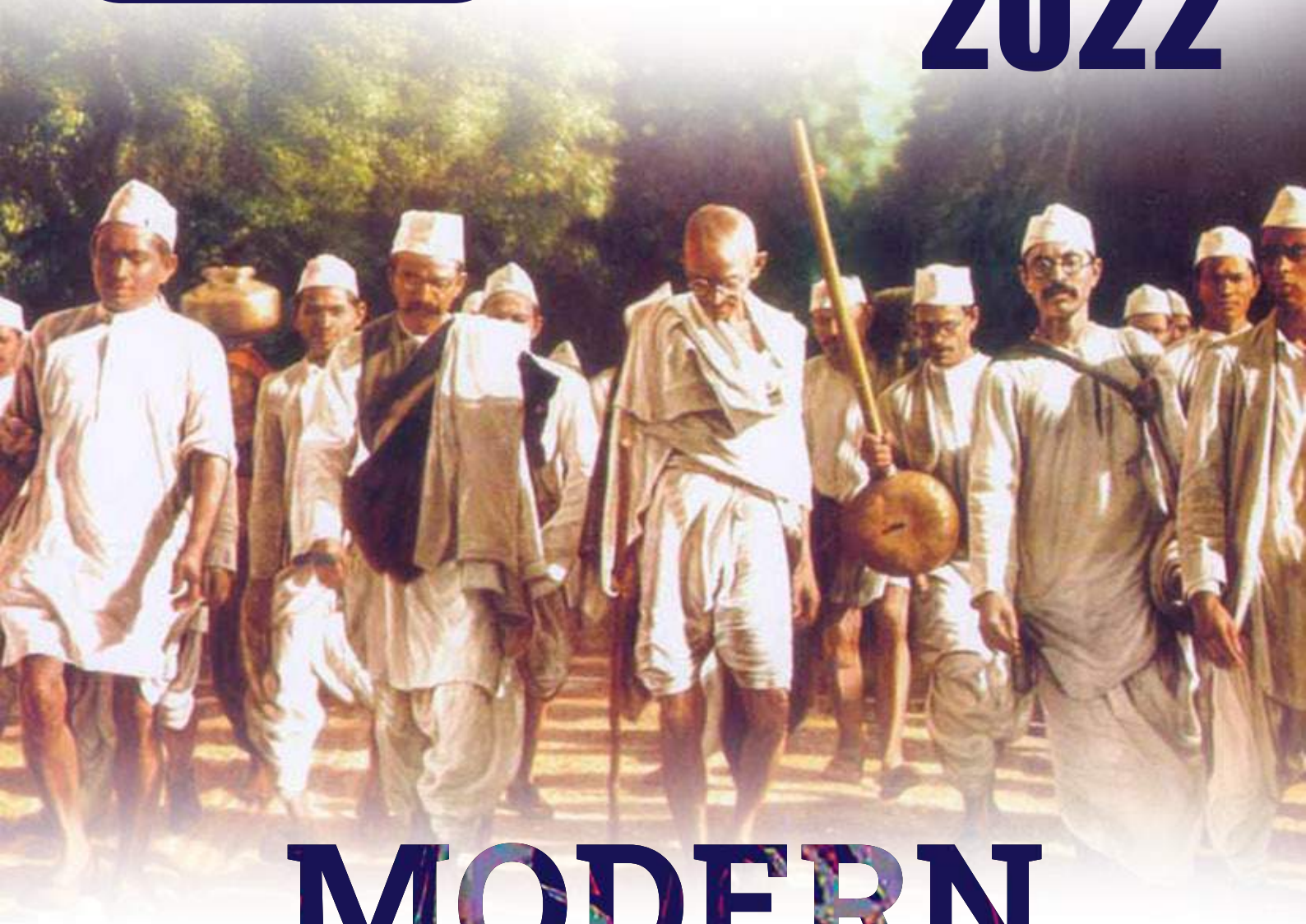




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Arrival Of The Europeans In India

Arrival of Portuguese In India (First to come and last to leave)

Why a sea route to India?

- Roman Empire declined in the seventh century
- Arabs rose to power in Egypt and Persia
- This led to the declination of the direct contact between Europe and India (Arabs had become middlemen)
- In 1453, Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks, who were on the ascendant
- Therefore, land and sea routes were under the control of the Arabs

Renaissance gripped Europe in the fifteenth century, leading its call for exploration. Simultaneously, they were advancements in the field of ship building, crop rotation, plowing and meat industry. This led to the need for voyages and the requirements of spices respectively.

Prince Henry of Portugal (nicknamed, Navigator), Portuguese Royal who supported sea route exploration.

Arrival in India

[**Note:** In 1487, **Bartholomew Dias** rounded the Cape of Good Hope in Africa and sailed up the eastern coast. He was well convinced that he had reached India. But only ten years later had the sea route to India been discovered, when another Portuguese expedition arrived in May 1498.]

- 1498- **Vasco da Gama** reached Calicut in Kerala. He was helped by a Gujarati pilot, **Abdul Majid**. Here, he was welcomed by **Zamorins (Hindu rulers)**. After engaging in the much profitable trade for three months, he returned to Europe.
- 1500- **Pedro Alvarez Cabral** arrived in Calicut and established a factory to trade for spices.
- 1501- Vasco Da Gama once again came to India. Got into friendly **treaties** with Zamorins, and established trading posts at Cannanore, Calicut and Cochin in Kerala.

Expansion of the Portuguese Rule

Under the pretext of protection of trade, the Portuguese got permission to fortify their centres. Gradually, efficient Governor Generals were being sent to India to expand the trade. A few have been mentioned below :

1505 - **Francisco de Almeida**

- Consolidated portuguese trade and subdued muslim trade
- Encountered the opposition of the Zamorin alongwith the Mamluk Sultan of Egypt. Initially, defeated at their hands.
- Avenged the defeat by totally crushing both navies next year,
- Wanted to make Portugese the masters of Indian ocean.
- His policy was known as **Blue Water Policy (cartaze system)**.

1509 - **Alfonso De Albuquerque**

- Introduced a permit system for ships to enter the Indian Ocean
- Acquired Goa from Sultan of Bijapur inn1510
- **Abolition of sati**
- Encouraged Portugese men to take Indian wives and settle in India (to increase the demography as well)
- Introduced tobacco, cashew and irrigation system

1529 - **Nino Da Cunha**

- Shifted the headquarters from Cochin to Goa inn1530
- Helped Gujaratis to fight the Mughals. **Got Bassein and Diu** as reward
- Expanded to East in Bengal with Hooghly as headquarters

Favorable Conditions for Portugese

- Excellent ships, navy with cannons (much better compared to other small kingdoms)
- Egypt and Middle East lacked timber and could not build ships
- No other super powers, Chinese had restricted themselves from entering India
- Knowledge of sea, maps, tradesmen and governors

Over the years, Portugese state expanded to almost all coasts of India- Mangalore, Cannanore, Calicut, Cochin, San Thome in Chennai, Nagapattinam in Andhra Pradesh and Hooghly in West Bengal.

Relation with the Mughals - Initial challenges were present but the Mughals were impressed by the Portugese navy. They wanted to convert the Mughals to Christianity. Despite failing in doing so, they got permission to build churches and roads.

Meanwhile, the English discovered sea route to India

1608 - **William Hawkins** came to **Jahangir's** court

Despite retaliation from Portuguese, they started trade, However, upon negotiation with the Mughals, the Portuguese successfully stopped the English ships.

1612- English ships finally enter.

During the reign of **Shahjahan**, Portuguese lose their entire rule.

Reasons for decline

- Emergence of powerful kingdoms in Egypt, North India and Marathas
- Entry of english, loss in trade
- Religious policies and spiritual pressure gained them enemies
- Rampant corruption
- Discovery of Brazil in the West diverted their attention
- Dutch overpowered them in spice trade

Significance of Portuguese Rule

- Opened up new era of global trade
- Introduced modern techniques of warfare and navy
- Built churches and roads

Arrival of the Dutch in India

1602- arrival due to commercial interests

1605- established first factory at **Masulipatnam**, Andhra Pradesh

Important trading posts and factories- Surat, Bimlipatnam, Karaikal, Chinsurah, Baranagar, Kasimbazar, Balasore, Patna, Nagapattanam, Cochin

Anglo Dutch Rivalry

- Commercial interests in India and Indonesia
- Dutch captured regions in Indonesia
- Dutch withdraw from India and British from Indonesia

Decline in India

The defeat of Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch rivalry and shifting of the Dutch attention to the Malay archipelago.

