawabs. In the aftermath of the siege of Calcutta in 1756, in which the Nawab's forces overran the main British base, the East India Company dispatched a fleet led by Robert Clive who defeated the last independent Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Mir Jafar was installed as the puppet Nawab. His successor Mir Qasim attempted in vain to dislodge the British. The defeat of Nawab Mir Qasim of Bengal, Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Oudh, and Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II at the Battle of Buxar in 1764 paved the way for British expansion across India. The South Indian Kingdom of Mysore led by Tipu Sultan overtook the Nawab of Bengal as the subcontinent's wealthiest monarchy; but this was short-lived and ended with the Anglo-Mysore War. The British then turned their sights on defeating the Marathas and Sikhs.

In 1772, Governor-General Warren Hastings shifted administrative and judicial offices from Murshidabad to Calcutta, the capital of the newly formed Bengal Presidency; and the *de facto* capital of British India. The Nawabs had lost

all independent authority since 1757. In 1858, the British government abolished the symbolic authority of the Mughal court. After 1880, the descendants of the Nawabs of Bengal were recognized with a new title called *Nawab of Murshidabad* (Bengali: মুর্শিদাবাদেরনবাব) with the status of a peerage.

History

Independent nawabs

The Bengal Subah was the wealthiest subah of the Mughal Empire. There were several posts under the Mughal administrative system of Bengal since Akbar's conquest in the 1500s. *Nizamat* (governornership) and *diwani* (premiership) were the two main branches of provincial government under the Mughals. The *Subahdar* was in-charge of the *nizamat* and had a chain of subordinate officials on the executive side, including *diwans* (prime ministers) responsible for revenue and legal affairs. The regional decentralization of the Mughal Empire led to the creation of numerous semi-independent strongholds in the Mughal provinces. As the Mughal Empire began to decline, the Nawabs rose in power. By the early 1700s, the Nawabs were practically independent, despite a nominal tribute to the Mughal court.

The Mughal court heavily relied on Bengal for revenue. Azim-us-Shan, the Mughal viceroy of Bengal, had a bitter power struggle with his prime minister (*diwan*) Murshid Quli Khan. Emperor Aurangzeb transferred Azim-us-Shan out of Bengal as a result of the disputes. After the viceroy's exit, the provincial premier Murshid Quli Khan emerged as the *de facto* ruler of

Bengal. His administrative coup merged the offices of the *diwan* (prime minister) and *subedar* (viceroy). In 1716, Khan shifted Bengal's capital from Dhaka to a new city named after himself. In 1717, Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar recognized Khan as the hereditary Nawab Nazim. The Nawab's jurisdiction covered districts in Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. The Nawab's territory stretched from the border with Oudh in the west to the border with Arakan in the east.

- The chief deputy of the Nawab was the Naib Nazim of Dhaka, the mayor of the former provincial capital whose own wealth was considerable; the Naib Nazim of Dhaka also governed much of eastern Bengal. Other important officials were stationed in Patna, Cuttack, and Chittagong. The aristocracy was composed of the Zamindars of Bengal. The Nawab was backed up by the powerful Jagat Seth family of bankers and money lenders. The Jagat Seth controlled the flow of Bengali revenue into the imperial treasury in Delhi. They served as financiers to both the Nawabs and European companies operating in the region.

The Nawabs profited from the revenue generated by the worldwide demand of muslin trade in Bengal, which was centered in Dhaka and Sonargaon. Murshidabad was a major center of silk production. Shipbuilding in Chittagong enjoyed Ottoman and European demand. Patna was a center of metalworks and the military-industrial complex. The Bengal-Bihar region was a major exporter of gunpowder and saltpetre. The Nawabs presided over an era of growing organization in banking, handicrafts, and other trades.

Bengal attracted traders from across Eurasia. Traders were lodged at caravanserais, including the Katra Masjid in Murshidabad; and the Bara Katra and Choto Katra in Dhaka. Dutch Bengali trading posts included the main Dutch port of Pipeli in Orissa; the Dutch settlement in Rajshahi; and the towns of Cossimbazar and Hugli. The Danes built trading posts in Bankipur and on islands of the Bay of Bengal. Balasore in Orissa was a prominent Austrian trading post. Bengali cities were full of brokers, workers, peons, naibs, wakils, and ordinary traders.

The Nawabs were patrons of the arts, including the Murshidabad style of Mughal painting, Hindustani classical music, the Baul tradition, and local craftsmanship. The second Nawab Shuja-ud-Din Muhammad Khan developed Murshidabad's royal palace, military base, city gates, revenue office, public audience hall (durbar), and mosques in an extensive compound called Farrabagh (Garden of Joy) which included canals, fountains, flowers, and fruit trees. The second Nawab's reign saw a period of economic and political consolidation.

The third Nawab Sarfaraz Khan was preoccupied with military engagements, including Nader Shah's invasion of India. Sarfaraz Khan was killed at the Battle of Giria by his deputy Alivardi Khan. The coup by Alivardi Khan led to the creation of a new dynasty. Nawab Alivardi Khan endured brutal raids by the Maratha Empire. The Marathas undertook six expeditions in Bengal from 1741–1748. The Maratha general Raghunath Rao conquered large parts of Orissa. Nawab Alivardi Khan made peace with Raghunathrao in 1751, ceding large parts of Orissa up to the river Subarnarekha. The Marathas demanded

an annual tribute payment. The Marathas also promised to never to cross the boundary of the Nawab's territory. European trading companies also grew more influential in Bengal.

The Zamindars of Bihar maintained a tenuous loyalty to the Nawabs of Bengal. Rebellion and the withholding of revenue was a common feature of the Nawab period in Bihar. Although Bihar had the potential to provide a large amount of revenue and tax, records show that the Nawabs were unable to extract any money from the chiefs of Bihar until 1748. And even following this, the amount gained was very low. This was again due to the rebellious nature of the zamindars who were "continually in arms".

The Nawabs were also notorious for their repressive tactics, including torture for non-payment of land rent. Nawab Alivardi Khan's successor was Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah.Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah grew increasingly wary of the British presence in Bengal. He also feared invasions by the Durrani Empire from the north and Marathas from the west. On 20 June 1756, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah launched the siege of Calcutta, in which he won a decisive victory. The British were briefly expelled from Fort William, which came under the occupation of the Nawab's forces.

The East India Company dispatched a naval fleet led by Robert Clive to regain control of Fort William. By January 1757, the British retook Fort William. The stalemate with the Nawab continued into June. The Nawab also began cooperating with the French East India Company, raising the ire of the British further. Britain and France were at the time pitted against each other in the Seven Years' War.

On 23 June 1757, the Battle of Plassey brought an end to the independence of the Nawabs of Bengal. Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah and his French allies were caught off guard by the defection of the Nawab's Commander-in-Chief Mir Jafar to the British side. The British, under the leadership of Robert Clive, gained enormous influence over Bengal Subah as a result of the battle. The last independent Nawab was arrested by his former officers and killed in revenge for the brutality against his courtiers.

British influence and succession

Mir Jafar was installed as the puppet Nawab by the British. However, Jafar entered into a secret treaty with the Dutch East India Company.

This caused the British to replace Mir Jafar with his son-in-law Mir Qasim in October 1760. In one of his first acts, Mir Qasim ceded Chittagong, Burdwan and Midnapore to the East India Company. Mir Qasim also proved to be a popular ruler. But Mir Qasim's independent spirit eventually raised British suspicions. Mir Jafar was reinstalled as Nawab in 1763. Mir Qasim continued opposing the British and his father-in-law. He set up his capital in Munger and raised an independent army. Mir Qasim attacked British positions in Patna, overrunning the Company's offices and killing its Resident. Mir Qasim also attacked the British-allied Gorkha Kingdom. Mir Qasim allied with Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh and Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. However, the Mughal allies were defeated at the Battle of Buxar in 1764, which was the last real chance of resisting British expansion across the northern Indian subcontinent.

The South Indian Kingdom of Mysore under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan briefly eclipsed the dominant position of Bengal in the subcontinent. Tipu Sultan pursued aggressive military modernization; and set up a company to trade with communities around the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Mysore's military technology at one point rivaled European technology. However, the Anglo-Mysore War ended Tipu Sultan's ascendancy.

In 1765, Robert Clive became the first Governor of Bengal. He secured for the Company the *diwani* of the Bengal subah in perpetuity, from the Mughal emperor Shah Alam II. With this the system of dual governance was established and the Bengal Presidency was formed. In 1772, this arrangement came to be abolished and Bengal was brought under direct control of the British. In 1793, when the *nizamat* of the Nawab was also taken away they remained as the mere pensioners of the Company. After the Revolt of 1857, Company rule in India ended, and the British Crown, in 1858, took over the territories which were under direct rule of the Company. This marked the beginning of the British Raj, and the Nawabs had no political or any other kind of control over the territory. Mir Jafar's descendants continued to live in Murshidabad. The Hazarduari Palace (*Palace of a Thousand Doors*) was built as the residence of the Nawabs in the 1830s. The palace was also used by British colonial officials.

Nawab Mansur Ali Khan was the last titular Nawab Nazim of Bengal. During his reign the *nizamat* at Murshidabad came to be debt-ridden. The Nawab left Murshidabad in February 1869, and had started living in England. The title of the Nawab of Bengal stood abolished in 1880. He returned to Bombay in

October 1880 and pleaded his case against the orders of the government, but as it stood unresolved the Nawab renounced his styles and titles, abdicating in favour of his eldest son on 1 November 1880.

The Nawabs of Murshidabad succeeded the Nawab Nazims following Nawab Mansur Ali Khan's abdication. The Nawab Bahadurs had ceased to exercise any significant power. The Nawabs of Murshidabad were relegated to the status of a zamindar. They continued to be a wealthy Indian family, producing bureaucrats and army officers. However, their political influence in Bengal was eclipsed by the Nawab of Dhaka. Members of the Nawab family of Murshidabad were part of the Pakistan movement. At the time of the partition of India in 1947, the flag of Pakistan was hoisted at the Hazarduari Palace.

The Radcliffe Line made clear that Murshidabad district would fall under the Dominion of India. Soon after the line was published, the Pakistani flag was lowered and the Indian tricolour was hoisted atop the palace. After Indian independence, the Nawab family continued to enjoy privileges as a result of the Privy Purse in India. In Pakistan, a member of the family, Iskander Mirza, became the country's Governor-General and first President. In 1959, Wasif Ali Mirza came to be the third Nawab Bahadur. He was succeeded by Waris Ali Mirza who died in 1969, survived by three sons and three daughters. His death was followed by a long-standing dispute over succession as he had excluded his eldest son, Wakif Ali Mirza, from the succession for contracting a non-Muslim marriage. Waris Ali took no steps during his lifetime to

establish his successor. His will stood disputed. The Indian government withdrew privileges for princely families in 1971.

Battle of Plassey

The **Battle of Plassey** was a decisive victory of the British East India Company over a much larger force of the Nawab of Bengal and his French allies on 23 June 1757, under the leadership of Robert Clive. The battle helped the Company seize control of Bengal. Over the next hundred years, they seized control of most of the Indian subcontinent, Myanmar, and Afghanistan.

The battle took place at Palashi (Anglicised version: *Plassey*) on the banks of the Hooghly River, about 150 kilometres (93 mi) north of Calcutta and south of Murshidabad, then capital of Bengal (now in Nadia district in West Bengal). The belligerents were the Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah, the last independent Nawab of Bengal, and the British East India Company. He succeeded Alivardi Khan (his maternal grandfather). Siraj-ud-Daulah had become the Nawab of Bengal the year before, and he had ordered the English to stop the extension of their fortification. Robert Clive bribed Mir Jafar, the commander-in-chief of the Nawab's army, and also promised to make him Nawab of Bengal. Clive defeated Siraj-ud-Daulah at Plassey in 1757 and captured Calcutta.

The battle was preceded by an attack on British-controlled Calcutta by Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah and the Black Hole massacre. The British sent reinforcements under Colonel Robert Clive and Admiral Charles Watson from Madras to Bengal and recaptured Calcutta. Clive then seized the initiative to capture the French fort of Chandernagar. Tensions and

suspicions between Siraj-ud-daulah and the British culminated in the Battle of Plassey. The battle was waged during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and, in a mirror of their European rivalry, the French East India Company *(La Compagnie des Indes Orientales)* sent a small contingent to fight against the British. Siraj-ud-Daulah had a vastly numerically superior force and made his stand at Plassey. The British, worried about being outnumbered, formed a conspiracy with Siraj-ud-Daulah's demoted army chief Mir Jafar, along with others such as Yar Lutuf Khan, Jagat Seths (Mahtab Chand and Swarup Chand), Umichand and Rai Durlabh. Mir Jafar, Rai Durlabh and Yar Lutuf Khan thus assembled their troops near the battlefield but made no move to actually join the battle. Siraj-ud-Daulah's army with about 50,000 soldiers, 40 cannons and 10 war elephants was defeated by 3,000 soldiers of Col. Robert Clive. The battle ended in 11 hours approx.

This is judged to be one of the pivotal battles in the control of Indian subcontinent by the colonial powers. The British now wielded enormous influence over the Nawab, Mir Jafar and consequently acquired significant concessions for previous losses and revenue from trade. The British further used this revenue to increase their military might and push the other European colonial powers such as the Dutch and the French out of South Asia, thus expanding the British Empire.

Background

The British East India Company had a strong presence in India with the three main stations of Fort St. George in Madras, Fort William in Calcutta and Bombay Castle in western India since the Anglo-Mughal War.

These stations were independent presidencies governed by a president and a council, appointed by the Court of Directors in England. The British adopted a policy of allying themselves with various princes and Nawabs, promising security against usurpers and rebels. The Nawabs often gave them concessions in return for the security.

By the 18th century all rivalry had ceased between the British East India Company and the Dutch or Portuguese counterparts. The French had also established an East India Company under Louis XIV and had two important stations in India – Chandernagar in Bengal and Pondicherry on the Carnatic coast, both governed by the presidency of Pondicherry. The French were a late comer in India trade, but they quickly established themselves in India and were poised to overtake Britain for control.

Carnatic Wars

The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) marked the beginning of the power struggle between Britain and France and of European military ascendancy and political intervention in the Indian subcontinent. In September 1746, Mahé de La Bourdonnais landed off Madras with a naval squadron and laid siege to the port city. The defences of Madras were weak and the garrison sustained a bombardment of three days before surrendering. The terms of the surrender agreed by Bourdonnais provided for the settlement to be ransomed back for a cash payment by the British East India Company. However, this concession was opposed by Joseph François Dupleix, the governor general of the Indian possessions of the Compagnie des Indes Orientales. When Bourdonnais left India

in October, Dupleix reneged on the agreement. The Nawab of the Carnatic Anwaruddin Khan intervened in support of the British and the combined forces advanced to retake Madras, but despite vast superiority in numbers, the army was easily crushed by the French. As retaliation to the loss of Madras, the British, under Major Lawrence and Admiral Boscawen, laid siege to Pondicherry but were forced to raise it after thirty-one days. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 forced Dupleix to yield Madras back to the British in return for Louisbourg and Cape Breton Island in North America.

The Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle prevented direct hostilities between the two powers but soon they were involved in indirect hostilities as the auxiliaries of the local princes in their feuds. The feud Dupleix chose was for the succession to the positions of the Nizam of the Deccan and the Nawab of the dependent Carnatic province. The British and the French both nominated their candidates for the two posts. In both cases, Dupleix's candidates usurped both thrones by manipulation and two assassinations. In mid-1751, the French candidate for the Nawab's post, Chanda Sahib, laid siege to the British candidate Wallajah's last stronghold Trichinopoly, where Wallajah was holed up with his British reinforcements. He was aided by a French force under Charles, Marquis de Bussy.

On 1 September 1751, 280 Europeans and 300 sepoys under the command of Captain Robert Clive attacked and seized Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic, finding that the garrison had fled the night before. It was hoped that this would force Chanda Sahib to divert some of his troops to wrest the city back from the British. Chanda Sahib sent a force of 4,000 Indians under Raza Sahib and 150 Frenchmen. They besieged

the fort and breached the walls in various places after several weeks. Clive sent out a message to Morari Rao, a Maratha chieftain who had received a subsidy to assist Wallajah and was encamped in the Mysore hills. Raza Sahib, learning of the imminent Maratha approach, sent a letter to Clive asking him to surrender in return for a large sum of money but this offer was refused. In the morning of 24 November, Raza Sahib tried to mount a final assault on the fort but was foiled in his attempt when his armoured elephants stampeded due to the British musketry. They tried to enter the fort through the breach several times but always repulsed with loss. The siege was raised the next day and Raza Sahib's forces fled from the scene, abandoning guns, ammunition and stores. With success at Arcot, Conjeeveram and Trichinopoly, the British secured the Carnatic and Wallajah succeeded to the throne of the Nawab in accordance with a treaty with the new French governor Godeheu.

Alwardi Khan ascended to the throne of the Nawab of Bengal after his army attacked and captured the capital of Bengal, Murshidabad. Alivardi's attitude to the Europeans in Bengal is said to be strict. During his wars with the Marathas, he allowed the strengthening of fortifications by the Europeans and the construction of the Maratha Ditch in Calcutta by the British. On the other hand, he collected large amounts of money from them for the upkeep of his war. He was well-informed of the situation in southern India, where the British and the French had started a proxy war using the local princes and rulers. Alwardi did not wish such a situation to transpire in his province and thus exercised caution in his dealings with the Europeans. However, there was continual friction; the British always complained that they were prevented from the

full enjoyment of the farman of 1717 issued by Farrukhsiyar. The British, however, protected subjects of the Nawab, gave passes to native traders to trade custom-free and levied large duties on goods coming to their districts – actions which were detrimental to the Nawab's revenue.

In April 1756, Alwardi Khan died and was succeeded by his twenty-three-year-old grandson, Siraj-ud-daulah. His personality was said to be a combination of a ferocious temper and a feeble understanding. He was particularly suspicious of the large profits made by the European companies in India. When the British and the French started improving their fortifications in anticipation of another war between them, he immediately ordered them to stop such activities as they had been done without permission. When the British refused to cease their constructions, the Nawab led a detachment of 3,000 men to surround the fort and factory of Cossimbazar and took several British officials as prisoners, before moving to Calcutta. The defences of Calcutta were weak and negligible. The garrison consisted of only 180 soldiers, 50 European volunteers, 60 European militia, 150 Armenian and Portuguese militia, 35 European artillery-men and 40 volunteers from ships and was pitted against the Nawab's force of nearly 50,000 infantry and cavalry. The city was occupied on 16 June by Siraj's force and the fort surrendered after a brief siege on 20 June.

The prisoners who were captured at the siege of Calcutta were transferred by Siraj to the care of the officers of his guard, who confined them to the common dungeon of Fort William known as The Black Hole. This dungeon, 18 by 14 feet (5.5 m × 4.3 m) in size with two small windows, had 146 prisoners thrust into

it – originally employed by the British to hold only six prisoners. On 21 June, the doors of the dungeon were opened and only 23 of the 146 walked out, the rest died of asphyxiation, heat exhaustion and delirium. It appears that the Nawab was unaware of the conditions in which his prisoners were held which resulted in the unfortunate deaths of most of the prisoners. Meanwhile, the Nawab's army and navy were busy plundering the city of Calcutta and the other British factories in the surrounding areas.

When news of the fall of Calcutta broke in Madras on 16 August 1756, the Council immediately sent out an expeditionary force under Colonel Clive and Admiral Watson. A letter from the Council of Fort St. George, states that "the object of the expedition was not merely to re-establish the British settlements in Bengal, but also to obtain ample recognition of the Company's privileges and reparation for its losses" without the risk of war. It also states that any signs of dissatisfaction and ambition among the Nawab's subjects must be supported. Clive assumed command of the land forces, consisting of 900 Europeans and 1500 sepoys while Watson commanded a naval squadron.

The fleet entered the Hooghly River in December and met with the fugitives of Calcutta and the surrounding areas, including the principal Members of the Council, at the village of Falta on 15 December. The Members of Council formed a Select Committee of direction. On 29 December, the force dislodged the enemy from the fort of Budge Budge. Clive and Watson then moved against Calcutta on 2 January 1757 and the garrison of 500 men surrendered after offering a scanty resistance. With Calcutta recaptured, the Council was

reinstated and a plan of action against the Nawab was prepared. The fortifications of Fort William were strengthened and a defensive position was prepared in the north-east of the city.

Bengal campaign

On 9 January 1757, a force of 650 men under Captain Coote and Major Kilpatrick stormed and sacked the town of Hooghly, 23 miles (37 km) north of Calcutta. On learning of this attack, the Nawab raised his army and marched on Calcutta, arriving with the main body on 3 February and encamping beyond the Maratha Ditch. Siraj set up his headquarters in Omichund's garden. A small body of their army attacked the northern suburbs of the town but were beaten back by a detachment under Lieutenant Lebeaume placed there, returning with fifty prisoners.

Clive decided to launch a surprise attack on the Nawab's camp on the morning of 4 February. At midnight, a force of 600 sailors, a battalion of 650 Europeans, 100 artillery-men, 800 sepoys and 6 six-pounders approached the Nawab's camp. At 6:00, under the cover of a thick fog, the vanguard came upon the Nawab's advanced guard, who after firing with their matchlocks and rockets, ran away. They continued forward for some distance till they were opposite Omichund's garden, when they heard the galloping of cavalry on their right. The cavalry came within 30 yards (27 m) of the British force before the line gave fire, killing many and dispersing the rest. The fog hampered visibility beyond walking distance. Hence, the line moved slowly, infantry and artillery firing on either side randomly. Clive had intended to use a narrow raised causeway,

south of the garden, to attack the Nawab's quarters in the garden. The Nawab's troops had barricaded the passage. At about 9:00, as the fog began to lift, the troops were overwhelmed by the discharge of two pieces of heavy cannon from across the Maratha Ditch by the Nawab's artillery. The British troops were assailed on all sides by cavalry and musket-fire. The Nawab troops then made for a bridge a mile further on, crossed the Maratha Ditch and reached Calcutta. The total casualties of Clive's force were 57 killed and 137 wounded. The Nawab's army lost 22 officers of distinction, 600 common men, 4 elephants, 500 horses, some camels and a great number of bullocks. The attack scared the Nawab into concluding the Treaty of Alinagar with the Company on 5 February, agreeing to restore the Company's factories, allow the fortification of Calcutta and restoring former privileges. The Nawab withdrew his army back to his capital, Murshidabad.

