Mughal emperors used the *mansabdar* system to generate revenue and to help control their vast empire.

Emperor would grant land to a *mansabdar* and, with the land, the right to collect revenue.

In return, the *mansabdar* had to promise to provide the emperor with soldiers in time of war.

Greater the size of the land granted, greater the number of soldiers the *mansabdar* had to promise.

This gave emperor a large degree of control.

System worked well when emperor was strong and local officials trustworthy.

Weak emperor was in trouble.

Corrupt village leaders held back revenue for themselves; *mansabdar* retained revenue, refused to provide soldiers for the emperor and sought power for themselves and their followers.

This was one of main reasons for collapse of Mughal Empire.

Weakness at top led to rise of faction and increase in power of local rulers.

In north, *Jats* and *Sikhs*, and in the west the *Marathas*, firmly resisted Mughal attempts to govern them.

In south, ruler of Hyderabad ruled over a large, virtually independent state.

As power of Mughal emperors weakened, more and more small-scale wars were fought throughout 18th century as rival Indian princes battled for supremacy.

What was the reaction of the EIC to the collapse of the Mughal Empire?

Series of European wars between Fr and Br spilled over into India, where the Fr were traders too.

Both sides found allies in rival Indian princes and their factions, and so were drawn into India’s political struggles.

First open confrontation in southern India, where general Dupleix and French East India Company had a large power base.

Both Br and Fr companies wanted their own nominee as *nawab* (ruler), of Arcot, area around Madras.

At end of long struggle, Robert Clive installed the man the British wanted and supported him with arms and cash.

Clive had out-maneuvered the Fr, leaving them with only a small enclaves in southern India.

Fr and Br backed different factions in struggle for control of Bengal, which had been a Mughal stronghold.

Clove’s intervention was again successful and he defeated *Nawab* Siraj-ud-Daula at Battle of Plassey in 1757.

Helped by combination of soldiers, landholders and influential merchants whose commercial profits were closely linked to those of EIC.

Commercial interests were involved and no Indian merchant would be likely to support a side that would not deal well with him afterwards.
In this way imported goods became more expensive than home-produced ones, allowing domestic industries to grow and develop.

This had not happened in India – not in Br’s interests to have tariffs slapped on goods it wanted to sell in Indian markets.

Towards end of 19th century, Br govt made India subordinate to needs of Lancashire cotton industry.

1879 Viceroy Lytton removed all import duties on Lancashire cotton cloth, allowing it to flood Indian market at a time when Indian cotton industry needed support and famine stalked the land.

In 1822 tariffs on all Br goods imported into India were reduced from 3.5% to nil.

Later, Gandhi used position of cotton industry to great effect.

Tariff control was one factor fastened on by Indian nationalists as the 20th century progressed.

What about investment?

British “viceroy” in Indian Mutiny and subsequent transfer of power from EIC to British Crown resulted in great increase in Br and European capital investment in Indian agriculture and industry.

Viceroy convinced investors that Br would continue to control and contain any further rebellion and that the Br Empire in India was built on sound foundations.

By start of 20th century, India received about one-tenth of Br overseas investment – about £250 million.

By 1910 this had risen to £365 million.

What was the manpower commitment?

India provided direct employment for Br people who worked there.

Young men went out to work in govt service, as members of Indian Civil Service, and other civilian enterprises such as forestry, education, medicine and engineering.

As well as receiving salaries almost all expatriate employees of govt went back to Br when they retired.

There they received pensions paid for by India and these were one of main “home charges” on Indian revenue.

However, it was to Indian army that biggest manpower commitment was made and that enabled Br to have a secure presence in Asia.

What was life like for British in India?

Indian Mutiny created racial mistrust between Br in India and Indians themselves – poisoned relationships for decades.

Shocked at what they perceived as disloyalty and ingratitude, Br response was to separate themselves from Indian people.

In doing so they created a separate caste, a ruling elite.