Important wars :

- 3rd Anglo Dutch war (1672-74) - Dutch captured English ships
- **Battle of Bidara** (1759) - The English defeated the Dutch

Arrival of the English in India

1600 - **Queen Elizabeth** gives a charter to East India Company for trade
1608 - **William Hawkins** reached Jahangir's court
1612 - **Captain Thomas Best** defeated the Portugese which impressed Jahangir
1613 - First factory established at **Surat**
1615 - **Thomas Roe** reaches Jahangir's court and gets the permission to set up factories at Agra, Ahmedabad and Broach
1632 - Got Golden farman from **Sultan of Golconda** for trade
1639 - Got permission to fortify at Madras
1662 - Received Bombay as a dowry gift from Portugese

Meanwhile they also got **permission to trade** in Bengal by paying duties. **But, not to fortify.**

1717- Farruksiyar's farman, called the Magna Carta of the company. It gave them permission to mint their own coins and allowed duty free trade. This ended up giving them a large number of trade concessions.

Danes in India

Entered in 1616 and mostly focused on missionary activities

Important locations : Tranquebar near Tanjore, **Serampore** near Calcutta

Lots of factories were eventually sold to the British in 1845.

Arrival of the French (Last Europeans to enter India)

1664 - Got monopoly of trade in India from the King
1667 - Set up first factory at **Surat**
1673 - Established first township at **Chandernagore** near Calcutta
1674 - Settlement at **Pondicherry** - nerve centre of French power in the country

Other possessions- Mahe, Yanaon, Karaikal

Noted Governor-General : **DUPLEIX**

Anglo French Rivalry, It coincided with the wars fought by both these powers in Europe.

Causes :

- For protection and expansion of commercial interests
- Political developments in South India and Europe

Carnatic wars :

- **First Carnatic War** (1740-48) - English seized French ships, French seized Madras. Ended with the **Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle**
- **Second Carnatic War** (1749-54) - the French suffered heavy financial loss
Treaty of Pondicherry: no future interference in states' disputes
- **Third Carnatic War** (1758-63)- Reason was the **Seven Years war in Europe** (1756-63)
The **Battle of Wandiwash** in 1760 was the final blow to the French.
Treaty of Paris - English became the supreme power

Reasons for English success :

- Sound commercial base
- More stable government
- Excellent military and navy
- Industrial Revolution
- Less zeal for religion
- Never undermined trading activities

India At The Time of British Conquest

Decline of the Mughals :

Aurangazeb (1658-1707) : Beginning of the decline, one of the reasons being poor policies

External challenges :

- 1738-39 - **Nadir Shah**, Persian emperor invaded India (Lahore, Kabul, Karnal). Took away **Kohinoor diamond**, **Peacock throne**, 70 crore rupees
- 1748-67 - **Ahmad Shah Abdali**, the **Durrani empire**, invaded India. Took over the Mughal kings, appointed officers and left in 1759. Marathas attacked him and took control.
- 1761- Abdali came back and took revenge on the Marathas
This was the **Third Battle of Panipat**, where the **Marathas were defeated**

Internal challenges - Weak rulers after Aurangazeb

Rulers after Aurangazeb	Important points	
Jahandar Shah	Zulfikar Shah helped him become ruler and introduced the ijarah system to improve finance. Abolished jaziya.	
Farrukhsiyar	Sayyid brothers helped him become ruler, they were called the King Makers. Abolished jaziya and pilgrimage tax. Gave farman to Britishers with trade benefits in Bengal, Gujarat and Hyderabad. Sayyid brothers themselves dethroned and killed him with the help of Peshwa Balaji Vishwanath.	
Mohammed Shah	Called Rangeela for his luxurious lifestyle. Killed Sayyid brothers with the help of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Marathas invaded Delhi during his reign in 1737. Nadir Shah invaded India during his reign in 1739 and took away Kohinoor and Peacock Throne. Independent states of Bengal, Punjab, Awadh and Hyderabad came to existence.	
Alamgir 2	Abdali invaded India. The Battle of Plassey was fought during his reign.	
Shah Alam 2	Battle of Panipat (1761), Battle of Buxar (1764) fought during his time. Diwani rights were given to the British.	
Akbar 2	Gave title of Raja to Ram Mohan Roy. Stopped minting coins with Mughal ruler's name on it.	
Bahadur Shah Zafar	Last mughal ruler. Mughal empire ended in 1858 once Queen Victoria declared the same.	

Causes of Decline of the Mughals :

Historians debate two major reasons :

- Weak rulers and Empire politics
- Instability in different parts of the empire

Factors :

- Shifting allegiance of the zamindars- trying to own and control land for themselves
- Jagirdari crisis- mansabdars, subedars, nobility etc many people were appointed to take care of the land. Gradually, as more and more people were appointed there came a time where there was no more land that could be allotted. This made them rebel against the empire.

- Economic and Administrative problems- Kingdom became too large to be administered centrally. No new land left to give to mansabdars as jagirs.
 - Weak rulers followed Aurangzeb
 - No clear rule of succession, and all the princes fought each other causing internal crises
 - Aurangzeb was not secular as his predecessors, which caused the public to dislike their ruler
 - Weak rulers- this led to degeneration and nobility of the army
 - Aurangzeb's Deccan Policy- ended in failure and financial crisis
 - Rise of regional aspirations
- {Chauth- 1/4th of gross revenue to be paid to Maratha by alien states**
Sardeshmukhi- additional 10% tax on chauth}

Regional States :

- Successor States- broke away from the empire, did not challenge the sovereignty of the Mughals.
Bengal, Awadh, Hyderabad
- Independent Kingdoms- due to destabilization of Mughal control over the provinces.
Mysore, Kerala, Rajput
- New States- rebelled against the Mughals.
Marathas, Sikhs, Jats

Survey of regional states :

- Hyderabad- dream of Zulfikar Khan. Fulfilled by Nizam-ul-Mulk
- Awadh- found by Saadat Khan (Burhan-ul-Mulk)
- Bengal- Murshid Quli Khan-- Shujauddin-- Sarfaraz Khan-- Alivardi Khan
- Mysore- Wodeyar dynasty-- later, Haider Ali-- Tipu Sultan
- Kerala-- Marthada Varma, spread from Kanyakumari to Cochin. Capital was Travancore.
- Jats- were agriculturists. Churaman and Badan Singh. Saw its zenith during the rule of Suraj Mal. Regions- Agra, Meerut, Mathura, Aligarh
- Sikhs- Guru Gobind Singh, belonged to the militant sect, were interested in protecting religion and literature.
Banda Bahadur- leader, killed in 1708. Later, the kingdom was divided into 12 misls or confederacies.
Ranjit Singh- most efficient. Signed the Treaty of Amritsar. Died in 1839.
- Marathas- under the Peshwas. Regions under their rule included Gujarat and Malwa.
Lost the Third Battle of Panipat to Ahmad Shah Abdali.

Nature and limitations :

- The independent political systems that emerged in the provinces continued to maintain ties with the Mughal imperial authority and acknowledged the supremacy of the emperor

as the umbrella. The provincial rulers took care of the various local interests, simultaneously.

- However, these rulers failed to develop a system based on sound financial, administrative and military organization. On the whole, they were backward in science and technology. Another drawback was the constant warfare these states had with the neighbouring regional powers.

Socio Economic conditions in India :

- Agriculture- stagnant and technologically backward, compensated by very hard labor by the peasants.
- Trade and Industry- exports were more than imports
- Education- Elementary education imparted through pathshalas and makhtabs. Chatuspathis or Tols among Hindus, and madarsahs among Muslims were institutes of higher learning.
Absence of the study of science, technology and geography was a general feature.
- Society- A lot of castes, sub castes and sects. Society was patriarchal and divided into 4 varnas. The lifestyle was very traditional and conservative.
Women- upper class lived in homes, while the ones of lower class worked on the fields. Purdah, sati, polygamy, child marriage existed.
Dowry was widespread in Bengal and Rajputanas.
Slave trade spread across India after the advent of the Europeans.
- Art and Architecture- Asaf-ud-Daula, in 1784, built Bada Imambara at Lucknow. Sawai Jai Singh built the Pink City of Jaipur and five astronomical observatories (Delhi, Jaipur, Mathura, Benares, Ujjain).
Painting schools of Kangra and Rajputana came into existence.
In northern India, growth of Urdu language and poetry took place. Prominent Urdu poets were Mir, Sauda, Nazir and Mirza Ghalib.
Regional languages developed. Tamil language was enriched by sitar poetry.
In Sindhi literature, Shah Abdul Latif composed Risalo, a collection of poems.

Expansion and Consolidation of the British Empire In India

When did the British period begin in India ?

- 1740- Anglo French struggle began, for supremacy in India
- 1757- British defeated the Nawab of Bengal at Plassey
- 1761- Third battle of Panipat when the Marathas were defeated by the Abdali

Was it accidental or pre-planned :

- Initially, the British came only for trade purposes. And this earned them a lot of rivals. To protect trade and commerce, the need for a well-maintained army strengthened.
- They feared other Europeans would come in to establish and flourish, whilst overthrowing the British.
- This made them construct permanent posts at various places all across the country.
- Threats from Indian rulers played a part in the change of their policies- from trading to invading the country.