Concerned by the approach of de Bussy to Bengal and the Seven Years' War in Europe, the Company turned its attention to the French threat in Bengal. Clive planned to capture the French town of Chandernagar, 20 miles (32 km) north of Calcutta. Clive needed to know whose side the Nawab would intervene on if he attacked Chandernagar. The Nawab sent evasive replies and Clive construed this to be assent to the attack. Clive commenced hostilities on the town and fort of Chandernagar on 14 March. The French had set up defences on the roads leading to the fort and had sunk several ships in the river channel to prevent passage of the men of war. The garrison consisted of 600 Europeans and 300 sepoys. The French expected assistance from the Nawab's forces from Hooghly, but the governor of Hooghly, Nandkumar had been

bribed to remain inactive and prevent the Nawab's reinforcement of Chandernagar. The fort was well-defended, but when Admiral Watson's squadron forced the blockade in the channel on 23 March, a fierce cannonade ensued with aid from two batteries on the shore. The naval squadron suffered greatly due to musket-fire from the fort. At 9:00 on 24 March, a flag of truce was shown by the French and by 15:00, the capitulation concluded. After plundering Chandernagar, Clive decided to ignore his orders to return to Madras and remain in Bengal. He moved his army to the north of the town of Hooghly.

Furthermore, Siraj-ud-Daula believed that the British East India Company did not receive any permission from the Mughal Emperor Alamgir II to fortify their positions in the territories of the Nawab of Bengal.

Conspiracy

The Nawab was infuriated on learning of the attack on Chandernagar. His former hatred of the British returned, but he now felt the need to strengthen himself by alliances against the British. The Nawab was plagued by fear of attack from the north by the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Durrani and from the west by the Marathas.

Therefore, he could not deploy his entire force against the British for fear of being attacked from the flanks. A deep distrust set in between the British and the Nawab. As a result, Siraj started secret negotiations with Jean Law, chief of the French factory at Cossimbazar, and de Bussy. The Nawab also moved a large division of his army under Rai Durlabh to Plassey, on the island of Cossimbazar 30 miles (48 km) south

of Murshidabad. Popular discontent against the Nawab flourished in his own court. The Seths, the traders of Bengal, were in perpetual fear for their wealth under the reign of Siraj, contrary to the situation under Alivardi's reign. They had engaged Yar Lutuf Khan to defend them in case they were threatened in any way.

William Watts, the Company representative at the court of Siraj, informed Clive about a conspiracy at the court to overthrow the ruler. The conspirators included Mir Jafar, paymaster of the army, Rai Durlabh, Yar Lutuf Khan and Omichund, a merchant and several officers in the army. When communicated in this regard by Mir Jafar, Clive referred it to the select committee in Calcutta on 1 May. The committee passed a resolution in support of the alliance. A treaty was drawn between the British and Mir Jafar to raise him to the throne of the Nawab in return for support to the British in the field of battle and the bestowal of large sums of money upon them, as compensation for the attack on Calcutta. According to historian W. Dalrymple, the Jagat Seths offered Clive and the East India Company more than £4m (about £420m in 2019 currency), an additional 110,000 Rupees a month (about £1.43m in 2019) to pay for Company troops, and other landholding rights. On 2 May, Clive broke up his camp and sent half the troops to Calcutta and the other half to Chandernagar.

Mir Jafar and the Seths desired that the confederacy between the British and himself be kept secret from Omichund, but when he found out about it, he threatened to betray the conspiracy if his share was not increased to three million rupees (£300,000, which would be over £3m in 2019). Hearing

of this, Clive suggested an expedient to the Committee. He suggested that two treaties be drawn – the real one on white paper, containing no reference to Omichund and the other on red paper, containing Omichund's desired stipulation, to deceive him. The Members of the Committee signed on both treaties, but Admiral Watson signed only the real one and his signature had to be counterfeited on the fictitious one. Both treaties and separate articles for donations to the army, navy squadron and committee were signed by Mir Jafar on 4 June.

Clive testified and defended himself thus before the House of Commons of Parliament on 10 May 1773, during the Parliamentary inquiry into his conduct in India:

Omichund, his confidential servant, as *he* thought, told his master of an agreement made between the English and Monsieur Duprée [may be a mistranscription of Dupleix] to attack him, and received for that advice a sum of not less than four lacks of rupees. Finding this to be the man in whom the nabob entirely trusted, it soon became our object to consider him as a most material engine in the intended revolution. We therefore made such an agreement as was necessary for the purpose, and entered into a treaty with him to satisfy his demands. When all things were prepared, and the evening of the event was appointed, Omichund informed Mr. Watts, who was at the court of the nabob, that he insisted upon thirty lacks of rupees, and five per cent. upon all the treasure that should be found; that, unless that was immediately complied with, he would disclose the whole to the nabob; and that Mr. Watts, and the two other English gentlemen then at the court, should be cut off before the morning. Mr. Watts, immediately on this information, dispatched an express to me at the

council. I did not hesitate to find out a stratagem to save the lives of these people, and secure success to the intended event. For this purpose we signed another treaty. The one was called the *Red*, the other the *White* treaty. This treaty was signed by every one, except admiral Watson; and I should have considered myself sufficiently authorised to put his name to it, by the conversation I had with him. As to the person who signed admiral Watson's name to the treaty, whether he did it in his presence or not, I cannot say; but this I know, that he thought he had sufficient authority for so doing. This treaty was immediately sent to Omichund, who did not suspect the stratagem. The event took place, and success attended it; and the House, I am fully persuaded, will agree with me, that, when the very existence of the Company was at stake, and the lives of these people so precariously situated, and so certain of being destroyed, it was a matter of true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain.

Approach march

On 12 June, Clive was joined by Major Kilpatrick with the rest of the army from Calcutta at Chandernagar. The combined force consisted of 613 Europeans, 171 artillery-men controlling eight field pieces and two howitzers, 91 topasses, 2100 sepoys (mainly dusadhs) and 150 sailors. The army set out for Murshidabad on 13 June. Clive sent out the Nawab's messengers with a letter declaring his intention to march his army to Murshidabad to refer their complaints with regard to the treaty of 9 February with the principal officers of the Nawab's government. The Indian troops marched on shore while the Europeans with the supplies and artillery were towed

up the river in 200 boats. On 14 June, Clive sent a declaration of war to Siraj. On 15 June, after ordering an attack on Mir Jafar's palace in suspicion of his alliance with the British, Siraj obtained a promise from Mir Jafar to not join the British in the field of battle. He then ordered his entire army to move to Plassey, but the troops refused to quit the city until the arrears of their pay were released. The delay caused the army to reach Plassey only by 21 June.

By 16 June, the British force had reached Paltee, 12 miles (19 km) north of which lay the strategically important town and fort of Katwa. It contained large stores of grain and military supplies and was covered by the river Aji. On 17 June, Clive despatched a force of 200 Europeans, 500 sepoys, one field piece and a small howitzer under Major Coote of the 39th Foot to capture the fort.

The detachment found the town abandoned when they landed at midnight. At daybreak on 19 June, Major Coote went to the bank of the river and waved a white flag, but was met only by shot and a show of defiance by the governor. Coote split his Anglo-Indian force; the sepoys crossed the river and fired the ramparts while the Europeans crossed farther up from the fort. When the garrison saw the advancing troops, they gave up their posts and fled north. Hearing of the success, Clive and the rest of the army arrived at Katwa by the evening of 19 June.

At this juncture, Clive faced a dilemma. The Nawab had reconciled with Mir Jafar and had posted him on one flank of his army. Mir Jafar had sent messages to Clive, declaring his intention to uphold the treaty between them. Clive decided to

refer the problem to his officers and held a council of war on 21 June. The question Clive put before them was whether, under the present circumstances, the army, without other assistance, should immediately cross into the island of Cossimbazar and attack the Nawab or whether they should fortify their position in Katwa and trust to assistance from the Marathas or other Indian powers. Of the twenty officers attending the council, thirteen including Clive were against immediate action, while the rest including Major Coote were in favour citing recent success and the high spirits of the troops. The council broke up and after an hour of deliberation, Clive gave the army orders to cross the Bhagirathi River (another name for the Hooghly River) on the morning of 22 June.

At 1:00, on 23 June, they reached their destination beyond the village of Plassey. They quickly occupied the adjoining mango grove, called Laksha Bagh, which was 800 yards (730 m) long and 300 yards (270 m) wide and enclosed by a ditch and a mud wall. Its length was angled diagonally to the Bhagirathi River. A little to the north of the grove at the bank of the river stood a hunting lodge enclosed by a masonry wall where Clive took up his quarters. The grove was about a mile from the Nawab's entrenchments. The Nawab's army had been in place 26 hours before Clive's.

A French detachment under Jean Law would reach Plassey in two days. Their army lay behind earthen entrenchments running at right angles to the river for 200 yards (180 m) and then turning to the north-eastern direction for 3 miles (4.8 km). There was a redoubt mounted by cannon at this turning along the entrenchment. There was a small hill covered by trees 300 yards (270 m) east of the redoubt. 800 yards

(730 m) towards the British position was a small tank (reservoir) and 100 yards (91 m) further south was a larger tank, both surrounded by a large mound of earth.

Battle

At daybreak on 23 June, the Nawab's army emerged from their camp and started advancing towards the grove. Their army consisted of 30,000 infantry of all sorts, armed with matchlocks, swords, pikes and rockets and 20,000 cavalry, armed with swords or long spears, interspersed by 300 pieces of artillery, mostly 32, 24 and 18-pounders. The army also included a detachment of about 50 French artillerymen under de St. Frais directing their own field pieces. The French took up positions at the larger tank with four light pieces advanced by two larger pieces, within a mile of the grove. Behind them were a body of 5,000 cavalry and 7,000 infantry commanded by the Nawab's faithful general Mir Madan Khan and Diwan Mohanlal. The rest of the army numbering 45,000 formed an arc from the small hill to a position 800 yards (730 m) east of the southern angle of the grove, threatening to surround Clive's relatively smaller army. The right arm of their army was commanded by Rai Durlabh, the centre by Yar Lutuf Khan and the left arm closest to the British by Mir Jafar.

Clive watched the situation unfolding from the roof of the hunting lodge, anticipating news from Mir Jafar. He ordered his troops to advance from the grove and line up facing the larger tank. His army consisted of 750 European infantry with 100 Topasses, 2100 sepoys (dusadhs) and 100 artillery-men assisted by 50 sailors. The artillery consisted of eight 6-pounders and two howitzers. The Europeans and Topasses

were placed in the centre of the line in four divisions, flanked on both sides by three 6-pounders. The sepoys were placed on the right and left in equal divisions. Clive posted two 6-pounders and two howitzers behind some brick-kilns 200 yards (180 m) north of the left division of his army to oppose the French fire.

Battle begins

At 8:00, the French artillery at the larger tank fired the first shot, killing one and wounding another from the grenadier company of the 39th Regiment. This, as a signal, the rest of the Nawab's artillery started a heavy and continuous fire. The advanced field pieces of the British opposed the French fire, while those with the battalion opposed the rest of the Nawab's artillery. Their shots did not serve to immobilize the artillery but hit the infantry and cavalry divisions. By 8:30, the British had lost 10 Europeans and 20 sepoys. Leaving the advanced artillery at the brick kilns, Clive ordered the army to retreat back to relative shelter of the grove. The rate of casualties of the British dropped substantially due to the protection of the embankment.

Death of Mir Madan Khan

At the end of three hours, there was no substantial progress and the positions of both sides had not changed. Clive called a meeting of his staff to discuss the way ahead. It was concluded that the present position would be maintained till after nightfall, and an attack on the Nawab's camp should be attempted at midnight. Soon after the conference, a heavy rainstorm occurred. The British used tarpaulins to protect

their ammunition, while the Nawab's army took no such precautions. As a result, their gunpowder got drenched and their rate of fire slackened, while Clive's artillery kept up a continuous fire. As the rain began to subside, Mir Madan Khan, assuming that the British guns were rendered ineffective by the rain, led his cavalry to a charge. However, the British countered the charge with heavy grape shot, mortally wounding Mir Madan Khan and driving back his men.

Siraj had remained in his tent throughout the cannonade surrounded by attendants and officers assuring him of victory. When he heard that Mir Madan was mortally wounded, he was deeply disturbed and attempted reconciliation with Mir Jafar, flinging his turban to the ground, entreating him to defend it. Mir Jafar promised his services but immediately sent word of this encounter to Clive, urging him to push forward. Following Mir Jafar's exit from the Nawab's tent, Rai Durlabh urged Siraj to withdraw his army behind the entrenchment and advised him to return to Murshidabad leaving the battle to his generals. Siraj complied with this advice and ordered the troops under Mohan Lal to retreat behind the entrenchment. He then mounted a camel and accompanied by 2,000 horsemen set out for Murshidabad.

Battlefield manoeuvres

- At about 14:00, the Nawab's army ceased the cannonade and began turning back north to their entrenchments, leaving St. Frais and his artillery without support. Seeing the Nawab's forces retiring, Major Kilpatrick, who had been left in charge of the British force while Clive was resting in the hunting

lodge, recognised the opportunity to cannonade the retiring enemy if St. Frais' position could be captured. Sending an officer to Clive to explain his actions, he took two companies of the 39th Regiment and two field pieces and advanced towards St. Frais' position. When Clive received the message, he hurried to the detachment and reprimanded Kilpatrick for his actions without orders and commanded to bring up the rest of the army from the grove. Clive himself then led the army against St. Frais' position which was taken at 15:00 when the French artillery retreated to the redoubt of the entrenchment, setting up for further action.As the British force moved towards the larger tank, it was observed that the left arm of the Nawab's army had lingered behind the rest. When the rear of this division reached a point in a line with the northern point of the grove, it turned left and marched towards the grove. Clive, unaware that it was Mir Jafar's division, supposed that his baggage and stores were the intended target and sent three platoons under Captain Grant and Lieutenant Rumbold and a field piece under John Johnstone, a volunteer, to check their advance. The fire of the field piece halted the advance of the division, which remained isolated from the rest of the Nawab's army.

Meanwhile, the British field pieces began a cannonade on the Nawab's camp from the mound of the larger tank. As a result, many of the Nawab's troops and artillery started coming out of the entrenchment. Clive advanced half of his troops and artillery to the smaller tank and the other half to a rising

ground 200 yards (180 m) to the left of it and started bombarding the entrenchment with greater efficiency, throwing the approaching trains into confusion. The Nawab's troops shot their matchlocks from holes, ditches, hollows and from bushes on the hill east of the redoubt while St. Frais kept up his artillery fire from the redoubt. Cavalry charges were also repulsed by the British field pieces. However, the British force sustained most of its casualties in this phase.

At this point, Clive realised that the lingering division was Mir Jafar's and concentrated his efforts at capturing the redoubt and hill east of it. Clive ordered a three-pronged attack with simultaneous attacks by two detachments on the redoubt and the hill supported by the main force in the centre. Two companies of grenadiers of the 39th Regiment, under Major Coote took the hill at 16:30 after the enemy fled without firing a shot.

Coote pursued them across the entrenchment. The redoubt was also taken after St. Frais was forced to retreat. By 17:00, the British occupied the entrenchment and the camp left by a dispersing army. The British troops marched on and halted 6 miles (9.7 km) beyond Daudpur at 20:00.

The British losses were estimated at 22 killed and 50 wounded. Of the killed, three were of the Madras Artillery, one of the Madras Regiment and one of the Bengal European Regiment. Of the wounded, four were of the 39th Regiment, three of the Madras Regiment, four of the Madras Artillery, two of the Bengal European Regiment, one of the Bengal Artillery and one of the Bombay Regiment. Of the losses by the sepoys, four Madras and nine Bengal sepoys were killed while nineteen

Madras and eleven Bengal sepoys were wounded. Clive estimates that the Nawab's force lost 500 men, including several key officers.

Aftermath

In the evening of 23 June, Clive received a letter from Mir Jafar asking for a meeting with him. Clive replied that he would meet Mir Jafar at Daudpur the next morning. When Mir Jafar arrived at the British camp at Daudpur in the morning, Clive embraced him and saluted him as the Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Odisha. He then advised Mir Jafar to hasten to Murshidabad to prevent Siraj's escape and the plunder of his treasure. Mir Jafar reached Murshidabad with his troops on the evening of 24 June. Clive arrived at Murshidabad on 29 June with a guard of 200 European soldiers and 300 sepoys in the wake of rumours of a possible attempt on his life. Clive was taken to the Nawab's palace, where he was received by Mir Jafar and his officers. Clive placed Mir Jafar on the throne and acknowledging his position as Nawab, presented him with a plate of gold rupees.

Siraj-ud-daulah had reached Murshidabad at midnight on 23 June. He summoned a council where some advised him to surrender to the British, some to continue the war and some to prolong his flight. At 22:00 on 24 June, Siraj disguised himself and escaped northwards on a boat with his wife and valuable jewels. His intention was to escape to Patna with aid from Jean Law. At midnight on 24 June, Mir Jafar sent several parties in pursuit of Siraj. On 2 July, Siraj reached Rajmahal and took shelter in a deserted garden but was soon discovered and betrayed to the local military governor, the brother of Mir

Jafar, by a man who was previously arrested and punished by Siraj. His fate could not be decided by a council headed by Mir Jafar and was handed over to Mir Jafar's son, Miran, who had Siraj murdered that night. His remains were paraded on the streets of Murshidabad the next morning and were buried at the tomb of Alivardi Khan.

According to the treaty drawn between the British and Mir Jafar, the British acquired all the land within the Maratha Ditch and 600 yards (550 m) beyond it and the zamindari of all the land between Calcutta and the sea. Besides confirming the firman of 1717, the treaty also required the restitution, including donations to the navy squadron, army and committee, of 22,000,000 rupees (£2,750,000) to the British for their losses. However, since the wealth of Siraj-ud-daulah proved to be far less than expected, a council held with the Seths and Rai Durlabh on 29 June decided that one half of the amount was to be paid immediately – two-thirds in coin and one third in jewels and other valuables. As the council ended, it was revealed to Omichund that he would receive nothing with regard to the treaty, hearing which he went insane.

Effects

Political effects

As a result of the war of Plassey, the French were no longer a significant force in Bengal. In 1759, the British defeated a larger French garrison at Masulipatam, securing the Northern Circars. By 1759, Mir Jafar felt that his position as a subordinate to the British could not be tolerated. He started

encouraging the Dutch to advance against the British and eject them from Bengal. In late 1759, the Dutch sent seven large ships and 1400 men from Java to Bengal under the pretext of reinforcing their Bengal settlement of Chinsura even though Britain and Holland were not officially at war. Clive, however, initiated immediate offensive operations by land and sea and defeated the much larger Dutch force on 25 November 1759 in the Battle of Chinsura.

The British then deposed Mir Jafar and installed Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal. The British were now the paramount European power in Bengal. When Clive returned to England due to ill-health, he was rewarded with an Irish peerage, as Baron Clive of Plassey and also obtained a seat in the British House of Commons.

The struggle continued in areas of the Deccan and Hyderabad such as Arcot, Wandewash, Tanjore and Cuddalore, culminating in 1761 when Col. Eyre Coote defeated a French garrison under de Lally, supported by Hyder Ali at Pondicherry. The French were returned Pondicherry in 1763 by way of the Treaty of Paris but they never again regained their former stature in India. The British would, in effect, emerge as rulers of the subcontinent in subsequent years.

Economic effects

The Battle of Plassey and the resultant victory of the British East India company led to puppet governments instated by them in various states of India.

Chapter 21

Rohilla Afghans in the Battle of Delhi (1757)

Rohillas are a community of Pashtun ancestry, historically found in Rohilkhand, a region in the state of Uttar Pradesh, India. It forms the largest Pashtun diaspora community in India, and has given its name to the Rohilkhand region. The Rohilla military chiefs settled in the Hindu-majority region of northern India in the 1720s.

The Rohillas are found all over Uttar Pradesh, but are more concentrated in the Rohilkhand regions of Bareilly and Moradabad divisions. Between 1838 and 1916, some Rohillas migrated to Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad and Tobago in the Caribbean region of the Americas. After the 1947 Partition of India, some of the Rohillas migrated to Karachi, Pakistan.

Origin

The term *Rohilla* first became common in the 17th century. *Rohilla* was used to refer to the people coming from the land of *Roh*. *Roh* was originally a geographical term which corresponded with, in its limited sense, the territory stretching from Swat and Bajaur in the north to Sibi in the south, and from Hasan Abdal (Attock) in the east to Kabul and Kandahar in the west. Roh was the homeland of the Pashtuns, in the southern foothills of the Hindu Kush. Historically, the region of Roh has also been called "Pashtunkhwa" and "Afghanistan".

Pashtuns especially the Mandarr Yousafzai tribe living in this valley were also known as Rohillas when they settled the area then known as Katehr. It later became known as Rohilkhand which means *the land of the Rohillas*. A majority of Rohillas migrated from Pashtunistan to North India between the 17th and 18th century.

History

Early history

The founders of the Pashtun state of Rohilkhand were Daud Khan and his adopted son Ali Muhammad Khan. Daud Khan arrived in South Asia in 1705. He brought along a band of his tribe, the Barech. Daud Khan was awarded the *Katehr* region in the then northern India by Mughal emperor Aurangzeb (ruled 1658–1707) to suppress Rajput uprisings, which had afflicted this region. Originally, some 20,000 soldiers from various Pashtun tribes such as (Yusafzai, Ghori, Ghilzai, Barech, Marwat, Durrani, Tareen, Kakar, Naghar, Afridi, Bangash and Khattak) were hired by Mughals to provide mercenary soldier for the Mughal armies. This was appreciated by Aurangzeb and since this force of 25,000 men was given respected positions in the Mughal Army.

