CHAPTER II

Brief Survey of Political Condition in Iraq and India 1857-1914
2.1 Iraq: Political and Administrative Conditions in 1857 A.D. :

2.1.1 The Ottoman Government:

During and after the year 1857 A.D., Iraq witnessed important developments in the political and administrative system of Iraq, which show the strategic significance of Iraq. However, Iraqi tribes in the southern Iraq did not accepted these developments. Hence, Iraq had to undergo disturbances and various internal rebellion like destruction and burning of government departments and institutions caused by these tribes. For example, in a city of Diwaniya, the tribes alshabl and al Khaz'al burned down government buildings. Ottoman government took a step and appointed a military commander Omar Pasha to control this situation in Iraq. Consequently, Iraq was ruled by military force from 1858 to 1859 A.D.

2.1.2 The Most Important Work by Omar Pasha in Iraq:

Omar Pasha, during his rule, implemented some major strategies to control the disturbed political and social conditions in Iraq. Some of them are as follows:

i. Re-organization of the administrative units, which were under the control of Iraqi tribal.

ii. Organized the collection of taxes.

iii. Imposition of compulsory military services to the people in Iraq.

iv. Forced citizens to abide by laws and in case of non-compliance, he applied the severe punishment. He hanged seven people without the permission of the Ottoman government. Hence, Iraqi tribes rose against Omar Pasha and consequently Ottoman government decided to remove him from the military services and tried to stop the anger among the citizens and tribes in Iraq.

Ottoman government decided to appoint a military commander namely Mustafa Nuri Pasha after the removal of Omar pasha, who was in command for a few months and was replaced by Mohammed Namik Pasha. The appointment of commanders was executed according to the policy of suppression of Iraqi tribes. Mohammed Namik Pasha forced Shamer clans to pay taxes to the Ottoman Government as well as deployed the country's security and he was interested in...
strengthening the army of Iraq.\(^7\)

2.1.3 Administrative Organizations in Iraq:

In 1836 A.D. the administrative organization began to take place when Kkhanh act was issued. It laid down the foundations and key principles for management of the country. After 1856 A.D. the second act was issued and it was complementary to the first act. In 1839 A.D. efforts were carried out to develop the administrative system of the city of the Ottoman Empire. Acts issued in the year 1839 and 1856 were not applied in Iraq at the beginning of issue; however, they first applied in Balkans state, as government wanted to see the impact of these reforms. In late 1856 (Ataiwanp or the Danube), Medhat Pasha was chosen as a governor. He implemented the application of a new system rules. He achieved the success in administering the state of Balkans. Ottoman Empire encouraged to apply the rules in the rest of the country gradually.\(^8\)

The Ottoman Government followed the French style in the management of their cities and granted more freedom to the governor to rule, as compared to a French law who granted the freedom to the governor in France. This law divided the country in 40 states, which was previously divided into 32 states. This helped the county to be into larger administrative units. The head of the state was called ‘al wailiy’, which means ‘governing’. The state was divided into smaller administrative units known as ‘Alsnagq’, governed by the Governor, so-called as ‘al motsarf’, which means ‘Disposed’. Alsnagq further were divided into smaller administrative units called as ‘al qthiyh’ means districts. Each district judge was called as ‘qiaim moqam’, which means deputy. The district was a composition of a large group of cities and villages. Each village governor was called as ‘al mukhtar’, which means ‘elected’. If population in a region was large, people used to choose two persons. In this case, they were called as ‘mukhtar’. Following scheme shows the sequence in the administrative offices of the city of the Ottoman Empire.\(^9\)

1. Governor (al wailiy)  
2. Disposed (al motsarf)  
3. District governor (qiaim moqam)  
4. Director  
5. Elected (al mukhtar)  
1. Country (wailaiyih)  
2. State (Sandzaq)  
3. District (al qthiyh)  
4. City (al nihaih)  
5. Village.
1) Governor (al waily):

This was a political and administrative position in the Ottoman Empire. The governor was ruling as an official of the Central Government. He was appointed by Sultan Ottoman under the royal act called Farman. The position of governor was different from one state to another state, depending upon the importance of economic and political conditions of the state. In relation to the Ottoman Empire, particularly Baghdad was one of the most important state. The importance of the governor was in accordance with the importance of the state. Iraq did not have its own army. The Ottoman government used to sent their army for the protection of the land of Iraq. The army was called as ‘Sixth Corps’.

The Important Duties of the Governor:

1. To keep the security and safety of the state.
2. To keep friendly relations with neighboring countries, specifically Iran.
3. To inspect the conditions of the people through the rounds of inspection within the state.
4. Take steps to boom the trade in the state and raise the economic condition of the state.
5. To take interest in the judicial system and work to repair the it. To attend the court, to ensure the spread of justice and equality among people without discrimination or differentiation.
6. Take interest in the police force to ensure the internal security (gendarmerie).
7. Isolate the corrupt officials and accused for bribery.
8. The governors who had been given the task of leading the army, they had to supervise the military of Mosul and Basra and also inspect the conditions of Generals and officers of the Sixth Corps and isolate the non-efficient (10).

Governor of the outskirts of the Baghdad city began to receive invitation to participate the meetings along with his senior officers and dignitaries of the state. They used to come to read the appointed (OR appointment) (Farman) in the state and then the governor accustomed to speak to the people. Later, he used to send a telegram to the capital of Ottoman i.e. Istanbul to take occupation as governor of the state. Some governors used to accompany some of the staff of civilian and military officers to assist in managing the state. The governor Medhat Pasha brought number
of staff with him, including journalists, engineers and technicians involved in the field of printing. (11)

**State Management System 1871 A.D.:**

In 1864 A.D. the system of the States was the cornerstone. State Management System 1871 determine the duties of the governor towards the state which were:

1. Implementation of all orders issued by the Ottoman Empire.
2. The Presidency of the State Board of Directors.
4. Implementation of the verdicts of the courts of the state. (12)

After 1871 A.D., the duties of the governor expanded in accordance with the organization of the country’s new administrative regulations. This law had given the following powers to the Governor:

1. The heads of the state (al wailly) provided the power to head the chiefs of administrative units as well as act as judge of the courts.
2. To isolate the heads of administrative units, if the governor notice them failing in their duty.
3. The governor could appoint as well as dismiss the officer from the job.
4. The governor had to decide the dates of the meetings of the Boards of the administrative units in the state.
5. It was a duty of the governor to implement orders of the Sultan and al-Sadr al azam.
6. The governor had to go out on inspection tours in the state once or twice a year.
7. The governor could also introduce some of the taxes or cancel some of them provided informing Al Bab al Ailly about these changes in tax proceeding.
8. Act 1871 had given full powers to the Governor to build schools and libraries. Moreover, he must also had to develop the roads, agriculture, trade and industry within the state. He had to pay attention toward the health and the construction of the hospitals and health centers. He also had to establish the factories and companies in the state.
9. Supervision of the security system and responsibility for the security and
safety of the citizens.

10. The governor gave the right to deal with a rebellion or insurrection in the state, disbursement of funds necessary to quell any rebellion and the use of military force to quell the revolt.\(^{(13)}\)

These were the most important duties of the Governor. However, the reasons that call for impeachment, as described by Law, are as follows:

1. The Governor failed in the administration of the state.
2. Non-implementation of orders of the Sultan and the (Al Bab Al Ailly) by the Governor.
3. The governor failed to send money collected by way of levying taxes annually to the capital.
4. Some foreign countries like Britain intervened to isolate some of the governors. Governor Hussein Nazim Pasha wanted to build a new street in Baghdad. Hence, he demolished some part of the British consulate without the consent of British. As a result, the British consulate isolated him from the state.

From the reasons explained above, we can understand that the role of Britain was very important in controlling the political decisions of the Ottoman government, through its interference in the isolation of governors. The new law did not mention the governor to lead an army (the Sixth Corps), however we found that some governors who assumed the post of commander of the Sixth Corps:

1. Medhat Pasha,
2. Mohammed Raouf Pasha
3. Ridyif Pasha
4. Abdul Rahman Pasha
5. Hussein Nazim Pasha

In 1877, the Ottoman government stopped the implementation of the law of command by army, because the government feared that the Governor after taking the two authorities in his hands, would begin the movement of rebellion against the Ottoman Empire. At the same time, this policy brought up the conflict between the governors and the military leaders, which affected the country adversely. However, soon in 1910, the law was again applied, when Hussein Nazim Pasha was discontinued as governor of Iraq as well as the leader of the army.
The new law created the assistants to the Governor, who acted as a governor in the absence of the governor of the state. The governor Medhat Pasha created the position to take the responsibility of the governor in the absence of the governor of the state, especially when the governor was resigned or discharged by the state.

**The Duties of the Assistant to the Governor:**

1. Assist the governor in the tasks and duties determined by the conditions, which should be within the tasks and duties of the governor.
2. Take the necessary action regarding official correspondence related to the internal affairs of the state.
3. Act as a link between Governor and the officials.
4. According to the law, it was possible to assign administrative jobs to the Assistant to the Governor.

It is understood from the duties mentioned above that the position of Assistant Governor was significant. This made it necessary that the appropriate person had to be chosen for the position of governor, which was being appointed by the Sultan. In 1871, the post of Assistant Governor was abolished. The causes for this cancellation could not be identified. In 1880, the post of Assistant Governor was created again and lasted till 1907. Salnamih (document) showing the position of Assistant Governor in any state of the Ottoman Empire could not be found until the beginning of First World War in 1914.

From 1871 A.D. till the end of the Ottoman Empire in Iraq, new Act was not introduced. This does not mean that the Ottoman government did not issue new laws regarding administrative regulations in the country. Ottoman government issued new law on March 26th, 1913, which increased the power of the governor and was considered as an agent of the central government. It granted him the power to declare martial law in the state. The abolition of the centralization in the State Department and working under the system of decentralization of governance and management was implemented. It gave the governor full powers of administration, without reference to the central government, in Istanbul. However, this new law could not be applied in Iraq, because the First World War had begun and British had occupied Basra in 1914. Allied political changes took place in the country. (14)
2) The Administrator (Al Motsarf):

The function of the administrator was of civilian administrative nature. He was held responsible for the Sandzaq and it meant the branch of the state, which belonged to a particular area, used to come in second place after the state. He was appointed as well as isolated under a formal (Farman) by Sultan.

