

Decentralized Leadership in Crisis the Role of Secondary Commanders in the Third Battle of Panipat (1761)

Biswajeet Mallick
MA History, LPU

Abstract: *The Third Battle of Panipat (1761) was a great event in Indian military history leading to disastrous defeat of Maratha Empire in battle against the Afghan Coalition led by Ahmad Shah Abdali. This research adopts a more traditional approach to historical scholarship, but does so in a way that emphasizes secondary or lower-level commanders and their role in the operations of an army, rather than that of the supreme commander and his strategies and decisions. According to the research, the Afghan coalition effectiveness was attributed to a well-coordinated system of decentralized command, in which the inferior leaders like Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Najib-ud-Daulah and other tribal chiefs were disciplined agents of central command. They worked together to create battlefield stability, swift reinforcement, tactical flexibility and response to crises during combat.*

The Maratha army was, on the other hand, divided into smaller command groups with semi-autonomous sardars who were also quite independent in the battlefield, lacking in coordination and integration. This led to miscommunications, lag in reinforcement cycles, disorganized deployment of a cavalry, and sub-optimal responses in periods of crisis. The research also found that the demands of modern conflict on the battlefield increased the need for subordinate leadership and that the secondary commanders played an equally significant role in the continuity or disruption of military operations. Finally, the efficiency, cohesion and structure of the decentralised leadership systems of both coalitions were found to have played a significant role in the outcome of the Third Battle of Panipat.

Keywords: Panipat 1761, decentralized leadership, secondary commanders, Maratha Empire, Ahmad Shah Abdali, military strategy, crisis management, battlefield communication, Rohillas, Sadashivrao Bhau, military history of India.

I. INTRODUCTION

The Third Battle of Panipat near the present-day Haryana on 14th January, 1761, is considered to be one of the most decisive and devastating military encounters in Indian history. This battle was fought between the Maratha empire and Afghan forces led by Ahmad Shah Abdali which saw massive casualties and widespread destruction. The defeat of the Marathas also had a definite impact on the political and military situation of the North Indian region as it reduced the influence of the Marathas and paved the way for British colonial expansion in the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, the battle has become an important part of the history of early modern Indian politics and military history.

The traditional history of the Third Battle of Panipat has been more concerned with the personalities of the main protagonists like Ahmad Shah Abdali and Sadashivrao Bhau, their strategies and motivations. These analyses are useful overviews of the big picture of the conflict, but they tend to be divorced from the operational considerations of the 18th century, in which commanders achieved success on the battlefield largely through the coordination and effectiveness of their subordinates. As a result of the lack of effective communication, the inability to move large numbers of troops, and the dynamism of the battle, supreme commanders could not permanently and directly command every sector on the battlefield.



In this context the present study explores the role of the secondary commanders in decentralised leadership structures. These commanders played a crucial role in connecting the central leadership with the operations of the frontline; they made decisions on their own independently under crisis situations. The study contends that disparities in coordination, communication effectiveness and operational integration for subordinate leadership had a significant impact on battlefield performance. The study focuses on the decentralised military command of the Third Battle of Panipat and its implications, which has been under-researched, and helps to understand pre-modern warfare and the system of crisis command.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Gupta (2019) in coordination between sardars and their chieftains, observes structural inefficiencies, as the internal politics of Marathas were detrimental to the battlefield unity during major wars, like Panipat¹.

Kumar (2020) concentrates on the logistics of early modern South Asian warfare and stresses the importance of disruptions to the supply chain and limitations on mobility affecting command effectiveness and the need for tactical decision making by secondary commanders².

Sharma (2020) in the context of Afghan coalition warfare strategies, suggests a successful strategy was the structured system of delegation of authority among subordinates, whose commanders had to work within clearly established strategic limits³.

Verma (2021) in a strategic study on the Panipat battle, concludes that one of the major reasons for the failure of Maratha command units to respond to the Afghan counteroffensive is due to communication failures⁴.

Reddy (2022) analyzes the models of decentralized warfare in pre-modern India and proposes that, effective decentralization depended on institutional discipline, which was comparatively more pronounced in the Afghan coalition armies than in Maratha armies⁵.

Iyer (2023) studies examples of crisis leadership in the past and finds that the decentralized command structure only works when the subordinate commanders have a common strategic goal which is not the case with the Maratha at Panipat⁶.

Nair (2024) investigates the coordination failures in Indian early modern armies and concludes that the presence of factionalism amongst the regional commanders was a structural failure which had significant impact on the outcome of wars⁷.