Daud Khan was succeeded by Ali Muhammad Khan in 1721. He became so powerful that he refused to send tax revenues to the central government. Safdar Jang, the Nawab of Oudh, warned the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah of the growing power of the Rohillas. This caused Mohammed Shah to send an expedition against him as a result of which he surrendered to

imperial forces. He was taken to Delhi as a prisoner, but was later pardoned and appointed governor of Sirhind. Most of his soldiers has already settled in the Katehar region during Nadir Shah's invasion of northern India in 1739 increasing the Rohilla population in the area to 100,000. Due to the large settlement of Rohilla Pashtuns, this part Katehar region came to be known as Rohilkhand. Bareilly was made the capital of this newly formed Rohilkhand state.

When Ali Muhammad Khan died, leaving six sons. However, two of his elder sons were in Afghanistan at the time of his death while the other four were too young to assume the leadership of Rohilkhand. As a result, power transferred to other Rohilla Sardars, the most important being Hafiz Rahmat Khan Barech, Najib-ud-Daula and Dundi Khan. According to the 1901 census of India, the total Pathan (Pashtun) population of Bareilly District was 40,779, while the total population was 1,090,117.

Following the Battle of Panipat in 1761

In the third battle of Panipat (1761) one of the Rohilla Sardars, Najib-ul-Daula, allied himself with Ahmad Shah Abdali against the Marathas. He not only provided 40,000 Rohilla troops but also 70 guns to the allied. He also convinced Shuja-ul-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, to join Ahmad Shah Abdali's forces against the Marathas. In this battle, the Marathas were defeated and as a consequence the Rohilla increased in power.

The Marathas invaded Rohilkhand to retaliate against the Rohillas' participation in the Panipat war. The Marathas under the leadership of the Maratha ruler Mahadji Shinde entered the

land of Sardar Najib-ud-Daula which was held by his son Zabita Khan after the sardar's death. Zabita Khan initially resisted the attack but was eventually defeated by the Marathas and forced to flee to the camp of Shuja-ud-Daula and his country was ravaged by Marathas. The Maratha ruler Mahadji Shinde captured the family of Zabita Khan, desecrated the grave of Najib ad-Dawlah and looted his fort. The principal remaining Rohilla Sardar was Hafiz Rahmat Khan Barech and through him an agreement was formed with the Nawab of Oudh, Shuja-ud-Daula, by which the Rohillas agreed to pay four million rupees in return for military help against the Marathas. However, after Oudh attacked the Rohillas, they refused to pay.

Later Rohillas were attacked by the neighbouring kingdom of Oudh, who also received assistance from the British East India Company forces under Colonel Alexander Champion. This conflict is known as the Rohilla War. When Hafiz Rahmat Khan Barech was killed, in April 1774, Rohilla resistance crumbled, and Rohilkhand was annexed by the kingdom of Oudh. Rohillas fled into the dense forests across the Ganges, and later began a guerrilla war. In response, many Rohillas were hunted down by the troops of British East India company and subsequently scattered in the countryside. They settled in many small towns and cities. Charges of ethnic cleansing and genocide were brought against Warren Hastings of the East India Company, by Edmund Burke and were later taken up by Thomas Babington Macaulay.

From 1774 to 1799, the region was administered by Khwaja Almas Khan, a Meo from Haryana, as representative of the Awadh(kingdom of Oudh) rulers. This period was particularly

tough for the Rohillas, as Almas Khan made every effort to weaken the Rohillas. In 1799, British East India company annexed the territory, and started to pay a pension to the family of Hafiz Rahmat Khan Barech.

Establishment of Rampur State

While most of Rohilkhand was annexed, the Rohilla State of Rampur was established by Nawab Faizullah Khan on 7 October 1774 in the presence of British Commander Colonel Champion, and remained a pliant state under British protection thereafter. The first stone of the new Fort at Rampur was laid in 1775 by Nawab Faizullah Khan. The first Nawab proposed to rename the city *Faizabad*, but many other places were known by that name so its name was changed to *Mustafabad*.

Nawab Faizullah Khan ruled for 20 years. He was a patron of education and began the collection of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindustani manuscripts which are now housed in the Rampur Raza Library. After his death his son Muhammad Ali Khan took over. He was assassinated by Rohilla elders after reigning for 24 days, and Muhammad Ali Khan's brother, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, was proclaimed Nawab. The East India Company took exception to this, and after a reign of just 3 months and 22 days Ghulam Muhammad Khan was besieged and defeated by English forces. East India company supported Muhammad Ali Khan's son, Ahmad Ali Khan, to be the new Nawab. He ruled for 44 years. He did not have any sons, so Muhammad Saeed Khan, son of Ghulam Muhammad Khan, took over as the new Nawab after his death. He established Courts and improved the economic conditions of farmers. His

son Muhammad Yusuf Ali Khan took over after his death and his son, Kalb Ali Khan, became the new Nawab after his death in 1865.

Between 1857 and 1947

The period between the revolt of 1857 and the independence of India in 1947 was a period of stability for the Rohilla community. In 1858, the British government issued a general pardon to all those who had taken part in the War of Independence and restored many lands. Some of the tribes were punished for aiding the rebels. Some tribes had to migrate to Delhi and Gurgaon, while others migrated to the Deccan region. Conditions improved after some years and migration from the North West Frontier Province and Afghanistan recommenced, adding to the Rohilla population. During this period, the Rohillas were also effected by the reformist movement of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, with many taking to modern education. The founder of the Barelvi sect of Sunni Islam, Ahmad Raza Khan, was also born among the Rohillas and the city of Bareilly became an important centre of Islamic learning in Northern India.

While a majority of Rohillas remained landowners and cultivators, a significant minority took to western education, and entered professions such as law and medicine. They also began to take an interest in the political debates during the last decade of the 19th Century. Some of them joined the newly formed Indian National Congress, while others were attracted to pan-Islamism. This period also saw a wholesale adoption of North Indian Muslim culture, with Urdu becoming the native language of the Rohilla. In fact the term of Rohilla was slowly

replaced with the term "Pathan", which was a new self-identification. However a sense of distinct identity remained strong, with the Rohillas residing in distinct quarters of cities, such as, Kakar Tola, Pani Tola and Gali Nawaban in Bareilly, which was home to the descendants of Hafiz Rahmat Khan. There was intermarriages with neighbouring Muslim communities such as the Shaikh, Muslim Rajput and Kamboh. Thus at the dawn of independence, the Rohilla were losing their distinct community status.

Present circumstances

The independence of Pakistan and India in 1947 had a profound effect on the Rohilla community. The vast majority of them emigrated to Pakistan in 1947. Those that were left in India, were affected by the abolishment of the zamindari system in 1949, as well as the ascension of the State of Rampur to India and many of them migrated to join their kinsmen in Karachi, Pakistan. The Rohilla now form two distinct communities with the majority in Pakistan and a small minority residing in India.

In India

The Rohilla now form one of the larger Muslim communities of Uttar Pradesh and are found throughout Uttar Pradesh, with settlements in Rampur, Bareilly, Shahjahanpur in Rohilkhand being the densest. They now speak Hindustani in towns, and Khari boli in their rural settlements.

The Pathan (Rohilla) community of UP has sixteen sub-groups, the Ghilzai, Afridi, Barakzai, Barech, Daudzai, Marwat,

Durrani, Bettani, Naghar, Ghorghushti, Sur Pashtun, Kakar, Khalil, Mohmand, Mohammadzai, Orakzai, Yousafzai and Wazir, all of which are descended from well known Pashtun tribes. Some Rohilla Pathans reside in Maharashtra's Washim and Nanded district, Tehsil Kinwat Tribal Area. There is also a small population in Bendi and Kopra, two villages in Kinwat Taluka. In older parts of the Muslim areas of the towns in UP, the Pathans have maintained their own residential neighbourhoods. The Pathan are not an endogamous group, and arranged marriages do occur with other Sunni Muslim communities of similar social status, such as the Mughal tribe, Muslim Rajput and Shaikh although there is still a preference of marriage within the community.

The Rohilla have historically been landowners and soldiers, therefore, some parts of the community are associated with agriculture in Rohilkhand, while many Rohilla officers who worked in the British Indian Army in the 1940s migrated to Pakistan and joined the Pakistani Army; famous among them are General Rahimuddin Khan and General Akhtar Abdur Rahman. They have also been prominent in the Muslim religious sphere in UP, having produced many *alims* and *Huffaz* and have built and financed many Mosques and Madrassahs. In terms of formal education, they are seen as a community that has a favourable attitude towards western education, and many are professional doctors and lawyers.

In Pakistan

In Pakistan, the Rohillas and other Urdu-speaking Pathans have now completely assimilated into larger Urdu speaking community. There is no sense of corporate identity among the

descendants of Rohilla Pathans in Pakistan with high degree of intermarriage with other Muslims. They mainly live in Karachi, Hyderabad, Sukkur, and other urban areas of Sindh. Many have held high positions in the government, notably Sahibzada Yaqub Khan, a Rohilla, who was Pakistan's Minister of Foreign Affairs during the 1980s.

Battle of Delhi (1757)

The **Battle of Delhi in 1757** also referred to as the **Second Battle of Delhi**, was a battle fought on 11 August 1757 between the Maratha Empire under the command of Raghunath Rao and the Rohillas under the command of Najib-ud-Daula, who was under the Afghan suzerainty and simultaneously the "Pay Master" of what remained of the Mughal Army. The battle was waged by the Marathas for the control of Delhi, the former Mughal capital which was now under the control of Rohilla chief Najib-ud-Daula, as a consequence of the fourth invasion of India by Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Background

Ahmad Shah Durrani invaded North India for the fourth time in early 1757. He entered Delhi in January 1757 and kept the Mughal emperor under arrest. On his return in April 1757, Abdali re-installed the Mughal emperor Alamgir II on Delhi throne as a titular head. However, the actual control of Delhi was given to Najib-ud-Daula, who had promised to pay an annual tribute of 20 lakh rupees to Abdali. Najib had also assisted Abdali in his fourth invasion and had already won the trust of the Afghan emperor. It can be said that he worked as

the agent of Abdali in Delhi court. So, Najib was now the de facto ruler of Delhi with Alamgir II as a puppet emperor in his control.

The Mughal emperor and his *wazir* Imad-ul-Mulk were alarmed by all these developments and hence requested Marathas to help them get rid of Abdali's agents in Delhi.

A contingent of 40,000 Maratha troops was dispatched for attacking Delhi.

Battle

The Marathas encamped opposite the Red Fort on the other side of Yamuna river. The Marathas were joined by Mughal commanders Imad-ul-Mulk and Ahmad Khan Bangash for assisting them in freeing Delhi from Rohilla Afghans.

Najib gave the charge of 2,500 strong infantry to Qutub Shah and Mulla Aman Khan and himself commanded another infantry contingent of 5,000 troops and heavy artillery and which were deployed by him to prevent Marathas from entering the city. The battle started on 11 August and after two weeks of intense fighting, Najib surrendered and was arrested by Marathas.

Maratha commander Raghunath Rao demanded immediate withdrawal of Najib from Delhi along with a tribute of 50 lakh rupees, but Najib rejected the demand of 50 lakh rupees and offered to pay just 5 lakh rupees. He also promised that he would never return to Delhi and never threaten any Maratha fort.

Aftermath

The Marathas had now become the de facto rulers of Delhi. Raghunath Rao appointed Antaji Mankeshwar as Governor of Delhi province while Alamgir II was retained as titular head with no actual power. This conquest of Delhi by the Marathas laid the foundation of their north-west campaign, as a consequence of which they established their rule up to Khyber Pass by May 1758.

Instead of paying the promised tribute of 5 lakh rupees to Marathas, Najib once again started building an army to take back control of his lost territory in the Meerat region which had been captured by Marathas. Najib then invited Ahmad Shah Abdali again in 1761 for his fifth invasion.

Chapter 22

French India

French India, formally the ***Établissements français dans l'Inde*** (English: French Settlements in India), was a French colony comprising five geographically separated enclaves on the Indian Subcontinent that had initially been factories of the French East India Company. They were *de facto* incorporated into the Republic of India in 1950 and 1954. The enclaves were Pondichéry, Karikal, Yanaon (Andhra Pradesh) on the Coromandel Coast, Mahé on the Malabar Coast and Chandernagor in Bengal. The French also possessed several *loges* ('lodges', tiny subsidiary trading stations) inside other towns, but after 1816, the British denied all French claims to these, which were not reoccupied.

By 1950, the total area measured 510 km (200 sq mi), of which 293 km (113 sq mi) belonged to the territory of Pondichéry. In 1936, the population of the colony totalled 298,851 inhabitants, of which 63% (187,870) lived in the territory of Pondichéry.

History

France was the last of the major European maritime powers of the 17th century to enter the East India trade. Six decades after the foundation of the English and Dutch East India companies (in 1600 and 1602 respectively), and at a time when both companies were multiplying factories (trading posts) on the shores of India, the French still did not have a viable

trading company or a single permanent establishment in the East. Historians have sought to explain France's late entrance in the East India trade. They cite geopolitical circumstances such as the inland position of the French capital, France's numerous internal customs barriers and parochial perspectives of merchants on France's Atlantic coast, who had little appetite for the large-scale investment required to develop a viable trading enterprise with the distant East Indies.

The first French commercial venture to India is believed to have taken place in the first half of the 16th century, in the reign of King Francis I, when two ships were fitted out by some merchants of Rouen to trade in eastern seas; they sailed from Le Havre and were never heard of again. In 1604 a company was granted letters patent by King Henry IV, but the project failed. Fresh letters patent were issued in 1615, and two ships went to India, only one returning.

La Compagnie française des Indes orientales (French East India Company) was formed under the auspices of Cardinal Richelieu (1642) and reconstructed under Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1664), sending an expedition to Madagascar. In 1667 the French India Company sent out another expedition, under the command of François Caron (who was accompanied by a Persian named Marcara), which reached Surat in 1668 and established the first French factory in India.

In 1669, Marcara succeeded in establishing another French factory at Masulipatam. In 1672, Fort Saint Thomas was taken but the French were driven out by the Dutch. Chandernagore (present-day Chandannagar) was established in 1692, with the permission of Nawab Shaista Khan, the Mughal governor of

Bengal. In 1673, the French acquired the area of Pondicherry from the qiladar of Valikondapuram under the Sultan of Bijapur, and thus the foundation of Pondichéry was laid. By 1720, the French had lost their factories at Surat, Masulipatam and Bantam to the British East India Company.

On 4 February 1673, Bellanger de l'Espinay, a French officer, took up residence in the Danish Lodge in Pondichéry, thereby commencing the French administration of Pondichéry. In 1674 François Martin, the first Governor, initiated ambitious projects to transform Pondichéry from a small fishing village into a flourishing port-town. The French, though, found themselves in continual conflict with the Dutch and the English. The case of France was upheld for many years at the court of the Sultan of Golconda, Qutb Shah, by a French Huguenot physician named Antoine d'Estremau. In 1693 the Dutch captured Pondichéry and augmented the fortifications. The French regained the town in 1699 through the Treaty of Ryswick, signed on 20 September 1697.

From their arrival until 1741, the objectives of the French, like those of the British, were purely commercial. During this period, the French East India Company peacefully acquired Yanam (about 840 kilometres or 520 miles north-east of Pondichéry on Andhra Coast) in 1723, Mahe on Malabar Coast in 1725 and Karaikal (about 150 kilometres or 93 miles south of Pondichéry) in 1739. In the early 18th century, the town of Pondichéry was laid out on a grid pattern and grew considerably. Able governors like Pierre Christophe Le Noir (1726–1735) and Pierre Benoît Dumas (1735–1741) expanded the Pondichéry area and made it a large and rich town.

Soon after his arrival in 1741, the most famous governor of French India, Joseph François Dupleix, began to cherish the ambition of a French territorial empire in India in spite of the pronounced uninterested attitude of his distant superiors and of the French government, which didn't want to provoke the British. Dupleix's ambition clashed with British interests in India and a period of military skirmishes and political intrigues began and continued even in rare periods when France and Great Britain were officially at peace. Under the command of the Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau, Dupleix's army successfully controlled the area between Hyderabad and Cape Comorin. But then Robert Clive arrived in India in 1744, a British officer who dashed the hopes of Dupleix to create a French empire in India.

After a defeat and failed peace talks, Dupleix was summarily dismissed and recalled to France in 1754.

In spite of a treaty between the British and French agreeing not to interfere in regional Indian affairs, their colonial intrigues continued. The French expanded their influence at the court of the Nawab of Bengal and increased their trading activity in Bengal. In 1756, the French encouraged the Nawab (Siraj ud-Daulah) to attack and take the British Fort William in Calcutta. This led to the Battle of Plassey in 1757, where the British decisively defeated the Nawab and his French allies, resulting in the extension of British power over the entire province of Bengal.

Subsequently, France sent Lally-Tollendal to recover the lost French possessions and drive the British out of India. Lally arrived in Pondichéry in 1758, had some initial success and

razed Fort St. David in Cuddalore District to the ground in 1758, but strategic mistakes by Lally led to the loss of the Hyderabad region, the Battle of Wandiwash, and the siege of Pondicherry in 1760. In 1761, the British razed Pondichéry to the ground in revenge for the French depredations; it lay in ruins for four years. The French had lost their hold now in South India too.

In 1765 Pondichéry was returned to France in accordance with a 1763 peace treaty with Britain. Governor Jean Law de Lauriston set to rebuild the town on its former layout and after five months 200 European and 2000 Tamil houses had been erected. In 1769 the French East India Company, unable to support itself financially, was abolished by the French Crown, which assumed administration of the French possessions in India. During the next 50 years, Pondichéry changed hands between France and Britain with the regularity of their wars and peace treaties. In 1816, after the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars, the five establishments of Pondichéry, Chandernagore, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam and the lodges at Machilipatnam, Kozhikode and Surat were returned to France. Pondichéry had lost much of its former glory, and Chandernagore dwindled into an insignificant outpost to the north of the rapidly growing British metropolis of Calcutta. Successive governors tried, with mixed results, to improve infrastructure, industry, law and education over the next 138 years.

By a decree of 25 January 1871, French India was to have an elective general council (*conseil général*) and elective local councils (*conseil local*). The results of this measure were not very satisfactory, and the qualifications for and the classes of

the franchise were modified. The governor resided at Pondichéry and was assisted by a council. There were two *Tribunaux d'instance* (Tribunals of first instance) (at Pondichéry and Karikal) one *Cour d'appel* (Court of Appeal) (at Pondichéry) and five *Justices de paix* (Justices of the Peace). Agricultural production consisted of rice, peanuts, tobacco, betel nuts and vegetables.

The Independence of India on 15 August 1947 gave impetus to the union of France's Indian possessions with former British India. The lodges in Machilipatnam, Kozhikode and Surat were ceded to India in October 1947. An agreement between France and India in 1948 agreed to an election in France's remaining Indian possessions to choose their political future. Governance of Chandernagore was ceded to India on 2 May 1950, then it was merged with West Bengal state on 2 October 1954. On 1 November 1954, the four enclaves of Pondichéry, Yanam, Mahe, and Karikal were *de facto* transferred to the Indian Union and became the Union Territory of Puducherry. The *de jure* union of French India with India did not take place until 1962 when the French Parliament in Paris ratified the treaty with India.

List of French establishments in India

The French establishments of India are all located in the Indian peninsula. These establishments are

- On the Coramandel coast,
- **Pondichéry** and its territory comprising districts of Pondichéry, Villenour and Bahour;

- **Karikal** and its dependent maganams, or districts.
- On the coast of Orissa,
- **Yanaon** and its territory comprising dependent aldées or villages;
- The Masulipatam loge.
- On the Malabar coast,
- **Mahé** and its territory;
- The Calicut loge.
- In Bengal,
- **Chandernagor** and its territory;
- The five loges of Cassimbazar, Jugdia, Dacca, Balasore and Patna.
- In Gujarat,
- Surat factory.

The name 'loge' was given, under the regime of the French East India company.

in factories or insulated establishments consisting of a home with an adjacent ground, where France had the right to fly its flag and to form trading posts.

List of chief governing officers

Commissioners

- François Caron, 1668–1672
- François Baron, 1672–1681
- François Martin, 1681 – November 1693
- *Dutch occupation, September 1693 – September 1699 — **Treaty of Ryswick** (1697)*

Governors

In the days of the French East India Company, the title of the top official was most of the time Governor of Pondicherry and General Commander of the French settlements in the East Indies (French: *Gouverneur de Pondichéry et commandant général des établissements français aux Indes orientales*). After 1816, it was Governor of French establishments in India (French: *Gouverneur des établissements français de l'Inde'*).