This separation of rulers from the ruled was to lead to terrible problems as both sides tried to reach new understandings as 20th century progressed.
Treaty arrangements:
- Rulers of the princely states had, in theory, complete authority over whom they ruled.
- Practice, however, was different.
- All had treaty arrangements with Br.
- These treaties allowed a degree of local autonomy.
- Each state could keep its own laws, languages, holidays, ministers and ruler.
- But each state was under the “prosecution” of Br and so really couldn’t instigate any action that ran counter to interests of Br Raj.
- If a princely state wanted to set up an industry to manufacture railway carriages or even the upholstery for such carriages, then the Raj would not allow this.
- Treaties would be scoured, the removal of aid and other support would be threatened and the railways themselves would be forbidden to buy and such products.

The Resident:
- Four largest princely states – Hyderabad, Mysore, Jammu and Kashmir, and Baroda - were direct administration of Viceroy.
- He was represented in these states by a Resident, whom he appointed.
- This not only gave these particular princely states status above others, but in effect created a “hot line” to the seat of power in India.

The political officer:
- Remaining princely states had political officers instead of a Resident.
- These political officers were answerable to administrators of India’s provinces.
- Prices were treated with elaborate courtesies but never allowed to forget that the Br did not regard them as equal allies.
- Believing it was their duty to guard the prices’ subjects as best they could, Br, in treaties made with princely states, insisted in right to intervene and administer a princely state if they felt it was being misgoverned.
- Thus, while they valued their princely allies, the Br never quite believed they ruled their subjects as well as the Raj could, if only it was given opportunity to do so.

Was power-sharing a possibility?

What was the impact of the Indian Mutiny?
- During final years of 19th century, growth within India of western-educated Indians.
- Br administration in India became gradually aware they should make some sort of accommodation with these highly educated and influential Indians.
- Indian Mutiny of 1857 had given British a fright; shown more perspective among them just what happens if rulers become out of touch with ruled.
• Not exclusively Indian: its founder was a British white man, a former Secretary for Agriculture in the Calcutta govt.
• Indian opinion was beginning to be articulated in a more formal context than ever before.

How progressive was the 1892 Indian Councils’ Act?
• Allowed municipalities and district boards to “recommend” additional members to provincial legislative councils.
• This gave first real opportunity for educated Indians to take part in a formal consultative process that was part of structure of Raj.
• As well as discussing legislation (allowed under 1861 Act), in future, councils could discuss finance as well and ask questions of executive and expect them to be answered.
• Even so, majority of people sitting on provincial councils were still officials of the Raj.

How limited was the Raj?
➢ Br had an army in India and could, if necessary, call upon regiments stationed elsewhere in Empire and in Br.
• But when it came to every-day crowd control and management of demonstrations, Br had to rely on police and they were stretched very thinly indeed.
• Large towns like Madras had one policeman to every 2000 inhabitants and in countryside police were almost non-existent.
• So, while India was spared invasion and inter-state conflict, murders, muggings and riots were commonplace.
➢ Only a few personnel available in ICS for direct administration.
• Meant most of day-to-day work had to be undertaken by low-paid Indians.
• Many of these Indian officials were corrupt – taking bribes, falsified records and found employment for their friends and relatives.
• Thus Br authority was often severely compromised by local people who were working to different agendas.
➢ Value of support given to British by Indian princes was doubtful.
• Several times towards end of 19th century, Br had intervened in internal affairs of a state to correct gross injustices and mismanagements, and in some cases deposed the sitting ruler before reforms could be instituted.
➢ Administration structure set up by Br in India provided an effective framework within which the power of the Br Raj could be exercised.
• However, this was a framework only.
• What became known in 20th century as Raj’s “steel frame” was made up predominantly of Br manpower.
• British were unable to rule simply by force.
• Reliant on thousands of Indians, whom they kept as subordinates and whose loyalty they perceived as doubtful, to keep the wheels of administration turning.
• Exercise of Br power depended very much on co-operation of Indian people.
Those Indians hoping for Home Rule were bitterly disappointed. As details of reforms became known, unrest and violence increased especially in Punjab.

- INC rejected Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and boycotted first elections held under 1919 Act.