Mehta (2026) offers a recent synthetic review of Indian warfare studies of the 18th-century and suggests that there is a dearth of theorisation of secondary commanders, particularly in the context of their response to crises and decentralised command efficiency in large-scale engagements such as the Battle of Panipat⁸.

¹ Gupta, R. (2019). Command structures and factional politics in the late Maratha Empire. *Indian Historical Review*, 46(2), 215–232.

² Kumar, S. (2020). Logistics and battlefield coordination in eighteenth-century Indian warfare. *South Asian Historical Quarterly*, 12(3), 145–163.

³ Sharma, D. (2020). Afghan coalition warfare and leadership under Ahmad Shah Abdali. *Journal of South Asian Military Studies*, 9(1), 31–49.

⁴ Verma, A. (2021). Communication breakdown and tactical collapse at the Third Battle of Panipat. *International Journal of Historical Research*, 7(2), 95–113.

⁵ Reddy, K. (2022). Decentralized warfare models in pre-colonial India: Organizational challenges and military outcomes. *Asian Military Review*, 14(4), 201–220.

⁶ Iyer, V. (2023). Crisis leadership and decentralized warfare in pre-modern India. *Journal of Military History and Strategic Studies*, 18(1), 88–107.

⁷ Nair, P. (2024). Military coordination failures in early modern Indian armies. *Indian Journal of Historical Studies*, 29(2), 54–73.



III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research model used in this study is qualitative historical with doctrinal and analytical models.

3.1 Research Design

This study uses a Historical Analytical research design which is used to study events systematically. The historical-analytical method consists of studying critically the existing historical accounts, chronicles and scholarly documents and then reconstructing the dynamics of the battlefield and the structure of the leadership. The study focuses on an analytical interpretation of military organization, command, and operational decision-making, rather than being solely narrative.

Further, a comparative analysis of military leadership is used to assess the structural and functional differences between the Maratha and Afghan coalition command system. This will allow for a comparison of the functioning of the secondary commanders in the different organizational cultures and the effect these commanders had on battlefield success.

In addition, the study incorporates a crisis leadership framework application that highlights the leadership behavior during uncertainty, communication failure and operational stress. The Panipat battlefield context was of particular relevance where there was a need for decentralized decision making as there were frequent tactical changes and disjointed communication. These methodological methods combine to give a complete picture of the impact of the secondary commanders on the course and outcome of the battle⁹.

3.2 Sources of Data

In the present study the secondary sources of data have been used, and they have been critically examined to construct the historical and military aspects of the Third Battle of Panipat (1761). These sources give interpretative and analytical information about the structure of command, battlefield strategies and the role of secondary commanders in both the Maratha and the Afghan coalition.

The first type of material is historical texts and chronicles, recording the order of events, choices made by the leadership, and the results on the battlefield. Academic books and peer-reviewed journal articles, which provide contemporary interpretations of the history and theories of military leadership and decentralized command systems are also included.

The study also considers the operational analyses of military history that concentrate on the strategies, logistics, and organizational aspects of 18th century warfare. These works are especially helpful to understand what is happening on the battlefield, which is unrelated to politics. In addition, published interpretations of the source materials in Persian and Marathi are used, on the one hand to include indigenous perspectives and on the other to reconstruct the perspectives of contemporary observers and chroniclers.

The study's use of these various secondary sources allows for a comprehensive, balanced and critically informed analysis of decentralized leadership, and its effects on the result of the battle.

3.3 Analytical Framework

This analytical framework is based on the model of decentralized leadership and examines the reasons for the failure of the command structure and subordinate leadership in the Third Battle of Panipat (1761). The structure allows an organized analysis of the decision-making processes of the military during crisis, fragmentation and limited communication.

⁸ Mehta, J. L. (2022). *Advanced study in the history of modern India: Eighteenth-century transitions*. Sterling Publishers.

⁹ Roy, K. (2021). *War, culture and society in early modern South Asia*. Routledge.



The first dimension of analysis is command hierarchy distribution which examines the spread of command between the top leaders and secondary commanders within the Maratha coalition and within the Afghan coalition. It assists in comprehending the level of centralization or decentralization within each army¹⁰.

The second dimension is the degree of autonomy of subordinate leaders on the battlefield; this dimension is assessed in relation to how much autonomy secondary commanders had in combat situations.