- François Martin, September 1699 – 31 December 1706
- Pierre Dulivier, January 1707 – July 1708
- Guillaume André d'Hébert, 1708–1712
- Pierre Dulivier, 1712–1717
- Guillaume André d'Hébert, 1717–1718
- Pierre André Prévost de La Prévostière, August 1718 – 11 October 1721
- Pierre Christoph Le Noir (Acting), 1721–1723
- Joseph Beauvollier de Courchant, 1723–1726
- Pierre Christoph Le Noir, 1726–1734
- Pierre Benoît Dumas, 1734–1741
- Joseph François Dupleix, 14 January 1742 – 15 October 1754
- Charles Godeheu, Le commissaire (Acting), 15 October 1754 – 1754
- Georges Duval de Leyrit, 1754–1758
- Thomas Arthur, comte de Lally, 1758 – 1761 January 1761
- First British occupation, January 15, 1761 – June 25, 1765 — Treaty of Paris (1763)
- Jean Law de Lauriston, 1765–1766

- Antoine Boyellau, 1766–1767
- Jean Law de Lauriston, 1767 – January 1777
- Second British occupation, 1778 – 1783 – Treaty of Paris (1783)
- Guillaume de Bellecombe, seigneur de Teirac, January 1777 – 1778
- Charles Joseph Pâtissier, Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau, 1783–1785
- François, Vicomte de Souillac, 1785
- David Charpentier de Cossigny, October 1785 – 1787
- Thomas, comte de Conway, October 1787 – 1789
- Camille Charles Leclerc, chevalier de Fresne, 1789–1792
- Dominique Prosper de Chermont, November 1792 – 1793
- L. Leroux de Touffreville, 1793
- Third British occupation, 23 August 1793 – 18 June 1802 — Treaty of Amiens (1802)
- Charles Matthieu Isidore, Comte Decaen, 18 June 1802 – August 1803
- Louis François Binot, 1803
- Fourth British occupation, August 1803 – 26 September 1816 — Treaty of Paris (1814)
- André Julien Comte Dupuy, 26 September 1816 – October 1825
- Joseph Cordier, Marie Emmanuel (Acting), October 1825 – 19 June 1826
- Eugène Desbassayns de Richemont, 1826 – 2 August 1828
- Joseph Cordier, Marie Emmanuel (Acting), 2 August 1828 – 11 April 1829

- Auguste Jacques Nicolas Peureux de Mélay, 11 April 1829 – 3 May 1835
- Hubert Jean Victor, Marquis de Saint-Simon, 3 May 1835 – April 1840
- Paul de Nourquer du Camper, April 1840 – 1844
- Louis Pujol, 1844–1849
- Hyacinthe Marie de Lalande de Calan, 1849–1850
- Philippe Achille Bédier, 1851–1852
- Raymond de Saint-Maur, August 1852 – April 1857
- Alexandre Durand d'Ubraye, April 1857 – January 1863
- Napoléon Joseph Louis Bontemps, January 1863 – June 1871
- Antoine-Léonce Michaux, June 1871 – November 1871
- Pierre Aristide Faron, November 1871 – 1875
- Adolph Joseph Antoine Trillard, 1875–1878
- Léonce Laugier, February 1879 – April 1881
- Théodore Drouhet, 1881 – October 1884
- Étienne Richaud, October 1884 – 1886
- Édouard Manès, 1886–1888
- Georges Jules Piquet, 1888–1889
- Louis Hippolyte Marie Nouet, 1889–1891
- Léon Émile Clément-Thomas, 1891–1896
- Louis Jean Girod, 1896 – February 1898
- François Pierre Rodier, February 1898 – 11 January 1902
- Louis Pelletan (Acting), 11 January 1902
- Victor Louis Marie Lanrezac, 1902–1904
- Philema Lemaire, August 1904 – April 1905
- Joseph Pascal François, April 1905 – October 1906

- Gabriel Louis Angoulvant, October 1906 – 3 December 1907
- Adrien Jules Jean Bonhoure, 1908–1909
- Ernest Fernand Lévecque, 1909 – 9 July 1910
- Alfred Albert Martineau, 9 July 1910 – July 1911
- Pierre Louis Alfred Duprat, July 1911 – November 1913
- Alfred Albert Martineau, November 1913 – 29 June 1918
- Pierre Étienne Clayssen (acting), 29 June 1918 – 21 February 1919
- Louis Martial Innocent Gerbinis, 21 February 1919 – 11 February 1926
- Henri Léo Eugène Lagroua (Acting), 11 February 1926 – 5 August 1926
- Pierre Jean Henri Didelot, 1926–1928
- Robert Paul Marie de Guise, 1928–1931
- François Adrien Juvanon, 1931–1934
- Léon Solomiac, August 1934 – 1936
- Horace Valentin Crocicchia, 1936–1938
- Louis Alexis Étienne Bonvin, 26 September 1938 – 1945
- Nicolas Ernest Marie Maurice Jeandin, 1945–1946
- Charles François Marie Baron, 20 March 1946 – 20 August 1947

French India became an Overseas territory (French: *territoire d'outre-mer*) of France in 1946.

Commissioners

- Charles François Marie Baron, 20 August 1947 – May 1949
- Charles Chambon, May 1949 – 31 July 1950
- André Ménard, 31 July 1950 – October 1954
- Georges Escargueil, October 1954 – 1 November 1954

French India *de facto* transferred to the Republic of India in 1954.

High Commissioners

- The first High Commissioner, Kewal Singh was appointed immediately after the *Kizhoor referendum* on 21 October 1954 as per Foreign Jurisdiction Act, 1947. The Chief Commissioner had the powers of the former French commissioner, but was under the direct control of the Union Government.

Chapter 23

Third Battle of Panipat

The **Third Battle of Panipat** took place on 14 January 1761 at Panipat, about 97 km (60 miles) north of Delhi, between the Maratha Empire and the invading Afghan army (of Ahmad Shah Durrani), supported by four Indian allies, the Rohillas under the command of Najib-ud-daulah, Afghans of the Doab region, and the Nawab of Awadh, Shuja-ud-Daula. The Maratha army was led by Sadashivrao Bhau who was third in authority after the Chhatrapati (Maratha King) and the Peshwa (Maratha Prime Minister). The main Maratha army was stationed in Deccan with the Peshwa.

Militarily, the battle pitted the artillery and cavalry of the Marathas against the heavy cavalry and mounted artillery (zamburak and jezail) of the Afghans and Rohillas led by Abdali and Najib-ud-Daulah, both ethnic Afghans. The battle is considered one of the largest and most eventful fought in the 18th century, and it has perhaps the largest number of fatalities in a single day reported in a classic formation battle between two armies.

The specific site of the battle itself is disputed by historians, but most consider it to have occurred somewhere near modern-day Kaalaa Aamb and Sanauli Road. The battle lasted for several days and involved over 125,000 troops. Protracted skirmishes occurred, with losses and gains on both sides. The forces led by Ahmad Shah Durrani came out victorious after destroying several Maratha flanks. The extent of the losses on both sides is heavily disputed by historians, but it is believed

that between 60,000–70,000 were killed in fighting, while the numbers of injured and prisoners taken vary considerably. According to the single best eyewitness chronicle—the bakhar by Shuja-ud-Daulah's Diwan Kashi Raj—about 40,000 Maratha prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood the day after the battle.

Grant Duff includes an interview of a survivor of these massacres in his *History of the Marathas* and generally corroborates this number. Shejwalkar, whose monograph *Panipat 1761* is often regarded as the single best secondary source on the battle, says that "not less than 100,000 Marathas (soldiers and non-combatants) perished during and after the battle."

Background

Decline of the Mughal Empire

The 27-year Mughal-Maratha war (1680–1707) led to rapid territorial loss of the Maratha Empire to the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb. However after his death in 1707, this process reversed following the Mughal Succession War between the sons of Aurangzeb. By 1712, Marathas quickly started retaking their lost lands. Under Peshwa Baji Rao, Gujarat, Malwa and Rajputana came under Maratha control. Finally, in 1737, Baji Rao defeated the Mughals on the outskirts of Delhi and brought much of the former Mughal territories south of Agra under Maratha control. Baji Rao's son Balaji Baji Rao further increased the territory under Maratha control by invading Punjab in 1758.

Raghunathrao's letter to the Peshwa, 4 May 1758. Lahore, Multan and other subahs on eastern side of Attock are under our rule for the most part, and places which have not come under our rule we shall soon bring under us. Ahmad Shah Durrani's son Timur Shah Durrani and Jahan Khan have been pursued by our troops, and their troops completely looted. Both of them have now reached Peshawar with a few broken troops... So Ahmad Shah Durrani has returned to Kandahar with some 12–14 thousand broken troops.. Thus all have risen against Ahmad who has lost control over the region. We have decided to extend our rule up to Kandahar.

This brought the Marathas into direct confrontation with the Durrani empire of Ahmad Shah Abdali (also known as Ahmad Shah Durrani). In 1759 he raised an army from the Pashtun and Baloch tribes and made several gains against the smaller Maratha garrisons in Punjab. He then joined with his Indian allies—the Rohilla Afghans of the Gangetic Doab—forming a broad coalition against the Marathas.

To counter this, Raghunathrao supposed to go north to handle the situation. Raghunathrao asked for large amount and an army, which was denied by Sadashivrao Bhau, his cousin and Diwan of Peshwa, so he declined to go. Sadashivrao Bhau was there upon made commander in chief of the Maratha Army, under whom the Battle of Panipat was fought.

The Marathas, under the command of Sadashivrao Bhau, responded by gathering an army of between 45,000–60,000, which was accompanied by roughly 200,000 non-combatants, a number of whom were pilgrims desirous of making pilgrimages to Hindu holy sites in northern India. The Marathas started

their northward journey from Patdur on 14 March 1760. Both sides tried to get the Nawab of Awadh, Shuja-ud-Daulah, into their camp. By late July Shuja-ud-Daulah made the decision to join the Afghan-Rohilla coalition, preferring to join what was perceived as the "army of Islam". This was strategically a major loss for the Marathas, since Shuja provided much-needed finances for the long Afghan stay in North India. It is doubtful whether the Afghan-Rohilla coalition would have the means to continue their conflict with the Marathas without Shuja's support.

Rise of the Marathas

Grant Duff, describing the Maratha army:

The lofty and spacious tents, lined with silks and broadcloths, were surmounted by large gilded ornaments, conspicuous at a distance... Vast numbers of elephants, flags of all descriptions, the finest horses, magnificently caparisoned ... seemed to be collected from every quarter ... it was an imitation of the more becoming and tasteful array of the Mughuls in the zenith of their glory.

The Marathas had gained control of a considerable part of India in the intervening period (1712–1757). In 1758 they nominally occupied Delhi, captured Lahore and drove out Timur Shah Durrani, the son and viceroy of the Afghan ruler, Ahmad Shah Abdali. This was the high-water mark of Maratha expansion, where the boundaries of their empire extended north of the Sindhu river all the way down south to northern Kerala. This territory was ruled through the Peshwa, who talked of placing his son Vishwasrao on the Mughal throne.

However, Delhi still remained under the control of Mughals, key Muslim intellectuals including Shah Waliullah and other Muslim clergies in India were frightened at these developments. In desperation they appealed to Ahmad Shah Abdali, the ruler of Afghanistan, to halt the threat.

Prelude

Ahmad Shah Durrani (*Ahmad Shah Abdali*), angered by the news from his son and his allies, was unwilling to allow the Marathas' spread go unchecked. By the end of 1759 Abdali with his Afghan tribes, his Baloch allies, and his Rohilla ally Najib Khan had reached Lahore as well as Delhi and defeated the smaller enemy garrisons. Ahmed Shah, at this point, withdrew his army to Anupshahr, on the frontier of the Rohilla country, where he successfully convinced the Nawab of Oudh Shuja-ud-Daula to join his alliance against the Marathas. The Marathas had earlier helped Safdarjung (father of Shuja) in defeating Rohillas in Farrukhabad.

The Marathas under Sadashivrao Bhau responded to the news of the Afghans' return to North India by raising an army, and they marched North. Bhau's force was bolstered by some Maratha forces under Holkar, Scindia, Gaikwad and Govind Pant Bundele. Suraj Mal (the Jat ruler of Bharatpur) also had joined Bhausaheb initially. This combined army captured the Mughal capital, Delhi, from an Afghan garrison in December 1759. Delhi had been reduced to ashes many times due to previous invasions, and in addition there being acute shortage of supplies in the Maratha camp. Bhau ordered the sacking of the already depopulated city. He is said to have planned to place his nephew and the Peshwa's son, Vishwasrao, on the

Delhi throne. The Jats withdrew their support from the Marathas. Their withdrawal from the ensuing battle was to play a crucial role in its result. Abdali drew first blood by attacking a small Maratha army led by Dattaji Shinde at Burari Ghat. Dattaji was killed in the battle.

Afghan defeat at Kunjpura

With both sides poised for battle, there followed much maneuvering, with skirmishes between the two armies fought at Karnal and Kunjpura. Kunjpura, on the banks of the Yamuna river 60 miles to the north of Delhi, was stormed by the Marathas and the whole Afghan garrison was killed or enslaved. The Marathas achieved a rather easy victory at Kunjpura against an army of 15,000 Afghans posted there. Some of Abdali's best generals like Najabat Khan were killed. Ahmad Shah was encamped on the left bank of the Yamuna River, which was swollen by rains, and was powerless to aid the garrison. The massacre of the Kunjpura garrison, within sight of the Durrani camp, exasperated Abdali to such an extent that he ordered crossing of the river at all costs.

Afghans cross Yamuna

Ahmed Shah and his allies on 17 October 1760, broke up from Shahdara, marching south. Taking a calculated risk, Abdali plunged into the river, followed by his bodyguards and troops. Between 23 and 25 October they were able to cross at Baghpat(a small town about 24 miles up the river), unopposed by the Marathas who were still preoccupied with the sacking of Kunjpura.

After the Marathas failed to prevent Abdali's forces from crossing the Yamuna River, they set up defensive works in the ground near Panipat, thereby blocking his access back to Afghanistan, just as Abdali's forces blocked theirs to the south. However, on the afternoon of 26 October, Ahmad Shah's advance guard reached Sambalka, about halfway between Sonepat and Panipat, where they encountered the vanguard of the Marathas. A fierce skirmish ensued, in which the Afghans lost 1000 men but drove the Marathas back to their main body, which kept retreating slowly for several days. This led to the partial encirclement of the Maratha army. In skirmishes that followed, Govind Pant Bundele, with 10,000 light cavalry who weren't formally trained soldiers, was on a foraging mission with about 500 men. They were surprised by an Afghan force near Meerut, and in the ensuing fight, Bundele was killed. This was followed by the loss of a contingent of 2,000 Maratha soldiers who had left Delhi to deliver money and rations to Panipat. This completed the encirclement, as Ahmad Shah had cut off the Maratha army's supply lines.

With supplies and stores dwindling, tensions started rising in the Maratha camp. Initially the Marathas had moved in almost 150 pieces of modern long-range, French-made artillery. With a range of several kilometres, these guns were some of the best of the time. The Marathas' plan was to lure the Afghan army to confront them while they had close artillery support.

Preliminary moves

During the next two months of the siege, constant skirmishes and duels took place between units from the two sides. In one of these Najib lost 3,000 of his Rohillas and was nearly killed

himself. Facing a potential stalemate, Abdali decided to seek terms, which Bhau was willing to consider. However, Najib Khan delayed any chance of an agreement with an appeal on religious grounds and sowed doubt about whether the Marathas would honour any agreement.

After the Marathas moved from Kunjpura to Panipat, Diler Khan Marwat, with his father Alam Khan Marwat and a force of 2500 Pashtuns, attacked and took control of Kunjpura, where there was a Maratha garrison of 700–800 soldiers. At that time Atai Khan Baluch, son of the Shah Wali Khan, the Wazir of Abdali, came from Afghanistan with 10,000 cavalry and cut off the supplies to the Marathas. The Marathas at Panipat were surrounded by Abdali in the south, Pashtun Tribes (Yousuf Zai, Afridi, Khattak) in the east, Shuja, Atai Khan and others in the north and other Pashtun tribes (Gandapur, Marwat, Durranis and Kakars) in the west. Unable to continue without supplies or wait for reinforcements any longer, Bhau decided to break the siege. His plan was to pulverise the enemy formations with cannon fire and not to employ his cavalry until the Afghans were thoroughly softened up. With the Afghans broken, he would move camp in a defensive formation towards Delhi, where they were assured supplies.

Formations

With the Maratha chiefs pressurizing Sadashivrao Bhau, to go to battle rather than perish by starvation, on 13 January, the Marathas left their camp before dawn and marched south towards the Afghan camp in a desperate attempt to break the siege. The two armies came face-to-face around 8:00 a.m.

The Maratha lines began a little to the north of Kala Amb. They had thus blocked the northward path of Abdali's troops and at the same time were blocked from heading south—in the direction of Delhi, where they could get badly needed supplies—by those same troops. Bhau, with the Peshwa's son and the royal guard (Huzurat), was in the centre. The left wing consisted of the *Gardis* under Ibrahim Khan. Holkar and Sindhia were on the extreme right.

The Maratha line was formed up some 12 km across, with the artillery in front, protected by infantry, pikemen, musketeers and bowmen. The cavalry was instructed to wait behind the artillery and bayonet-wielding musketeers, ready to be thrown in when control of the battlefield had been fully established. Behind this line was another ring of 30,000 young Maratha soldiers who were not battle-tested, and then the civilians. Many were ordinary men, women and children on their pilgrimage to Hindu holy places and shrines. Behind the civilians was yet another protective infantry line, of young, inexperienced soldiers.

On the other side the Afghans formed a somewhat similar line, a few metres to the south of today's Sanauli Road. Their left was being formed by Najib and their right by two brigades of troops. Their left centre was led by two Viziers, Shuja-ud-daulah with 3,000 soldiers and 50–60 cannons and Ahmad Shah's Vizier Shah Wali with a choice body of 19,000 mailed Afghan horsemen. The right centre consisted of 15,000 Rohillas under Hafiz Rahmat and other chiefs of the Rohilla Pathans. Pasand Khan covered the left wing with 5,000 cavalry, Barkurdar Khan and Amir Beg covered the right with 3,000 Rohilla cavalry. Long-range musketeers were also present

during the battle. In this order the army of Ahmed Shah moved forward, leaving him at his preferred post in the centre, which was now in the rear of the line, from where he could watch and direct the battle.

Battle

Early phases

Before dawn on 14 January 1761, the Maratha troops broke their fast with sugared water in the camp and prepared for combat. They emerged from the trenches, pushing the artillery into position on their prearranged lines, some 2 km from the Afghans. Seeing that the battle was on, Ahmad Shah positioned his 60 smooth-bore cannon and opened fire.

The initial attack was led by the Maratha left flank under Ibrahim Khan, who advanced his infantry in formation against the Rohillas and Shah Pasand Khan. The first salvos from the Maratha artillery went over the Afghans' heads and did very little damage. Nevertheless, the first Afghan attack by Najib Khan's Rohillas was broken by Maratha bowmen and pikemen, along with a unit of the famed Gardi musketeers stationed close to the artillery positions. The second and subsequent salvos were fired at point-blank range into the Afghan ranks. The resulting carnage sent the Rohillas reeling back to their lines, leaving the battlefield in the hands of Ibrahim for the next three hours, during which the 8,000 Gardi musketeers killed about 12,000 Rohillas.

In the second phase, Bhau himself led the charge against the left-of-center Afghan forces, under the Afghan Vizier Shah Wali

Khan. The sheer force of the attack nearly broke the Afghan lines, and the Afghan soldiers started to desert their positions in the confusion. Desperately trying to rally his forces, Shah Wali appealed to Shuja ud Daulah for assistance. However, the Nawab did not break from his position, effectively splitting the Afghan force's center. Despite Bhau's success and the ferocity of the charge, the attack did not attain complete success as many of the half-starved Maratha mounts were exhausted. Also, there were no heavy armoured cavalry units for the Marathas to maintain these openings. In order to turn about the deserting Afghan troopers, Abdali deployed his Nascibchi musketeers to gun down the deserters who finally stopped and returned to the field.

Final phase

The Marathas, under Scindia, attacked Najib. Najib successfully fought a defensive action, however, keeping Scindia's forces at bay. By noon it looked as though Bhau would clinch victory for the Marathas once again. The Afghan left flank still held its own, but the centre was cut in two and the right was almost destroyed. Ahmad Shah had watched the fortunes of the battle from his tent, guarded by the still unbroken forces on his left. He sent his bodyguards to call up his 15,000 reserve troops from his camp and arranged them as a column in front of his cavalry of musketeers (Qizilbash) and 2,000 swivel-mounted *shutarnaals* or Ushtranaal—cannons—on the backs of camels.

The shutarnaals, because of their positioning on camels, could fire an extensive salvo over the heads of their own infantry, at the Maratha cavalry. The Maratha cavalry was unable to

withstand the muskets and camel-mounted swivel cannons of the Afghans. They could be fired without the rider having to dismount and were especially effective against fast-moving cavalry. Abdali therefore, sent 500 of his own bodyguards with orders to raise all able-bodied men out of camp and send them to the front. He sent 1,500 more to punish the front-line troops who attempted to flee the battle and kill without mercy any soldier who would not return to the fight. These extra troops, along with 4,000 of his reserve troops, went to support the broken ranks of the Rohillas on the right. The remainder of the reserve, 10,000 strong, were sent to the aid of Shah Wali, still labouring unequally against the Bhau in the centre of the field. These mailed warriors were to charge with the Vizier in close order and at full gallop. Whenever they charged the enemy in front, the chief of the staff and Najib were directed to fall upon either flank.

With their own men in the firing line, the Maratha artillery could not respond to the shathurnals and the cavalry charge. Some 7,000 Maratha cavalry and infantry were killed before the hand-to-hand fighting began at around 14:00 hrs. By 16:00 hrs, the tired Maratha infantry began to succumb to the onslaught of attacks from fresh Afghan reserves, protected by armoured leather jackets.

Outflanked

Sadashiv Rao Bhau who had not kept any reserves, seeing his forward lines dwindling, civilians behind and upon seeing Vishwasrao disappear in the midst of the fighting, felt he had no choice but to come down from his elephant and lead the battle.

Taking advantage of this, the Afghan soldiers who had been captured by the Marathas earlier during the Siege of Kunjpura revolted. The prisoners unwrapped their green belts and wore them as turbans to impersonate the troops of the Durrani Empire and began attacking from within. This brought confusion and great consternation to the Maratha soldiers, who thought that the enemy had attacked from the rear. Some Maratha troops in the vanguard, seeing that their general had disappeared from his elephant and the chaos ensuing in the rear, panicked and scattered in disarray towards the rear.

Abdali had given a part of his army the task of surrounding and killing the Gardis, who were at the leftmost part of the Maratha army. Bhausaheb had ordered Vitthal Vinchurkar (with 1500 cavalry) and Damaji Gaikwad (with 2500 cavalry) to protect the Gardis. However, after seeing the Gardis having no clearing for directing their cannon fire at the enemy troops, they lost their patience and decided to fight the Rohillas themselves. Thus, they broke their position and went all out on the Rohillas. The Rohilla riflemen started accurately firing at the Maratha cavalry, which was equipped only with swords. This gave the Rohillas the opportunity to encircle the Gardis and outflank the Maratha centre while Shah Wali pressed on attacking the front. Thus the Gardis were left defenseless and started falling one by one.

Vishwasrao had already been killed by a shot to the head. Bhau and the Huzurati royal forces fought till the end, the Maratha leader having three horses shot out from under him. At this stage, the Holkar and Scindia contingents, realising the battle was lost, merged their forces with one contingent breaking from the Maratha right flank and escaped from the

opening in the Durrani lines southwards as Jankoji Rao Scindia lead the other contingent to reinforce the thinning lines of Marathas. The Maratha front lines remained largely intact, with some of their artillery units fighting until sunset. Choosing not to launch a night attack, many Maratha troops escaped that night. Bhau's wife Parvatibai, who was assisting in the administration of the Maratha camp, escaped to Pune with her bodyguard, Janu Bhintada along with Nana Fadnavis under the protection of Malhar Rao Holkar's contingent. Some 15,000 soldiers managed to reach Gwalior.