**Duties of the Administrator (Al Motsarf):**

1. Implementation of the orders and instructions of the governor, who was the first reference to him.
2. Implementation of the orders issued by the courts.
3. To be responsible for the security of Sandzaq
4. Supervision of the affairs of civil administration and finance of Sandzaq.

During the period between the 1857-1914 more that 44 people were punished for acting against the rule of Sandzaq. Some administrators took advantage of their power and abuse of office to take bribes by raising taxes. Ottoman government was turning a blind eye as long as they send the money to the capital. (15)

3) The Deputy Governor:

The administrative officer working in the administrative unit was known as the Deputy Governor. It was the third place after the Sandzaq for outskirt area. The deputy governor was appointed by the central government in Istanbul. The important duties of deputy governor were as follows:

1. Carry out the orders. It was considered as the first reference to him.
2. Supervise the civil, financial and security matters and to give report about the conditions in the district to Al Motsarf (administrator) every week.
3. Inspect and punish corrupt officials.

In 1878, the administrative government in the state conducted comprehensive test for every deputy governor to improve efficiency and allowed to continue those who were successful in their performance and dismissed who failed. The goal of the test was to improve the efficiency of the administrative apparatus of the state. That the position of Deputy governor was equivalent to the Assistant governor and administrator (Al Motsarf) of the state. The important responsibility was to collect taxes and forward it to the administrator of the turn, to the governor and then to the capital, Istanbul. They were the officials for reporting the progress of the district i.e. the amount of productivity. (16)
4) The Director of the District:

This is an administrative post presiding over the administrative unit was known as the Director of the District. The director was responsible for the compliance of all the orders given by the deputy governor. Brief review has been taken addressing the issue of political and administrative system in Iraq for the period before 1857 and after 1857 political and administrative changes took place in Iraq. It affected adversely the condition of people in the country. This gives the idea about the events that took place in Iraq.

Medhat Pasha:

His Life:

In 1822 A.D., Medhat Pasha was born in the Istanbul, Ottoman capital. His name was Ahmed Shafik. His father was a judge named al Hafiz Mohammad Ashraf. He learned Arabic and Persian languages and the principles of the religious sciences of the Holy Quran. After completion of his education, he was appointed as a clerk in one of the government departments in Istanbul and then as a writer in the city Qoinh of the Ottoman state Bilad al-Sham (Damascus). He worked to strengthen his relations with leaders and government influents in the Ottoman government.\(^{17}\)

In 1852 A.D., he got an opportunity to become director of inspection committee in the city of Damascus. He succeeded in his mission, which was entrusted to him, to the great extent. Hence, in 1861 A.D., he was appointed to the state (Nish) in the Balkans. He continued to rule for three years in Nish.\(^{18}\)

In 1864 A.D., Fuad Pasha (al sadr azam) called Medhat Pasha and asked about the reason for the application of a new rule. Later on, Fuad pasha appointed Medhat Pasha to rule Tuwain state, to change the administrative system and to apply a new administrative law in this state.

Tuwain state was the composition of a group of small towns, namely, Elisitrp, yidyin, Nish. Medhat Pasha was successful to apply a new administrative system in Tuwain and made important achievements.\(^{19}\)

Important Achievements of Medhat Pasha in Tuwani State:

1. Medhat Pasha organized the civil administration, he divided the state into smaller administrative units and appointed heads for these units from Muslims and other communities. He used to give the information to the boards about the people in the state, who select the chairman from the some
town or village of the state.

2. Regulated the financial administration of the state and he formed the agricultural banks in order to provide financial advances to the farmers.

3. Built the governmental departments.

4. Medhat Pasha organized the security forces, selected the people from the state without making any differences in the religions or nationalities.

5. Established the departments of the municipalities.

6. Issued the state newspaper called "Tuwnai" in two languages Bulgaria and Turkish. It was the first government newspaper issued in the country.

7. Established hospitals, schools and shelters for a large number of poor children and orphans in order to help them to take education from the industrial schools.

8. Repaired bridges, built new roads and established new company for production of vessels to recover trade and the economic situation of the country.(20)

As a result of these reforms, agriculture and trade sectors made remarkable progress. Three hundred thousand bags of wheat was produced in one year, which was previously only twenty-six thousand in one year. Such remarkable development motivated Ottoman government to apply these reforms in Iraq. Because of this important achievement by Medhat Pasha, the Ottoman government appointed him as a head of Consultative Council. As a Council official, he was responsible for the enactment of laws, regulations and scrutiny of treaties and international conventions of the Ottoman government. Al sadr azam did not find any one like Medhat Pasha who could be the head. He continued for three months only and proved him during this time how he was efficient for the formulation of laws.(21)

In 1869 A.D., Fuad pasha al-Sadr azam died. After him Ally Pasha was appointed. He used to hate Medhat Pasha, which created big problems between both. Following were the reasons behind these problems:

Medhat Pasha occupied important positions in the state and successfully achieved many things. The success of Medhat Pasha made everyone working in government afraid. Especially Ally Pasha, who frightened that the Ottoman Sultan might appoint Medhat Pasha to take Al sadr azam’s place. Ally Pasha wanted Medhat Pasha to leave Istanbul. As a result, Medhat Pasha could not continue and resigned his job. However,
Ally Pasha was not satisfied with mere resignation of Medhat Pasha. He wanted Medhat Pasha to go away far from the capital to another city. On 13\textsuperscript{th} February, 1869 A.D., Ally Pasha issued an order to Medhat Pasha to leave the capital and go to Iraq. Thus, from above details it becomes clear that Medhat Pasha was the first administrator, who ruled Iraq.\textsuperscript{(22)}  

**Medhat Pasha - The State of Iraq:**

On April 30\textsuperscript{th}, 1869 A.D., Medhat Pasha arrived at Baghdad along with his men, state officials and dignitaries. He began his work in the state of Iraq to achieve a comprehensive campaign with senior state officials to ensure the integrity, dedication and efficiency of workers; specifically the heads of administrative units, administrators (Al Mutasarf) and Deputy Governors. If they proved guilty, they were being punished by removal from the office. The punishment was being published.

During the short period,

A. Medhat Pasha proved the conduct of mismanagement in collection and payment of taxes to the government and isolated (Mutasarif) city of Karbala, (mutasarif) city of Diwaniya, and (Mutasarif) city of Basra and ordered to pay the taxes to the government.

B. Arrested Deputy governor of Diyala and Director of Ana City on the charges of bribery and misuse of money.

C. In the city of Diwaniya, he arrested the officers for the exploitation in favour of their personal interests.

D. Medhat Pasha published the names of office staff in the newspaper, who misused money of the state. He did this act to teach a lesson to other state officials.\textsuperscript{(23)}

E. Medhat Pasha led the army to Southern Iraq to control the rebellious tribes because they were acting against the central government and they were not paying the taxes to the government. This battle was named as “Dagharah”\textsuperscript{(24)}

F. He developed the ways of transportation and means of communications-internal as well as external, on land and river.

G. He arrested the thieves and bandits.

H. Moreover, he also provided agricultural land to Iraqi tribes by introducing
and applying the Agricultural Land Law and Land Registration Bureau issued in 1858 A.D.\(^{(25)}\)

After four months of his arrival in Iraq, he set up a new city "al Nasiriyah" \(^{(26)}\). He ordered to appoint staff for the administrative units in the city.

**The State Departments in the Era of Medhat Pasha**:

1. Department of Land Registration "Taboo" or in Turkish language "al difte Khaqani".
2. Civil Status "Al Nfows ".
3. Public Works Department.
4. The Department of Municipalities
5. Department of Education, "Council knowledge".
6. Department of River Management, which was formerly known as "The Management of Oman - Ottoman".
7. Civil courts\(^{(27)}\).

**State Laws issued by the Covenant of Medhat Pasha**:

1. A group of Ottoman civil law, which was taken from Islamic texts mixed in with the European law. For example, the law of security force, the law of the post system and the law of the knowledge system in 1869.
2. Law of the regular courts in 1871.
3. Law of the administration system issued on January 22\(^{nd}\), 1871 in the state.

Medhat Pasha used to go on inspection tours in the cities of Iraq to inspect the performance of staff and heads of administrative units. Related reports were being sent to Istanbul, which were the important documents about administration system in the state. These actions led to an increase in the performance of administration of the legislators in Istanbul. At the same time, the senior officials in Istanbul feared due to rapidly increasing influence of Medhat Pasha in the state.\(^{(28)}\) Medhat Pasha was characterized by honesty, trust and sincerity in his work, as well as, his administrative ability and personal talents to run the country. He transformed Iraq into one of the most important administrative units of the Ottoman Empire. The main objective of his work was to achieve a comprehensive administrative reforms and apply laws and regulations in state departments. He renovated the state from medieval era to the modern era of progress and prosperity comparable to the then European countries. He tried to match the progress of the state with Istanbul in all areas of life. He proved to
Ally pasha (Al Sadr Azam), that he was the most capable and more efficient to turn a state like Iraq from the state of disorder and rebellion to the state of the administrative system and law.\(^{(29)}\)

**Work of Medhat Pasha in Iraq:**

1. Medhat Pasha established the first press mechanism in Iraq and issued the first official newspaper known as the "Zora" in 1864 in Baghdad.\(^{(30)}\)

2. Established civil and military schools, modern and official. For example, Al Rishdyh civil school, Al Rishdyh military school, and an industry school.\(^{(31)}\)

3. He reorganized and strengthened the army and the applied the law of compulsory military service in the state. Medhat Pasha faced great problems during the application of this law, because people refused to send their children to join the army.

4. Focused on the different ways of communication by land, river and established a special department concerned with the organization for the management of these systems. He set up a laboratory to repair ships in the city of Basra. He cleared two rivers Tigris and Euphrates for marine transport. He built new roads and opened new ways to link Iraq with neighboring countries, especially Istanbul. This led to development and prosperity of Iraq.

5. Established a textile mill to produce blankets and clothing for the army. It was called in Turkish "Alabakhanp".

6. Built a general hospital in Baghdad. It was called as "Hospital al ghirabai", which meant strangers.

7. He took interest in the city of Baghdad because it was the capital city of Iraq. The streets were resurfaced and cleaned. The parks were established. The most famous amongst the parks was a public park. He imported pumps to lift water from the river and distributed it to the houses in Iraq. He planned the city in a modern way.\(^{(32)}\)

8. Created the cities of Nasiriyah and Ramadi.\(^{(33)}\)

9. Linked the city of Baghdad to a city of Kadhimiyah\(^{(34)}\) by building a wooden bridge.

10. Created a government banking institution. It used to accept deposits from people and give loan to the farmers to develop agriculture.