Causes of British success in India :

- Superior arms, military and strategy
- Better military discipline, and regular salary
- Civil discipline and fair selection system
- Brilliant leadership and support of second line leaders
- Strong financial backup
- Nationalist pride

Bengal Conquest :

Location-present day West Bengal, Bangladesh, Bihar and Orissa

Timeline- 1740s to 1770s

Reason for conquest- richest province, 60% of trade from Asia was from Bengal

Reason why Bengal was so rich :

- Strong Nawab- Alivardi Khan (1741-1756)
- Not prone to attacks from the West or marathas or jats

Prelude :

- **Alivardi Khan** wanted to oust the Europeans from Bengal
- Had frequent conflicts with the British in matter of fortification of Calcutta
- He died in 1756 and was succeeded by young **Siraj-ud-Daula**

Challenges before Siraj-ud-Daula

- Rebel relatives- cousin, aunt (Ghaseeti Begum) from nearby provinces
- Rebel within the court- Mir Jafar, Jagat Seth, Omichand etc
- Commercially expanding British
- Lack of experience- he was 20 years old when he became Nawab

1757- Battle of Plassey

1760- Treaty with Mir Kasim

1764- Battle of Buxar

1765- Treaty of Allahabad

Battle of Plassey - A battle which was won even before it was fought

Reasons :

- Company officials misused the trade privileges
- Fortified Calcutta without permission
- Gave asylum to political fugitive Krishna Das who fled with treasures

Black Hole Tragedy- **Siraj-ud-daula** attacked and captured Calcutta fort and imprisoned 146 English men and women in a tiny room. Almost 123 died of suffocation.

Robert Clive led the English forces, from Madras. He had secretly formed an alliance with **Mir Jafar** and a few others. This led to the capture of the Nawab easily. He was defeated.

Result :

- Mir Jafar was made the Nawab. He was asked to pay money and zamindari rights to the British.
- Supremacy of British power. Robert Clive took charge, and posted a Resident at the Nawab's court.

Treaty of 1760 :

- Mir Jafar couldn't pay as per the British demands, He made an alliance with the Dutch to fight against British, But he was easily defeated, The British decided to support Mir Kasim (son-in-law) and make him Nawab.
- Therefore, a treaty was signed with Mir Kasim :
 - To pay off outstanding debts
 - Cede more territories to British
 - Mutual agreement to support each other against any enemy attack

Mir Kasim- the most efficient ruler of Bengal, Shifted capital from Murshidabad to Munger (Bihar), Reorganized Bureaucracy and army to enhance its skills and operation

Battle of Buxar- 1764

Reasons :

- Company had thought Mir Kasim would merely act as a puppet ruler
- Governor of Bihar not paying duties. Misusing trade rights. English support.
- Company had got an imperial farman to trade without duties. But the company servants misused it.

Mir Kasim vs Company- series of small conflicts. But he had to flee Awadh. Alliance with **Shuja-ud-Daula** (Awadh) and **Shah Alam 2** (Mughal ruler), But the entire lot was defeated by english under **Major Hector Munroe**.

Result :

- Mir Jafar was again made the Nawab to act as a puppet.
- More powers and territories ceded to British

Treaty of Allahabad- 1765- concluded by Robert Clive :

- One treaty with Mughal ruler, Shah Alam II and another with Nawab of Awadh, Shuja-ud-daula
- Gained more territories, cash and uninterrupted trading rights.
- Awadh was not annexed, but was made a buffer state.

Mir Kasim, the dethroned Nawab of Bengal, spent the rest of his life in abject misery as a homeless wanderer and died in June 1777.

Dual Government in Bengal :

Introduced by **Robert Clive**. It meant the rule of two- the **Company** and the **Nawab**- in Bengal. The following came under the Company :

- Diwani rights- collecting revenue
- Nizamat- police and judicial rights
- This system meant great advantage for the British. It left the appearance of authority to the puppet Indian ruler, while keeping the sovereign power in the hands of the Company.
- The nawab was responsible for maintaining peace and order, but he depended both for funds and forces upon the Company because the latter controlled the army and revenues.
- The dual system led to an **administrative breakdown** and proved disastrous for the people of Bengal.
- **Warren Hastings** did away with this dual system in 1772.

Mysore's resistance to the Company :

Locations- present Karnataka, South India

Timeline- 1760s to 1799

Wodeyar dynasty

- ❖ 1565- **Battle of Talikota**- Vijaynagar empire was disintegrated
- ❖ Many small kingdoms arose, Wodeyar in 1612
- ❖ Important ruler- **Chikka Krishna Raj 2** (1734 to 1766)

Reasons of British Interest :

- Mid 18th century- **Hyder Ali** and **Tipu Sultan** rose to power
- British felt a threat to their commercial interests in the South
- French interests in helping Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan
- Threat to Madras settlement nearby

Hyder Ali :

Started his career as a horseman at Wodeyar under two ministers- **Nanjaraj** and **Devraj**. He was uneducated, but had a keen intellect and was determined. The kingdom was repeatedly attacked by the Marathas because of- lack of efficient ruler, financial burden on the kingdom and it was politically weak.

Hyder Ali rose to power in 1761. He tied up with the French for artillery and warfare. Ended the trouble for Poligars. They lost to Marathas several times and lost many territories. But gained back everything and more by 1776.

First Anglo-Mysore war (1767-69)

- The English concluded a treaty with the Nizam of Hyderabad and Marathas.
- Hyder already had differences with the Nawab of Arcot and differences with the Marathas.
- The Nizam, the Marathas, and the English allied together against Hyder Ali.
- He acted with considerable tact and diplomacy.
- He paid the Marathas to turn them neutral and, promising to share conquered territories with the Nizam, converted the Nizam into his ally.
- He then joined the Nizam to attack the Nawab of Arcot.

Result : **Treaty of Madras**

- Exchange of prisoners and territories
- British promised to help Mysore to any external threat

Second Anglo-Mysore war (1780-84)

- Hyder accused the British of not honoring the signed treaty.
- They did not provide help when Hyder was attacked by the Marathas. Rather, he found the French more helpful.
- In the meantime, French possessions were being attacked by the British.
- War was fought between- Hyder vs British, Nizam, Marathas
- Hyder died during the course of this war. And that is when his son, Tipu Sultan took over.

Result - Treaty of Mangalore

Third Anglo-Mysore war (1790-92)

- Travancore had acquired Cannanore from the Dutch. Tipu considered it as under his rule.
- That is when he declared war on Travancore, and the British came to Travancore's aid against Tipu.
- General Cornwallis took charge and surrounded Tipu from all sides.
- Even the Nizam and Marathas extended their support to the British.

Result - Treaty of Seringapatam

- Heavy losses to Tipu Sultan, half the territories ceded
- 3 crore rupees as war indemnity
- Two sons of Tipu were taken by the British for its guarantee

Fourth Anglo-Mysore war (1792-99)

- Tipu paid off all indemnity and got back his sons. He decided to take revenge for his losses.
- Wellesley took charge and was not liking the French interests in Mysore.
- War broke out. Again, English and allies defeated Tipu Sultan in 1799.
- Tipu died, fighting bravely against the British and all his treasures were confiscated.

Tipu Sultan (1750-1799)

- Multilingual
- Capitalist
- Focused on military and navy
- European model
- Patron of science and technology
- Called as Pioneer of rocket technology
- Introduced sericulture in Mysore
- Great lover of democracy
- Set up Jacobin Club for French soldiers
- Planted Tree of Liberty at Seringapatam
- Various views by historians about his oppression of Hindus
- He indeed destroyed temples while invading Kerala
- But also protected temples in his territory, funded Sringeri temple
- Installed idol of Goddess Sharada in temple
- Banned the use of palanquins, was of the view that it was to be used only for women and disabled

Mysore after Tipu :

- The new state of Mysore was handed over to the old Hindu dynasty (Wodeyars) under the rule of a minor, Krishnaraja III, who accepted the subsidiary alliance
- In 1831, William Bentick took control of Mysore on grounds of misgovernance
- In 1881, Ripon restored the kingdom to its ruler.

The Marathas :

Location- Maharashtra, Bombay presidency

Timeline- 1720s to 1820s

- Marathas rose to power when the Mughals started weakening.
- Controlled large portions of land, people and taxes
- Defeated in the Third battle of Panipat by Abdali in 1761
- But again regrouped within a decade

The Peshwas, under Bajirao 1 (1720-40), started a confederacy of prominent Maratha chiefs. Each prominent family was under a chief, a particular sphere of influence. The best rule was under the name of Shahu.

Regions of control :

- Peshwas- Poona
- Gaekwad- Baroda
- Holkars- Indore
- Sindhias- Gwalior
- Bhosle- Nagpur

Balaji Vishwanath was the first of the series of hereditary Peshwas of the Maratha empire.