Reasons for the outcome

Durrani had both numeric as well as qualitative superiority over Marathas. The combined Afghan army was much larger than that of Marathas. Though the infantry of Marathas was organized along European lines and their army had some of the best French-made guns of the time, their artillery was static and lacked mobility against the fast-moving Afghan forces. The heavy mounted artillery of Afghans proved much better in the battlefield than the light artillery of Marathas. None of the other Hindu Kings joined forces to fight Abdali. Allies of Abdali, namely, Najib, Shuja and the Rohillas knew North India very well. He was also diplomatic, striking agreements with Hindu leaders, especially the Jats and Rajputs, and former rivals like the Nawab of Awadh, appealing to him in the name of religion.

Moreover, the senior Maratha chiefs constantly bickered with one another. Each had ambitions of carving out their independent states and had no interest in fighting against a common enemy. Some of them did not support the idea of a

pitched battle and wanted to fight using guerrilla tactics instead of charging the enemy head-on. The Marathas were fighting alone at a place which was 1000 miles away from their capital Pune.

Raghunathrao was supposed to go north to reinforce the army. Raghunathrao asked for large amount of wealth and troops, which was denied by Sadashivrao Bhau, his cousin and Diwan of Peshwa, so he declined to go. Sadashivrao Bhau was there upon made commander in chief of the Maratha Army, under whom the Battle of Panipat was fought. Some historians have opined, that Peshwa's decision to appoint Sadashivrao Bhau as the Supreme Commander instead of Malharrao Holkar or Raghunathrao proved to be an unfortunate one, as Sadashivrao was totally ignorant of the political and military situation in North India.

If Holkar had remained in the battlefield, the Maratha defeat would have been delayed but not averted. Ahmad Shah's superiority in pitched battle could have been negated if the Marathas had conducted their traditional ganimi kava, or guerrilla warfare, as advised by Malharrao Holkar, in Punjab and in north India. Abdali was in no position to maintain his field army in India indefinitely.

Massacres after the battle

The Afghan cavalry and pikemen ran wild through the streets of Panipat, killing tens of thousands of Maratha soldiers and civilians. Afghan officers who had lost their kin in battle were permitted to carry out massacres of Marathas the next day also, in Panipat and the surrounding area. They arranged

victory mounds of severed heads outside their camps. According to the single best eyewitness chronicle – the bakhar by Shuja-ud-Daula's Diwan Kashi Raj – about 40,000 Maratha prisoners were slaughtered in cold blood the day after the battle. According to Hamilton, a reporter of the Bombay Gazette, about half a million Marathi people were present there in Panipat town and he gives a figure of 40,000 prisoners as executed by Afghans. Some 22,000 women and children were driven off as slaves.

All of the prisoners were transported on bullock carts, camels and elephants in bamboo cages.

Siyar-ut-Mutakhirin says:

The unhappy prisoners were paraded in long lines, given a little parched grain and a drink of water, and beheaded... and the women and children who survived were driven off as slaves – twenty-two thousand, many of them of the highest rank in the land.

Aftermath

The bodies of Vishwasrao and Bhau were recovered by the Marathas and were cremated according to their custom. Bhau's wife Parvatibai was saved by Holkar, per the directions of Bhau, and eventually returned to Pune.

Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao, uninformed about the state of his army, was crossing the Narmada with reinforcements when he heard of the defeat. He returned to Pune and never recovered from the shock of the debacle at Panipat. According to Shuresh

Sharma, "It was Balaji Bajirao's love of pleasure which was responsible for Panipat. He delayed at Paithan celebrating his second marriage until December 27, when it was too late."

Jankoji Scindia was taken prisoner and executed at the instigation of Najib. Ibrahim Khan Gardi was tortured and executed by enraged Afghan soldiers. The Marathas never fully recovered from the loss at Panipat, but they remained the predominant military power and the largest empire in the Indian subcontinent and managed to retake Delhi ten years later. However, their claim over all of India ended with the three Anglo-Maratha Wars, almost 50 years after Panipat, in the early 19th century.

The Jats under Suraj Mal benefited significantly from not participating in the Battle of Panipat. They provided considerable assistance to the Maratha soldiers and civilians who escaped the fighting.

Though Abdali won the battle, he also had heavy casualties on his side and sought peace with the Marathas. Abdali sent a letter to Nanasaheb Peshwa (who was moving towards Delhi, albeit at a very slow pace to join Bhau against Abdali) appealing to the Peshwa that he was not the one who attacked Bhau and was just defending himself. Abdali wrote in his letter to Peshwa on 10 February 1761:

There is no reason to have animosity amongst us. Your son Vishwasrao and your brother Sadashivrao died in battle, was unfortunate. Bhau started the battle, so I had to fight back unwillingly. Yet I feel sorry for his death. Please continue your guardianship of Delhi as before, to that I have no opposition. Only let Punjab until Sutlaj remain with us. Reinstate Shah

Alam on Delhi's throne as you did before and let there be peace and friendship between us, this is my ardent desire. Grant me that desire.

These circumstances made Abdali leave India at the earliest. Before departing, he ordered the Indian chiefs, through a Royal Firman (order) (including Clive of India), to recognise Shah Alam II as Emperor.

Ahmad Shah also appointed Najib-ud-Daula as ostensible regent to the Mughal Emperor. In addition, Najib and Munir-ud-daulah agreed to pay to Abdali, on behalf of the Mughal king, an annual tribute of four million rupees. This was to be Ahmad Shah's final major expedition to North India, as the losses in the battle left him without the capacity to wage any further war against the Marathas, and as he became increasingly preoccupied with the rise of the Sikhs.

Shah Shuja's forces (including Persian advisers) played a decisive role in collecting intelligence against the Maratha forces and was notorious in ambushing the leading in hundreds of casualties.

After the Battle of Panipat the services of the Rohillas were rewarded by grants of Shikohabad to Nawab Faiz-ullah Khan and of Jalesar and Firozabad to Nawab Sadullah Khan. Najib Khan proved to be an effective ruler. However, after his death in 1770, the Rohillas were defeated by the forces of the East India Company. Najib died on 30 October 1770.

The result of the battle was the temporary halting of further Maratha advances in the north and destabilisation of their territories for roughly ten years. This period is marked by the

rule of Peshwa Madhavrao, who is credited with the revival of Maratha domination following the defeat at Panipat. In 1771, ten years after Panipat, Mahadji Shinde led a large Maratha army into northern India in a punitive expedition which re-established Maratha domination in that area and punished refractory powers that had either sided with the Afghans, such as the Rohillas, or had shaken off Maratha domination after Panipat. But their success was short lived. Crippled by Madhavrao's untimely death at the age of 28, infighting ensued among Maratha chiefs soon after, and they ultimately were defeated and annexed by the East India Company administration in 1818.

Legacy

The valour displayed by the Marathas was extolled by Ahmad Shah Abdali in his letter to his ally, Madho Singh, the king of Jaipur.

The Marathas fought with the greatest valour which was beyond the capacity of other races... These dauntless blood-shedders did not fall short in fighting and doing glorious deeds.... Suddenly the breeze of victory began to blow... and the wretched Deccanis suffered defeat.

The Third Battle of Panipat saw an enormous number of deaths and injuries in a single day of battle. It was the last major battle between South Asian-headed military powers until the creation of Pakistan and India in 1947.

To save their kingdom, the Mughals once again changed sides and welcomed the Afghans to Delhi. The Mughals remained in

nominal control over small areas of India but were never a force again. The empire officially ended in 1857 when its last emperor, Bahadur Shah II, was accused of being involved in the Indian Rebellion and exiled.

The Marathas' expansion was delayed due to the battle, and the damage done to the Maratha morale from the initial defeat caused infighting to break out within the empire. They recovered their position under the next Peshwa Madhavrao I and were back in control of the north, finally occupying Delhi by 1771.

However, after the death of Madhavrao, due to infighting and external conflicts with the East India Company, their political status as an empire only officially ended in 1818 after three wars against the forces of the East India Company.

Meanwhile, the Sikhs—whose rebellion was the original reason Ahmad invaded—were left largely untouched by the battle. They soon retook Lahore. When Ahmad Shah returned in March 1764 he was forced to break off his siege after only two weeks due to a rebellion in Afghanistan. He returned again in 1767 but was unable to win any decisive battle. With his own troops complaining about not being paid, he eventually lost the region to the Sikh Khalsa Raj, who remained in control until 1849 when it was annexed by the East India Company.

The battle was referred to in Rudyard Kipling's poem "With Scindia to Delhi". Our hands and scarfs were saffron-dyed for signal of despair, When we went forth to Paniput to battle with the ~Mlech~, Ere we came back from Paniput and left a kingdom there.

It is, however, also remembered as a scene of valour on both sides. Atai Khan, the adopted son of the Wazir Shah Wali Khan, was said to have been killed during this time when Yeshwantrao Pawar climbed atop his elephant and struck him down. Santaji Wagh's corpse was found with over 40 mortal wounds.

Chapter 24

Sikh Misls under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia

Misl generally refers to the sovereign states of the Sikh Confederacy, that rose during the 18th century in the Punjab region in the northern part of the Indian subcontinent and is cited as one of the causes of the weakening of the Mughal Empire prior to Nader Shah's invasion of India.

The *misls* formed a commonwealth that was described by Antoine Polier as a natural "aristocratic republic". Although the misls were unequal in strength, and each misl attempted to expand its territory and access to resources at the expense of others, they acted in unison in relation to other states. The misls held biannual meetings of their legislature, the Sarbat Khalsa in Amritsar.

History

In order to withstand the persecution of Shah Jahan and other Mughal rulers, several of the later Sikh Gurus established military forces and fought the Mughal Empire and Hindu hill chiefs in the early and middle Mughal-Sikh Wars. Banda Singh Bahadur continued Sikh resistance to the Mughal Empire until his defeat at the Battle of Gurdas Nangal.

For several years Sikhs found refuge in the jungles and the Himalayan foothills until they organized themselves into military bands known as *jathas*.

Military

Each Misl was made up of members of soldiers, whose loyalty was given to the Misl's leader. A Misl could be composed of a few hundred to tens of thousands soldiers. Any soldier was free to join whichever Misl he wished, and was free to cancel his membership of the Misl to whom he belonged. He could, if he wanted, cancel his membership of his old Misl and join another. The Barons would allow their armies to combine or coordinate their defences together against a hostile force if ordered by the Misldar Supreme Commander. These orders were only issued in military matters affecting the whole Sikh community.

These orders would normally be related to defense against external threats, such as Afghan military attacks. The profits of a fighting action were divided by the misls to individuals based on the service rendered after the conflict using the sardari system.

The **Sikh Confederacy** is a description of the political structure, of how all the Barons' Kingdoms interacted with each other politically together in Punjab. Although misls varied in strength, the use of primarily light cavalry with a smaller amount heavy cavalry was uniform throughout all of the Sikh misls. Cavalrymen in a misl were required to supply their own horses and equipment. A standard cavalryman was armed with a spear, matchlock, and scimitar. How the armies of the Sikh misls received payment varied with the leadership of each misl. The most prevalent system of payment was the 'Fasalandari' system; soldiers would receive payment every six months at the end of a harvest.

Cavalry tactics

Fauja Singh considers the Sikh misls to be guerrilla armies, although he notes that the Sikh misls generally had greater numbers and a larger number of artillery pieces than a guerrilla army would. The misls were primarily cavalry based armies and employed less artillery than Mughal or Maratha armies. The misls adapted their tactics to their strength in cavalry and weakness in artillery and avoided pitched battles. Misls organized their armies around bodies of horsemen and their units fought battles in a series of skirmishes, a tactic which gave them an advantage over fighting pitched battles. Bodies of cavalry would attack a position, retreat, reload their muskets, and return to attack it again.

The tactics used by misl field armies include flanking an enemy, obstructing river passages, cutting off a unit from its supplies, intercepting messengers, attacking isolated units like foraging parties, employing hit-and-run tactics, overrunning camps, and attacking baggage trains. To fight large armies the misl would completely evacuate the areas in front of the enemy's marching route but follow in the rear of the opposition and reconquer areas the enemy had just captured, threaten agents of the enemy with retribution, and sweep over the countryside in the wake of the enemy's withdrawal.

The *Running Skirmish* was a tactic unique to the Sikh cavalrymen which was notable for its effectiveness and the high degree of skill required to execute it. George Thomas and George Forster, contemporary writers who witnessed it described its use separately in their accounts of the military of the Sikhs. George Forster noted:

"A party from forty to fifty, advance in a quick pace to a distance of carbine shot from the enemy and then, that the fire may be given with the greatest certainty, the horses are drawn up and their pieces discharged, when speedily, retiring about a 100 paces, they load and repeat the same mode of annoying the enemy. Their horses have been so expertly trained to a performance of this operation that on receiving a stroke of hand, they stop from a full canter."

Administration

The remainder was separated into Puttees or parcels for each Surkunda, and these were again subdivided and parcelled out to inferior leaders, according to the number of horse they brought into the field. Each took his portion as a co-sharer, and held it in absolute independence.

- —*Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab (1834) p. 33 – Henry Thoby Prinsep*

The Sikh Misls had four different classes of administrative divisions. The patadari, misaldari, tabadari, and jagirdari were the different systems of land tenure used by the misls, and land granted by the misl left the responsibility of establishing law and order to the owner of the land. The land under the direct administration of the chief of the misl was known as the *sardari* and the tabadari and jagirdari systems used land directly given by the chief from the sardari. The patadari and misaldari systems formed the basis of a misl, while tabadari and jagirdari lands would only be created after large acquisitions of land. The type of system that was used in an

area depended on the importance of the chief sardar of the area to the rest of the misl.

The *Patadari system* affected newly annexed territories and was the original method used by the misls in administrating land. The patadari system relied on the cooperation of surkundas, the rank of a leader of a small party of cavalrymen. The chief of the misl would take his/her portion and divide the other parcels among his Sardars proportional to the number of cavalrymen they had contributed to the misl. The Sardars would then divide their parcels among their Surkundas, and then the Surkundas subdivided the land they received among their individual cavalrymen. The Surkundas receiving parcels of land with settlements were required to fortify them and establish fines and laws for their zamindars and ryots. Parcels of land in the patadari system could not be sold, but could be given to relatives in an inheritance. The soldiers who received parcels from the Patadari system held their land in complete freedom.

The *Misaldari system* applied to sardars with a small number of cavalrymen as well as independent bodies of cavalrymen who voluntarily attached themselves to a misl. They kept the lands they held before joining the misl as an allotment for their cooperation with the misl. The leaders of these groups, called misaldars, could transfer their allegiance and land to another misl without punishment.

The *Tabadari system* referred to land under the control of a misl's tabadars. Tabadars served a similar function to retainers in Europe. They were required to serve as cavalrymen to the misl and were subservient to the misl's leader. Although

tabadars received their land as a reward, their ownership was subject entirely on the misl's leader. The tabadari grants were only hereditary on the choice of the chief of the misl.

The *Jagirdari system* used the grant of jagirs by the chief of the misl. Jagirs were given by the chief of the misl to relations, dependents, and people who "deserved well". The owners of jagirs were subservient to the chief of the misl as their ownership was subject to his/her needs. Like the Tabadars, jagirdars were subject to personal service when the chief of the misl requested. However, because jagirs entailed more land and profit, they were required to use the money generated by their jagirs to equip and mount a quota of cavalrymen depending on the size of their jagir. Jagirdari grants were hereditary in practice but a misl's chief could revoke the rights of the heir. Upon the death of the owner of a tabadari or jagadari grant, the land would revert to direct control of the chief (sardari).

Territory

The two main divisions in territory between the misls were between those who were in the Malwa region and those who were in the Majha region. While eleven of the misls were north of the Sutlej river, one, the Phulkian Misl was south of the Sutlej. The Sikhs north of the Sutlej river were known as the Majha Sikhs while the Sikhs that lived south of the Sutlej river were known as the Malwa Sikhs. In the smaller territories were the Dhanigeb Singhs in the Sind Sagar Doab, the Gujrat Singhs in the Jech Doab, the Dharpi Singhs in the Rechna Doab, and the Doaba Singhs in the Jalandhar Doab.

Sikh women in state affairs

- Mai Fateh Kaur (d.1773) of Patiala Sikh dynasty
- Mai Desan Kaur (d.1778) of Sukerchakia Sikh Misl
- Bibi Rajinder Kaur (1739–1791) of Patiala Sikh dynasty
- Mai Sukkhan Kaur (r.1802) of Bhangi Sikh Misl
- Mai Lachhmi Kaur of Bhangi Sikh Misl
- Rani Sada Kaur (1762–1832) of Kanhaiya Sikh Misl
- Bibi Rattan Kaur of Dallewalia Sikh Misl
- Bibi Sahib Kaur (1771–1801) of Patiala Sikh dynasty
- Maharani Datar Kaur Sikh Empire (maiden name Raj Kaur of Nakai Misl) (1782–1838)
- Rani Aus Kaur (1772–1821) of Patiala Sikh dynasty
- Maharani Jind Kaur (1817–1863) of Sikh Empire
- Bibi Daya Kaur (d.1823) of Nishanwalia Sikh Misl
- Rani Desa Kaur Nabha of Nabha Sikh dynasty
- Bibi Khem Kaur of Sikh Empire
- Maharani Chand Kaur (1802–1842) of Sikh Empire

Battles fought by Sikhs

Battle of Rohilla

- Battle of Kartarpur
- Battle of Amritsar (1634)
- Battle of Lahira
- Battle of Bhangani
- Battle of Nadaun
- Battle of Guler (1696)
- Battle of Basoli

- First Battle of Anandpur
- Battle of Nirmohgarh (1702)
- Second Battle of Anandpur
- Second Battle of Chamkaur (1704)
- Battle of Muktsar
- Battle of Sonepat
- Battle of Ambala
- Battle of Samana
- Battle of Chappar Chiri
- Battle of Sadhaura
- Battle of Rahon (1710)
- Battle of Lohgarh
- Battle of Jammu
- Kapuri expedition
- Battle of Jalalabad (1710)
- Siege of Gurdaspur or Battle of Gurdas Nangal
- Attack on Nadir Shah (1739)
- Siege of Ram Rauni
- Battle of Manupur (1748)
- Battle of Amritsar (1757)
- Battle of Lahore (1759)
- Battle of Sialkot (1761)
- Battle of Gujranwala (1761)
- Sikh Occupation of Lahore
- Sikh holocaust of 1762 or Battle of Kup
- Battle of Harnaulgarh
- Battle of Amritsar (1762)
- Battle of Sialkot (1763)
- Battle of Sirhind (1764)
- Rescue of Hindu Girls (1769)
- Battle of Delhi (1783)
- Battle of Amritsar(1797)

- Gurkha-Sikh War
- Battles of Sialkot
- Battle of Jammu (1808)
- Battle of Attock
- Battle of Multan
- Battle of Shopian
- Battle of Balakot
- Battle of Peshawar (1834)
- Battle of Jamrud
- Sino-Sikh War
- Battle of Mudki
- Battle of Ferozeshah
- Battle of Baddowal
- Battle of Aliwal
- Battle of Sobraon
- Battle of Chillianwala
- Battle of Ramnagar
- Siege of Multan
- Battle of Gujrat

Jassa Singh Ahluwalia

Sultan-ul-Qaum Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (3 May 1718 – 22 October 1783) was a prominent Sikh leader during the period of the Sikh Confederacy, being the Supreme Leader of the Dal Khalsa.

He was also Misldar of the Ahluwalia Misl. This period was an interlude, lasting roughly from the time of the death of Banda Bahadur in 1716 to the founding of the Sikh Empire in 1801. He founded the Kapurthala State in 1772.

Early life

Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was born at a village called Ahlu or (Ahluwal) in the Lahore District of Punjab in Jat Family (modern day Pakistan).

The formation of the Dal Khalsa and the Misls

In 1733, Zakariya Khan Bahadur attempted to negotiate a peace with the Sikhs by offering them a jagir, the title Nawab to their leader, and unimpeded access to the Harmandir Sahib. After discussion at a Sarbat Khalsa, Kapur Singh was elected leader of the Sikhs and took the title of Nawab. He combined the various Sikh militias into two groups; the Taruna Dal and the Budda Dal, which would collectively be known as the Dal Khalsa. Sikh militias over 40 years of age would be part of the Budda Dal and Sikh militias under 40 years were part of the Taruna Dal. The Taruna Dal was further divided in five jathas, each with 1300 to 2000 men and a separate drum and banner. The area of operations of each *Dal*, or army, was Hari ke Pattan, where the Sutlej river and Beas River meet; the Taruna Dal would control the area east of Hari ke Pattan while the Budha Dal would control the area west of it. The purpose of the Budda Dal, the veteran group, was to protect Gurdwaras and train the Taruna Dal, while the Taruna Dal would act as combat troops. However, in 1735, the agreement between Zakariya Khan and Nawab Kapur Singh broke down and the Dal Khalsa retreated to the Sivalik Hills to regroup. Later the command of Dal Khalsa was taken by Jassa Singh Ahluwalia

who was an able and powerful administrator, even brought India (Red Fort) under Khalsa flag. He made the foundation of Khalsa firm for future generations to lead.

Nadir Shah's invasion

In 1739, Nadir Shah, the Turkic ruler of Persia, invaded much of Northern India, including Punjab, defeating the Mughals at the Battle of Karnal in 1739, he plundered the city of Delhi (Shahjahanabad) robbing it of treasures like the Peacock throne, the Kohinoor diamond and the Darya-i-Noor diamond. Meanwhile, all the Khalsa bands got together and passed a resolution that Nadir shah had plundered the city of Delhi and now he is taking Indian women as slaves to his country. Sikhs made a plan to free all the slaves. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was 21 years old at that time, he planned raids to free all slaves. He along with other Sikh bands attacked Nadir shah forces, freed all slaves and sent those slaves back to their families safely.