11. In 1870 A.D., he cancelled the collection of some local taxes from citizens and
issued tax exemption to some agricultural products and crops. For example, cane sugar and the seeds were exempted from customs duties in order to promote the cultivation and production of sugar. (35)

This shows that governor Medhat Pasha concentrated in uplifting the economic condition of the state by focusing on the development of trade and transport, and by encouraging agriculture and industry. Not only this, but he was the first and the last person, who could establish the first Arab bank in the history of the region.

Thus, it can be concluded that no other governors and rulers tried to reconstruct the economic condition of the state of Iraq similar to developed countries.

Compulsory Military Service Act:

Before Medhat Pasha, attempts carried out by other governors, for application of the Military Service Act were unsuccessful. Medhat Pasha applied Military Service Act in the city of Baghdad and then in other cities of Iraq. (36) According to the act, 300 people had to join the army every year. However, he had to come across a strong opposition. Opposition raised the banner of rebellion, formed armed gangs and engaged in looting and rioting in the revival of Christians and Jews. Medhat Pasha arrested 150 rebels, and threw them in prison. He followed the pattern of violence and cruelty to suppress the movement, and remaining 150 were got joined the army. He built the centers in each district of the state, which were entrusted a responsibility to submit the names of young men who had reached the major age of 20 years. These centers belonged to the Sixth Corps and he gave orders to send officers and soldiers, who defaulted in their performance, to the court for punishment. (37)

There were some groups of Iraqi society, who had been exempted from military service:

1. Students of religious sciences.
2. The clergy, scholars and jurists.
3. People who had held the title of the supervision of the dignitaries and heads of denominations.
4. Farmers, land-ray any farmers, who were working in the territory of the Sultan Abdul Hamid II.
5. If a family did not have more than one such a person, was exempted from military service. (38)
Compensation:

It was the amount, set by the central government of Ottoman, to be paid by the person for the non-joining the military service. Hence, the rich people paid money for the non-enrollment of their children in the army. They had to pay 100 lira gold. One lira gold = 5 grams. However, after 1874 A.D. the compensation was reduced to 50 lira. In 1912, order was issued again to raise the compensation to 60 lira gold, because of the war between the Ottoman Empire and Italy in Libya.\(^{(39)}\)

Military service was imposed on Muslims only. In 1909, military service was imposed on the Christians also. The compensation was decided to only 5 lira gold. The compensation paid by Muslims was much higher than the compensation paid by the Christians.\(^{(40)}\)

In 1909, the Sultan Abdul Hamid II was isolated. After him, the Assembly of Union and Progress Ruler Control in the Ottoman Empire issued the orders to equate the compensation amount and the number of year of service in army for Muslim and for non-Muslim communities.\(^{(41)}\)

After the rule of Medhat Pasha in Iraq, the Ottoman Empire continued to take compensation in cash from more and more people. This was the new way of collecting money from the people. Government reduced compensation to 30 lira, so that largest possible number of people could pay the compensation, until 1914.\(^{(42)}\)

Aversion to Military Service:

There were number of reasons behind the unwillingness of young people to join the military service and they were as follows:

1. The length of military service was 20 years.
2. Soldiers were sent to the far and remote areas such as Yemen, the Hijaz and Anatolia.
3. The nature of work was difficult and tiring.
4. Non-payment of salaries to regular soldiers.
5. Many people died in deserts.
6. The spread of corruption and bribery among military officers. They received money from the soldiers for non-operation.
7. Bad treatment given by army officers to Iraqi soldiers.
8. In 1913, law was passed for Gendarmerie, which meant police. People preferred to join police, who were accountable for the protection of the city from the thieves.\(^{(43)}\)

Most of the people of the country used to hate the compulsory recruitment in the Army. Iraqis tried to run away from the compulsory service by any possible ways. They were as follows:

1. Enrollment in religious schools to get exemption from military service.
2. In south Iraq, people changed their nationality from Ottoman to Iranian nationality.\(^{(44)}\)

As a result of this policy of Ottoman Empire, the social structure of Iraq was changed. All people in south Iraq were Iraqis, however, they stayed away from Ottoman nationality because of the policy of compulsory military service.

**Criticism of the Rule of Medhat Pasha in Iraq:**

After the end of the rule of Medhat Pasha, he left Iraq for the capital Istanbul. Following were some of the criticisms against him during his rule in Iraq:

1. Medhat Pasha executed his administrative policies in Iraq without taking into account the circumstances of the country, which led to poor management and planning in some projects.
2. Medhat Pasha believed that European managers were the best, without considering that European managers could also make mistakes. This attitude had a negative effect on an application of the projects and was faraway from the Arab society.
3. Medhat Pasha was over-confident about himself, which led to happening of unreasonable things.
4. He did not involve the Iraqis in administration of the country, and appointed Turkish staff to hold important government posts and appointed Iraqis on comparatively less important posts. This policy created a large gap between the Iraqis and the Turkish.
5. Medhat Pasha’s policies were away from Islam and Arab traditions and showed adherence to libertarian ideas. This gave the freedom to women to step out from the home and go to public parks and mix up with the people.

After the rule of Medhat Pasha, these policies were forbidden.\(^{(45)}\)
The End of the Rule of Medhat Pasha:

Medhat Pasha was unable to continue in the state of Iraq, because of the unconstructive relationship between him and Mahmoud Nadeem Pasha (Al-Sadr Azam). Mahmoud Pasha wanted to increase taxes from 50 thousand bags to 74 thousand bags of wheat. This meant the elimination of remedial work, construction projects in the state and reduction of the salaries of staff. This might have spread the administrative corruption due to lack of sufficient salary. Medhat Pasha refused to implement the policies suggested by the Sadr Azam. Then he presented his resignation, which promptly accepted and Medhat Pasha left Iraq in May, 13,1872 AD. This finished his career in Iraq. Historians stated about him: "He is the greatest governor, Ottoman sent to Iraq and completed all his works. No other Pashas was like him of the Ottoman Empire during centuries until the end of the Ottoman Empire." (46)

Most important projects, which were suspended after the departure of Medhat Pasha:

1. River Management was responsible for the moment ships from Iraq to the Arab Gulf, the Red Sea to Istanbul and European ports, was stopped after his departure.
2. Machinery and equipment, brought in from Istanbul to extract the oil, had not achieved the desired results and stopped working.
3. Water dispensers in Baghdad stopped working.
4. The Act of land could not be successful after him as farmers could not pay the money for getting land registered in their names. Hence, any person who could pay the money for the land, could register the land in his name. Consequently, rich and notable clans through bribery registered the land in their names. This led to the failure of the administrative system established by Medhat Pasha for the benefit of farmers and the ownership of land passed from the hands of farmers to the rich people (Alaqtain). (47)

Iraq after Medhat Pasha:

During 1872-1914, twenty-four governors ruled of Iraq. The longest period was of Taqi al-Din Pasha, who ruled Iraq for six years and three months. The shortest period was of Hussein Jalal bik, who ruled for five months and four days only. More than half of the governors in Iraq did not continue in the administration for more than a few months, even they could not complete one year. The short period of the rule affected
the functions of the administration and the regular work adversely.

The main reasons behind continuance of the governors for only one year or less than one year were:

1. Ottoman government feared to extend the authority of the governors in the state and enable the rebellion and separation from it.
2. Non-State's desire to reform the affairs of the state because it required money. The governor used to utilize money for the service and renovate the affairs of the state, due to which he failed to send money to the public treasury in Istanbul. The state followed this policy in the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, which was executed until his fall in 1908. After him, the Assembly of Union and Progress came into rule.
3. After 1908, the constitutional era began in the Ottoman Empire that created the political differences and conflict between parties. Later, the policy of isolating governor was followed. The governor who belonged to a particular party was being removed and bring another one because he was from a party, which was close to the Assembly, and so on. After 1908 nine governors ruled Iraq until the First World War in 1914 no governor could complete the period for more than one year. (48)

During the period 1872-1914, the governors came into power in Iraq for short durations. Some of them were administrators and some were military leaders in the Ottoman army. For example, in 1911 Yusuf Akah Pasha spent only five months in his office. Taqi al-Din Pasha ruled Iraq for the longest period, i.e. 6 years. Hence, he could complete the most important works, such as, dissemination of security, in southern Iraq he made the tribes to accept the governmental rule, built bridges, roads, canals and streams to secure trade. (49) The Governor Namik Pasha al Sikhyr commenced a number of public schools and established teachers' home in the city of Baghdad. Governor Alhaji Hassan Rafiq Pasha established the schools, deployed security and put down revolts clans. The governor Hussein Nazim Pasha could get fame like Medhat Pasha. Some of the important works completed by Hussein Nazim Pasha are as follows:

1. Organized the army and provided army with modern weapons, clothing, built an army barracks outside the city of Baghdad and paid money to soldiers.
2. Fought against corruption and bribery and arrested the corrupt officials.
3. Established government departments, especially the departments of justice, finance and post.
4. Brought the tribes under the control of the state administration and the disseminated the security.
5. He took interest in public health and established the city hospitals and health centers in villages.
6. He constructed dams around the city of Baghdad to prevent the threat of flooding that used to occur in the spring.
7. He made the provisions for the security of the roads and the elimination of bandits and banditry for the prosperity of trade.
8. Built canals and streams from the river in order to promote agriculture in the country.\(^{(50)}\)

The rule of Hussein Nazim Pasha in Iraq ended in 1911. After him no one was interested in the development of the state because the policy of the new governors. The administrative condition of Iraq went on deteriorating and consequently political, and economic conditions in the country also deteriorated. These adverse conditions made the Iraqi people hate the Ottoman state and the people unlocked their desire to end Ottoman control in Iraq. In 1914, Iraqi people came to a conclusion that it was possible to change the rule and control of the Ottoman government.
2.2 India: Political Condition during the Period 1857-1914:

2.2.1 The Revolution 1857 A.D.:

(a) Causes of the Revolt: Rebel

There are many causes that made the Revolt of 1857 one of the significant events in the history of India. The historians have emphasized the importance of military grievances and the affair of greased cartridges as the most potent causes, which led to a great rise of 1857 revolt. However, modern Indian historians have opined beyond it. The matter of great cartridge was not the only cause and not even the most important of them. The causes of revolution lay deeper and are found in the history of the many years of British Rule from the time when the battle of Plassey was fought in June 1757 to the time when Mangal Pandey killed an English Adjutant on March 29, 1857. The greased cartridge and the mutiny of soldiers were merely the match-sticks, which exploded the inflammable material, which had gathered in heap, on account of different causes i.e. religious, political, military, social and economic. (51)

1. Political Causes:

By mid of 19th century, starting from Warren Hastings to Lord Dalhousie, the English had become virtual masters of the whole India and little was left for them to conquer. However, even though the English conquered the states, yet curiously. Their method was not as spontaneous as the Muslims were during the middle and early modern ages. Instead, the British sought to gradually bring the native states under their control. This not only reduced the native rulers as mere puppets controlled by the powerful Europeans but also added to the increasing suffering of the common people in India. With the arrival of Lord Dalhousie in 1848, suddenly, British took a U-turn in their policies. Dalhousie abolished all royal titles used by the native rulers and began a policy of direct annexation either by waging wars or through his Doctrine of Lapse. Furthermore, he declared the Mughal emperor, Bahadur Shah Jafar II, as obsolete. This move greatly angered the Muslims. The right of adoption was also denied to the Hindu kings. (52)

2. Social and Religious Causes:

With the arrival of the British, the social scenario changed drastically. The Company favoured English as a medium of instruction in schools and colleges. Progressive Indians, such as Raja Ram Mohan Roy, supported this move as they
thought that western education would cleanse the minds of the Indians of superstition and therefore, disgusting social customs like *Sati* would forever be gone. In his minute on educational policy dated 2nd February 1835, Thomas Macaulay famously observed that “a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia”. This observation only shows the disrespect that the British had for oriental culture. Governor-Generals like William Bentick abolished the social custom of *Sati* by enacting law. Even though these customs were of barbarian nature and inhuman, the British failed to understand that these customs were inscribed into the very structure of Indian culture and a mere ban of law would only incur the public wrath rather than uproot the problem.\(^{(53)}\)

Some writers believed that the revolution of 1857 began when British wanted to change India into the Christianity. Then the Muslims and the Hindus believed that they should call upon the people to join "Jihad" against the British.\(^{(54)}\)

3. **Administrative and Economic Causes:**

This gradual capture of the Indian states by the British created wide administrative and economic influence not only for the native princes but for the common people as well. Firstly, the rule of the Company was marred by a sense of European superiority that made them look down upon their dark-skinned fellow citizens. In the military service, the highest post available to an Indian was that of a Subedar, while in civil services the Indians could only reach to a post of Sadr Amin or a court official. The pay was low and all the higher posts were reserved for the Europeans. On the other hand, the British followed a policy of economic exploitation wherein all the resources of India were transported to England in order to fuel industries in England. Earlier Lord Cornwallis had introduced a system known as ‘Permanent Land Settlement’, in which the zamindars were made the virtual owners of the farming land while the peasants were reduced to mere serfdom. Along with the burdens of heavy taxation, the British encouraged the cultivation of cash crops rather than food grains due to their greater commercial value. This deteriorated the agricultural scenario in India and droughts became prevalent. As was expected, these peasants directly blamed the British for their misery.\(^{(55)}\)

(b) **Nature and Character of the Revolt:**

Indian historians have described the events of 1857 as a War of Independence. V. D. Savarkar wrote a book called "War of Indian Independence" in which he tried to
show how the mutiny was really a war of Indian Independence.

Dr. S. N. Sen believes that the rising of 1857 was a war of independence. He contends that revolutions are mostly the work of a minority, with or without the active sympathy of the masses. Such was the case with the American Revolution of 1775-1783 and the French Revolution. A very large percentage of American settlers remained loyal to the British Crown and about sixty thousand of them emigrated to Canada after the war was over. Similarly, during French Revolution there were many who were loyal to the emperor. Dr. Sen contends that when a rebellion can claim the sympathies of the substantial majority of the population, it can claim a national character. Dr. Sen comes to the conclusion that “The mutiny became a revolt and assumed a political character when the mutineers of Meerut placed themselves under the king of Delhi and a section of the landed aristocracy and civil population declared in his favour what began as a fight for religion ended as war of Indecent for there is not the slightest doubt that the rebels wanted to get rid of the alien government and restore the old order of which the king of Delhi was the rightful representative”.

The rising at Meerut was not pre-planned and the same was the case at other places. The sepoys and their leaders were not in league with any foreign power. The only foreign power, which was approached by the rebels was that of Nepal and that was done after the collapse of the Mutiny and not during the rebellion. The remarkable thing about the mutiny was that it had its recruits from many sources. The movement began as a military mutiny, but it was not confined to the army. Moreover, the army, as a whole, did not join the revolt and a considerable section of the army actively fought for the government. The rebels came from every section of the population. At all stages, both Hindus and Muslims were well represented in the rebel army. According to Dr. Sen, the struggle may be described as “a war of fanatic religionists against Christians”. The mutiny was not a conflict between barbarism and civilization. It was an inhuman fight between the people driven mad by hatred and fear. The mutiny was inevitable because no dependent nation could have ever settled itself to foreign domination. A dictatorial government must ultimately rule by the sword and in India sword was in the custody of the sepoy army. Between the sepoy and the English masters, there were no communities of race, language and religion. The mutiny was inherent in the constitution of the Empire.
Another Indian Scholar Dr. S. B. Chaudhuri, in his book “Civil Rebellions in the Indian Mutinies 1857-1859” has confined his attention to the detailed analysis of the civil rebellions, which accompanied the military insurrection of 1857. Dr. Chaudhuri maintains that the revolt of 1857 can be bifurcated into two sub-divisions, mutiny and rebellions, he believes that the outburst of 1857 was the combination of two series of disturbances, the military and the civil, each provoked by independence.\(^{58}\)

Dr. R. C. Mujumdar has expressed his views regarding the rebellion that the Revolt of 1857 was not at all a national movement. He has explained many facts and provided figures to show that its leaders had their own alliances to break up. They were not inspired by any feelings of nationalism as such. There was no friendliness between the Hindus and the Muslims. Bahadur Shah did not heartily co-operate with the mutineers. Rani Jhansi also did not side with them at the beginning and actually did so when she had to face the British Government. The Muslim Nawabs did not treat their Hindu subjects properly even during the days of the revolt. Dr. Mujumdar has pointed out that the Muslims as a community had their special grievances against the British, who had deprived them of their former supreme. In spite of that Muslim swords were pointed against the Hindus rather than against the British and many Hindus prayed for the collapse of the mutiny. The mutineer sepoys of both the communities freely ruined Indian towns and murdered their fellow countrymen. Not one voice was heard to cry: "let me die so that India be free"! When the British launched their campaign of ruthless suppression and retaliation, all rebels were forced to fight on to save themselves. According to Dr. Mujumdar, the true significance of ‘1857’ lies in the inspiration which was carried to the later freedom movements. In fact, the disgusting and unhappy facts of 1857 revolt have been covered in a fog of pious beliefs.\(^{59}\)

Both Dr. Mujumdar and Dr. Sen have agreed that in middle of the nineteenth century Indian nationalism was in an embryo. Dr. Sen have stated a geographical expression in ‘India in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century’. In 1857, the Bengalis, the Panjabis, the Hindustanis, the Maharashtrians, the Madrasis never realized that they belonged to the same nation. The leaders of the rebellion were no national leaders. Bahadur Shah was no national king. He was compelled by the soldiers to assume their leadership. Nana Saheb raised the banner of revolt only after
his diplomat, in London, had failed to get for him the pension of Bajirao II. Even after the revolt had begun he declared that he would come to the British side only if the pension was sanctioned. The trouble in Jhansi was over the right of succession and annexation. The Rani’s slogan was “Meri Jhansi nahin dungi”. Undoubtedly, Rani died a hero’s death, but at no stage did she indicate that her cause of revolt was the cause of the nation. The Nawab of Oudh a worthless debauchee, could never seek to national leadership. The Taluqudares of Oudh fought for their feudal privileges and for their king, not for any national cause. Most of the leaders were mutually jealous and confused. The majority of the people remained uninterested and neutral. The movement failed to obtain support of population except in Oudh and Shahabad districts of Bihar. Nationalism, as it is understood today, had yet to come.\(^{(60)}\)

Dr. Mujumdar has analyzed these events differently than Dr. Sen as follows:

1. Dr. Mujumdar analyses the Revolt of 1857. The uprising of 1857 was not a war of independence. He states that the revolt showed different aspects at different places.

2. Dr. Mujumdar asserts that during the revolt of 1857, national importance was indirect and subsequent.

3. He has pointed toward the the most important element that those who fought against the British were the sepoys.

4. He came to the conclusion that "there was nothing in the conduct or behaviour of the sepoys, which would justify us in the belief or even assumption, that they were inspired by love for their country to fight against the British with the definite idea of freeing their motherland."

5. Prof. R. C. Mujumdar argues that some segments of Indian Society in many parts of India fought against the British, but their motives seem to have material interest and religious considerations. And in very few individual cases, the rulers were moved by the disinterested and patriotic motive of freeing the country from the suppression of imperial British Rule. Dr. Mujumdar says that “It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the so-called first national war of Independence of 1857 is neither first, nor national nor a war of Independence”.\(^{(61)}\)
The above explanation shows that the thought as ‘mutiny was a national rising’ has a certain limitation. He says in his book “The Rebellion of 1857 was more than a mere sepoy mutiny and was an eruption of the social volcano, wherein many unexpressed forces found voice. After the eruption, the whole social topography had changed. The scars of the Rebellion remained deep and shining.” Some Indian writers in national movement like Dr. Tarachand in his book “History of the Freedom Movement in India” says about the mutiny of 1857 as follows:

1. It is misleading to use the term ‘mutiny’ to describe the up reveal of 1857-1858. There was no doubt that the army was abundantly involved in the revolt.
2. The outbreak of 1857 was not confined to the army. It was not a mutiny in the ordinary sense of the terms. It’s causes were deeper than those involved in usual breaches of military discipline.
3. The drive was supplied by the Bengal Army.
4. Dr. Tarachand states that while it is inappropriate to give the designation ‘Mutiny’ to the events of 1857, it was also not proper to call them the national war of Independence. It has to be admitted that the war against British was not inspired by any sentiment of nationalism, because in 1857 India was not yet politically a nation.
5. He believed that the Hindus and Muslims were co-operating each other but the leaders and followers of the two communities were moved by personal loyalties rather than by loyalty to the common motherland.
6. The rising of 1857 was an attempt to halt the process of dissolution of the medieval order.
7. The revolt of 1857 was called for the liberation of India from the repression of the foreigner because it had given mortal offence to the dignity and self-respect of the ruling class, which exercised social influence and carried the burden of administration on Indians.
8. The uprising of 1857 was a general movement of the traditional elite of the Muslims and the Hindus-Princes, landholders, soldiers, scholars and theologians (Pandits and Maulvis).
9. The chiefs and land lords constituted the leadership of the rebellious host. The regular and irregular troops of the British East India Company and of
the princes, their dependants and peasants became the followers of rebellion. They had common traditions and common grievances. They sympathized with each another in their misfortune.