Anglo Maratha struggle for supremacy

First Anglo-Maratha war (1775-82)

Reason- succession politics among Peshwas, as shown in the flowchart below :

- Treaty of Surat, 1775- Raghunath Rao with British Bombay
- Treaty of Purandar, 1776- Raghunath Rao with British Calcutta

The war- Mahadji Sindhia vs English. They followed the scorched earth policy, which led to a humiliating defeat for the English.

- Treaty of Wadgaon, 1779- English to leave all acquired territories
- Treaty of Salbai, 1782 :

English to gain back territories- Salsette

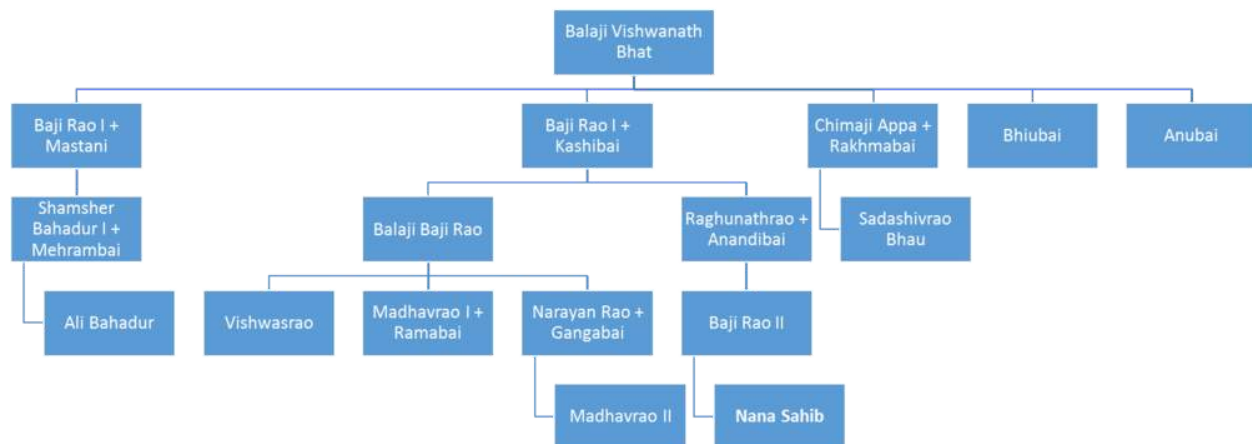
Marathas gained back- Bassein

Peace for the next 20 years

Peshwas should not support any other European nation

No more help to Raghunath Rao from the English

Peshwa Succession-



Second Anglo-Maratha war (1802-05)

Reason- again, succession politics among the Peshwas. Death of Nana Sahib (1800), which was advantageous in a way.

Treaty of Bassein, 1802 :

- Almost similar terms like the subsidiary alliance
- To station permanent standing army, cede territories, surrender Surat, give up Chauth
- Sindhias, Bhonsle tried to rebel, but were forced to sign the subsidiary alliance
- Holkars tried to group the Indian rulers against the British, but failed
- It is said- "Gave the English, the key to India"

Third Anglo-Maratha war (1817-19)

- Fought with the Pindaris- they were mercenaries under the Marathas.
- They lost regular employment once the Marathas weakened.
- They started plundering neighboring kingdoms for wealth.
- British action against them, hurt the sovereignty of the Marathas.
- Bajirao 2 tried one last time to fight the British, but failed.
- There were a series of treaties signed- Treaty of Poona, Gwalior, Mandosar in 1817-18
- Peshwaship was abolished and the Maratha rule ended.

Reason for failure of the Marathas :

- Inept leadership- Bajirao 2, Jaswant Singh Holkar etc vs Wellesly, Elphinstone and others
- Defective nature of State- no unification, harmony or focus on development or education. Only religio-national movement to acquire territories and power.
- Loose political setup- individual confederacies fought against each other, busy in carving out self kingdoms
- Inferior military setup in comparison to the British
- Poor economic stability- no foreign trade or industries. Hence, they did not evolve as the English did.
- Superior English diplomacy- getting allies, better organized, use of spies
- Progressive English outlook

Conquest of Sindh

Location- present Pakistan, West of Sutlej

Timeline- late 18th and early 19th century

Story of Sindh :

1750s- Kallora Chief ruled, gave permission to British for trade

1758- Port at Thatta

1761- Ghulam Shah excluded other Europeans to trade from there

1775- Sarfaraz Khan asked the English to close the factory

1770s- Talpuras came down the hills and settled in the Sindh plains. Excellent soldier skills, adapted to harsh terrain and warfare

1783- Mir Fatah, sent Sindh prince into exile and started ruling over Sindh

1800s- divided kingdom with brothers- Char Yar- Amirs or Lords of Sindh

Reasons to move towards conquest :

- Common belief that Tipu was conspiring with Napoleon to attack India
- 1799- Wellesley tried to restart trade alliance
- But under Tipu's influence and other anti-British traders, it failed

- British felt insulted and left Sindh
- Russia planning with France to attack India via land route

Treaty of Eternal Friendship : Amirs with British.

Metcalfe, Elphinstone, Malcolm and Seaton were sent to Lahore, Kabul, Tehran and Sindh respectively, to sign friendship treaties.

Conclusion : Exclude French and Americans from trade

Treaty of 1832, English got permission to trade, except items of warfare. English citizens would need passports to settle or travel there. Amirs had rights to alter duties or charges if they felt it was too high.

1836- **Auckland** becomes Governor-general, he had an imperialistic attitude.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh came to power in Punjab. Reason. He immediately attacked Sindh. Auckland went to the Amirs, offering protection from Raja Ranjit Singh, but at their expense.

1838- **Tripartite Treaty** among Sindh, Punjab and the English

English offered mediation to solve all the disputes.

They would give back territories and pay compensation, however, the compensation would be decided by the English. Hidden agenda was to get funds for their Afghan war.

1839-42 - First Anglo Afghan war- Heavy losses to the British

- Fought on Sindh soil at their expense. Amirs did not like this
- They were neither compensated nor appreciated, but always used
- Amirs rose in revolt in 1843, but were forced to sign the subsidiary alliance

To quote, "A bully who has been knocked down on the street, went home to beat up his wife."

Conquest of Punjab

Story of Punjab :

Guru Gobind Singh turned the sikh community into a militant sect.

1716- **Banda Bahadur**, the leader, got killed by Mughal ruler, **Farrukhsiyar**. Sikhs became leaderless and got split into two groups- Bandai (liberal) and Tat Khalsa (orthodox)

1784- **Kapur Singh** united them under Dal Khalsa- two groups, Budha and Taruna

They eventually organized themselves into misls, meaning equal or alike state.

There were 12 misls, the most prominent one being **Sukerchakia** misl, which was led by **Maharaja Ranjit Singh**.

Policy of Blood and Iron- He captured Lahore, Jammu and Amritsar by 1799. He was on good terms with the Nepalis and the Dogras too.

Maharaja Ranjit Singh and the English :

Treaty of Amritsar :

- Talks with English to decide Sutlej as the boundary
- He could annex Multan, Peshawar
- But did not give passage to Britain to attack Afghans
- British would remain neutral for any conflict between Sikhs and Afghans

He had a comparatively weaker position with respect to the English. But he never made alliances with other Indian princes.

1838- Tripartite agreement with Sindh and English

1839- death. No strong ruler came to reign after Ranjit Singh. One of the major reasons for the downfall of the kingdom.

First Anglo-Sikh war (1845-46)

Reason cited- The Sikhs crossed the Sutlej river

War- Sikhs had a larger army, but defeated due to interests of dishonest leaders

Treaty of Lahore, 1846 :

- War indemnity of 1 crore
- Sikh army reduced
- British resident stationed
- Minor Dalip Singh made ruler, Rani Jindan as regent, Lal Singh as wazir
- Kashmir was forced to be sold to get money to pay indemnity

Treaty of Bhairowal

- Sikhs are not happy with the Kashmir issue. Rebelled, so a new treaty was signed
- Rani Jindan was sent away as a pensioner
- Group of Sikhs under the English were made regent

Second Anglo-Sikh war (1848-49)

Reason : The Sikhs were unhappy and humiliated

Immediate reason : Governor of Multan was replaced. He rebelled and killed two English officers. **Dalhousie**, then Governor-general, was an expansionist anyway and got a reason to attack Punjab.

War : three battles were fought. Battle of Ramnagar, Chillhanwala and Gujarat (near Jhelum). The Sikhs were defeated finally.