The third aspect assesses the efficiency of communication, especially the capacity to relay commands and organise the units in real time in situations of stress on the battlefield.

Finally, the framework examines tactical coordination under crisis conditions, and how well subordinate commanders coordinated during the rapidly changing nature of combat. These dimensions give a complete analytical framework to evaluate the success of decentralized leadership on battlefield performance and ultimate results.

3.4 Scope of Study

The range of the study is developed, so that the analysis becomes focused and in-depth in the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) study. The study focuses mainly on the command structures of the Maratha Empire and the coalition of Ahmad Shah Abdali's Afghans, and how power was spread and utilized in the military environment.

The important function and operational importance of secondary commanders, who acted as key intermediaries between central command and execution units is a major focus. The ways in which they make decisions, act independently, and coordinate actions are of particular importance when attempting to understand the effects of decentralized leadership on military results.

The time frame of the study covers a limited period, the Third Battle of Panipat in 1761, so that the analysis of the Battle itself could be investigated in detail without the need to trace the events that led up to or followed it. This will keep the analysis as relevant as possible to the event being studied.

The study focuses on the command structure, subordinates' leadership, and one critical historical battle, which enables it to offer a detailed and systematic analysis of decentralized leadership as one of the determining factors in crisis warfare¹¹.

3.5 Limitations

This study has some limitations due to the nature of the historical reconstruction and the availability of source material. For one, the research relies heavily on secondary interpretations of the historical past, for which no direct empirical evidence of the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) can be found. For this reason the analysis is based on the interpretations and conclusions of historians, some of which may differ in emphasis and perspective.

Second, it is the case that primary battlefield communications documents are scarce, if they exist at all, and that what is available is not necessarily the first-hand accounts of on-the-ground decisions, orders and coordination among the secondary commanders. Without this level of detail, it's hard to fully understand just how decentralized leadership and battlefield communications worked.

Third, the study recognizes the possibility of historiographical bias in sources dating from the colonial period, and many of these have significantly influenced the early interpretation of the battle. These narratives tend to be from outsiders' viewpoints, which may not adequately represent the indigenous strategic frameworks and/or complex command structures.

Yet the study tries to avoid the interpretative bias by utilizing diverse up-to-date writings and comparisons. This helps to get a well-rounded perspective on decentralized dynamics with weapons in the battle.

¹⁰ Richards, J. F. (2018). *The Mughal Empire* (Updated ed.). Cambridge University Press.

¹¹ Kulkarni, A. R. (2021). *The Maratha military system and regional warfare*. Oxford University Press.



Result

Table 1: Comparative Analytical Framework of Decentralized Leadership (Numerical Form) – Panipat, 1761

S. No.	Analytical Dimension	Maratha Empire (Score: 1–5)	Afghan Coalition (Score: 1–5)
1	Command Hierarchy Distribution	2 (Low–Moderate central control; fragmented authority among sardars)	5 (Highly structured delegation with clear command hierarchy)
2	Battlefield Autonomy of Secondary Commanders	5 (High autonomy but uncoordinated decision-making)	3 (Controlled and strategically aligned autonomy)
3	Communication Efficiency	2 (Weak and inconsistent battlefield communication)	4 (Relatively efficient coordination mechanisms)
4	Tactical Coordination in Crisis Conditions	2 (Poor synchronization among units)	5 (Strong operational and inter-unit synchronization)
5	Crisis Response Capability	2 (Delayed and fragmented response to battlefield changes)	4 (Rapid and adaptive response under pressure)

Scale Used

5 = Very High Effectiveness

4 = High Effectiveness

3 = Moderate Effectiveness

2 = Low Effectiveness

1 = Very Low Effectiveness

Interpretation: The numerical analysis of decentralized leadership (Third Battle of Panipat, 1761) clearly shows the structural contrast between the Maratha Empire and the Afghan Coalition. The average scores in the command hierarchy distribution, communication efficiency, tactical coordination and crisis response ability of the Maratha forces indicate that there is significant fragmentation and low integration among the sardars. The autonomy enjoyed by secondary commanders in the field is high, but still largely disorganized, and not necessarily an asset.

The Afghan coalition, on the other hand, scores higher with consistently higher effectiveness scores — in particular when it comes to command hierarchy distribution and tactical coordination during crisis situations. They had a structured delegation system ensuring that the secondary commanders were working in a disciplined and synchronised environment. In some cases, autonomy was limited but it was still planned in the context of central goals. Overall, the interpretation suggests that a structured approach to decentralization, as practiced in the Afghan coalition, proved more effective than uncoordinated autonomy, like the command system of the Marathas. This imbalance clearly played its part in the different battlefield results.