Ahluwalia participated in many battles as well where he proved himself to be a natural leader. In a 1748 meeting of the Sarbat Khalsa, Nawab Kapur Singh appointed him as his successor. His followers awarded him the title *Sultan-ul-Qaum* (King of the Nation).

The raids of Ahmed Shah Abdali

Ahmad Shah Durrani, Nader Shah's seniormost general, succeeded to the throne of Afghanistan, when Shah was murdered in June, 1747. He established his own dynasty, the

Sadozai, which was the name of the Pashtun khel to which he belonged to. Starting from December, 1747 till 1769, Abdali made a total of nine incursions into the north India. His repeated invasions weakened the Mughal administration of North India. At the Third Battle of Panipat, he along with Nawab of Oudh and Rohillas, defeated the Marathas, who after treaty signed in 1752 became the protector of the Mughal throne at Delhi and were controlling much of North India, and Kashmir. However they were never able to subdue the Sikhs in the Punjab.

Help of Sikhs to Jats of Bharatpur

Suraj Mal (1707-63) was founder of Jat State of Bharatpur. He was killed on 25 December 1763 near Delhi by Najibabad ul Daulah, the Ruhilaa chief who had been appointed Mir Bakshi and Regent at Delhi by Ahmed Shah Durrani. Suraj Mal's son Jawahar Singh sought help from Sikhs who responded with a Sikh force of 40,000 under the command of Sardar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia. The Sikhs crossed Yamuna on 20 February 1764 and attacked the surrounding areas. Najibabad ul Daulah rushed back to Delhi thereby relieving the pressure on Bharatpur. Najibabad ul Daulah suffered another defeat at hand of Sikhs under Ahluwalia after a battle that lasted 20 days in the trans Yamuna area at Barari Ghat, 20 km north of Delhi. He retired to Red Fort on 9 January 1765 and within a month Sikhs defeated Najibabad ul Daulah again in Nakhas (horse market) and in Sabzi Mandi.

Jawahar Singh also engaged 25,000 Sikh forces under command of Sardar Jassa Singh against the Rajput Raja of Jaipur in the Battle of Maonda and Mandholi and the Battle of

Kama and was defeated in both; later the Rajput ruler made peace with the Sikh General.

The Sixth Abdali Incursion, 1762

In early 1762, news had reached to Ahmad Shah Abdali in Afghanistan of the defeat of his general, Nur-ud-Din Bamezai, at the hands of the Sikhs who were fast spreading themselves out over the Punjab and had declared their leader, Misldar Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, King of Lahore. To rid his Indian dominion of them once and for all, he set out from Kandahar. The Battle of Kup was fought on 5 February 1762 between the Afghan forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali (40,000 soldiers) and civilian Sikhs.

The Aghans launched a surprise attack on a civilian Sikh camp, consisting mainly of women, children and elders. The Sikh Camp only had around 5000-7000 Sikh warriors. These warriors formed a human shield around the Sikh civilians, and fought the Afghans bravely, killing thousands of Afghan soldiers. However, Abdali was able to break the ring and carried a full scale massacre. Ahmad Shah's forces killed several thousand Sikh civilians.

In a fresh Afghan invasion of the upper Punjab, Ahmad Shah Durrani with his 100,000 Soldiers reached Malerkotla, west of Sirhind, then attacked a 20,000 Sikh army escorting 40,000 women and children, along with the elderly. In one of their worst defeats—known as *Vadda Ghalughara*—the Sikhs lost perhaps 5–10,000+ soldiers and had 20,000 civilians massacred. The Afghan forces of Ahmad Shah Durrani came out victorious with the night ambush on the large convoy.

Despite the Ghalughara disaster, by the month of May, the Sikhs were up in arms again. Under Jassa Singh, they defeated the Afghan *faujdar* of Sirhind in the Battle of Harnaulgarh. By autumn, the Sikhs had regained enough confidence to foregather in large numbers at Amritsar to celebrate Diwali. Abdali made a mild effort to win over them and sent an envoy with proposals for a treaty of peace. The Sikhs were in no mood for peace and insulted the emissary. Abdali did not waste any time and turned up at the outskirts of Amritsar.

The Battle of Amritsar (1762) was fought in the grey light of a sun in total eclipse. It ended when the sunless day was blacked out by a moonless night with the adversaries retiring from the field: The Sikhs to the fastness of the jungles of the *Lakhi* (the forests of a hundred thousand trees located in Central Punjab) and Abdali behind the walled safety of Lahore.

Battle of Delhi

The Sikhs under Baghel Singh had been raiding Delhi since 1764 but without success. On 11 March 1783 the combined Sikh army of Baghel Singh, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Jassa Singh Ramgarhia attempted to take the forts of delhi but failed to besiege.

Legacy

"He (Jassa Singh Ahluwalia) had the great privilege of conquering Lahore and issuing his own coin ... [and] sitting on the throne of the Mughal Emperors in the Red Fort at Delhi [after conquering it]. He fought a number of times face to face

with Ahmad Shah Durrani, the greatest Asian general of his days. The invader tried to win him over in vain. The Maharajas of Patiala and Jind stood before him in all reverence and humility. The Rajas of Nalagarh, Bilaspur, Kangra Hills and Jammu touched his knees. The Nawabs of Malerkotla and Kunjpura paid him homage. And yet he remained a humble and docile disciple of Guru Gobind Singh. In the person of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the Guru actually made a sparrow kill hawks. Jassa Singh was a great warrior, mighty general and eminent organiser. He bore thirty-two scars of sword cuts and bullet marks on the front part of his body and none on his back. He was a giant in body. ... Qazi Nur Muhammad who saw him fighting against Ahmad Shah Durrani called him a mountain." - **Hari Ram Gupta**

"He was a great warrior, mighty general and eminent organiser. He bore thirty-two scars of sword cuts and bullet marks on the front of his body and none on his back. He was a giant in body. His breakfast consisted of one kilogram of flour, one half kilogram of butter, one quarter kilogram of crystalline sugar slabs (*misri*), and one bucketful of butter-milk (lassi). One he-goat sufficed him for two meals.... These were the days of physical prowess, and only men possessed of indomitable will power could compete with ferocious Afghans on better footing. He was wheatish in colour, tall, fat, with a broad forehead, wide chest, loud and sonorous voice which could be clearly heard by an assemblage of 50,000 men..... The horses under him must have been the size of an elephant. This is why he could be clearly seen by Qazi Nur Muhammad in a body of fifty or sixty thousand men. His long arms came down to his knees. This enabled him to strike his sword right and left with equal valour.

Nawab Jassa Singh Ahluwalia Government College (NJSA Government College) in Kapurthala, established in 1856 by Raja Randhir Singh of Kaputhala is named after him. A commemorative postage stamp on Jassa Singh Ahluwalia was issued by Government of India on 4 April 1985.

Chapter 25

Battle of Buxar

The **Battle of Buxar** was fought on 22/23 October 1764, between the forces under the command of the British East India Company, led by Hector Munro, and the combined armies of Mir Qasim, Nawab of Bengal till 1764; the Nawab of Awadh Shuja-ud-Daula; and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II. The battle was fought at Buxar, a "small fortified town" within the territory of Bihar, located on the banks of the Ganga river about 130 kilometres (81 mi) west of Patna; it was a decisive victory for the British East India Company. The war had been brought to an end by the Treaty of Allahabad in 1765.

Battle

The British army engaged in the fighting numbered 7,072 comprising 859 British, 5,297 Indian sepoys and 918 Indian cavalry. The alliance army's numbers were estimated to be over 40,000. According to other sources, the combined army of the Mughals, Awadh and Mir Qasim consisting of 40,000 men was defeated by a British army comprising 10,000 men. The Nawabs had virtually lost their military power after the battle of Buxar.

The lack of basic co-ordination among the major three disparate allies was responsible for their decisive defeat.

Mirza Najaf Khan commanded the right flank of the Mughal imperial army and was the first to advance his forces against Major Hector Munro at daybreak; the British lines formed

within twenty minutes and reversed the advance of the Mughals. According to the British, Durrani and Rohilla cavalry were also present and fought during the battle in various skirmishes. But by midday, the battle was over and Shuja-ud-Daula blew up large tumbrils and three massive magazines of gunpowder.

Munro divided his army into various columns and particularly pursued the Mughal Grand Vizier Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Awadh who responded by blowing up his boat-bridge after crossing the river, thus abandoning the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II and members of his own regiment. Mir Qasim also fled with his 3 million rupees worth of Gemstones and later died in poverty in 1777. Mirza Najaf Khan reorganised formations around Shah Alam II, who retreated and then chose to negotiate with the victorious British.

Historian John William Fortescue claimed that the British casualties totalled 847: 39 killed and 64 wounded from the European regiments and 250 killed, 435 wounded and 85 missing from the East India Company's sepoys. He also claimed that the three Indian allies suffered 2,000 dead and that many more were wounded.

Another source says that there were 69 European and 664 sepoy casualties on the British side and 6,000 casualties on the Mughal side.

The victors captured 133 pieces of artillery and over 1 million rupees of cash. Immediately after the battle, Munro decided to assist the Marathas, who were described as a "warlike race", well known for their relentless and unwavering hatred towards the Mughal Empire and its Nawabs and Mysore.

Aftermath

The British victory at Buxar had "at one fell swoop", disposed of the three main scions of Mughal power in Upper India. Mir Kasim [Qasim] disappeared into impoverished obscurity. Shah Alam realigned himself with the British, and Shah Shuja [Shuja-ud-Daula] fled west hotly pursued by the victors. The whole Ganges valley lay at the company's mercy; Shah Shuja eventually surrendered; henceforth company troops became the power-brokers throughout Oudh as well as Bihar".

Chapter 26

First Anglo-Mysore War

The **First Anglo–Mysore War** (1766–1769) was a conflict in India between the Sultanate of Mysore and the East India Company. The war was instigated in part by the machinations of Asaf Jah II, the Nizam of Hyderabad, who sought to divert the company's resources from attempts to gain control of the Northern Circars.

Background

The eighteenth century was a period of great turmoil in Indian subcontinent. Although the century opened with much of the subcontinent under the control of the Mughal Empire, the death in 1707 of Emperor Aurangzeb resulted in the fracturing of the empire, and a struggle among viceroys and other local rulers for territory. In the 1740s and 1750s French and British colonial companies became more active in these local conflicts, and by the Third Carnatic War (1757–1763) the British had not only gained somewhat solid footholds at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta, but they had also marginalised but not eliminated the influence of other colonial powers. Their eastern holdings at Madras were strongly influenced by treaties with the Nawab of Carnatic, Muhammed Ali Khan Wallajah, whose territory surrounded Madras. The other major powers in the east were the Nizam of Hyderabad, formerly a viceroyalty of the Mughul Empire but declared independent in the 1720s, held in the 1760s by Asaf Jah II, and the Sultanate of Mysore, which occupied the high plains between the Eastern and Western

Ghats, the mountain ranges separating the coastal plains of India from the interior. Nominally ruled by the Wodeyar dynasty, control of Mysore had in 1761 come into the hands of Hyder Ali, a Muslim military leader. Each of these powers intrigued with and against the others, and sought to draw the power of the French and British colonial companies to serve their objectives. The colonial powers sought to influence the local powers to gain either direct control of territory, or the revenues from territory nominally controlled by a local ruler beholden to them for financial and military support. Since European military training was significantly better than local practices, the latter was particularly important; small numbers of disciplined European or European-trained forces could defeat significantly larger Indian armies composed mainly of poorly trained infantry and cavalry.

Causes of war

The British East India Company, seeking an overland connection between its holdings at Madras and Bengal, sought to gain access to the Northern Circars, a series of coastal territories held by the French until 1758, when they were ousted with British military support. They had applied to the nizam, offering to pay rent well above that he was currently receiving from the nawab of Arcot; the nizam rejected their offers. Lord Robert Clive next applied to Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II, who in August 1765 issued a decree granting the company rights to that territory.

At the same time, the nizam was involved in an alliance with the Marathas. Both he and the Marathas' ruling peshwa, Madhavrao I were concerned over the expansionist threat posed

by Hyder Ali. After assisting the Marathas in dealing with one of their confederates 1765, the allies began developing plans to invade Mysore.

When the British began occupying the Northern Circars in March 1766, the nizam objected, issuing threatening letters to company authorities in Madras. He considered going to war against the company, but his poor financial condition made this impossible. Instead he negotiated a treaty with the company in November 1766. Under its terms the company received four of the five circar immediately (Guntur, the fifth, having been granted to the nizam's son as a jaghir, was to be delivered upon the son's death) in exchange for 7 lakh rupees or military support to the nizam in his endeavours. One historian describes the nizam's agreement to the treaty as one of financial necessity, and that he was "resentful" of English power. Pursuant to this treaty, the company provided two battalions of troops to the nizam. Under the treaty, there were no limits placed on the number of troops the nizam could request, nor were there checks on the uses (offensive or defensive) to which he could put them.

Conflict involving Madras authorities, Muhammed Jinnah and Tipu Sultan, was also simmering. Muhammed Ali Khan Wallajah, allied to the British, whose territory his surrounded, was upset that Hyder was harboring opponents of his, including his older brother Mahfuhz Khan, and Raja Saheb, the son of Chanda Saheb, a previous contender for the throne of the Carnatic. Hyder was annoyed that the British had established a fortified outpost at Vellore, and that the company had several times rebuffed his offers of alliance. An offer he made in late 1766 was rejected because the local company

council viewed it as incompatible with the treaty signed with the nizam. The first Anglo mysore war saw Hyder ali gain some measures of success against the British, almost capturing madras

Course of the war

The war began in January 1767 when the Marathas, possibly anticipating movements by the nizam, invaded northern Mysore. They reached as far south as the Tunghabadhra River, before Haider entered into negotiations to end the invasion. In exchange for payments of 30 lakhs rupees the Marathas agreed to withdraw north of the Kistna River; by March, when the nizam began his invasion, they had already withdrawn. According to Mysore historian Mark Wilks, this action by the Marathas was a somewhat typical move to acquire wealth that might otherwise be claimed by other belligerents. The nizam advanced as far as Bangalore, accompanied by two battalions of company troops under Colonel Joseph Smith.

In May, Smith discovered that the Haider and the nizam were negotiating an alliance, and consequently withdrew most of his troops to the Carnatic frontier. The deal struck between the two powers called for them to join against the British. Haider was to pay 18 lakhs rupees for the invasion to end, and the nizam was to recognise Haider's son Tipu Sultan as Nawab of the Carnatic once that territory was conquered. Despite the agreement the two sides exhibited little trust for one another; Haider was known to place spies in the nizam's camp.

This diplomatic manoeuvring resulted in an attack against a company outpost at Changama by the combined Mysore-

Hyderabad army under Hyder's command. Despite significantly outnumbering the British force (British estimates place the allied army size at 70,000 to the British 7,000), the allies were repulsed with heavy losses. Haider moved on to capture Kaveripattinam after two days of siege, while Colonel Smith, who commanded at Changama, eventually retreated to Tiruvannamalai for supplies and reinforcements. There Haider again attacked, and was decisively repulsed on 26 September 1767. With the onset of the monsoon season, Haider opted to continue campaigning rather than adopting the usual practice of suspending operations because of the difficult conditions the weather created for armies. After overrunning a few lesser outposts, he besieged Ambur in November 1767, forcing the British to resume campaigning. The British garrison commander refused large bribes offered by Haider in exchange for surrender, and the arrival of a relief column in early December forced Haider to lift the siege. He retreated northward, covering the movements of the nizam's forces, but was disheartened when an entire corps of European cavalry deserted to the British. The failures of this campaign, combined with successful British advances in the Northern Circars and secret negotiations between the British and the nizam, led to a split between Haider and the nizam. The latter withdrew back to Hyderabad and eventually negotiated a new treaty with the British company in 1768. Haider, apparently seeking an end to the conflict, made peace overtures to the British, but was rebuffed.

In early 1768, company authorities in Bombay organised an expedition to Mysore's Malabar coast territories. Hyder had established a small fleet, based primarily in the port of Mangalore, in the mid-1760s. This fleet, which the British

reported as numbering about ten ships, deserted en masse, apparently because the captains were unhappy with Lutf Ali Beg, a Mysorean cavalry officer, as fleet commander. Owing to a British deception, Lutf Ali Beg also withdrew much of the Mangalore garrison to move on what he perceived to be the British target, Onore. The British consequently occupied Mangalore against minimal opposition in February. This activity, combined with the loss of the nizam as an ally, prompted Hyder to withdraw from the Carnatic, and move with speed to the Malabar. Dispatching his son Tipu with an advance force, Haider followed, and eventually retook Mangalore and the other ports held by the over-extended British forces. He also levied additional taxes as punishment against rebellious Nair districts that had supported the British.

During Haider's absence from the Carnatic, the British recovered many places that Hyder had taken and only weakly garrisoned, and advanced as far south as Dindigul. They also convinced the Marathas to enter the conflict, and a large force of theirs, under the command of Morari Rao, joined with Colonel Smith at Ooscota in early August 1768. This army then began preparations to besiege Bangalore, but Hyder returned to Bangalore from the Malabar on 9 August, in time to harass the allies before the siege could begin. On 22 August Hyder attacked the Maratha camp at Ooscota, but was repulsed with heavy losses. Hyder was then foiled in an attempt to prevent the arrival of a second British column at the allied camp; the strength of these combined forces convinced him to retreat from Bangalore toward Gurramkonda, where he was reinforced by his brother in law. He also attempted diplomatic measures to prevent a siege of Bangalore, offering to pay ten lakhs

rupees and grant other land concessions in exchange for peace. The British countered with an aggressive list of demands that included payments of tribute to the nizam and larger land concessions to the British East India Company. Hyder specifically refused to deal with Muhammed Ali Khan Wallajah, whose lands were where much of the fighting had taken place, and a man Hyder intensely disliked. The negotiations failed to reach common ground.

On 3 October, Hyder, while moving his army from Guuramkonda back toward Bangalore, surprised a small garrison of Muhammed Ali Khan Wallajah's men at a rock fort called Mulwagal, near Ooscota. British reinforcements were sent, and Colonel Wood was able to recover the lower fort but not the upper. The next day he went out with a few companies of men to investigate movements that might have been cover for enemy reinforcements.

This small force, numbering four companies, was surrounded by Hyder's entire army. A stratagem by another officer, Colonel Brooks, prevented the loss of this detachment; Colonel Brooks and another two companies dragged two cannons to the top of a nearby rise, and Brooks called out "Smith! Smith!" while firing the cannons. Both sides interpreted this to mean that Colonel Smith was arriving in force, and Hyder's troops began to retreat. This enabled Colonel Wood to join with Brooks and other reinforcements from Mulwagal before Hyder realised he had been fooled. Hyder renewed his attack, but was eventually repulsed with heavy losses: he was estimated to lose 1,000 men while the British lost about 200. The severity of the conflict convinced Colonel Smith that he would be unable to effectively besiege Bangalore without first inflicting a major

defeat on Hyder in open battle. Company officials blamed Smith for the failure to decisively defeat Hyder, and recalled him to Madras. Hyder took the opportunity to besiege Hosur, and Colonel Wood marched in relief of the town. As Wood approached, Hyder raised the siege, sneaked around Wood's column, and attacked his baggage train near Bagalur. Hyder successfully captured supplies and arms, and drove Wood in disgrace toward Venkatagiri. Wood was consequently recalled and replaced by Colonel Lang.

Hyder then raised additional forces in Mysore and went on the offensive. In November 1768 he split his army into two, and crossed the ghats into the Carnatic, regaining control of many minor posts held by the British. En route to Erode Hyder overwhelmed one contingent of British, who were sent as prisoners to Seringapatam when it was established that one of its officers was fighting in violation of a parole agreement. After rapidly establishing control over much of the southern Carnatic, his march turned toward Madras.

This prompted the British to send an envoy to discuss peace; because of Hyder's insistence that the nawab of the Carnatic be excluded from the negotiations, they went nowhere. Hyder then surprised company authorities by taking a picked force of 6,000 cavalry and a small number of infantry, and made a three-day forced march of 130 miles (210 km) to the gates of Madras.

This show of force compelled the company to negotiate further, since Madras had been left nearly defenceless by military movements made to counter those of Hyder's main force. Hyder, who was seeking diplomatic leverage against the

Marathas, wanted an alliance of mutual defence and offence. The company refused to accede to an offensive military treaty; the Treaty of Madras signed on 29 March 1769 had terms that each would support the other if attacked.

Battles

- Battle of Chengam (or Chengama, 3 September 1767)
- Battle of Tiruvannamalai (25 September 1767)
- Siege of Ambur (November–December 1767)
- Battle of Ooscota (night of 22/23 August 1768)
- Battle of Mulwagul (4 October 1768)
- Battle of Baugloor (22–23 November 1768)

Consequences

Hyder Ali, apparently emboldened by the agreement with the British, engaged in war with the Marathas in 1770, and asked the British support them if and when the Marathas penetrated Mysorean territory. The British refused to assist him, even though they were also drawn into conflict with the Marathas in the 1770s. Hyder's battles did not fully end until 1779, when the Marathas negotiated an alliance with him and the Nizam for united action against the British. This led to the beginning of the Second Anglo-Mysore War in 1780. This conflict devastated much of the Carnatic, and also failed to decisively resolve differences between Mysore and the British. Resolution occurred in 1799 with the defeat and killing of Hyder's son Tipu Sultan, and the restoration of the Wodeyars as British clients.

Chapter 27

Great Bengal Famine of 1770

The **Bengal Famine of 1770** (Bengali: Chi□āttôrer mônnôntôr, lit. The Famine of 76) was a famine that struck the Bengal region between 1769 and 1770 (1176 to 1177 in the Bengali calendar) and affected some 30 million people. It occurred during the period between the Battle of Buxar in 1764, when the East India Company was granted the *diwani*, or the right to collect revenue in Bengal and Bihar by the Mughal emperor in Delhi, and 1773 when it received the *nizamat*, or control of civil administration, and both established a capital in Calcutta and appointed its first Governor-General, Warren Hastings.