Result and Significance :

- Punjab was annexed by British. Dalhousie appreciated and promoted
- Power of Sikhs respected and made part of the British regiment for future revolts, including the 1857 revolt

Administrative and Annexation policies of the British **Policy of Ring Fence- Warren Hastings- 1770s to 1800s**

- Can be called the predecessor of subsidiary alliance
- To protect major provinces, set up subsidiary forces in the surrounding regions
- Example- stationing army at Awadh giving some weird, illogical reason
- Hidden agenda- protect Bengal from any external threat

Policy of Subsidiary Alliance- Lord Wellesley- 1798 onwards

- Compelled to station permanent standing army at the expense of the Indian rulers
- Also, a British Resident would be placed at the King's court
- The kingdom cannot engage in any foreign relations without consulting him

1740s- original idea- by **Lord Dupleix**- French General

1765- **Awadh**, first state to be annexed under this policy

1787- Made more provisions, including denial of engagement in other foreign relations

Evolution :

- Stage 1- Help indian rulers to fight some other rival
- Stage 2- ask help in return by sending their army to support Britain in any war
- Stage 3- don't send any army next time, would use their own, but would ask for subsidy
- Stage 4- the subsidy is fixed at high levels. If not paid, then territories would be annexed

Other Kingdoms annexed- Hyderabad(1798), Mysore(1799), Tanjore(1799)

Policy of Doctrine of Lapse- Lord Dalhousie- 1798 onwards

- Not the originator though. Ranjit Singh acquired a few territories under this policy in cis sultej area
- When rulers died without leaving a natural heir to their throne, the property was annexed by the British and the pension was stopped
- Kingdoms annexed- Satara, Sambalpur, Bhagatpur, Udaipur, Nagpur, Jhansi, Awadh

Anglo-Burma Relations

1800s- free country, which wanted to expand westwards

British interests :

- Forest resources, especially teak
- New market for British goods
- Check French interests in Burma

First Anglo-Burma war(1824-26)

- Burma captured Manipur, Arakan. Threat to Assam
- No proper border between Bengal and Burma
- English won the war and signed the **Treaty of Yandaboo**
 - Pay war indemnity of 1 crore, cede territories
 - Manipur to be independent state, no claims on Assam
 - British resident at Ava, Burmese envoy at Calcutta

Second Anglo-Burma war(1852)

- Governor-general-- Dalhousie
- Commercial interests- Burmese teak
- Captured Pegu, coastal provinces
- Guerilla warfare, but defeated by Britain
- Lower Burma annexed

Third Anglo-Burma war(1885)

- Death of Burmese king- succeeded by Thibaw
- Hostile nature towards Britain
- Negotiations with the French and Dutch
- Heavy fine on English timber company
- Lord Dufferin attacked and final invasion of Upper Burma

1918- nationalist movement after World War 1

1935- Burmese nationalists tie up with INC leaders. So Burma was separated from India

1940s- Nationalist movements further intensified (Aung San)

1948- Final independence of Burma, later Myanmar

Anglo- Nepal Relations

Gorkhas wrested control over regions of Nepal. They began expansion southwards. It was easier, because the North was well defended by the Chinese. English annexed Gorakhpur in the south, which was the India Nepal Boundary at that time.

1813-23 -- Gorkhas captured Butwal and Sheoraj

Treaty of Sagauli, 1816 :

- Nepal accepted a British resident
- Nepal ceded Garhwal, Kumaon and Terai regions
- Nepal also withdrew from Sikkim
- British empire now reached the Himalayas, for better trade with Central Asia
- Acquired sites for hill stations- Shimla, Mussoorie, Nainital
- The Gorkhas joined the British army in large numbers

Anglo-Tibet Relations

Tibet was ruled by Buddhist monks under normal suzerainty of China. British attempts to maintain friendly relations with them had always failed. Reports of Russian arms and ammunition coming to Lhasa, were surfacing. **Curzon** even sent a small Gurkha contingent for negotiations but it failed, and went on to become a violent struggle.

Treaty of Lhasa, 1904 :

- Pay indemnity of 75 lakhs per annum
- **Chumbi valley** will be taken as security for payment
- Tibet would respect boundaries with Sikkim
- Tibet would grant any concession for other Europeans for trade, railway etc
- British would enjoy certain control on foreign affairs of Tibet

Anglo-Bhutanese Relations

British occupied Assam in 1816, and came in close contact with the mountain state of Bhutan. Bhutanese always tried to raid on the passes leading to Assam. British initially surrendered, but later, annexed the pass. By 1865, Bhutan surrendered all passes, in exchange for an annual subsidy.

Anglo-Afghan Relations

Early 19th century- Russian influence over Persia, which made the British insecure. British wanted friendly relations with the Afghans, to have a better grip on the west.

Auckland's forward policy (Auckland's folly) :

- Imperialistic approach to Dost Mohammed (Afghan) for friendly relations
- Dost Mohammed was fine with it, but wanted to get Peshawar from the Sikhs
- But owing to the Treaty with Ranjit Singh, the British rejected the demand of Dost.
- Dost now turned towards Russia and Persi for help
- So now British entered into a tripartite treaty with the Sikhs and Shah Shuja
- Conditions were in favor of all. Shah Shuja gets throne, British and Sikhs get territories and money

First Anglo-Afghan war (1839-42)

- Seeing the strong triparty, Russia and Persi withdrew
- British entered Afghanistan. Dost surrendered. Shah Shuja was made the ruler.
- But Afghan tribes did not accept Shah Shuja and rose in rebellion
- British could not resist, and finally signed a treaty, making Dost as the ruler again
- India suffered a loss of 1.5 crore rupees and 20,000 men in the war

John Lawrence and Policy of Masterly Inactivity

- Dost Mohammed died in 1863. But John Lawrence (1864-69) maintained peace
- No attack on Afghanistan. No involvement in civil wars
- Sher Ali succeeded Dost. John extended hand of friendship

Lytton and policy of Proud Reserve

- Lytton did not want to leave the ambiguous relations with Afghan unattended
- He wanted to secure the western frontier and have scientific borders
- Offered treaty to Sher Ali. But he wanted friendship equally with Russia and Britain
- So, again displeased. Sher Ali refused to keep British envoy at Kabul

Second Anglo-Afghan War (1870-80)

Lytton waited for an opportunity and invaded Afghanistan. Sher Ali fled.

Treaty of Gandamak (1879)

- Signed with Yakub Khan (son of Sher Ali)
- Conduct foreign policy with the advice of the British
- Permanent British resident at Kabul
- Afghan will be supported for external threats and given annual subsidy

Anglo-Afghan Relations

- Again conflicts arose between Lytton and Yakub
- Later Ripon maintained peace and decided to see Afghanistan as a buffer state

- 1917- Afghanistan demanded independence
- 1919- open war against the British
- 1921- independence to deal with foreign affairs



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British India and the Northwest Frontier

- Successive British generals and viceroys tried their best to expand towards the west
 - The region between Indus and Afghanistan was always in ambiguity
 - British got Sindh in 1843, Punjab in 1849
 - But to get NWFP, they had to come up with the Durand Line after compromise talks with the Afghans
 - 1893- Durand Line failed, because Afghan tribals rose up
 - Curzon (1899-1905) brought back peace to the area
 - 1932- NWFP was made a governors' province
 - 1947- NWFP became part of Pakistan.
-

Resistance against the British before 1857

Causative factors of People's uprisings :

- Colonial land revenue settlements, **heavy burden** of new taxes, **eviction** of peasants from their lands, and **encroachments** on tribal lands
- Exploitation in rural society coupled with the growth of intermediary revenue collectors, tenants and moneylenders
- Expansion of revenue administration over tribal lands leading to the **loss of tribal people's hold over agricultural and forest land**
- Promotion of British manufactured goods, **heavy duties** on Indian industries, especially export duties, leading to devastation of Indian handloom and handicraft industries
- **Destruction of indigenous industries** leading to migration of workers from industry to agriculture, increasing the pressure on land and agriculture
- Rapid changes under the Company rule, which went against the people
- Several zamindars and poligars had lost control over their land due to colonial rule
- Ruin of Indian handicraft industry due to colonial policies
- The priestly classes instigated hatred and rebellion against alien rule
- The foreign character of the British rulers, who always remained alien to this land, and their contemptuous treatment of the native people hurt the pride of the latter
- Different causes for tribal revolts in the mainland and north-east : unlike the mainland ones, the north-east ones were not forest-based or agrarian revolts as these tribals were generally in control of their lands

Civil uprisings :