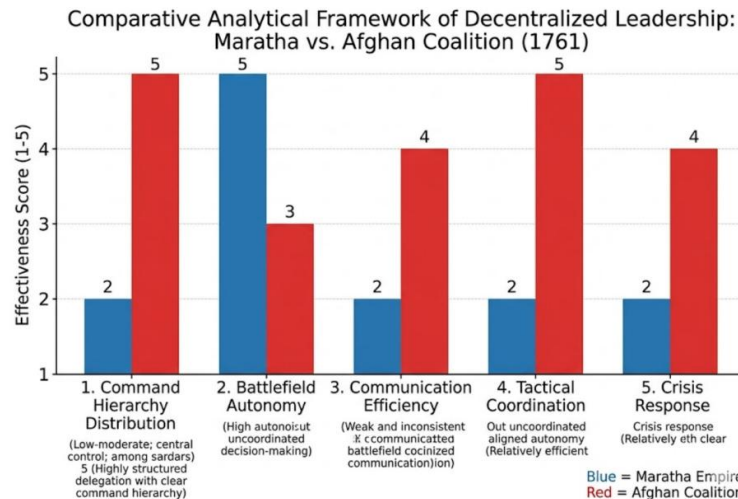


Figure 1: Comparative Analytical Framework of Decentralized Leadership between the Maratha Empire and the Afghan Coalition during the Third Battle of Panipat (1761)

IV. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: DECENTRALIZED MILITARY LEADERSHIP

4.1 Meaning of Decentralized Military Leadership

Decentralized military leadership is a military command structure that eliminates the need for a single commander by delegating authority to subordinate commanders in each sector of the battlefield. Secondary commanders are not purely subordinates of the centre but are given the authority to decide on tactical actions based on what happens on the battlefield and to also follow the army's strategic course. This permits military operations to proceed effectively even if interfering communications with the central authorities are hampered or delayed¹².

Decentralized leadership is principally used to improve the battlefield adaptability, flexibility and responsiveness of the operation. By allowing subordinate commanders to act swiftly in response to enemy movements, reinforce vulnerable areas, and make tactical adjustments without the need for direct orders from the central command, it can help them function effectively in rapidly changing combat situations. Such a system is particularly useful in large-scale warfare with different sectors of the battlefield reacting at the same time.

Hence, decentralisation of military command and control is a measure of unity but also of tactical flexibility which allows armies to stay in touch and coherent during challenging military operations¹³.

4.2 Importance in Crisis Conditions

Decentralized leadership takes on greater importance in the event of a military crisis when conditions on the battlefield are uncertain and the stress of the operations and the changing nature of combat makes centralized command systems less effective. During large-scale conflict, supreme commanders can encounter problems in ensuring constant domination of the dispersed military forces. In this context, action by subordinates must be tactical in nature and must be taken without reference to their superior's orders, in order to ensure a continuity of action and efficiency of operations on the battlefield¹⁴.

Disrupted communication is one primary reason for a decentralized command because it is difficult to send messages in time, or messages are lost or misinterpreted, so central command cannot send instructions. The ability to make quick

¹² Chandra, S. (2018). *Medieval India: Society, politics and military structures*. Har-Anand Publications.

¹³ Gordon, S. (2019). *The Marathas 1600–1818* (Reprint ed.). Cambridge University Press.

¹⁴ Barua, P. (2020). *Military developments in early modern South Asia*. Routledge.



tactical decisions is another key element: the environment on the battlefield is unpredictable and demands local responses quickly. Also, there is limited central supervision in real time which means that the supreme commanders can't monitor and control all the combat sectors during heavy fighting.

As such, decentralized leadership provides secondary commanders with the flexibility to react swiftly to new threats, strengthen weak points, and adjust tactics as conditions on the battlefield dictate, improving military resilience and effectiveness during crisis situations.

4.3 Relevance in 18th-Century Warfare

In the 18th century, decentralized military structure was not only a preference, but a necessity, resulting from limited technology and logistics. In the era of this military, they did not have modern communication devices like wireless transmission systems, electronic surveillance, satellite coordination and mechanized transport. Because of this, mounted messengers, drums, flags, signal fires, and visual signals played a significant role in battlefield communication, and were all easily confused, delayed, and disrupted with other signals during battle.