Back to back crop failure in autumn 1768 and summer 1769 brought on by erratic rainfall and an accompanying smallpox epidemic were thought to be the manifest reasons for the famine. The Company had farmed out tax collection on account of a shortage of trained administrators and the prevailing uncertainty may have worsened the famine's impact. Other factors adding to the pressure were: grain merchants ceased offering grain advances to peasants, but the market mechanism for exporting their grain to other regions remained in place; the Company purchased a large proportion of the rice for its army; and the Company's private servants and their Indian Gomasthas created local monopolies of grain. By the end of 1769 rice was twice as costly, and in 1770 prices had risen a further three-fold. The famine was worse in Western Bengal and Bihar. The continual passage of armies in the already drought-stricken Bihar countryside worsened the affliction. The recovery was quicker in the well-watered Bengal

delta in the east. The Company provided little mitigation through direct relief efforts; nor did it reduce taxes, though its options to do so may have been limited.

By the summer of 1770 people were dying everywhere. Although the monsoon immediately after did bring plentiful rains it also brought diseases to which many enfeebled people fell victim. For several years thereafter deserted and overgrown villages were a common sight. Piracy increased on the Hooghly river delta. Between seven and ten million people—or between a quarter and third of the presidency's population—may have died, though these numbers have been revised down in recent scholarship to 1.2 million. The loss to cultivation was estimated to be a third of the total cultivation. The economic and cultural impact of the famine was felt long afterwards, becoming the subject a century later of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's influential novel *Anandamath*.

Name and geography

The Bengali name *Chi□āttôrer mônnôntôr* is derived from Bengali calendar year 1176 and the Bengali translation of famine.

The regions in which the famine occurred affected the modern Indian states of Bihar and West Bengal in particular, but the famine also extended into Orissa and Jharkhand as well as modern Bangladesh. Among the worst affected areas were Central and Northern Bengal, and Tirhut, Champaran and Bettiah in Bihar. South-East Bengal escaped unscathed — it had an excess production in the famine years.

Background

The famine occurred in Bengal, then ruled by the East India Company. Their territory included modern West Bengal, Bangladesh, and parts of Assam, Odisha, Bihar, and Jharkhand. It was earlier a province of the Mughal empire from the 16th century and was ruled by a *nawab*, or governor. In early 18th century, as the Mughal empire started collapsing, the nawab became effectively independent of the Mughal rule.

In the 17th century, the English East India Company was granted the town of Calcutta by the Mughal Prince Shah Shuja. During the following century, the company obtained sole trading rights for the province and became the dominant power in Bengal. In 1757, at the Battle of Plassey, the East India Company defeated the nawab Siraj Ud Daulah, annexing large portions of Bengal afterwards. In 1764 their military control was reaffirmed at Buxar. The subsequent treaty gave them taxation rights, known as dewan; the Company thereby became the *de facto* ruler of Bengal. In addition to profits from trade, the company had been granted rights of taxation in 1764 and within a few years, had raised land revenue collections by about 30%.

Pre-famine distress

The famine came in the backdrop of a multitude of subsistence crises that affected Bengal since the early eighteenth century.

A failure of monsoon in Bengal and Bihar had led to partial shortfall of produce in 1768; market prices were higher than

usual in early 1769. With usual rains in 1769, the situation eased for a while and grains were even exported to Madras Presidency. By late September, the situation was again bleak with drought-like-conditions on the horizon.

Famine and policies

On 18 September 1769, Naib Nazim of Dhaka Mohammed Reza Khan informed Verelst, President of the Council at Fort William about the "dryness of the season". The same month, John Cartier, Esquire (and Second-in-Command) of the Council chose to inform the Court of Directors in London about impending famine-like conditions in Bengal — a century later, W. W. Hunter would note this letter to be the "only serious intimation" about the approaching famine, and find the absence of President Verelst's affirmation to be striking. Other letters sent in the same month to the Board speculate about potential loss in revenue collection but do not discuss the famine.

On 23 October, Becher had reported to the Council about "great dearth and scarcity" of food grains at Murshidabad. This prodded the council to purchase 1.2 million maunds of rice for its army, as an emergency measure. Charles Grant, Betcher's agent noted that the first sign of the famine was already visible in northern districts of Bengal by November. By late December, food prices have spiked sharply and the western districts of Bengal along with Bihar were also in a precarious condition.

On 7 December, Reza Khan and Shitab Rai proposed to the Council that they enforce a humane grain collection scheme for the upcoming fiscal year, in proportion to the individual

produce of peasants. The proposal was not replied to; W. W. Hunter would later accuse that these people often had their incentives to dramatize general distress. On 25 January 1770, Cartier proposed to the Board that land taxes be remitted by about seven percent in afflicted areas on grounds of widespread suffering. Ten days later, Cartier reversed his stance noting that the revenues kept on being paid despite significant distress. On 28 February, the Council proposed that husbandmen who failed to pay the taxes be treated with leniency due to overbearing conditions of a poor harvest. Overall, no relief plan was yet designed by February. Despite initial hopes of a reversal in fortunes, there were no rains and the spring harvest was scanty; acting upon the advice of Reza Khan, the Council chose to increase taxes by 10% to meet revenue targets. Grain prices had kept rising across the year.

By middle of May, the distress had exploded into a full-blown famine marked with mass-starvation, beggary, and death. The crises of food would skyrocket, as the province ran out of money to pay for the scarce produces and trade effectively ceased. Khan noted that lakhs of people were dying daily, fires were widespread, and the tanks had not a drop of water. These conditions would continue for about three months.

Mitigation

The Company provided little meaningful mitigation — there was no reduction in taxation or any significant relief effort.

In October 1769, the Company requested that storehouses be constructed in Patna and Murshidabad; city officials were instructed to prevent monopoly of trade and have farmers raise

"every sort" of dry grain, that was possible. The orders were largely unsuccessful; many Company officials along with their Indian assistants (Gomasthas) would exploit the famine to create grain-monopolies.

On 13 February, Khan and Becher proposed that six rice-distribution centers be opened in Murshidabad to provide half a seer of rice a day per head.

The proposal was approved and the Council borne about 46% of the expenditure, the remaining sum were paid by Nawab Najabat Ali, Khan himself, Rai Durlabh, and Jagat Seth. One distribution center was opened by Reza Khan at his palace of Nishat Bagh.

The Murshidabad model was later emulated in Calcutta and Burdwan to feed about 3000 men every day — at a daily expenditure of about 75 rupees — since early April. Rice were also charitably distributed at Purnea, Bhagalpur, Birbhum, Hugli and Jesore. Overall, about 4000 pounds of rice was arranged by the Company over six months.

Those in the employment of Company and Nizamat were especially favored. Becher obtained a total of 55,449 maunds of rice from Barisal, which was dispatched for Company troops and their dependents across Bengal.

Districts which exceeded a death-toll of twenty thousand per month were granted packages of 150 Rupees. Export-import embargoes were set up to check prices but they only contributed to worsening the situation — the province had no money to pay for the scarce produces and trade effectively ceased.

Death, Migration, and Depopulation

Contemporary estimates

In May 1770, the Court of Directors estimated that about one-third of the population (approx. ten million) had perished. The estimates were then revised by Becher on 2 June to about three in every eight people. On 12 July, Becher claimed that 500 people were dying in Murshidabad everyday and the condition was far worse in the rural hinterlands; cannibalism was apparently in exhibition.

Malaria and cholera remained additional factors. A smallpox epidemic that coincided with the start of the pandemic was particularly severe and included Nawab Najabat Ali Khan of Murshidabad among the victims.

Modern scholarship

These figures have been uncritically reproduced by most modern scholars. Rajat Dutta, in a revisionist history of the economy of Bengal Province, claimed these figures to be "inflated" and carry "little conviction"; a revised toll of 1.2 million dead (~ 4-5% of the population) was put forward. Tim Dyson supports Dutta's claims of inflation, and notes the "popular" figure of ten million, indicative of at-least a 500% increase in annual death rate, to be "barely credible". However, Dyson refrains from making any specific estimate. Highlighted are the facts that contemporary Bengal lacked any significant demographic data outside Calcutta, the few reliable reports on effects of the famine were based on unrepresentative

populations, and many cultivators were mobile settlers who simply migrated to better-off territories. Millions had migrated to neighboring states.

Aftermath

The 1770 monsoons brought some marginal relief, and a perspective on the rampant depopulation — a letter by the Council regretted the wiping out of numerous "industrious peasants and manufacturers". The following year, as the drought receded, most of the land lacked tillers.

Legacy

The economic and cultural impact of the famine was felt long afterwards, becoming the subject a century later of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's influential novel *Anandamath*.

Chapter 28

Ram Mohan Roy

Raja Ram Mohan Roy (22 May 1772 – 27 September 1833) was an Indian reformer who was one of the founders of the Brahmo Sabha, the precursor of the Brahmo Samaj, a social-religious reform movement in the Indian subcontinent. He was given the title of Raja by Akbar II, the Mughal emperor. His influence was apparent in the fields of politics, public administration, education and religion. He was known for his efforts to abolish the practices of sati and child marriage. Raja Ram Mohan Roy is considered to be the "Father of the Bengal Renaissance" by many historians.

In 2004, Roy was ranked number 10 in BBC's poll of the Greatest Bengali of all time.

Early life and education (till 1796)

Ram Mohan Roy was born in Radhanagar, Hooghly District, Bengal Presidency. His great grandfather Krishnakanta Bandyopadhyay was a Rarhi Kulin (noble) Brahmin. Among Kulin Brahmins – descendants of the six families of Brahmins imported from Kanauj by Ballal Sen in the 12th century – those from the Rarhi district of West Bengal were notorious in the 19th century for living off dowries by marrying several women. Kulinism was a synonym for polygamy and the dowry system, both of which Rammohan campaigned against. His father, Ramkanta, was a Vaishnavite, while his mother, Tarini Devi, was from a Shaivite family. He was a great scholar of

Sanskrit, Persian and English languages and also knew Arabic, Latin and Greek. One parent prepared him for the occupation of a scholar, the *Shastri*, while the other secured for him all the worldly advantages needed to launch a career in the *laukik* or worldly sphere of public administration. Torn between these two parental ideals from early childhood, Ram Mohan vacillated between the two for the rest of his life.

Ram Mohan Roy was married three times. His first wife died early. He had two sons, Radhaprasad in 1800, and Ramaprasad in 1812 with his second wife, who died in 1824. Roy's third wife outlived him.

The nature and content of Ram Mohan Roy's early education is disputed. One view is that "Ram Mohan started his formal education in the village *pathshala* where he learned Bengali and some Sanskrit and Persian. Later he is said to have studied Persian and Arabic in a *madrasa* in Patna and after that he was sent to Benares to learn the intricacies of Sanskrit and Hindu scripture, including the Vedas and Upanishads. The dates of his time in both these places are uncertain. However, it is believed that he was sent to Patna when he was nine years old and two years later he went to Benares."

The Persian and Arabic studies influenced his thinking about One God more than studies of European deism, which he didn't know at least while writing his first scriptures because at that stage he couldn't speak or understand English.

Ram Mohan Roy's impact on modern Indian history was his revival of the pure and ethical principles of the Vedanta school of philosophy as found in the Upanishads. He preached the unity of God, made early translations of Vedic scriptures into

English, co-founded the Calcutta Unitarian Society and founded the Brahma Samaj. The Brahma Samaj played a major role in reforming and modernizing the Indian society. He successfully campaigned against sati, the practice of burning widows. He sought to integrate Western culture with the best features of his own country's traditions. He established a number of schools to popularize a modern system (effectively replacing Sanskrit based education with English based education) of education in India. He promoted a rational, ethical, non-authoritarian, this-worldly, and social-reform Hinduism. His writings also sparked interest among British and American Unitarians.

Christianity and the early rule of the East India Company (1795–1828)

During early rule of the east India company, Ram Mohan Roy acted as a political agitator whilst employed by the East India Company.

In 1792, the British Baptist shoemaker William Carey published his influential missionary tract, *An Enquiry of the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of heathens*.

In 1793, William Carey landed in India to settle. His objective was to translate, publish and distribute the Bible in Indian languages and propagate Christianity to the Indian peoples. He realised the "mobile" (i.e. service classes) Brahmins and

Pandits were most able to help him in this endeavour, and he began gathering them. He learnt the Buddhist and Jain religious works to better argue the case for Christianity in a cultural context.

In 1795, Carey made contact with a Sanskrit scholar, the Tantric Saihardana Vidyavagish, who later introduced him to Ram Mohan Roy, who wished to learn English.

Between 1796 and 1797, the trio of Carey, Vidyavagish, and Roy created a religious work known as the "Maha Nirvana Tantra" (or "Book of the Great Liberation") and positioned it as a religious text to "the One True God". Carey's involvement is not recorded in his very detailed records and he reports only learning to read Sanskrit in 1796 and only completed a grammar in 1797, the same year he translated part of The Bible (from Joshua to Job), a massive task. For the next two decades this document was regularly augmented. Its judicial sections were used in the law courts of the English Settlement in Bengal as Hindu Law for adjudicating upon property disputes of the zamindari. However, a few British magistrates and collectors began to suspect and its usage (as well as the reliance on pandits as sources of Hindu Law) was quickly deprecated. Vidyavagish had a brief falling out with Carey and separated from the group, but maintained ties to Ram Mohan Roy.

In 1797, Raja Ram Mohan reached Calcutta and became a "bania" (moneylender), mainly to lend to the Englishmen of the Company living beyond their means. Ram Mohan also continued his vocation as pandit in the English courts and started to make a living for himself. He began learning Greek

and Latin. In 1799, Carey was joined by missionary Joshua Marshman and the printer William Ward at the Danish settlement of Serampore.

From 1803 until 1815, Ram Mohan served the East India Company's "Writing Service", commencing as private clerk "Munshi" to Thomas Woodroffe, Registrar of the Appellate Court at Murshidabad (whose distant nephew, John Woodroffe — also a Magistrate — and later lived off the Maha Nirvana Tantra under the pseudonym Arthur Avalon). Roy resigned from Woodroffe's service and later secured employment with John Digby, a Company collector, and Ram Mohan spent many years at Rangpur and elsewhere with Digby, where he renewed his contacts with Harihara nanda. William Carey had by this time settled at Serampore and the old trio renewed their profitable association. William Carey was also aligned now with the English Company, then head-quartered at Fort William, and his religious and political ambitions were increasingly intertwined.

While in Murshidabad, in 1804 Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote *Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin* (A Gift to Monotheists) in Persian with an introduction in Arabic. Bengali had not yet become the language of intellectual discourse. The importance of *Tuhfatul Muwahhidin* lies only in its being the first known theological statement of one who achieved later fame and notoriety as a vendantin. On its own, it is unremarkable, perhaps of interest only to a social historian because of its amateurish eclecticism. *Tuhfat* was, after all, available as early as 1884 in the English translation of Maulavi Obaidullah EI Obaid, published by the Adi Brahmo Samaj. Raja Ram Mohan Roy did not know the Upanishad at this stage in his intellectual

development. In 1815, he started Atmiya Sabha, a philosophical discussion circle in Kolkata (then Calcutta).

The East India Company was draining money from India at a rate of three million pounds a year by 1838. Ram Mohan Roy was one of the first to try to estimate how much money was being taken out of India and to where it was disappearing. He estimated that around one-half of all total revenue collected in India was sent out to England, leaving India, with a considerably larger population, to use the remaining money to maintain social well-being. Ram Mohan Roy saw this and believed that the unrestricted settlement of Europeans in India governing under free trade would help ease the economic drain crisis.

During the next two decades, Ram Mohan launched his attack at the behest of the church against the bastions of Hinduism of Bengal, namely his own Kulin Brahmin priestly clan (then in control of the many temples of Bengal) and their priestly excesses. The Kulin excesses targeted include sati (the co-cremation of widows), polygamy, child marriage, and dowry.

From 1819, Ram Mohan's battery increasingly turned against William Carey, a Baptist Missionary settled in Serampore, and the Serampore missionaries. With Dwarkanath's munificence, he launched a series of attacks against Baptist "Trinitarian" Christianity and was now considerably assisted in his theological debates by the Unitarian faction of Christianity.

In 1828, he launched Brahmo Sabha with Devendranath Tagore. By 1828, he had become a well known figure in India. In 1830, he had gone to England as an envoy of the Mughal

Emperor, Akbar Shah II, who invested him with the title of Raja to the court of King William IV.

Middle "Brahmo" period (1820 to 1830)

This was Ram Mohan's most controversial period. Commenting on his published works Sivanath Sastri writes:

"The period between 1820 and 1830 was also eventful from a literary point of view, as will be manifest from the following list of his publications during that period:

- Second Appeal to the Christian Public, *Brahmanical Magazine* – Parts I, II and III, with Bengali translation and a new Bengali newspaper called Samvad Kaumudi in 1821;
- A Persian paper called *Mirat-ul-Akbar* contained a tract entitled Brief Remarks on Ancient Female Rights and a book in Bengali called Answers to Four Questions in 1822;
- Third and final appeal to the Christian public, a memorial to the King of England on the subject of the liberty of the press, Ramdoss papers relating to Christian controversy, *Brahmanical Magazine*, No. IV, letter to Lord Arnherst on the subject of English education, a tract called "Humble Suggestions" and a book in Bengali called "Pathyapradan or Medicine for the Sick," all in 1823;

- A letter to Rev. H. Ware on the "Prospects of Christianity in India" and an "Appeal for famine-smitten natives in Southern India" in 1824;
- A tract on the different modes of worship, in 1825;
- A Bengali tract on the qualifications of a God-loving householder, a tract in Bengali on a controversy with a Kayastha, and a Grammar of the Bengali language in English, in 1826;
- A Sanskrit tract on "Divine worship by Gayatri" with an English translation of the same, the edition of a Sanskrit treatise against caste, and the previously noticed tract called "Answer of a Hindu to the question &c.," in 1827;
- A form of Divine worship and a collection of hymns composed by him and his friends, in 1828;
- "Religious Instructions founded on Sacred Authorities" in English and Sanskrit, a Bengali tract called "Anusthan", and a petition against sati, in 1829;

He publicly declared that he would emigrate from the British Empire if Parliament failed to pass the Reform Bill.

In 1830, Ram Mohan Roy travelled to the United Kingdom as an ambassador of the Mughal Empire to ensure that Lord William Bentinck's Bengal Sati Regulation, 1829 banning the practice of Sati was not overturned. In addition, Roy petitioned the King to increase the Mughal Emperor's allowance and perquisites. He was successful in persuading the British government to increase the stipend of the Mughal Emperor by £30,000. He also visited France. While in England, he embarked on cultural exchanges, meeting with members of

Parliament and publishing books on Indian economics and law. Sophia Dobson Collet was his biographer at the time.

He died at Stapleton, then a village to the northeast of Bristol (now a suburb), on 27 September 1833 of meningitis and was buried in the Arnos Vale Cemetery in southern Bristol.

Religious reforms

The religious reforms of Roy contained in some beliefs of the Brahmo Samaj expounded by Rajnarayan Basu are:

- Brahmo Samaj believe that the most fundamental doctrines of Brahmoism are at the basis of every religion followed by a man.
- Brahmo Samaj believes in the existence of One Supreme God — "a God, endowed with a distinct personality & moral attributes equal to His nature, and intelligence befitting the Author and Preserver of the Universe," and worship Him alone.
- Brahmo Samaj believe that worship of Him needs no fixed place or time. "We can adore Him at any time and at any place, provided that time and that place are calculated to compose and direct the mind towards Him."

Having studied the Qur'an, the Vedas and the Upanishads, Roy's beliefs were derived from a combination of monastic elements of Hinduism, Islam, eighteenth-century Deism, Unitarianism, and the ideas of the Freemasons.

Social reforms

Roy founded the Atmiya Sabha and the Unitarian Community to fight the social evils, and to propagate social and educational reforms in India. He was the man who fought against superstitions, a pioneer in Indian education, and a trend setter in Bengali Prose and Indian press.

- Crusaded against Hindu customs such as sati, polygamy, child marriage and the caste system.
- Demanded property inheritance rights for women.
- In 1828, he set up the *Brahmo Sabha* a movement of reformist Bengali Brahmins to fight against social evils.

Roy's political background and devandra Christian influence influenced his social and religious views regarding reforms of Hinduism. He writes,

"The present system of Hindus is not well calculated to promote their political interests.... It is necessary that some change should take place in their religion, at least for the sake of their political advantage and social comfort."

Ram Mohan Roy's experience working with the British government taught him that Hindu traditions were often not credible or respected by western standards and this no doubt affected his religious reforms. He wanted to legitimise Hindu traditions to his European acquaintances by proving that "superstitious practices which deform the Hindu religion have nothing to do with the pure spirit of its dictates!" The "superstitious practices", to which Ram Mohan Roy objected, included sati, caste rigidity, polygamyand child marriages.

These practices were often the reasons British officials claimed moral superiority over the Indian nation. Ram Mohan Roy's ideas of religion actively sought to create a fair and just society by implementing humanitarian practices similar to the Christian ideals professed by the British and thus seeking to legitimise Hinduism in the eyes of the Christian world.

Educationist

- Roy believed education to be an implement for social reform.
- In 1817, in collaboration with David Hare, he set up the Hindu College at Calcutta.
- In 1822, Roy found the *Anglo-Hindu school*, followed four years later (1826) by the *Vedanta College*; where he insisted that his teachings of monotheistic doctrines be incorporated with "modern, western curriculum."
- In 1830, he helped Rev. Alexander Duff in establishing the General Assembly's Institution (now known as Scottish Church College), by providing him with the venue vacated by *Brahma Sabha* and getting the first batch of students.
- He supported induction of western learning into Indian education.
- He also set up the *Vedanta College*, offering courses as a synthesis of Western and Indian learning.
- His most popular journal was the *Sambad Kaumudi*. It covered topics like freedom of the press, induction of Indians into high ranks of service, and separation of the executive and judiciary.

- When the English Company muzzled the press, Ram Mohan composed two memorials against this in 1829 and 1830 respectively.

Mausoleum at Arnos Vale

Ram Mohan Roy was originally buried on 18 October 1833, in the grounds of Stapleton Grove, where he had died of meningitis on 27 September 1833. Nine and a half years later he was reburied on 29 May 1843 in a grave at the new Arnos Vale Cemetery, in Brislington, East Bristol. A large plot on The Ceremonial Way there had been bought by William Carr and William Prinsep, and the body in its lac and a lead coffin was placed later in a deep brick-built vault, over seven feet underground. Two years after this, Dwarkanath Tagore helped pay for the chattri raised above this vault, although there is no record of his ever visiting Bristol. The chattri was designed by the artist William Prinsep, who had known Ram Mohan in Calcutta.