- **Sanyasi Revolt, 1770**
Reason- economic hardships on the people by the Company during massive famine
Restriction imposed on visits of Sanyasis to the holy places
Sanyasis organized raids on the company factories. **Warren Hastings** suppressed it.
- **Ahom revolt (1828)**
Leader- **Gomdar kanwar**
Britishers had pledged to withdraw from Assam after First Burma war (1824-26)
But instead they tried to include the region under Company domination
Finally a settlement agreement was made with **Maharaja Purandar Singh Narendra**
- **Kutch rebellion (1819-1820s)**
Leader- **Rao Bharmal** (ruler of Kutch)
British overthrew him and interfered in their internal affairs, captured lands
Setback of British in the Burma war encouraged the chiefs to revolt and restore Bharamal
Extensive military operations failed to control the situation
Later, conciliatory policy adopted
- **Waghera rising (1818-1820)**
Waghera chiefs against the British rule, exactions of Gaekwads of Baroda.
Peace treaty by 1820
- **Surat salt agitations (1844-48)**
Against increase in salt tax
Protest forced it to be reduced
- **Paika rebellion (1817)**
Leaders- **Bakshi Jagabandhu Bidyadhar**, Mukunda Deva, Dinabandhu Santra
Reason- the company conquest of Odisha reduced the power and prestige of the Paikas, who were the traditional landed militia and enjoyed rent free land tenures for their military service and policing functions on a hereditary basis
Extortionist land policies, high revenues by the British caused resentment among them
- **Kolhapur and Sawantvadi Revolts (1844)**
Gadkaris (military class) left unemployed after British disbanded garrisons in Maratha fort
- **Revolt of Raja of Vizianagaram**
British seized the territories, demanded 3 lakh rupees and forced to disband troops
Raja with support of the people rose in revolt, but killed in 1794
Later his son was made the ruler

- Poligars' revolt (1801-56)
Poligars of Dindigul and Malabar rose up against oppressive land revenue system
- Revolt of Diwan Velu Tampi (1805)
Subsidiary alliance signed between Velu Tampi of Travancore and Wellesley
Huge subsidies were charged and harsh conditions were imposed
Failing to pay the arrears, the King rose to revolt with support of Nair Battalion
- **Kuka revolt** (1840s onwards)
Leader- **Bhagat JawaharMal** (Sian Saheb), **Ram Singh** (later deported to Rangoon)
Namdhari sect (chanting name of God), Kook (cry in spiritual emotions)
Started as religious purification movement- no meat, alcohol or drugs
Later, turned political- discrimination of Sikhs, woman freedom etc
- **Wahabi movement**
Syed Ahmed of Bareilly, inspired by **Abdul Wahab** (Saudi), Shah Waliullah (Delhi)
Change Dar-ul-harb to Dar-ul-islam (land of kafirs to islam)
Sithana in north west India- area of operation under spiritual vice regents (Khalifas)
Spread to Patna, Bengal, Madras, Bombay, UP, Hyderabad
Declared jihad against Sikhs. Later, when English defeated Sikhs, they turned to Britain
Rose up against the British multiple times. Later, suppressed by sedition charges and cases

Peasant movements

- **Narkelberia uprising** (1831)
24 parganas (Bengal)
Titu Mir inspired the Muslim tenants in West Bengal to rise against the Hindu landlords
- **Faraizi Revolt** (1838-57)
Leader- **Haji Sharait Allah** and **Dadu Mian**
Advocated radical religious, social and political changes
Supported the cause of peasants against zamindars. Also wanted to overthrow the Britishers
- **Pagal panthis** (1820s- 1840s)
Pagal panth a semi religious sect
Leader- **Karam Shah** and **Tipu**
Against zamindari oppression, religious and political motives
Captured lot of areas and this area remained disturbed for almost two decades
- **Moplah uprisings** (1836-54)
In the Malabar region of Kerala
Reason- against the hike in revenue demand and reduction in field size

Tribal revolts

- **Chuar Uprising** (1766-72) and (1795-1816)
Reason- enhanced land revenue during the time of famine
Tribesmen of Midnapore took arms in revolt. Suppressed later
- **Ho rising** (1820-22) and (183-37)
Ho and Munda tribes, not happy with company rule, revolted against them
- **Kandh uprising** (1837-56)
Patna, Ghumsar, Kalahandi, China-ki-Medi
Leader- **Chakra Bisoi**
Reason- british tried to end “mariah” (human sacrifice ritual)
Fought with tangis, swords, bow and arrow. Later suppressed
- **Kol mutiny** (1831)
Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Chotanagpur
Reason- transfer of their land to other Sikh and Muslim farmers
- **Santhal rising**, Rajmahal hills (1854-56)
Against oppression by outsiders (diku), moneylenders, revenue officials, police
Leader- **Sido** and **Kanhu** rose up and declared themselves independent in 1854
Military repression, Sido died in 1855. Kanhu arrested in 1866
A separate region called, Santhal pargana was created to pacify them
- **Khasi uprising** (1830-33)
Leader- **Thirath Singh**
Britishers captured Khasi, and planned to construct road from Brahmaputra valley to Sylhet
Lot of outsiders came to the region, which was not liked by the inhabitants
- **Munda revolt** (1890-1900)
Leader- **Birsa Munda** rose in rebellion (ulgulan)
Mundas of Chotanagpur struggling for land rights against jagirdars, thikadars, moneylenders
Birsa raised a 6000 member group in revolt, with swords, spears, axes and bows
He was arrested in 1900 and died there itself, thus ending the movement
- **Singphos revolt** (1830s)
Singphos of Assam rose against British and killed a British political agent. Later suppressed
- **Bhil uprisings** (1817-19, 1825, 1836, 1846)

Leader- **Sewaram**

Aboriginal tribes, against new masters- Company, fearing over powering

- **Koli rising** (1829, 1839, 1844-48)
Against British rule, who destroyed their forts
- **Ramosi rising** (1822, 1825, 1829, 1839, 1841)
Hill tribes of West India
Leader- Chittur Singh against company for banishment of Raja Pratap Singh of Satara

Sepoy Mutinies

Reasons :

- Discrimination in payment and promotions
- Mistreatment
- Refusal of the government to pay foreign service allowance while fighting in remote areas
- Religious objections of the high caste hindu sepoys to **Lord Canning's General service Enlistment Act** (1856) ordering all recruits to be ready for service both within and outside India

Important mutinies :

- Vellore mutiny, 1806
- Mutiny of 47th Native Infantry Unit, 1824
- Revolt of Grenadier Company, Assam, 1825
- Mutiny in Solapur, 1833
- Mutiny of 34th Native Infantry Unit, 1844
- Mutiny of 22nd Native Infantry Unit, 1849
- Mutiny of 66th Native Infantry Unit, 1850
- Mutiny of 37th Native Infantry Unit, 1852

Weakness of the People's uprisings :

- Although it drew a large number of participants, they occurred at different timings at different regions
- Mostly arose out of local grievances
- Leadership was semi-feudal in character and did not offer alternatives to the existing social setup
- These rebellions were century old in form and ideologically cultural in content
- Those who were not so uncooperative or obstinate were pacified through concessions by the authorities

- The methods and arms used by the fighters in these uprisings were practically obsolete compared to the strategies used by their opponents.
-

The 1857 Revolt

Major causes :

Economic causes- British colonial policies :

- Peasants had fallen in their debt trap- moneylenders had become the new landlords
- Introduction of the permanent settlement, ryotwari system and mahalwari system which turned out to be exploitative for the farmers
- Artisans and craftsmen were exploited with the annexation of the Indian states as they lost the royal patronage
- British promoted English goods and industries back in England
- In **Karl Marx's** words- "It was the British intruder who broke the Indian handloom and destroyed the spinning wheel. It began with depriving the Indian cottons from European market; It then introduced twist in Hindustan and in the end, inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons."
- Small zamindars were often subject to quo warranto. Lands were lost, revenues reduced, no other means of income for them

Political causes :

- British annexation policies- subsidiary alliance, doctrine of lapse
- Imperialist generals, including Dalhousie and Canning and others
- Rising insecurity among Indian princes and Kings
- No sovereign rights over their own kingdoms

Administrative causes :

- Corruption by generals, police forces and the Company
- All the laws and policies were framed in accordance with the British interests
- Indian people and culture were not taken into account for any decisions and policies

Socio- Religious causes :

- Racial overtones and superiority complex of the British over the Indians
- Christian missionary activities were not being liked by the Indians
- Natives did not appreciate their interference with the traditions- sati, widow remarriage etc

- The Britishers taxed temple and mosque lands
- The Religious Disabilities Act, 1856- it modified Hindu customs, for instance, declaring that a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his 'heathen' father.

External causes :

- Influence of outside events, where the British suffered heavy losses caused psychological repercussions
- First afghan war (1838-42), Punjab wars (1845-49)
- Crimean wars(1854-56), Santhal rebellion (1855-57)
- The British were not seen as undefeatable anymore

Discontent among sepoys :

- Interference in their religion- turban not given due respect, crossing the seas etc
- Reduced pay compared to British counterpart
- No foreign batta for wars fought in regions outside India
- Racial discrimination of Indians in matter of promotions and privileges
- Sepoys were basically peasants in uniforms, therefore, the rural sentiments attached were being hurt
- Lord Canning's General Service Enlistment Act, 1856

Immediate cause :

- Rumours of bone dust mixed with flour
- Introduction of the Royal Enfield Rifle which had cartridge with grease made of beef and pig fat (considered sacred by Hindus and Muslims, respectively)

Rise of the revolt

First at Berhampore in February 1857 (19th Native Infantry)

Then, at Barrackpore in April 1857 by Mangal Pandey (34th Native Infantry). He also killed one of his superiors.