- Situation in India worsened by recession that set in when war ended.
- Layoffs and unemployment as demand for war materials, particularly textiles, collapsed.
- Spanish flu epidemic that hit Europe affected India too, killing more than 13 million people.
- In India the situation worsened by failure of monsoon to deliver and consequent crop failure and regional famine.
- Br govt feared Bolshevism taking hold in post-war India so understandable that an unstable situation was created in the sub-continent, leading to further unrest, disturbances and riots.
- Br Raj responded by repression to be enforced by Rowlatt Acts.

**What were the effects of the Rowlatt Acts?**
- Disastrous!

What did the Rowlatt Commission propose?

- Rowlatt Commission reported in July 1918.
- Isolated Bengal, Bombay and Punjab as centres of revolutionary activity and recommended that old wartime controls should be used there to contain the situation.
- These included imprisonment without trial, trial by judges sitting without a jury, censorship and house arrest of suspects.
- These proposals were incorporated into Rowlatt Acts, passed in March 1919, and sanctioned by Montagu with extreme reluctance.
  - He told Viceroy that they were “extremely repugnant”, although he conceded he appreciated need to stamp out rebellion and riot.
- However, Viceroy Chelmsford went ahead and measure was pushed through Imperial Legislative Council in face of opposition from every Indian member.
- Muslim leader Muhammad Ali Jinnah and several of his colleagues resigned in protest when Rowlatt Acts were pushed through Indian Legislative Council.

What damage did the Acts do?

- New powers were found to be unnecessary and were soon repealed.
- But damage had been done.
- All Indian members of Imperial legislative Council were opposed to Rowlatt Acts.
- Impression was created that promises made by Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were meaningless.
- In end it seemed Br govt was prepared to use force to crush Indian opposition.
- The Acts suggested that Br had no intention of relaxing their grip on India.
Learning to co-operate and confront individuals in positions of authority in South Africa and in London.

Learning about publicity by launching his first journal *Indian Opinion*, in which he wrote about issues, rallied support and suggested coping strategies.

Beginning to experiment with a variety of ways of protesting, including marches, rallies and press campaigns.

Experimenting with direct, but non-violent opposition, such as burning registration documents.

- This range of experience was to serve Gandhi and the Congress Party well on his return to India at start of WW1.
- It was in South Africa that Gandhi began to develop his concept of satyagraha, which permeated his philosophical and political writings, thoughts and actions from 1907 until his death 40 years later.

What was Gandhi’s philosophy?

- His philosophy was underpinned by his concept of satyagraha, a word he made up and which he used to mean “truth-force” or “soul-force” and to describe non-violent resistance to injustice or evil.
- Gandhi believed every individual was created to search for the truth.
- In order to be fully human, each person has to reach the truth within themselves.
- Non-violence in relationships between individuals and groups of individuals is essential.
- This is because the weaker must not be forced to accept the views of the stronger against their own truth, no matter how weakly that truth is being held and sought.
- No one should be inhibited in their quest, and violence inhibits that search for inner meaning.

Were Gandhi’s ideas in line with traditional Hindu philosophy?

- Concept of satyagraha set Gandhi’s philosophy apart from traditional Hindu thought.
- Forms of self-suffering to change an opponent’s mind were well known in Gujarat, just as passive resistance was well known to Western thought.
- For Gandhi satyagraha was only for those strong enough in their commitment to truth to undergo suffering in its cause.
- Those who carried it out became even stronger followers of truth.
- In situations of conflict, Gandhi believed satyagraha could only generate truth and never falsehood.

How did Gandhi become leader of the Congress?

- Formed a strong friendship with Gokhale, who had visited him in South Africa and admired his work there.
- Well aware how out of touch Gandhi was with India and Indian affairs.
• In February 1922, Congress supporters in Chauri Chaura torched a police station and burned to death the 22 Indian policemen inside.
• Gandhi immediately withdrew to his ashram to fast and meditate, emerging some days later to call an immediate end to satyagraha.
• His supporters were horrified.
• So much that was positive had been gained – why throw it all away because of a few outbreaks of violence?
• Gandhi was adamant and turned away from political agitation and worked on his “constructive programme”, which emphasized social welfare work in the villages along with hand spinning and weaving.
• This was back to basics.
• At end of Feb 1922, Gandhi was arrested by British authorities and charged with “promoting disaffection towards the govt established by law”, to which he pleaded guilty and was sentenced to six years imprisonment.