Bristol Arnos Vale cemetery have been holding remembrance services for Raja Ram Mohan Roy every year on a Sunday close to his death anniversary date of 27 September. The Indian High Commission at London often come to Raja's annual commemoration. Bristol's Lord Mayor shall also be in attendance. The commemoration is a joint Brahmo-Unitarian service, in which, prayers and hymns are sung, flowers laid at the tomb, and the life of the Raja is celebrated via talks and visual presentations. In 2013, a recently discovered ivory bust of Ram Mohan was displayed. In 2014, his original death mask at Edinburgh was filmed and its history was discussed. In 2017, Raja's commemoration was held on 24 September.

Legacy

Roy's commitment to English education and thought sparked debate between Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore. Gandhi, objecting to Roy's devotion to English education and thought, characterized him as a "pygmy".

Tagore, whose grandfather had commissioned Roy's mausoleum in Bristol, wrote a letter rejecting Gandhi's view, saying "[Roy] had the full inheritance of Indian wisdom. He was never a school boy of the West, and therefore had the dignity to be a friend of the West." Gandhi later contrasted his own cultural pluralism with the fault he saw in Roy's, writing these well-known lines:

"I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the culture of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any."

In 1983, a full-scale Exhibition on Ram Mohan Roy was held in Bristol's Museum and Art Gallery. His enormous 1831 portrait by Henry Perronet Briggs still hangs there and was the subject of a talk by Sir Max Muller in 1873. At Bristol's centre, on College Green, is a full-size bronze statue of the Raja by the modern Kolkata sculptor Niranjan Pradhan. Another bust by Pradhan, gifted to Bristol by Jyoti Basu, sits inside the main foyer of Bristol's City Hall.

A pedestrian path at Stapleton has been named "Rajah Rammohun Walk". There is a 1933 Brahmo plaque on the outside west wall of Stapleton Grove, and his first burial place

in the garden is marked by railings and a granite memorial stone. His tomb and chattri at Arnos Vale are listed as a Grade II* historic site by English Heritage and attract many visitors today.

In Popular Culture

A 1965 Indian Bengali-language film *Raja Rammohan* about Roy's reforms, directed by Bijoy Bose and starring Basanta Chowdhury in the titular role.

In 1988 Doordarshan Serial Bharat Ek Khoj produced and directed by Shyam Benegal also Picturised a Full One Episode on Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The titular role was played by Noted TV actor Anang Desai with Urmila Bhatt, Tom Alter and Ravi Jhankal as Supporting Cast.

Chapter 29

Warren Hastings

Warren HastingsFRS (6 December 1732 – 22 August 1818), an English statesman, was the first Governor of the Presidency of Fort William (Bengal), the head of the Supreme Council of Bengal, and so the first *de facto* Governor-General of Bengal in 1772–1785. He and Robert Clive are credited with laying the foundation of the British Empire in India. He was an energetic organizer and reformer. In 1779–1784 he led forces of the East India Company against a strong coalition of native states and the French. Finally, the well-organized British coalition held its own, while France lost influence in India. In 1787, he was accused of corruption and impeached, but after a long trial acquitted in 1795. He was made a Privy Councillor in 1814.

Early life

Hastings was born in Churchill, Oxfordshire in 1732 to a poor gentleman father, Penystone Hastings, and a mother, Hester Hastings, who died soon after he was born. Despite Penystone Hastings's lack of wealth, the family had been lords of the manor and patrons of the living of Daylesford in direct line from 1281 until 1715. It was relinquished after there had been a considerable loss of family wealth due to support given to Charles I. Warren Hastings attended Westminster School, where he coincided with the future Prime Ministers Lord Shelburne and the Duke of Portland and with the poet William Cowper. He joined the British East India Company in 1750 as a clerk and sailed out to India, reaching Calcutta in August

1750. There he built up a reputation for diligence and spent his free time learning about India and mastering Urdu and Persian. His work won him promotion in 1752 when he was sent to Kasimbazar, a major trading post in Bengal, where he worked for William Watts. While there he gained further experience in the politics of East India.

British traders still relied on the whims of local rulers, so that the political turmoil in Bengal was unsettling. The elderly moderate Nawab Alivardi Khan was likely to be succeeded by his grandson Siraj ud-Daulah, but there were several other claimants. This made British trading posts throughout Bengal increasingly insecure, as Siraj ud-Daulah was known to harbour anti-European views and be likely to launch an attack once he took power. When Alivardi Khan died in April 1756, the British traders and a small garrison at Kasimbazar were left vulnerable. On 3 June, after being surrounded by a much larger force, the British were persuaded to surrender to prevent a massacre. Hastings was imprisoned with others in the Bengali capital, Murshidabad, while the Nawab's forces marched on Calcutta and captured it. The garrison and civilians were then locked up under appalling conditions in the Black Hole of Calcutta.

For a while Hastings remained in Murshidabad and was even used by the Nawab as an intermediary, but fearing for his life, he escaped to the island of Fulta, where a number of refugees from Calcutta had taken shelter. While there, he met and married Mary Buchanan, the widow of one of the victims of the Black Hole. Shortly afterwards a British expedition from Madras under Robert Clive arrived to rescue them. Hastings served as a volunteer in Clive's forces as they retook Calcutta

in January 1757. After this swift defeat, the Nawab urgently sought peace and the war came to an end. Clive was impressed with Hastings when he met him, and arranged for his return to Kasimbazar to resume his pre-war activities. Later in 1757 fighting resumed, leading to the Battle of Plassey, where Clive won a decisive victory over the Nawab. Siraj ud-Daulah was overthrown and replaced by his uncle Mir Jafar, who initiated policies favourable to the East India Company traders, before falling out with them and being overthrown.

Rising status

In 1758 Hastings became the British Resident in the Bengali capital of Murshidabad – a major step forward in his career – at the instigation of Clive. His role in the city was ostensibly that of an ambassador but as Bengal came increasingly under the dominance of the East India Company he was often given the task of issuing orders to the new Nawab on behalf of Clive and the Calcutta authorities. Hastings personally sympathised with Mir Jafar and regarded many of the demands placed on him by the company as excessive. Hastings had already developed a philosophy that was grounded in trying to establish a more understanding relationship with India's inhabitants and their rulers, and he often tried to mediate between the two sides.

During Mir Jafar's reign the East India Company exerted an increasingly large role in the running of the region, and effectively took over the defence of Bengal against external invaders when Bengal's troops proved insufficient for the task. As he grew older, Mir Jafar became gradually less effective in ruling the state, and in 1760 EIC troops ousted him from

power and replaced him with Mir Qasim. Hastings expressed his doubts to Calcutta over the move, believing they were honour-bound to support Mir Jafar, but his opinions were overruled. Hastings established a good relationship with the new Nawab and again had misgivings about the demands he relayed from his superiors. In 1761 he was recalled and appointed to the Calcutta council.

Conquest of Bengal

Hastings was personally angered when investigating trading abuses in Bengal. He alleged that some European and British-allied Indian merchants were taking advantage of the situation to enrich themselves personally. Persons travelling under the unauthorised protection of the British flag engaged in widespread fraud and illegal trading, knowing that local customs officials would be cowed into not interfering with them. Hastings felt this was bringing shame on Britain's reputation and urged the authorities in Calcutta to put an end to it. The Council considered his report but ultimately rejected Hastings' proposals. He was fiercely criticised by other members, many of whom had themselves profited from the trade.

Ultimately, little was done to stem the abuses, and Hastings began to consider quitting his post and returning to Britain. His resignation was only delayed by the outbreak of fresh fighting in Bengal. Once on the throne Qasim proved increasingly independent in his actions, and he rebuilt Bengal's army by hiring European instructors and mercenaries who greatly improved the standard of his forces. He felt gradually more confident and in 1764 when a dispute broke

out in the settlement of Patna he captured its British garrison and threatened to execute them if the East India Company responded militarily. When Calcutta dispatched troops anyway, Mir Qasim executed the hostages. British forces then went on the attack and won a series of battles culminating in the decisive Battle of Buxar in October 1764. After this Mir Qasim fled into exile in Delhi, where he died in 1777. The Treaty of Allahabad (1765) gave the East India Company the right to collect taxes in Bengal on behalf of the Mughal Emperor.

Hastings resigned in December 1764 and sailed for Britain the following month. He left deeply saddened by the failure of the more moderate strategy that he had supported, but which had been rejected by the hawkish members of the Calcutta Council. Once he arrived in London Hastings began spending far beyond his means. He stayed in fashionable addresses and had his picture painted by Joshua Reynolds in spite of the fact that, unlike many of his contemporaries, he had not amassed a fortune while in India.

Eventually, having run up enormous debts, Hastings realised he needed to return to India to restore his finances, and applied to the East India Company for employment. His application was initially rejected as he had made many political enemies, including the powerful director Laurence Sulivan. Eventually an appeal to Sulivan's rival Robert Clive secured Hastings the position of deputy ruler at the city of Madras. He sailed from Dover in March 1769. On the voyage he met the German Baroness Marian von Imhoff (1749–1837) and her husband. He fell in love with the Baroness and they began an affair, seemingly with her husband's consent. Hastings' first wife, Mary, had died in 1759, and he planned to marry the

Baroness once she had obtained a divorce from her husband. The process took a long time and it was not until 1777 when news of divorce came from Germany that Hastings was finally able to marry her.

Madras and Calcutta

Hastings arrived in Madras shortly after the end of the First Anglo-Mysore War of 1767–1769, during which the forces of Hyder Ali had threatened the capture of the city. The Treaty of Madras (4 April 1769) which ended the war failed to settle the dispute and three further Anglo-Mysore Wars followed (1780–1799). During his time at Madras Hastings initiated reforms of trading practices which cut out the use of middlemen and benefited both the Company and the Indian labourers, but otherwise the period was relatively uneventful for him.

By this stage Hastings shared Clive's view that the three major British Presidencies (settlements) – Madras, Bombay and Calcutta – should all be brought under a single rule rather than being governed separately as they currently were. In 1771 he was appointed to be Governor of Calcutta, the most important of the Presidencies. In Britain moves were underway to reform the divided system of government and establish single rule across all of British-ruled India with its capital in Kolkata (formerly Calcutta). Hastings became the choice to be the first Governor General.

While Governor, Hastings launched a major crackdown on bandits operating in Bengal, which proved largely successful. He also faced the severe Bengal Famine, which resulted in between two and ten million deaths.

Governor-General

The Regulating Act of 1773 brought the presidencies of Madras and Bombay under Bengal's control. It raised Hastings from Governor to the new post of Governor-General, but limited his power by making the Governor-General one member of a five-man Supreme Council.

This was so confusingly structured that it was difficult to tell what constitutional position Hastings actually held.

According to William Dalrymple:

- He got quickly to work, beginning the process of turning the EIC into an administrative service. Hastings first major change was to move all of all the functions of government from Murshidabad to Calcutta.... Throughout 1773, Hastings worked with extraordinary energy. He unified currency systems, ordered the codification of Hindu laws and digests of Muslim law books, reformed the tax and customs system, fixed land revenue and stopped the worst oppression being carried out on behalf of private traders by the local agents. He created an efficient postal service, backed a proper cartographic survey of India by James Rennell and built a series of public granaries, including the great Gola at Patna, to make sure the famine of 1770-71 was never repeated.... Underlying all Hastings' work was a deep respect for the land he had lived in since his teens.... Hastings genuinely liked India, and by the time he became Governor spoke not only good

Bengali and Urdu but also fluent court and literary Persian.

War with France

In 1777 during the American War of Independence (1775–1783), the Americans had captured a British field army at the Battle of Saratoga during the Saratoga campaign. This emboldened the French to sign a military alliance with the new United States of America, and declare war on Great Britain. The French concentrated in the Caribbean islands, and on India. Meanwhile, the presidencies of Madras and Bombay became involved in serious quarrels with the greatest of the native states.

Madras with the formidable Hyder Ali of Mysore and with the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Bombay with the Marathas. France sent a naval fleet under Admiral Pierre André de Suffren. The combination meant Hastings faced a formidable challenge, with only Oudh as an ally. In six years of intense and confused fighting, 1779–1784.

Hastings sent one army marching across India to help Bombay, and another to Madras. His greatest achievement was in breaking up the hostile coalition. By 1782 he made peace with the Marathas. The French fleet had been repeatedly delayed. Suffren finally arrived in 1782 to discover that the Indian coalition had fallen apart, that Hastings had captured all the French ports, and Suffren could achieve nothing. When the wars ended in 1784, British rule in India had not changed, but the French position was now much weaker. The East India Company now had an efficient system in operation. However,

Hastings's multiple wartime operations needed large sums of money and London sent nothing. His methods of using the local treasuries later became the main line of attack in the impeachment brought against him.

Bhutan and Tibet

In 1773, Hastings responded to an appeal for help from the Raja of the princely state of Cooch Behar to the north of Bengal, whose territory had been invaded by Zhidar, the Druk Desi of Bhutan the previous year. Hastings agreed to help on the condition that Cooch Behar recognise British sovereignty. The Raja agreed and with the help of British troops they pushed the Bhutanese out of the Duars and into the foothills in 1773.

The Druk Desi returned to face civil war at home. His opponent Jigme Senge, the regent for the seven-year-old Shabdrung (the Bhutanese equivalent of the Dalai Lama), had supported popular discontent. Zhidar was unpopular for his corvee tax (he sought unreasonably to rebuild a major dzong in one year), as well as for his overtures to the Manchu Emperors which threatened Bhutanese independence. Zhidar was soon overthrown and forced to flee to Tibet, where he was imprisoned and a new Druk Desi, Kunga Rinchen, installed in his place. Meanwhile, the Sixth Panchen Lama, who had imprisoned Zhidar, interceded on behalf of the Bhutanese with a letter to Hastings, imploring him to cease hostilities in return for friendship. Hastings saw the opportunity to establish relations with both the Tibetans and the Bhutanese and wrote a letter to the Panchen Lama proposing "a general treaty of amity and commerce between Tibet and Bengal".

In February 1782, news reached the headquarters of the EIC in Calcutta of the reincarnation of the Panchen Lama. Hastings proposed sending a mission to Tibet with a message of congratulation, designed to strengthen amicable relations established by Bogle on his earlier visit. With the assent of the EIC Court of Directors, Samuel Turner was appointed chief of the Tibet mission on 9 January 1783 with fellow EIC employee Samuel Davis as "Draftsman & Surveyor". Turner returned to the Governor-General's camp at Patna in 1784 where he reported he had been unable to visit the Tibetan capital at Lhasa, but received a promise that merchants sent there from India would be encouraged.

Turner was instructed to obtain a pair of yaks on his travels, which he duly did. They were transported to Hasting's menagerie in Calcutta and on the Governor-General's return to England, the yaks went too, although only the male survived the difficult sea voyage. Noted artist George Stubbs subsequently painted the animal's portrait as *The Yak of Tartary* and in 1854 it went on to appear, albeit stuffed, at The Great Exhibition at Crystal Palace in London.

Hasting's return to England ended any further efforts to engage in diplomacy with Tibet.

Impeachment

In 1785, after ten years of service, during which he helped extend and regularise the nascent *Raj* created by Clive of India, Hastings resigned. He was replaced by General Charles Cornwallis, the Earl Cornwallis; Cornwallis served as Commander-in-Chief of British India and Governor of the

Presidency of Fort William, also known as the Bengal Presidency. Upon his return to England, Hastings was impeached in the House of Commons for crimes and misdemeanors during his time in India, especially for embezzlement, extortion, and coercion and an alleged judicial killing of Maharaja Nandakumar.

At first deemed unlikely to succeed, the prosecution was managed by MPs including Edmund Burke, encouraged by Sir Philip Francis, whom Hastings had wounded during a duel in India, Charles James Fox and Richard Brinsley Sheridan. When the charges of his indictment were read, the twenty counts took Edmund Burke two full days to read. The trial became a debate between two radically opposed visions of empire – one based on ideas of power and conquest in pursuit of the exclusive national interests of the colonizer, versus one represented by Burke, of sovereignty based on a recognition of the rights of the colonized.

The house sat for 148 days over a period of seven years during the investigation. The investigation was pursued at great cost to Hastings personally: he complained constantly that the cost of defending himself from the prosecution was bankrupting him. He is rumoured to have once stated that the punishment given to him would have been less extreme had he pleaded guilty. The House of Lords finally acquitted him on all charges on 24 April 1795. The Company subsequently compensated him with £4,000 Sterling annually, retroactive to the date he returned to England, but did not reimburse his legal fees, which he claimed to have been £70,000. He collected the stipend for nearly 29 years. Throughout the long years of the trial, Hastings lived in considerable style at his leased town

house, Somerset House, Park Lane. He subsequently sold the lease at auction for £9,450. Among the many who supported him in print was the pamphleteer and versifier Ralph Broome. Others disturbed by the perceived injustice of the proceedings included Frances Burney.

Letters and journals of Jane Austen and her family, who knew Hastings, show they followed the trial closely.

Later life

Hastings's supporters from the Edinburgh East India Club and a number of other gentlemen from India, gave a reportedly "elegant entertainment" for Hastings when he visited Edinburgh. A toast on the occasion went to the "Prosperity to our settlements in India" and wished that "the virtue and talents which preserved them be ever remembered with gratitude."

In 1788 Hastings bought for £54,000 an estate at Daylesford, Gloucestershire, including the site of the Hastings family's medieval seat. Thereafter he remodelled the house to designs by Samuel Pepys Cockerell with classical and Indian decoration and gardens landscaped by John Davenport. He rebuilt the Norman church in 1816, where he was buried two years later. In 1801 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

In spite of substantial compensation from the East India Company, Hastings was technically insolvent on his death, due to excessive spending.

Administrative ethos and legacy

In the last quarter of the 18th century, many senior administrators realised that to govern Indian society it was essential to learn its various religious, social, and legal customs and precedents. The importance of such knowledge to the colonial government was in Hastings's mind when he remarked in 1784:

Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise dominion founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the state... it attracts and conciliates distant affections; it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection; and it imprints on the hearts of our countrymen the sense of obligation and benevolence.... Every instance which brings their real character... home to observation will impress us with a more generous sense of feeling for their natural rights, and teach us to estimate them by the measure of our own. But such instances can only be obtained in their writings: and these will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance.

Under Hastings's term as governor-general, much administrative precedent set profoundly shaped later attitudes towards the government of British India. Hastings had great respect for the ancient scripture of Hinduism and set the British position on governance as one of looking back to the earliest precedents possible. This allowed Brahmin advisors to mould the law, as no Briton thoroughly understood Sanskrit

until Sir William Jones, and even then, a literal translation was of little use – it needed to be elucidated by religious commentators well-versed in the lore and its application. This approach accentuated the Hindu caste system and to an extent the frameworks of other religions, which had at least in recent centuries been somewhat more flexibly applied.

So British influence on the fluid social structure of India can largely be seen as a solidification of the privileges of the Hindu caste system through the influence of exclusively high-caste Hindu scholars advising the British on their laws. In short, under Hastings there was a codification of Hindu laws, and a digest of Muslim law books. Where British translators or interpreters read in the Artha Shastra a *caste system* in India, the actual wording speaks of *varna* and *jati*: skin-colour and birth, i. e. clan, and it speaks of the four societal classes, not castes: from upper-class Brahmin to lower-class Shudra.

In 1781, Hastings founded Madrasa 'Aliya at Calcutta (transformed in 2007 into Aliah University by the Government of West Bengal). In 1784, he supported the foundation of the Bengal Asiatic Society, now the Asiatic Society of Bengal, by the oriental scholar Sir William Jones.

This became a storehouse for information on the subcontinent and has remained in various institutional guises to the present day. Hastings's legacy as an administrator has been somewhat dualistic: he was able to institute reforms during the time he spent as governor that would change the path India followed in subsequent years, but he retained the distinction of being also the "architect of British India and the one ruler of British India to whom the creation of such an entity was anathema."

Legacy

The city of Hastings, New Zealand and the Melbourne outer suburb of Hastings, Victoria, Australia were named after him. There is also a road in Kolkata, India, named after him.

"Hastings" is the name of one of the four school houses in La Martiniere for Boys, Calcutta, and La Martiniere for Girls Kolkata. It is represented by the colour red. "Hastings" is also the name of one of the four school houses in Bishop Westcott Boys' School, Ranchi, again represented by the colour red. "Hastings" is a senior wing house at St Paul's School, Darjeeling, India, where all the senior wing houses are named after Anglo-Indian colonial figures.

RIMS *Warren Hastings* was a Royal Indian Marine troopship built by the Barrow Shipbuilding Co. and launched on 18 April 1893. The ship struck a rock and was wrecked off the coast of Réunion on the night of 14 January 1897.

Literature

Warren Hastings took an interest in translating the *Bhagavad Gita* into English, and his efforts led to the first translation appearing in 1785. He wrote the introduction to it as translated by Charles Wilkins, which appeared on 4 October 1784 in Benares.

"Warren Hastings and His Bull" is a short story by the Indian writer Uday Prakash, adapted for stage under the same name by the director Arvind Gaur. It is a work of socio-economic

political satire presenting Hastings's interaction with traditional India. One of a collection of short stories by the Hindi author Shivprasad Singh 'Rudra' Kashikeya called *Bahti Ganga* features Chait Singh, the then Raja of Banaras, in conflict with Warren Hastings. Hastings is imprisoned by the Raja, but escapes, and ordinary people of the city make fun of him.

The Hastings career is discussed at length in the historical mystery novel, *Secrets in the Stones*, by Tessa Harris.

Hastings was rumoured to be the biological father of Eliza de Feuillide, who was Jane Austen's cousin. Some scholars have seen parallels between Hastings and Colonel Brandon in Austen's novel, *Sense and Sensibility*: both left for India at age 17; both may have had illegitimate daughters named Eliza; both participated in a duel. Linda Robinson Walker argues that Hastings "haunts *Sense and Sensibility* in the character of Colonel Brandon."