During large-scale engagements, combat may be spread over vast geographical areas and constant real-time supervision by central commanders is virtually impossible. In those situations, secondary commanders had to take tactical decisions on their own to keep the operational continuity. They were essential in reinforcing cutbacks of forces, re-organizing forces, reacting to enemy advances and changing tactics to suit local battlefield conditions. Thus, subordinates played a vital role in the coordination, resilience and fight in a pre-modern military system like the 3rd battle of Panipat¹⁵.

V. BACKGROUND: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

5.1 Maratha Army

At the Third battle of Panipat, Sadashivrao Bhau was the supreme military commander for the Maratha army. The military organization of the Marathas was in fact very decentralized, with powerful semi-autonomous sardars like Holkar and Scindia having their own units and considerable operational autonomy. This decentralized system frequently proved to be a problem for the unified coordination of the battlefield and strategic discipline.

Heavy cavalry played a crucial role in the Maratha army, which had always been a strength of theirs in mobile warfare in the Indian subcontinent. But the Panipat campaign brought to light the inadequacies of a cavalry dominated army in the face of an organized and defensive Afghan coalition.

The army was faced with other great problems of logistics due to the presence of non-combatants such as camp followers, traders and family members with the army. This placed added strain on food, transport and battlefield flexibility, leading to a decline in operational efficiencies in the long campaign and ultimate battle.

5.2 Afghan Coalition

In the Third Battle of Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali commanded the coalition of Afghans who possessed a system of delegated authority with centralized strategic control. The Afghan coalition operated a well-organized subordinate leadership structure, which was stronger and more disciplined than that of the Marathas, and contributed towards improved coordination on the battlefield and operational flexibility.

Some secondary commanders like Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Najib-ud-Daulah were prominent in maintaining stability in various parts of the battlefield. These leaders led the Rohilla and allied forces, and liaised with Abdali for tactical and strategic decisions. They were able to operate independently and yet were strategically linked to the coalition, boosting its fighting capability.

Another tactic employed by the Afghan army was a divisional strategy used on the battlefield, in which separate commanders had specific operational zones and responsibilities. This organization facilitated communication, quick

¹⁵ Alam, M. (2019). *The crisis of empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and Punjab revisited*. Oxford University Press.



reinforcement, and tactical response in crisis situations. The Afghan coalition was thus more cohesive, flexible and resilient in battle.

VI. ROLE OF SECONDARY COMMANDERS

6.1 Afghan Coalition

The Afghan coalition provided an example of decentralized military leadership that worked well, with secondary commanders as extensions of central authority under Ahmad Shah Abdali. The coordinated system maintained battlefield stability, discipline and speed tactical changes during the 3rd Battle of Panipat.

Najib-ud-Daulah contributed significantly to the stabilisation of the important defence positions of the Afghan formation. His leadership was instrumental in holding the line against the repeated Maratha attacks and in averting any major fissures in the resistance lines. Similarly, Rohillas commanders deployed significant numbers of infantry at the front and kept them on the battlefield for long periods of time to help absorb and negate enemy pressure when frontline battles were very tough.

Further, a number of tribal leaders were given the task of quick reinforcements in Afghanistan. They were able to rapidly move reserve forces and integrate their assistance in various parts of the battlefield effectively. These commanders operated independently if needed and under the overall strategic plans of the Abdali. This is a mix of delegated authority, disciplined coordination and tactical responsiveness that played a big role in the battlefield coherence of the Afghan coalition and their ultimate success.

6.2 Maratha Forces

The decentralised system of command allowed secondary commanders a high degree of autonomy on the battlefield during the Third Battle of Panipat. This autonomy, however, did not have effective coordination or strategic integration, which led to a number of weaknesses in operations throughout the battle. The overall coherence of the military operations was compromised by powerful sardars being able to command separate units and frequently operating independently.

The effects of this disjointed structure were that there were incidents of disorganized cavalry engagements. Within the Maratha cavalry units, however, the power and mobility of the cavalry was often not harnessed to a coordinated operation, which made their combined force less effective against the Afghan coalition. Furthermore, the army faced long reinforcement cycles because lower-level commanders could not quickly and reliably communicate with each other and deliver reinforcement.

Also, a serious lack was identified with regard to communication between units. Poor command and control of the battlefield and orders resulted in confusion and various tactical responses. These structural weaknesses adversely affected the operational stability and played a significant role in the gradual erosion of Maratha resistance throughout the battle.