Something lost and something gained?
• Gandhi’s ideas that satyagraha could, of itself, bring about swaraj had been discredited, but Gandhi was clear concept wasn’t wrong.
• What was wrong was that Indian people were not yet ready for sort of self-discipline that was necessary to make it effective.
• One outstanding feature of Congress’ commitment to satyagraha was way in which members had involved themselves in peasant communities and had acquired a deeper understanding of peasants’ needs.
• Peasants had up until now been more or less ignored by members of Congress.
• Allied to this was Congress’ growing ability to understand and exploit local grievances and to link these with broader campaign for swaraj.

Retrenchment in the 1920s (Unit 7)

How did Congress consolidate its position in the 1920s?

Membership:
• During period of non-consolidation, grew from a base of 100,000 to around 2 million by end of 1921.
• Some more conservative members left because they objected to seeing Congress turning from being a pressure group to one of open defiance to British Raj and a large number of Muslims left when non-cooperation collapsed because of what they regarded as Gandhi’s failure to support them in their concerns over Turkey and the break-up of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, but overwhelmingly membership trend was upwards.
• Congress had achieved this support by extending its appeal into geographical areas and wooing interest groups that had hitherto been neglected.
• Many of its supporters came from richer peasantry and commercial castes, but also beginning to recruit support from railway workers, mill-hands and
This was pact to which they both signed up:
- Congress’ civil disobedience campaign was suspended
- Gandhi agreed to attend a second London conference
- 19,000 Congress supporters were released from jail
- Confiscated property was returned to its owners
- Some emergency restrictions were relaxed.

Jinnah and the idea of separateness (Unit 8)

Why did Hindus and Muslims clash?
- Hindu and Muslim communities in India were divided by their beliefs and practices, and often could not find an area of mutual toleration.
- Situation was exacerbated by sheer size of Hindu majority across India, which seemed such a threat to Muslim minority that many Muslims believed they had to fight, not only for political voice but for their very existence.

What do Hindus believe?
- Recognise one God, Brahman, who is the eternal origin and the cause and foundation of all existence.
- Most Hindus worship Brahman through deities that represent a particular aspect of this one God.
- Different Hindu communities worship their own divinities— not divisive, simply different ways of approaching God.
- Hence Hindus do not have a problem with people worshipping other Gods in other religions: simply different routes to the same end.
- Also have several holy books.
- Caste system in India still intact but many of rules are not as rigid as they were in past.
- Hindus believe everyone’s soul is a tiny part of Brahman, the great world soul.
- The soul can be reborn many times.
- The body, and therefore caste, into which the soul is born depends on quality of life that has just been lived.
- Existence is a cycle of birth, death and rebirth, governed by karma.

What do Muslims believe?
- Believe there is one God, Allah, and who revealed their faith to humankind at various times.
- Final and complete revelation was made to prophet Muhammad in seventh century.
- It was through him that Allah set down his holy words in the Qur’an.
- Key issue is Muslims believe Allah wants no other gods, so images of living things are forbidden because people might be tempted to make them into idols and worship them rather than Allah.
Education:
- Historically, Muslims had been slower than Hindus to take up educational opportunities offered by Raj.
- So, by beginning of 20th century, there was a considerably poorly educated and uneducated Muslim underclass.
- Muslim elite would never agree to this underclass having any political control.
- Gradually, situation for Muslims improved.
- Under 1919 reforms, education became a provincial subject transferred to control of Indian ministers.
- By end of 1930s there were more Muslims being educated than average for all communities.
- By then Muslims as an all-India community could no longer be considered educationally backward, though in provinces where they were a majority their standards still lagged behind the Hindus.