10. All the classes like the Emperor of Delhi, the King of Avadh, some Nawabs and Rajas, Talukadars and Zamindars and the soldiers, whether Pathans, Mughals, Rajputs or Brahmins of Northern India, comprised of the main body of the rebels. The class composition of the insurgents reflected the geographical nature of the movement and threw light upon the motives of the participants.

11. The loss of territory and political power affected them all. The higher section was deprived of the titles of authority and the others had lost opportunities of employment and position of influence and profit. Scholars, theologians, poets, craftsmen and artist were left without support. Many of those, whose hereditary occupation was taken off, became jobless and many were forced to flow into the army of the British East India Company.

12. Dr. Tarachand refers to the charge sheets drawn by the leaders of the movement against the British Government in support of his view.\(^\text{62}\)

The view of the British historians was that the outbreak of 1857 was mutiny. Most of the English writers on the subject followed his guide and writers like Charles Ball, G. W. Forest, T. R. Holmes, M. Junes, J. W. Kag and other used the term ‘Mutiny’.

We saw some English historians led by T. R. Holmes popularized the view that the Revolt of 1857 was a conflict between civilization and barbarism. The explanation reveals narrow nationalism. During the revolt, both the Europeans and Indians were guilty. If the Indians were guilty of the murder of European women and in some cases children in Delhi, Kanpur and Lucknow, the record of the British was equally marked by dark deeds, which were no less and barbaric than those of the Indians-Hudson indulged in indiscriminate shooting at Delhi. Neill took pride in the fact that he hanged hundreds of Indian without any inquisition. Around Allahabad, there was hardly a single tree had left, which was not used to hang unfortunate peasants. At Banaras even the street walkers were caught and hanged. Russell, the correspondent of the time, mentioned that Muslim noblemen were seen alive in Pig-Skin and park were forced down their throats. In fact, Vendetta took the better of men on both sides.
No nation or individual which destroys in such horrible violence can claim to be civilized. Sir John Lawrence was of the opinion that the mutiny had its origin in the army and it’s cause was the greased cartridges and nothing else. Although it was taken advantage of by the modern mutineers to increase their number. The view of Sir John Seeley was that the mutiny was a “wholly unpatriotic and selfish sepoy muting with no native leadership and no popular support”. Professor P. E. Roberts accepts the view of John Lawrence and Seeley and observes that the mutiny was mainly military in origin but it occurred for various reasons. There was social and political restlessness in the country and the mutineers took advantage of the same. L.E.R. Rees’s view is that “the Revolt was a War of Fanatic religionists against Christians.” A few described the outbreak of 1857 was the result of “Hindu Muslim plan to overthrow the British Rule.” Dr. Alexander Duff believed that the Revolt was neither Hindu nor Muslim in nature; it was the spontaneous outcome of the fraternizing sepoys of all castes and creeds. The view of Lord Canning, the then Governor General of India, was that “The struggle which we have had has been more like a national war than a local insurrection. In its magnitude, duration, scale of expenditure and in some of its moral features, it partakes largely of the former character.” The view of Thompson and Garratti is that “for four months during the summer of 1857, it seemed that the mutiny might develop into a real war of Independence, but by September, 1857, it was clear that the Indians who were in Revolt were incapable of working to any settled plan or of subordinating themselves to a national leader. Their prestige was waning and their commanders had proved themselves incompetent except in guerrilla warfare.” He concludes by observing that the mutiny may be considered either as a Military Revolt, or as a bid for the recovery of their property and privileges by disposed princes and landlords or as an attempt to restore the Mughal Empire or as a peasants war. Whatever the nature of the Revolt of 1857, it soon became a symbol of challenge to the British imperial Rule in India. During the freedom struggle, leaders and people in general took inspiration from some of the heroic events of 1857. Undoubtedly, the Revolt of 1857 became a turning point in Modern Indian history. (63)

(c) Events of the Revolution:

On March 29, 1857 at the Barrack pore parade ground, near Calcutta, 29 years old Mangal Pandey of the 34th BNI, angered due to the recent actions by the British. He declared that he would rebel against his commanders. When his adjutant Lt. Baugh
came out to investigate the unrest, Pandey opened fire but hit his horse instead. General John Hearsey came out to see him on the parade ground, and claimed later that Mangal Pandey was in some kind of ‘religious frenzy’. He ordered a Jemadar Ishwari Prasad to arrest Mangal Pandey, but the Jemadar refused to arrest him. The whole regiment with a single exception of a soldier called Shaikh Paltu drew back from arresting Mangal Pandey. Shaikh Paltu held back Pandey from continuing his attack. Mangal Pandey, after failing to motivate his comrades into an open and active rebellion, tried to take his own life by placing his musket to his chest, and pulling the trigger with his toe. He could only manage to wound himself, and was court-martialled on April 6. He was hanged on April 8. The Jemadar Ishwari Prasad was also hanged on April 22. The whole regiment was disband - undressed of their uniforms because it was felt that they held ill-feelings toward their superiors, particularly after this incident. Shaikh Paltu was, however, promoted to the rank of Jemadar in the Bengal Army. Sepoys in other regiments thought this a very harsh punishment. The show of disgrace while disbanding contributed to the extent of the rebellion in view of some historians, as displeased ex-sepoys returned home back to Awadh with a desire to take revenge, and the opportunity arose on 9th May, when troopers of the 3rd Bengal Light Cavalry at Meerut refused to use their cartridges. The sepoys knew it was very likely that they would also be asked to use the new cartridges and they too would have to refuse in order to save their caste, religion and social status.\(^64\) Since their comrades had acted only in respect to their religious beliefs the punishment given by the British colonial rulers was perceived as unjust by many. When the 11th and 20th native cavalry of the Bengal Army assembled in Meerut on 10th May, they broke rank and turned on their commanding officers. Contemporary British accounts suggest that some sepoys accompanied their officers to safety and then rejoined their mutinous comrades. Some officers and their families escaped to Rampur, where they found safe place with the Nawab. Despite these actions, wild rumours were circulated about sepoys slaughtering Christians in Meerut. Meerut had the largest percentage of British troops of any station in India. 2,038 European troops with twelve field guns versus 2,357 sepoys lacking artillery the British commanders of the Meerut garrison were extraordinarily slow in reacting to the crisis. They did not even send immediate word to other British cantonments that a rebellion was in process.\(^65\) It seems likely that they believed they would be able to control the Indians
by themselves. This misjudgment did cost them dearly as the Indian troops overran the Cantonments and continued their advance. The rebellion now spread beyond the armed forces, but it did not result in a complete popular uprising as its leaders hoped. The Indian side was not completely unified. While Bahadur Shah Zafar was brought back to the imperial throne, however, there was a group that wanted the Maratha rulers to be enthroned as well, and the Awadhis wanted to retain the powers that their Nawab used to have. The war was mainly centered in northern and central areas of India. Delhi, Lucknow, Cawnpore, Jhansi, Bareilly, Arrah and Jagdishpur were the main centers of conflict. The Bhojpurias of Arrah and Jagdishpur supported the Marathas. The Marathas, Rohillas and the Awadhis supported Bahadur Shah Zafar as they were against the British. (66)

An appeal was made for Jihad by some leaders including the millenarian Ahmedullah Shah. It was taken up by the Muslims, particularly Muslim artisans, which made the British rulers to think that the Muslims were the main force behind the revolt. In Awadh, Sunni Muslims did not want to Shiite to rule, so they often refused to join Shia rebellion. However, some Muslims like the Aga Khan supported the British. The British rewarded him by formally recognizing his title. (67)

In Thana Bhawan, the Sunnis declared Haji Imdadullah their Ameer. In May 1857, the famous Battle of Shamli took place between the forces of Haji Imdadullah and the British. The Sikhs and Pathans of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province supported the British and helped to capture Delhi. The Sikhs wanted to avenge the British, who captured Punjab eight years earlier with the help of Purbhais (Bengali’s and Marathi’s - Easterner) who helped the British. Most of southern India remained inactive with only infrequent and disorganized outbreaks of violence. Most of the states did not take part in the war as many parts of the region were ruled by the Nizams or the Mysore royalty and were thus not directly under British rule. (68)

Bahadur Shah Zafar declared himself the Emperor of India. Most of the contemporary and modern reports, however, suggest that he was pressurized by the sepoys and his aristocrats - against his own will - to sign the announcement. The civilians and other dignitaries took the oath of loyalty to the Emperor. The Emperor issued coins in his name, one of the oldest ways of asserting Imperial status. His name was added to the Khutbah, the acceptance by the Muslims as their King. This declaration, however, pushed the Sikhs of Punjab back from the revolt. Having fought
many wars against the Mughal rulers, they did not want to return to Islamic rule again. Initially, the Indian soldiers were able to significantly push back Company forces, and captured several important towns in Haryana, Bihar, Central Provinces and the United Provinces. When the British reinforced and began to counter attack, the sepoys who mutinied were especially handicapped by the lack of a centralized command and control system.\(^{(69)}\)

Eventually, two months after the first outbreak of rebellion at Meerut, the two forces met near Karnal. The combined force (which included two Gurkha units serving in the Bengal Army under the contract of the Kingdom of Nepal), fought the main army of the rebels at Badli-ke-Serai and pushed them back to Delhi. The British established a base in the north of Delhi and the Siege of Delhi began. The siege lasted from July 1 to September 21. However, the encirclement was hardly complete, and for much of the siege the British were outnumbered and it often seemed that it was the British and not Delhi that was under siege, and the rebels could easily receive resources and reinforcements. The British soon arrested Bahadur Shah, and on the next day, British officer William Hudson shot his sons Mirza Mughal, Mirza Khizr Sultan, and Mirza Abu Bakr under his own authority at the Khooni Darwaza (the bloody gate) near Delhi Gate. Their cut heads were reportedly presented to their father on the following day. This incidence gave the British a continuous, although still tenuous, line of communication from the east to the west of India and other areas. After being driven from Jhansi and Kalpi, on June 1, 1858, Rani Lakshmibai and a group of Maratha rebels captured the fortress city of Gwalior from the Scindia rulers, who were British allies. This might have strengthened the rebellion but the Central India Field Force very quickly advanced against the city of Gwalior. The Rani died on June 17. Mutiny in the troops was quickly put down with the result that two regiments were separated.\(^{(70)}\).