Then, the 7th Awadh regiment in May 1857.

The final spark- at Meerut (58 kms from Delhi)

90 men of 3rd Native Infantry refused to use the greased cartridges. 85 were suspended on May 9th and put in jail. The very next day, May 10th, the imprisoned comrades were released by their colleagues, who also killed few officers and unfurled the banner of revolt. They set off for Delhi after sunset.

The Revolt and Leaders :

- The march by sepoys went straight to the Mughal ruler, **Bahadur Shah Zafar**
- He wrote letters to all Indian chiefs and rulers, and asked them to participate in the revolt
- Civilians, particularly of Awadh, sepoys, peasants, zamindars, artisans, shopkeepers, laborers, priests, religious preachers- all joined the revolt
- Of the 1,50,000 dead, 100,000 were civilians
- Geographic spread- Bihar (east), Rajputana (west), Narmada (south), Delhi (north)

Storm centres and leaders of the revolt :

Places	Indian leaders	British leaders
Delhi	Bahadur Shah 'Zafar' and General Bakht Khan	John Nicholson, William Hudson and James Outram
Lucknow	Begum Hazrat Mahal and Birjis Qadri	Colin Campbell
Kanpur	Nana Saheb and Tantia Tope	Colin Campbell
Bareilly	Khan Bahadur Khan	-
Faizabad	Maulavi Ahmadulla	-
Arra	Kunwar Singh	Winslow Taylor
Jhansi	Lakshmi Bai	Hugh Rose

Suppression of the Revolt :

- Delhi- Bahadur Shah Zafar was captured and sent to Rangoon. His sons were shot dead
- Nana Saheb fled to Nepal and was never heard of again
- Tantiya Tope fled to jungles of central India. Later caught and killed in 1859
- Rani of Jhansi was killed in the battlefield. Jhansi captured by Sir Hugh Rose
- By 1859, Kunwar Singh, Bakht Khan, Khan Bahadur Khan, Maulavi Ahmadullah all dead
- Begum Hazrat Mahal was compelled to flee to Nepal
- British had a lot of men to invest, money and resources all the same

Causes of failure of the revolt :

- All india participation was absent- mostly confined to the North alone
- All classes did not join- big zamindars, money lenders, successful merchants, many Indian rulers like Sindhia of Gwalior, Holkar of Indore, Sikh chiefs, South rulers
- Poor arms and equipments- swords, spears, few guns compared to strong Europeans
- Uncoordinated and Poorly organized- no central leadership. Britishers had exceptional officers and generals

- No unified ideology- no political perspective. Diverse grievances. Did not aim for independence or nationalism, but were just venting out personal anger and frustration.

Nature of the Revolt :

Hindu Muslim unity was starkly visible.

Multiple viewpoints :

- Marxists- a conflict of peasants vs feudal lords
- Britishers- fight between civilization and barbarism
 - Eric Stokes- “elitist in character”
 - Lawrence and Seely- “mere sepoy mutiny”
 - James Outram- “a Mohammedan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances”
- Nationalists-
 - **V.D. Savarkar- the first war of independence**
 - S.N. Sen in his book Eighteen Fifty Seven- began as religious war but ended as a national one
 - **R.C. Majumdar- neither first, nor national, nor war of independence**

Consequences of the Revolt :

- Company rule ended. The crown took over the administration of British India, announced by Lord Canning at Allahabad in the Queen's proclamation
- The era of expansion and annexation ended. The Crown promised to respect the dignity and right of the native princes
- Racial discrimination and suspicion aggravated between Indian and British soldiers
- The British Indian Army was reorganized- more Gorkhas and Sikhs
- The British became more cautious about minor mutinies, rebels and movements
- It sowed the seeds of nationalism and paved the way for national movement in the years to come
- Governor general was now **Viceroy**. **Lord Canning** was the first one.

Significance :

- It showed up the glaring shortcomings in the Company's administration and its army, which they rectified promptly.
- For the Indians, this revolt had a major influence on the course of the freedom struggle.
- The senseless atrocities committed shocked the intellectuals who were increasingly convinced that violence was to be eschewed in any struggle for freedom.

Socio-Religious Reform Movements

Factors Giving Rise to Desire for Reform :

1. Impact of British Rule
2. Social Conditions Ripe for Reform
 - Religious and Social Ills
 - Depressing Position of Women
 - The Caste Problem
3. Opposition to Western Culture
4. New Awareness among Enlightened Indians

Social and Ideological Bases of Reform

1. Middle Class Base
2. The Intellectual Criteria
 - Raja Rammohan Roy firmly believed in the principle of causality linking the whole phenomenal universe and demonstrability as the sole criterion of truth.
 - Akshay Kumar Dutt, while declaring that “rationalism is our only preceptor”, held that all natural and social phenomena could be analysed and understood by purely mechanical processes.

Steps taken to Ameliorate Women's Position

1. Abolition of Sati frontal attack launched by the enlightened Indian reformers led by Raja Rammohan Roy, the government declared the practice of sati illegal and punishable by criminal courts as culpable homicide
2. Preventing Female Infanticide
3. Widow Remarriage
 - due to the efforts of **Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar** (1820-91), the principal of Sanskrit College, Calcutta, that the **Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856**, was passed
 - Jagannath Shankar Seth and Bhau Daji were among the active promoters of girls' schools in Maharashtra
 - Vishnu Shastri Pandit founded the Widow Remarriage Association in the 1850s.
 - Karsondas Mulji who started the Satya Prakash in Gujarati in 1852 to advocate widow remarriage
4. Controlling Child Marriage
5. Education of Women

- The Bethune School, founded by J.E.D. Bethune, president of the Council of Education in Calcutta in 1849
- Charles Wood's Despatch on Education (1854) laid great stress on the need for female education
- In 1914, the Women's Medical Service did a lot of work in training nurses and midwives. The Indian Women's University set up by
- Professor D.K. Karve in 1916 was one of the outstanding institutions imparting education to women.

6. Women's Organisations

- In 1910, Sarla Devi Chaudhurani convened the first meeting of the Bharat Stree Mahamandal in Allahabad. Its objectives included promotion of education for women, abolition of the purdah system and improvement in the socio-economic and political status of women all over India.
- Ramabai Ranade founded the Ladies Social Conference (Bharat Mahila Parishad), under the parent organisation National Social Conference, in 1904 in Bombay
- Pandita Ramabai Saraswati founded the Arya Mahila Samaj to serve the cause of women
- In 1925, the National Council of Women in India, a national branch of the International Council of Women, was formed. Meherbai Tata played a vital role in its formation and advancement.
- The All India Women's Conference (AIWC), founded by Margaret Cousins in 1927

Struggle Against Caste-Based Exploitation

Factors that Helped to Mitigate Caste-based Discrimination :

- British rule created certain conditions that undermined caste consciousness to an extent.
- The social reform movements also strove to undermine caste-based exploitation
- The national movement took inspiration from the principles of liberty and equality against the forces which tended to divide the society.
- With increasing opportunities of education and general awakening, there were stirrings among the lower castes themselves
- The Constitution of free India has made equality and non-discrimination on basis of caste imperative

Legislative Measures for Women

1. Bengal Regulation (1829) banning sati
2. Bengal Regulations (1795, 1804)—declaring infanticide illegal.

3. Hindu Widows' Remarriage Act, 1856.
4. Age of Consent Act, 1891
5. Sarda Act, 1932

Survey of Socio-Cultural Reform Movements

<p>Raja Rammohan Roy(1772-1833)</p> <p>Atmiya Sabha (1815)</p> <p>Calcutta Unitarian Committee (1823)</p> <p>Vedanta College (1825)</p> <p>Brahmo Samaj (1828)</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Put his faith in monotheism 2. wrote Gift to Monotheists (1809) and translated into Bengali the Vedas and the five Upanishads 3. In 1814, he set up the Atmiya Sabha (or Society of Friends) in Calcutta to propagate the monotheistic ideals of the Vedanta and to campaign against idolatry 4. founded the Brahmo Sabha in August 1828. it was later renamed Brahmo Samaj
<p>Debendra Nath Tagore</p> <p>Tattvabodhini Sabha(founded in 1839)</p> <p>Brahmo Samaj</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He gave a new life to Brahmo Samaj. 2. Tattvabodhini Sabha studied India's past with a rational outlook. 3. Tattvabodhini Patrika in Bengali
<p>Keshab Chandra Sen</p> <p>Brahmo Samaj</p> <p>Prarthana Samaj (1867)</p> <p>Indian Reforms Association</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Keshab Chandra Sen was a champion of women's rights. His ideology was a mix of religious and social ideas. He established the Nava Vidhan in 1881 along with the newspaper New Dispensation to disseminate his religious ideas and philosophy. 2. followers of Keshab set up a new organisation the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj 3. Prarthana Samaj was founded in Bombay by Atmaram Pandurang with the help of Keshab Chandra Sen. Other prominent leaders associated with it were M G Ranade, R G Bhandarkar. It took up the issues of caste system rejection, women education and widow remarriage. 4. Keshab Chandra Sen was instrumental behind the foundation of the Indian Reform Association which aimed at improving the life of peasants.
<p>Henry Vivian Derozio</p> <p>Young Bengal Movement</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Taught at the Hindu College from 1826 to 1831, was the leader and inspirer of this progressive trend
<p>Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He became principal of Sanskrit College and opened it to non Brahmins to break priestly monopoly. He also served as