VII. DISCUSSION

The study of the third battle of Panipat (1761) suggests that decentralisation of military leadership is not necessarily good or bad but depends on the existence of enabling structural and strategic factors. The results indicate that decentralized command structures are most effective when there is strategic alignment between the central and subordinate command levels, so that all units are aware of the military goals and objectives. Further, the presence of clear operational objectives is a key requirement to help secondary commanders make consistent and coordinated tactical decisions in the dynamic nature of battle.

Additionally, the mechanisms of coordination between decentralized authorities are of critical importance for the effective performance on the battlefield. These dispersed units must be kept coherent through communications, reinforcement, and coordinated action plans.



In Panipat, the Afghan coalition allowed for a controlled decentralization of authority, with secondary commanders guided by a disciplined and strategically coherent chain of command. The Marathas on the other hand, showed signs of disorganized fragmentation, with poor coordination and decision making amongst sardars. This structural failure played a considerable role in their failure to respond to the Afghan tactical plays well on the battlefield and in the end, they collapsed on the battlefield.

VIII. CONCLUSION

In the context of crisis warfare, the Third Battle of Panipat (1761) is an interesting historical exemplar which shows that the results of a battle are as much influenced by the actions of secondary commanders working under decentralized forms of leadership as by the actions of supreme commanders. The results of this research project demonstrate that these subordinate leaders were not simply side players, but rather key on-the-ground actors with decisions that had a direct impact on the battlefield and the outcome of the war.

The Afghan coalition led by Ahmad Shah Abdali was formed and largely held together by a disciplined and structured method of decentralisation – secondary commanders like Najib-ud-Daulah and Rohilla chiefs as coordinated extensions of central authority. This system provided tactical flexibility, quick response to battlefield changes and maintained operational cohesion even in heavy combat. This resulted in the Afghan troops showing resilience and adaptability during the battle.

The Maratha empire, on the other hand, was plagued by problems of disorganisation in command and lack of coordination, with the sardars being semi-autonomous, with no real synchronisation and no strategic unity. This disunity had caused a number of delays, miscommunication, and ultimately a failure to coordinate the battle lines at crucial moments.

In general, the study findings indicate that there is a need for strategic alignment, disciplined coordination and clearly defined objectives to support decentralization of military leadership to be effective. The Third Battle of Panipat further emphasizes the significance of decentralization as a key determinant in crisis leadership and success in battlefield.

REFERENCES

- [1]. Alam, M. (2019). *The crisis of empire in Mughal North India: Awadh and Punjab revisited*. Oxford University Press.
- [2]. Barua, P. (2020). *Military developments in early modern South Asia*. Routledge.
- [3]. Chandra, S. (2018). *Medieval India: Society, politics and military structures*. Har-Anand Publications.
- [4]. Gordon, S. (2019). *The Marathas 1600–1818* (Reprint ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- [5]. Gupta, R. (2019). Command structures and factional politics in the late Maratha Empire. *Indian Historical Review*, 46(2), 215–232.
- [6]. Iyer, V. (2023). Crisis leadership and decentralized warfare in pre-modern India. *Journal of Military History and Strategic Studies*, 18(1), 88–107.
- [7]. Kulkarni, A. R. (2021). *The Maratha military system and regional warfare*. Oxford University Press.
- [8]. Kumar, S. (2020). Logistics and battlefield coordination in eighteenth-century Indian warfare. *South Asian Historical Quarterly*, 12(3), 145–163.
- [9]. Mehta, J. L. (2022). *Advanced study in the history of modern India: Eighteenth-century transitions*. Sterling Publishers.
- [10]. Nair, P. (2024). Military coordination failures in early modern Indian armies. *Indian Journal of Historical Studies*, 29(2), 54–73.
- [11]. Reddy, K. (2022). Decentralized warfare models in pre-colonial India: Organizational challenges and military outcomes. *Asian Military Review*, 14(4), 201–220.
- [12]. Richards, J. F. (2018). *The Mughal Empire* (Updated ed.). Cambridge University Press.
- [13]. Roy, K. (2021). *War, culture and society in early modern South Asia*. Routledge.



- [14]. Sharma, D. (2020). Afghan coalition warfare and leadership under Ahmad Shah Abdali. *Journal of South Asian Military Studies*, 9(1), 31–49.
- [15]. Verma, A. (2021). Communication breakdown and tactical collapse at the Third Battle of Panipat. *International Journal of Historical Research*, 7(2), 95–113.