What sort of democracy was proposed?
- Most Muslims opposed any extension of a democracy hat was based on principle of “One man, one vote”.
- If this principle was to become norm throughout India, there would be few Muslims elected to provincial or national assemblies.
- In this, the more conservative members of the Raj administration gave them tacit support.
- Congress however was increasingly pushing for extension of democratic principle of one man, one vote.
- Muslim leaders worked out a compromise position, which was accepted by Lord Minto when he promised that Muslim “rights and interests as a community” would be safeguarded.
- This compromise was enshrined, to dismay of many Hindus, in Indian Councils Act of 1909 whereby Muslims formed a separate electorate in order to protect their interests and for their voice to be heard.

How important was the Muslim League?
- Initially formed in 1906 under chairmanship of Nawab of Dacca, Muslim League was to be voice of Muslim community, an organisation complementary to Congress, which was dominated by Hindus.
- Easy, with hindsight, to see direct line from formation of Muslim League to creation of separate state of Pakistan.
- But in 1906 a separate state was not a possibility considered by anyone in a position of power or influence.
- Although conceived as an anti-Congress body, many instances when Muslim League worked with members of Congress for same outcome.
- 1910, League, influenced by Muslim “Young Party” of Aligarh graduates and strongly anti-British seminary at Deoband in the United Provinces, moved to
o Two new states of Sindh and Orissa were created.
o The Viceroy would still be appointed by Br govt and would be in control of defence and foreign affairs; he would have to follow advice of an Executive Committee, which was made up mostly of Indians.

Why did both Congress and the Muslim League reject the Act?
• Congress objected to Act because members wanted swaraj – full independence – and were not interested in what they saw as a half-way house.
• Wanted a strong central govt, which would inevitably be predominantly Hindu, and not strong provincial govt, some of which the Muslims would probably be able to control.
• Also objected to Act because it continued practice of reserved seats for minority groups.
• Muslim League objected to Act because it did not offer enough power to Muslims and because most provinces were controlled by Congress with no guarantee that the rights of Muslims would be protected.

The 1937 elections:
• Both Congress and Muslim League were faced with an immediate dilemma: should they participate in provincial elections set for 1937?
• Not to participate would be consistent with their rejection to the Act, but the elections were going ahead anyway and a total boycott would cut them off from govt.
• Furthermore, to participate might give them opportunity to work within system to create change.
• Both Congress and League decided to take part.

How did Congress fare?
• Congress virtually swept the board.
• Congress Party gained overall control of United and Central Provinces, Orissa, Bombay and Madras, and it became largest single party in Assam and North-West Frontier Province.
• Although fewer than half of 1585 provincial legislative seats contested throughout India were open to general electorate, Congress won them all, together with 59 more from separate electorate contests, ending up with 716 legislative members.
• To all intents and purposes, Congress was a partner in govt with the Raj.

How did the Muslim League fare?
• Badly.
• Jinnah only returned to India in 1935 from his self-imposed exile in London.
• Worked hard before the elections to build up a powerbase but, in limited time available to him, he wasn’t even able to find enough candidates to contest all reserved Muslim seats.
Indian troops had been mobilized in the war against Japan, in North Africa and in Italy, and Britain had shouldered most of the costs. This meant that the Indian govt had built up enormous savings and, by 1945, had a sterling balance in the Reserve Bank of India of £1300 million. And this was all because the Indian govt had not had to meet the cost of their troops abroad.

Shifting loyalties:

- The old argument that Britain needed India as a defensive wall of British power in Asia no longer carried much weight at a time when Indian politicians were protesting against the deployment of Indian forces in Indonesia and Indo-China.
- Politicians regarded it as unacceptable that “their” forces were being used to, in their estimation, prop up decaying French and Dutch empires at a time when they were trying to free themselves from the grip of the Raj.
- Tow and a half million Indian men and women had joined armed forces and by 1945 there were 15,740 Indian officers.
- Not all were loyal to Raj.
- Loyal to their concept of “India” as Commnader-in-Chief Auchinleck recognized: “It is no use shutting one’s eyes to the fact that any Indian soldier worth his salt is a Nationalist, though that does not make him anti-British.”
- The Indian Civil Service had also undergone a sea change.
- Originally the province of the British, by 1945, neither India nor the British had much need for each other in an imperial context.
- How were they to extricate themselves from a situation in which they had once been mutually dependent?