\(\text{d) Effects of The Revolt :}\)

1. As a result of the Revolt of 1857, the British India Company was ended and the Government of India was taken over by the British Crown.
2. There was a change in the policy of the Government of India toward the Indian princes.
3. There was a change in the land policy of the Government. An unkind treatment of the taluqdars (zamindars) of Avadh had at one time, brought a whole
province into the revolt.

4 There was a change in the policy of Government of India to westernize the Indians because the British thought that all good things came from the west.

5 There was an extensive reorganization of the army in India.

6 The Revolt of 1857 created a lot of bitterness between the Indians and Englishmen.

7 The Revolt of 1857 resulted in the tightening of the control over India from London.

8 The Revolt of 1857 changed the psychological thinking of the government of India. As a result, it began to rely more and more on the Indian princes on an account of the distancing of the feelings of the Indians. (71)

9 The Revolt of 1857 resulted that the Muslim resurgence, which had been growing in Delhi before the Revolt got irretrievable set-back.

10 The Revolt of 1857 changed the board of control and consequently, the court of directors was abolished for India and the Indian Council.

11 In the end, the Revolt of 1857 did not come out as a pure historical tragedy. Even if the revolt failed, it served a grand purpose of a source of inspiration for the national liberation movement which later achieved what the Revolt could not. (72)

(F) Cause of Failure of The Revolt:

1. The Revolt of 1857 was poorly organized.

2. The rebels had no common ideal goal for them except the anti-foreign sentiments.

3. The Revolt of 1857 was mainly feudal in character carrying with it some patriotic elements.

4. The Revolt of 1857 was localized and restricted to certain territories.

5. The resources of the British empire were far superior than those of the rebels.

6. The East India Company was fortunate for having the services of men of exceptional abilities in the Lawrence brothers, Nicholson, Outram, Havelock, Edwards etc. They fought the toughest battles in the initial stages of the Revolt and controlled the situation till the support was received from England. (73)
2.2.2 Local Self-Government:

Local Self-Government means the management of local affairs by such local bodies as have been elected by the people living in that particular region.\(^{(74)}\)

During the Mughul Empire, self-governing organizations almost entirely disappeared from the towns and greatly perished in the village. The British Government tried to keep up the village assemblies, wherever they were in working order, and revived them in the places wherever necessary. But they were challenged with the task of evolving a definite system of local government both for the vast rural areas as well as for towns. Initially, the Government did not adopt a definite system in the administration of local affairs in the rural areas. It worked through the existing institutions or improvised others as the need was felt. In Bengal, regulations were passed in 1816 and 1819 authorizing the Government to collect tax for the maintenance of transport and the repair and construction of roads, bridges and drains. In administering the funds so raised, Government were advised by local committees, with the Magistrate as Secretary, which they appointed in each district. Outside Bengal, the necessary funds were raised by imposing a cuss or a small percentage on land revenue. A great stimulus was given to the development of local self-government by the Government of India’s Resolution of 1870.\(^{(75)}\)

The system introduced in 1871 was no doubt a distinct improvement upon the existing situation. Much was done to improve the communication, sanitation and education of the regions. But there were several severe defects. The committees were entirely dominated by administrative system. Besides, the area served by them was too large, and the private members had inadequate knowledge of, and consequently little interest in, the local affairs of a large part of the area.

Lord Ripon made an earnest endeavour to remove these defects and to introduce a real element of local self-government somewhat on the lines of English law. His ideas were laid down in the shape of Government Resolution in May, 1882. The two essential features of this new plan were:

1. The sub-division, not the district, should be the maximum area served by one committee or local board, with primary boards, under it, serving very small areas, so that each member of it might possess knowledge of, and interest in, its affairs.
(2) The local boards should consist of a large majority of elected non-official members, and be presided over by a non-official chairman.\(^{(76)}\)

**Municipalities:**

Lord Ripon’s Resolution of May, 1882 aimed at the introduction of principles of self-government in municipal administration as in the case of rural boards. He proposed that while the ultimate supervision, control, and municipal administration should be entrusted to the elected representatives of the people. Under a non-official Chairman, the people should be trained to govern themselves through their own representatives. He further proposed that the police charges should be met by the Government, and the municipalities should keep busy themselves with education, sanitation, provision of light, roads and drinking water and such other objects of public utility.

Thus, Lord Ripon made a real beginning in the direction of establishment of local self-government in modern India. His ideas were not given full effect, but he sowed the seeds, which ultimately germinated in a development of local self-government.\(^{(77)}\)

**Presidency Town:**

The development of self-government in the three presidency towns of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras followed different lines.

1. **Calcutta:**

   The new arrangement proved ineffective. Therefore, the justices of peace were again vested with general control. However, the executive power left in the hands of a Chairman appointed by the Government. The Chairman was also made the Commissioner of Police. Under such a strong executive authority, great improvements were made. Sir Stewart Hogg laid a foundation of a proper system of drainage and water supply.

   The constitution did not work well. The relation between the executive and the large number of justices of the peace was not clearly defined and there was constant conflict between these two. By an Act of 1876, the Corporation of Calcutta was reconstituted. It consisted of seventy-two members, two-thirds of whom were elected by rate-payers. In 1882, the number of elected members was raised to fifty, and the jurisdiction of the Municipality was extended by the addition of suburban areas.
The progressive development of the principles of self-government in the administration of the city of Calcutta was suddenly checked by Lord Curzon. By an Act passed in 1899, the number of members directly elected by the rate-payers was reduced to half of the total strength, and the Chairman, nominated by the Government, was vested with large independent powers. The Corporation could only fix the rate of assessment and lay down the general policy. In the details of administration, the only control upon the Chairman was a General Committee of twelve, of whom four were appointed by the elected Commissioners, four by the other Commissioners, and four by the Government.

Thus, the reasons for limiting the powers of the people were that there was too much talk and too little action in the Corporation. Similarly, the necessary driving power could only be secured by a strong independent executive unregulated by the control of the Corporation or its special Committees.

The measure evoked the strongest protest from the public. Surendranath Banerjee expressed his most influential criticism, when this measure was discussed in the Bengal Legislative Council. On the last day of the debate, 27th September, while opposing the bill for the last time, he remarked that “the date will be remembered by future generations of Bengalese as that which marks the extinction of local self-government in the city of Calcutta.”

Twenty-eight members of the Corporation, including Surendranath, tendered their resignation to protest against the measure. It was left to Surendranath, as a Minister, to unfasten a great wrong decision twenty-four year later.²

2. Bombay:

In Bombay, as in Calcutta, the old system was revived in 1865. Five hundred justices of the peace formed a corporate body for the administration of the town, with a highly-paid official, called Commissioner, as Chairman, and an independent Controller of Accounts. The system did not work well. The Controller of Accounts scarcely exercised any effective control, while the Corporation was too burdensome for the purpose of check or guidance over the system.

The constitution was changed in 1872. The strength of the Corporation was reduced to sixty-four members, of whom half were elected by the rate-payers, one-fourth were elected by the resident justices, and the remaining one-fourth were nominated by the Government. The executive authority was vested, as before, in the
Commissioner, but the post of the Controller of Accounts was abolished. Instead, provision was made for the weekly audit of accounts by a Standing Committee of the Corporation, and monthly audit by paid professional auditors. This constitution worked fairly well and continued with slight changes till the end of the nineteenth century. (79)

3. Madras:

In Madras, the system of government by three Commissioners continued till 1867. By an Act passed in that year, the town was divided into eight wards, and four councilors were appointed for each ward by the Government.

In 1878, half of the total number of members of the Corporation were elected by the rate-payers, but the President and two Vice-Presidents were salaried officials and appointed by the Government. In 1884, the principle of election was further extended, and twenty-four out of thirty-two members of the Corporation were elected by the rate-payers.

During Lord Carson’s reign, reaction followed, and as a result, the Corporation of Madras was reconstituted on the lines of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1899. Thus, after various trials, a system of government was evolved for the three presidency towns, which had the same essential features, viz. a large Corporation with a proportion of elected members, a strong independent executive authority vested in a Government nominee, with adequate safeguards for checking of accounts and statutory provision for the performance of essential duties, such as sanitation, water-supply, etc. The Government had the right to intervene in case of gross negligence or mismanagement. (80).

2.2.3 Internal Administration:

1. Administrative Reforms of Lord Dalhousie:

Lord Dalhousie was appointed as a Governor General of India in 1848. His eight years of rule is considered one of the greatest period of British rule. His policy of Annexation was a lethal weapon of conquest, which raised the rule of the East India Company to the height of glory. It was also during his rule that various reforms were brought to improve the conditions of India. Though these reforms directly benefited the British, yet these were the foundations on which the country built itself after independence. The policy of annexation known as the ‘Doctrine of Lapse’ was based
on the forfeiture of the right to rule in the absence of a natural heir in case of domestic rulers. By this policy the state of Satara was annexed in 1848, in 1849 the state of Sambhalpur and in 1853 Jhansi was also annexed. After the death of the Raja of Nagpur in 1853, the policy claimed yet another victim. By 1854 owing to the failure to have a natural heir, Nagpur too was annexed by British.

Another method of annexation was by conquest. In 1849, Punjab was annexed after the Second Anglo Sikh War. In 1852, after the Second Burmese Lower Burma known as Pegu was annexed. In 1850, part of the state of Sikkim was annexed on the pretext of maltreatment of English officials. Other territories were annexed on the grounds of misgovernment and Assignment. The territories of Berar and Oudh were annexed in 1853 and 1856 respectively.\(^{81}\)

Dalhousie proved his ability in the administration by the demarcating various departments of the administration and appointing Lieutenant Governor for Bengal. He introduced the non-regulation system under which the non-regulated provinces was to be under the control of a Chief Commissioner, who was responsible to the Governor-General in council. Punjab, Oudh and Burma were a few non-regulated provinces.