Political manoeuvrings:

Ending of WW2 and prospects of elections in both Britain and India created a political situation that was temporarily unstable and one in which political manoeuvrings by the main players became evident as they prioritized their various agendas and prepared for the transfer of power from the Raj to India.

The Simla Conference, 1945:

- Spring of 1945, Viceroy Wavell travelled to London for a series of lengthy meetings with the British coalition govt.
- British Cabinet was ready to make a fresh attempt at Indian settlement.
- Britain was millions of pounds in debt to India for goods and services borrowed to help win the war and this, combined with terrorist activity and unrest in India, convinced Wavell and Secretary of State Amery that another attempt at a constitutional settlement had to be made.
- Wavell returned to Delhi with a new scheme, loosely modeled on that of Sir Stafford Cripps.
- The major change Wavell was to propose concerned the composition of his Executive Council.
Finished with victory and trying to woo the left wing of his party, he promised that once Congress controlled the All-India Union, it would act as it pleased.

He predicted that the provincial groupings would fall apart because they were not liked by large numbers of Hindus and were basically only supported by the Muslim League.

Impact of this collapse of the Cabinet Mission’s proposed groupings would be that India would become, in effect, a Hindu Raj.

Nehru insisted the whole concept of Pakistan would wither and die in the face of political reality.

Alarmingly, this was interpretation that Cripps declined to rule out.

Jinnah was horrified – his worst nightmare was coming true.

Said Nehru’s comments were “a complete repudiation of the basic form upon which the long-term scheme rests and all of its fundamentals”.

Jinnah felt betrayed by Nehru and congress – and betrayed by the Cabinet Mission, too, which had flown home, leaving him to deal with the collapse of the Muslim League in Bombay on 27 July 1946 and, denouncing the bad faith of both Congress and the Raj, repudiated the agreement with the Cabinet Mission.

Two days later, he called upon Muslim India to prepare for “direct action”.

“Direct Action Day” was to be 16 August 1946.

What were the effects of direct action?

- Not just Muslim India that was preparing for “direct action”, it was the Raj too.
- Commander-in-Chief Auchinleck, having made discreet enquiries among his Indian officers, found them to be loyal to their own concept of “India”, but he privately warned Viceroy Wavell that he could not envisage Hindu firing at Hindu and Muslim shooting Muslim in any ensuing conflict.
- Wavell had his provincial governors to worry about too.
- Congress effectively controlled three-quarters of India.
- With the days of the Raj numbered, police loyalty would be swayed towards those who would inherit power and control.
- Wavell could not be sure he could contain the gathering storm.
- Jinnah took India’s Muslims into the horror and bloodletting of civil war.
- In Calcutta, the police were ordered by the Muslim League to take a special holiday and the streets were given over to the mob.
- Within 72 hours, more than 5000 lay dead, at least 20,000 were seriously injured and 100,000 residents were homeless.
- Muslim and Hindu murdered each other in an orgy of killings and bloodletting, looting and arson that spread across India.
- Wavell’s appeals to Congress and the Muslim League to call a halt to the killings fell on deaf ears.
- Growing increasingly irritated by Gandhi, whom he had come to regard as a malevolent manipulator, Wavell was genuinely appalled when Gandhi remarked that if India wanted a blood bath, she could have it.
• One of the reasons for sending Mountbatten to negotiate the final stages of India’s independence was that he was totally different from any of the previous Viceroy’s.
• His flamboyance, left-wing tendencies and determination to be seen as a man of action brought a refreshing change to Indian politics and a hope that the Congress-League deadlock could be broken.
• Mountbatten spent his first four weeks in India consulting with Indian ministers, politicians and his own staff.
• With some, his charm and flattery worked, as did his clear determination to cultivate the friendship of men with whom he began to bargain.
• Cordial relations were quickly achieved between the Mountbattens and Gandhi, Nehru and the other Congress leaders.
• By marked contrast, Mountbatten’s first meeting with Jinnah was decidedly frosty.
• Jinnah was not in the least seduced by the charms of the Viceroy or Vicereine.
• Mountbatten was later to refer to him as an “evil genius”, a “psychotic case”, a “lunatic” and, that old defamatory label, “a bastard”.
• These were duly relayed to Jinnah by staff who were trying to double guess how events would turn out and where their loyalties should lie, and did nothing to improve Jinnah’s view that Mountbatten had strong pro-Congress sympathies.
• This view was strengthened by the very clear and much reported infatuation Lady Mountbatten held for the widower Nehru.
• Lord Mountbatten was the first Viceroy to appoint a press attaché.
• Alan Campbell-Johnson's job was to make sure the Raj ended in a blaze of favourable publicity.