Dalhousie introduced railways and telegraph in India with a purpose to improve communication, which was essential to administer the remote areas of this vast country. He also reformed the postal system in the country. To undertake works for the public benefit, he introduced the public works department. In the educational field, Dalhousie's reforms such as the system of vernacular education was praise worthy. Anglo Vernacular Schools were established. In the matters of commerce, the policy of free trade was introduced by declaring free ports. Indian trade was dominated by the British. The military reforms made by Dalhousie included the shifting of the Bengal Artillery from Calcutta to Meerut. Later on, the Army head quarter was shifted to Simla from Calcutta. He proposed reduction of Indian soldiers in the Army as he sensed the dangers of the increasing Indian troops. He encouraged the inclusion of Gorkhas to the Indian Army; and organized an irregular force for Punjab.\(^{82}\)

Dalhousie’s policy of annexations and reforms were oriented toward the English interests in India and this is said to have created the grounds for a rise of the Indian opposition, which reflected as the mutiny of 1857. Though the revolt was
started by the sepoys of the Indian army, it gave an opportunity for the discontent Indian rulers to express their restlessness. It also was an attempt aimed at erasing the British rule in India. Before the revolt of 1857, several revolts preceded reflecting the Indian opposition to the British domination. They included the Sanyasi revolt of 1770, the Chuar and Ho rebellion of Midnapur in 1768, 1820-22 and 1831. They continued their stand against the British till 1837. The Santhals of Rajmahal hills rebelled in 1855. In 1828 and 1830, the Ahoms in Assam rebelled against the East India Company followed by the Khasi's in the Jaintia and Garo hills.

In 1817-19, the Bhills of the Western Ghats revolted and continued their struggle in 1831 and 1846. The rulers of the Kutch, the Wagheras of Okha Mandal, and the Ramoshis also revolted against the British. In South India, the Raja of Vizianagram, the Poligars of Dindigul and Malabar rose in 1856. The imposition of the subsidiary alliance of 1805 on the ruler of Travancore led to the rise of Diwan Velu Tampi with the Nair battalion.

The revolt of 1857 broke out owing to political, administrative and economic causes besides the social and religious causes. The displeased sepoys of the British army were fuelled by the immediate reason of the greased cartridges. An irritated sepoy Mangal Pandey shot dead an officer. As a result, he was punished and the soldiers of that regiment were disbanded. The revolt spread to the North Central part of India. Due to poor organization and superiority of the British forces, the revolt was restrained. The revolt of 1857 was followed by several changes that included the transfer of Indian administration from East India Company to the Crown, respect of the honour, dignity and territorial possession of the native princes. Thus, the revolt witnessed the end of an era of the rule of the few in the company. It also marked the beginning of an organized struggle for freedom from the British oppression.\(^{83}\)

2. Military Administration:

As a result of Revolt of 1857-59, several changes were introduced in the organization of the army. First, the proportion of European troops was raised and that of Indian troops was reduced. In 1863, there were 65,000 European troops as against 1,40,000 Indians, and practically the same ratio was maintained till the outbreak of the First World War. The artillery was exclusively controlled by European troops. Secondly, there was a great change in the composition of Indian troops, especially those of Northern India. The Sepoys were recruited from the same region and belonged
almost exclusively to the higher castes. The Revolt showed the defects of this system. Henceforth, recruitment was made on a mixed basis so that every company included men of all races, castes and creeds, and could not easily unite and rise into mutiny. A third change made itself felt only very gradually. It was the introduction of larger elements of fighting races like the Gurkhas, Pathans, and Sikhs. In course of time, they replaced to a large extent the Hindustani forces of the Bengal army and the locally recruited Sepoys in Bombay and Madras. The most drastic changes were in the Madras army, which was gradually filled by Sikhs, Gurkhas and other Northerners, and ultimately the recruitment of Telugus ceased altogether. (84)

From 1861, an army officer was appointed as a Military Member of the Governor-General’s Executive Council, through whom the Government supervised the administration of the Indian army. The position was rendered very irregular by the fact that the Commander-in-Chief was also an extraordinary member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Although he was superior in rank to the Military Member, any proposal presented by Commander-in-Chief had to be submitted to the latter review and criticism.

There might have been some justification for this curious irregularity when each Presidency maintained a separate army. However, when all the Indian forces were brought under the single control of the Commander-in-Chief in 1895, the irregularity called for redress. Lord Kitchener raised this question in 1904 and proposed to remove the anomaly by making the Commander-in-Chief the sole adviser of the Government on military matters. Lord Curzon, the Viceroy, strongly opposed this system. He feared that it would remove, to a large extent, the ultimate control of the civil over the military authorities, and thereby affect the fundamental principles of the constitution. The Secretary of State, however, agreed with Lord Kitchener, and his decision was conveyed in such terms that Lord Curzon his resignation in 1905. After 1907, the Commander-in-Chief became the only responsible authority, under the Government of India, for military administration. (85)

3. Recruitment for the Public Services:

The assumption of the direct administration of India by the Crown led to great changes in the Commander-in-Chief internal administration. The administrative machinery was gradually organized with a thoroughness, which was not possible under the East India Company’s regime, and the administrative principles and
political ideals of England were applied to a large extent. As a result, the Indian administration became more efficient and more up-to-date. The old rivalry and jealousy between the Company and the Board of Control disappeared, and the unitary control of Parliament was established. During the old regime, the periodical renewal of the Charter of the East India Company afforded an opportunity for Parliament to scrutinize the affairs in India with a jealous eye. But as soon as the Secretary of State was put in sole charge of India, it ceased to evoke that interest. Theoretically, no doubt, the House of Commons was responsible for the administration of India, but few persons took an interest in the matters affecting this country. In the days of the Company, a Select Committee was appointed by Parliament to report on the administration in India. They went thoroughly into the whole subject, exposed abuse, and suggested remedies which were frequently adopted in the new Charter. However, the Secretary submitted an annual report before the whole House. Every member was supposed to take interest in it, but as often happens, everybody’s business became nobody’s business.\(^{(86)}\)

Consequently, the powers of the Secretary of State increased to a great extent. As a result, internal administration of India was deeply affected by it. The Indian officials were responsible only to the Secretary of State. The Secretary could hardly exercise any effective control over the administration, as he had to defend the actions of the officials as the ultimate responsibility entrusted upon him.

The result was the growth of an all-powerful bureaucracy in India headed by the members of the Superior Indian Civil Service. This service soon became a powerful corporation. The members of this service were no doubt very able, and, generally speaking, honest men. But the position in which they found themselves invested them with a superiority complex, and a wide gulf was created between the rulers and the ruled people. The sympathy and mutual understanding between the two, which is supposed to be a base of good administration, were at a markdown. During the rule of the Company, English officials mixed freely with Indians, and there was a genuine good feeling and often friendship between them. The threat of the revolt generated a feeling of dislike toward Indians in the minds of the British. Perhaps this feeling would have been weakened in the normal course of time, and might have ultimately disappeared. But steam navigation, the Suez Canal, the telegraph and the overland route, all served to bring the British in closer touch with
their homeland. Thus, as a result of these new inventions, British officials were no longer exiled in a foreign land, but they were in direct and constant touch with their own country.\(^{(87)}\)

Gradually an English society grew up in big towns. After 1858, with the Secretary of State, the officers were nominated partly by the Directors and partly by the Board of Control, and after nomination they received a training for two years at the East India College at Haileybury. The system of open competitive examination for these appointments was all natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, whether European or Indian. Initially, the maximum age for admission was twenty-three. In 1859, it was lowered to twenty-two, and the selected candidates were to remain on probation in England for a year. In 1866, the maximum age was still further lowered to twenty-one, and the probationers had to go through a special course of training at an approved University for two years.

In 1870, an Act was passed authorizing the appointment of Indians to the higher offices without any examination. However, the act was implemented in 1879. The rules adopted in 1879 meant “that a proportion not exceeding one sixth of the total number of covenanted Civil Servants appointed in any year by the Secretary of state should of the Governor-General-in-Council”. These officers were called ‘Statutory Civil Servants’ and were recruited from “young men of good family and social position possessed of fair abilities and education”. Indians themselves preferred open competitive examination. However, in order to give Indians a fair and equitable opportunity, they recommended that there should be simultaneous examinations both in England and India. For the same reason, British were against the lowering of the maximum age of admission below twenty-one as it would adversely affect the Indian candidates, who were to be examined in a foreign tongue. The lowering of the maximum age limit to nineteen in 1877 was regarded as a deliberate attempt to shut out Indians, and led to vigorously took up the question of simultaneous examinations and employment of Indians in larger number.

In 1886, Lord Duffer appointed a ‘Public Services Commission’ to investigate the problem with Sir Charles Atchison, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, as its President. The Commission rejected the idea of simultaneous examinations for covenanted service, and advised the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service. They proposed that a number of posts until then reserved for contracted service should be
thrown open to a local service to be called the ‘Provincial Civil Service’, which would be separately recruited in every province either by promotion from lower ranks or by direct recruitment. The terms ‘Covenanted’ and ‘Uncovenanted’ were replaced by the terms ‘Imperial’ and ‘Provincial’ respectively, and below the latter would be a Subordinated Civil Service. These recommendations were accepted. The Covenanted Civil Service was henceforth known as the ‘Civil Service of India’ and the Provincial Service was called after the particular province, as, for example, the ‘Bengal Civil Service’. A list was prepared of the posts reserved for the Civil Service of India, but was kept open to the new Provincial Service. Local governments were empowered to appoint an Indian to any such ‘listed post’. In other branches of administration, such as Education, Police, Public Works and Medical departments, too, there were similar divisions into Imperial, Provincial, and Subordinate services. The first was mainly recruited by Englishmen, and the other two almost exclusively by Indians. This system remained with slight changes till the end of the British rule. The system improved the Indians for employment in larger numbers in higher offices of State. In 1893, the House of Commons passed a resolution in favour of simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Service. (88)

2.2.4. The Nationalist Movement in India:

Introduction:

Nationalism refers to an ideology, a sentiment, a form of culture, or a social movement that focuses on the nation. It is a type of collectivism emphasizing the collective of a specific nation. While there is significant debate over the historical origins of nations, nearly all experts accept that nationalism, at least as an ideology and social movement, is a modern phenomenon originating in Europe that came to a head with the French Revolution in the late 18th century. Since then, nationalism has become one of the most significant political and social force in the history. Moreover, nationalism is taken as a major influence or a cause of World War I due to the rise of fascism, a radical and authoritarian nationalist ideology. Nationalism is a strong social phenomenon in the world as national flags. (89)
**Causes for Rise of Nationalism in India in 19\textsuperscript{th} Century:**

1. There are many causes responsible for the growth of nationalist movement in the country. The masses had to cope up with economic troubles. The middle classes suffered from the worry of unemployment. The Indians felt and suffered from the economic exploitation of the country. Indian handicrafts and industries were forced to starve. Indian agriculture was encouraged with a purpose. Accordingly, most of the agricultural raw materials were produced in the country so that those could be used to feed the industries in England. This policy made Indians to remain dependent on England. The free trade policy helped the British manufacturers and sacrificed the interests of Indians. Before the outbreak of the Revolt in 1857, there were many Englishmen who honestly believed and worked for the good of India. During the mutiny, so much blood was shed on both sides. The Europeans executed their retaliation on the helpless and innocent Indians after the revolt. It was the policy of oppression and repression which added to the discontent of the country. The Indians were completely excluded from the administration in the country and from the key-post in the administration.\(^{(90)}\)

2. The nationalist movement in India was the outcome of a large number of factors and the most important among them was British imperialism. British imperialism helped the process of the unification of the country.