Towards Partition:
• What Mountbatten heard during his four weeks of consultation made him believe that Partition was the only solution.
• This was not what Attlee wanted to hear.
• For the whole of his time in India, the Raj had tried to govern impartially between Muslim and Hindu, and, indeed, one of its major successes was that its rule was secular.
• To fall back now, on a primitive division of a huge landmass along religious lines was, so Attlee and his govt believed, a step backwads.

Death and destruction:
• While Mountbatten was talking in Delhi, riots broke out in the Punjab.
• Although about 56% of Punjab’s inhabitants were Muslim, it had been administered by a shaky alliance of Hindus, Sikhs and non-League Muslims under Khizr Hayat Khan.
• His resignation in March 1947 and the attempt by the League to form its own administration led to militant Sikhs calling for direct action against the Muslim League – and the subsequent explosion of violence.
On 15 July, it was announced in the House of Commons that in precisely one month’s time, two separate dominions of India and Pakistan would be created on the Indian sub-continent.

The Boundary Commission:
- Work of Boundary Commission was to draw a boundary between India and Pakistan that would, as far as possible, accommodate Hindus and Muslims in separate states.
- The Commission comprised equal numbers of Hindu and Muslim judges, chosen by Congress and the Muslim League, and a chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, who was a legal expert.
- His impartiality was guaranteed because he had no previous experience whatsoever of India; neither, his work being done, did he ever return.
- Using out-of-date maps, anecdotal stories of land ownership and dusty boundary charts, the Commission was given just five weeks to complete its work.

Rumours, leaks and pressure:
- With so much at stake, it was inevitable that some decisions were leaked to interested parties, who then applied what pressure they could to make the Boundary Commission change its collective mind.
- One of the worst offenders here was Mountbatten himself.
- A leak would reach Nehru, who applied pressure on Mountbatten, who in turn attempted with some success to nobble the Boundary Commission.
- This was certainly true in case of Firozpur.
- The town controlled the only bridge over the River Sutlej as well as playing a strategic part in the irrigation system of the area.
- Radcliffe’s first draft of the boundary in the area, flown to Lahore on 10 August, placed Firozpur firmly inside Pakistan, which resulted in intensive lobbying by Nehru and Congress to have the boundary moved.
- On evening of 11 August, Radcliffe had dinner with Mountbatten and Ismay.
- The following day, Firozpur appeared on the Indian side of the boundary.
- Mountbatten was certainly not acting in an even-handed way.
- This may have been due in part to his personal dislike of Jinnah and to the warm relationship he had with Nehru, but also due to fact that he simply didn’t believe Pakistan would last.
- He likened it to a “nissen hut” that would soon collapse and be reabsorbed into India.
- It may be this belief that led him to strengthen India at the expense of Pakistan.

What about the princes?
- Princes had been unsparing in their support of the Raj during WW2.
- The Maharajah of Travancore had brought the Royal Indian navy an armed patrol boat; the Nawab of Bhopal bought fighter aircraft, as did the Nizam of