3. The Indian leaders found themselves in a position to carry on their propaganda in every nook and corner of the country. The leaders made contacts with the people in different parts of the country. This initiative by the leaders gave a momentum to the nationalist movement\(^{(91)}\).

4. The religious and social reformers who directed Indians toward the progress, such as, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshavchandra Sen, Debendranath Tagore, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati and other.\(^{(92)}\)

5. The Indian press and literature, both English and vernacular stimulated national movement. The Indian press played a praiseworthy role in not only creating a national awakening in the country, but, guiding the people of India throughout their struggle for independence. The Indian press was the target of the British government from the very beginning but it boldly and fearlessly faced the challenge posed by British.
6. The English language played a vital role in the growth of nationalism in the country. The English language made the Indians the inheritors of great literature, which was full of great ideas and ideals.\(^{(93)}\)

7. The ground was ready and acts of omission and commission in the time of Lord Litton accelerated the nationalist movement. The seeds of Indian nationalism were sown during the period from 1876 to 1884. Lord Lytton removed the import duty on cotton manufacturers with a view to help British manufactures. This act was not preferred by the Indians. Lord Ripen tried to remove some of the grievances of Indians but before he could do so the Albert Bill Controversy came into the force.

8. The Albert Bill was a simple measure whose object was to put the Indian judges on the same footing as the European judges.\(^{(94)}\)

Indian National Congress:

The Indian National Congress (also known as the Congress, and abbreviated INC) was a major political party in India. It was founded in 1885 by Allan Octavian Hume, Dadabhai Naoroji, Dinshaw Wacha, Womesh Chandra Bonnerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Monomohun Ghose, Mahadev Govind Ranade\(^{[1]}\) and William Wedderburn. The Indian National Congress became the leader of the Indian Independence Movement, with over 15 million members and over 70 million participants in its struggle against British rule in India\(^{(95)}\). In December 1885, seventy-two political leaders founded ‘India National Congress’. It was the beginning of a new era in Indian history. In that year an all-Indian political organization was set on foot under the name of the Indian National Congress. A retrospective examination of the national movement suggest three broad stages in its development. In the first stage of its existence (1885-1905), the vision of the Indian National Congress was dim, vague and confused. The movement was confined to the educated middle class intelligence, who drew inspiration from western liberal and radical thought. During the second stage (1905-1918), the congress had grown up considerably and its aim and scope had considerably extended. It aimed at social, cultural, economic and political uplift of the people of India. Self-government was the goal on the political front. The third stage (1919-1947) was dominated by the objective of *purna swaraj* or complete independence to be achieved under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. This stage (1919-1947) has not been included in the
study because the period taken for the study has been confined to 1914.\(^{(96)}\)

**First phase (1885-1905) (Period of Moderate Politics):**

In 1885, first Indian National Congress was organized at Bombay under the presidency of Womesh Chandra Banerjee. During this period, the congress was dominated by middle class. The ideas and methods of the middle class was charmed of title and services under the state and by its training and culture had isolated itself from the masses. The congress had been founded by A. O. Hume after consultation with Lord Duffer during 1884-1888. The congress leaders admired British history and culture and accepted British association as privileged. They were of the opinion that the British rule in India was in the interest of the Indians and it was the embodiment of peace and order in the country. They also believed that the British rule was indispensable in India for along time to come. The congress leaders believed that the British people were just righteous and freedom-loving. The nationalist leader believed that all they had to do was to prepare their case and present and plead it before the British Parliament and nation for the redress of their grievances and for the justice. The congress leaders put great emphasis on congress propaganda in England. Indian national congress was set up in London, which used to publish a weekly journal ‘India’ to present India's case before the British public. The last decade of the nineteenth century used the word ‘self-government’ or ‘swaraj’. However, it did not become popular nor did it figure in the official resolutions of the congress. Perhaps, the greatest services of the moderate leaders (1885-1905) were rendered when they measured the economic impacts of British rule on India. They focused public attention of Indian poverty and explained that this poverty was largely due to the colonial exploitation of India's economic resources by England. The drain theory was used as a convenient stick by the Extremist leaders to criticize and spit British rule in India.\(^{(97)}\)

**Second Phase 1905-1919:**

(Rise of Extremist or Radical Politics)

The end of the 19\(^{th}\) century and early years of 20\(^{th}\) century witnessed the emergence of a new and younger group within the Indian National Congress. The new group was called as the extremist party. In the contest to the older one, which began to be referred to as the moderate party.\(^{(98)}\)
Causes for the Rise of Extremis:
1. Recognition of the true nature of British Rule.
2. Reaction to increasing westernization.
3. Dissatisfaction with the achievement of the congress.
4. Deteriorating economic condition of India.
5. Contemporary international influence.
6. Curzon’s reactionary policies.
7. The partition of Bengal.\(^{(99)}\)

An Objective of the Extremist Group:
The nationalist’s (Extremists) demand for swaraj was a demand for complete freedom from foreign control and full independence to manage national affairs without any foreign restraints.

The Extremist Programme:
Advocated boycott of foreign goods, use of swadeshi (domestic) goods, national education and passion resistance.\(^{(100)}\)

India and World War I:
In 1914, when the First World War broke out the Indian national congress was under the control of the moderates. The national congress decided to support the British war when Turkey joined the central powers in October 1914. Indian troops garrisoned the Suez Canal and repulsed a Turkish attack. Indian troops fought through the long campaigns of Macedonia and German East Africa. They played an important part in the Iraq camping leading to the capture of Baghdad. They helped to establish the present state of Iraq.\(^{(101)}\)
Conclusion:

The political situation and management in India and Iraq made an impact on the economic conditions of both countries. However, the political disturbance had a drastic impact on the economic life of the people; thus, badly affected the economies of both countries.

In Iraq, the uprisings clan against the Ottoman government had caused the deterioration of overall economic condition in Iraq. It led to force the peasants and workers to leave their jobs and take up arms against the government, which led to disruption of economic activity and the transfer of most of the agricultural land into an arena of war. However, when Medhat Pasha took over charge as a governor of the state in 1867, he brought major improvements in the political, administrative, economic and social conditions of the country through various policies suggested and executed by him, which dealt with crises and unrest.

In India, the revolution of 1857 caused a set back to the economic condition of the country as most of the peasants and workers were engaged in the battles against the British government. This had greatly affected the normal life of the peasants and the agricultural practice as well. On the other hand, contributed to this revolution in raising awareness of cultural and political development of the national movement in the country which contributed to the emergence of a new class of men policy which worked to lead the country in the early 20th century.
City of Diwaniya: Located in Southern Iraq.

The al cub and the al Khaz'al: Two of the Iraqi tribes that inhabited the southern Iraq and these two families ruled cities in the south of Iraq. The tribes did not accept the central government. The city of Diwaniya, is the best example of that.

Omar Basha: Turk military commander. He participated in the Qiram War. He was known for depth and severity and strict military administration and was called as ‘the difficult task man’.


Al Shamer: It is one of the Iraqi tribes that inhabited the central and southern Iraq, particularly in Basra, known for their strength and intensity and tight control over its territory. They had not been subjected for centuries by any central authorities, however, military commander Mohammed Namik Pasha was able to control them and forced them to accept central government.


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(23) Al Zora, newspaper  No. 2,3,4, 12, Ribya al awal 1286 Hijri.
(24) Haidar, Saleh, Land Problems of Iraq, unpublished thesis, London University, 
     1942, pp.556-560.
(25) City of Nasiriyyah: Located in southern Iraq near Basra, Medhat pasha   was 
     established it. Which made it a center for Sandqak fallwed the Basra has four 
     districts, including the elimination Shatrah Ahalilip and appointed the mayor 
     of each of them
(26) Georgy Zeidan, biographies of famous East in the nineteenth century, Third 
(27) Ibid, p. 245.
(28) Sidaq Damluji, Medhat Pasha .........., p. 33.
(31) Jamil Musa Raza, history of education in Iraq since the days of Medhat Pasha, 
     until the end of Ottoman rule, 1869-1918, Master Thesis, Faculty of Science, 
     Cairo University, 1986, p. 67 - 72.
(32) Sidaq Damluji, Medhat Pasha ......p. 35-36
(33) City of Ramadi: Located in western Iraq, and they reach the Baghdad, western 
     Iraq and represent a way of transportation between the Syria and Iraq because 
     it was  building increased the importance of trade in Iraq.
(34) Kadhimiya: divided city of Baghdad tow part the  first called by the Rusafa 
     and the second is called the al-Karkh separating the two sides of the Tigris
Medhat Pasha link between the two sides to form a bridge between the two parties at the Kadhimiya city represents the beginning of the Karkh district.

(35) Abbas Al-Azzawi, Iraq between two occupation….., p. 244.

(36) lots Military: is that a proportion of youth who had reached twenty years of service in the army and the draw to select the number to exceed 300 people to service each year.

(37) Jamil Musa al-Najjar, Baghdad in Reign Ottoman Management 1869-1917 ….. p. 269-271.

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