Sanskrit College Bethune School	<p>Secretary of Bethune School, Calcutta which was the pioneer of higher education for women.</p> <p>2. His actions supporting widow remarriage led to its legalization.</p>
Jyotiba Phule Satyashodhak Samaj	<p>1. Sarvajanic Satyadharma and Gulamgiri</p> <p>2. Phule used the symbol of Rajah Bali as opposed to the brahmins' symbol of Rama</p> <p>3. he with the help of his wife, Savitribai, opened a girls' school at Poona</p>
Balshastri Jambhekar	<p>1. pioneer of social reform through journalism in Bombay; he attacked brahmanical orthodoxy and tried to reform popular Hinduism</p> <p>2. Started the newspaper Darpan in 1832.</p> <p>3. Known as the father of Marathi journalism</p> <p>4. In 1840, he started Digdarshan which published articles on scientific subjects as well as history</p> <p>5. founded the Bombay Native General Library and started the Native Improvement Society of which an offshoot was the Students Literary and Scientific Library</p>
Paramahansa Mandali	<p>1. the founders —Dadoba Pandurang, Mehtaji Durgaram and others</p> <p>2. founders of the mandali were primarily interested in breaking caste rules</p>
Gopalhari Deshmukh 'Lokhitwadi'	<p>1. wrote for a weekly Prabhakar under the pen name of Lokahitawadi on social reform issues</p> <p>2. He started a weekly, Hitechhu, and also played a leading role in founding the periodicals, Gyan Prakash, Indu Prakash and Lokahitawadi.</p>
Gopal Ganesh Agarkar	<p>1. cofounder of the New English School, the Deccan Education Society and Fergusson College.</p> <p>2. He was a principal of Fergusson College.</p> <p>3. He was also the first editor of Kesari, the journal started by Lokmanya Tilak.</p> <p>4. he started his own periodical, Sudharak, which spoke against untouchability and the caste system</p>
Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915) The Servants of India Society	<p>1. founded the Servants of India Society in 1905 with the help of M.G. Ranade</p> <p>2. The aim of the society was to train national missionaries for the service of India; to promote, by all constitutional means, the true interests of the Indian people; and to prepare a cadre of selfless</p>

	workers who were to devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit
Narayan Malhar Joshi Social Service League	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Narayan Malhar Joshi founded the Social Service League in Bombay with an aim to secure for the masses better and reasonable conditions of life and work 2. Joshi also founded the All India Trade Union Congress (1920)
Swami Vivekananda The Ramakrishna Movement	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It was initiated to spread the message of Vedanta with its headquarters at Bellur, Calcutta. 2. Swami Vivekananda addressed Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893. 3. Two objectives of the Ramakrishna movement were (i) to bring into existence a band of monks dedicated to a life of renunciation and practical spirituality, from among whom teachers and workers would be sent out to spread the universal message of Vedanta as illustrated in the life of Ramakrishna (ii) in conjunction with lay disciples to carry on preaching, philanthropic and charitable works, looking upon all men, women and children, irrespective of caste, creed or colour, as veritable manifestations of the Divine 4. Unlike the Arya Samaj, the Mission recognises the utility and value of image worship in developing spiritual fervour and worship of the eternal omnipotent God, although it emphasises on the essential spirit and not the symbols or rituals
Dayananda Saraswati Arya Samaj	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It was a Hindu revivalist movement. The samaj started a Shuddhi Movement to convert non Hindus to Hinduism. 2. It fixed the minimum marriageable age as 25 for men and 16 for girls and helped people in crisis like floods. The samaj also established DAV Schools with emphasis on western education. 3. Dayananda Saraswati's views are collected in Satyarth Prakash. 4. He gave the slogan 'back to the Vedas' and said they were infallible. He attacked hindu orthodoxy
Behramji M. Malabari (1853-1912) Seva Sadan in 1908	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Against child marriage and for widow remarriage among Hindus 2. acquired and edited the Indian Spectator
Radhakant Deb Dharma Sabha British India Association	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. He was the founder President of British India Association in 1951 2. it favoured the promotion of Western education, even for girls

Madam Mohan Malviya Bharat Dharma Mahamandal	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An all-India organisation of the orthodox educated Hindus, it stood for a defence of orthodox Hinduism against the teachings of the Arya Samajists, the Theosophists, and the Ramakrishna Mission
Sree Narayana Guru Swamy (1856- 1928) Ezhava community	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Narayana Guru Dharma Paripalana Movement 2. Temple Entry Movements 3. These were aimed at caste rigidities started among Ezhavas of Kerala. 4. Aruvippuram movement 5. editor of Deshabhimani, took up the issue of temple entry with the Travancore administration
C N Mudaliar, T M Nair, Tyagaraja	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Justice Movement It began in Madras in order to secure jobs and representation for non Brahmins.
E V Ramaswamy Naicker	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Madras Presidency Association Was founded in 1917 to demand separate representation of lower castes 2. The Self respect Movement was anti Brahmin in nature.
M G Ranade and Raghunath	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Indian Social Conference 2. met annually from its first session in Madras in 1887 at the same time and venue as the Indian National Congress. 3. The conference advocated inter-caste marriages, opposed polygamy and kulinism. 4. It launched the 'Pledge Movement' to inspire people to take a pledge against child marriage.
Shah Waliullah	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Wahabi Movement 2. It was a Islam revivalist movement. Other such movements include Faraizi and Ahmadiyya movement
Sir Syed Ahmed Khan	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Aligarh Movement 2. This movement emerged as a liberal trend in Muslim intelligencia. 3. Sir Syed's progressive ideas are propagated through Tahdhib-al-Akhlaq 4. bring about an improvement in the position of women through better education and by opposing purdah and polygamy, advocating easy divorce, and condemning the system of piri and murid 5. magazine Tahdhib-ul-Akhlaq (Improvement of Manners and Morals)

<p>Mohammad Qasim Nanotavi and Rashid Amhed Gangohi</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deoband School 2. The school aimed to train religious leaders for Muslim community. 3. It was seen as a revivalist movement organized by the Ulema 4. Welcomed the formation of the Indian National Congress
<p>Parsi Reform Movements</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha was founded in 1851 by a group of Englisheducated Parsis for the “regeneration of the social conditions of the Parsis and the restoration of the Zoroastrian religion to its pristine purity” 2. The movement had Naoroji Furdonji, Dadabhai Naoroji, K.R. Cama and S.S. Bengalee as its leaders 3. newspaper Rast Goftar (Truth-Teller)
<p>Sikh Reform Movements</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Singh Sabha Movement was founded at Amritsar in 1873 with a two-fold objective (i) to make available modern western education to the Sikhs, and (ii) to counter the proselytising activities of Christian missionaries as well as the Brahmo Samajists, Arya Samajists and Muslim maulvis 2. The Akali movement (also known as Gurudwara Reform Movement) was an offshoot of the Singh Sabha Movement. It aimed at liberating the Sikh gurudwaras from the control of corrupt Udasi mahants (the post having become hereditary)
<p>H P Blavatsky and M S Olcott</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Theosophical Movement 2. This movement came to be allied with Hindu renaissance. It accepted hindu beliefs such as reincarnation, Upanishads and Vedanta. 3. Annie Besant is associated with this movement and was elected as the President of the Theosophical Society in 1907. 4. Annie Besant had come to India in 1893. She laid the foundation of the Central Hindu College in Benaras in 1898 where both Hindu religion and Western scientific subjects were taught. 5. The college became the nucleus for the formation of Banaras Hindu University in 1916. Annie Besant also did much for the cause of the education of women

Beginning of Modern Nationalism in India

Factors in Growth of Modern Nationalism :

1. Understanding of contradictions in Indian and colonial interests
2. Political, administrative and economic unification of the country
3. Western thought and education
4. Role of press and literature
5. Rediscovery of India's past—historical researches
6. Rise of middle class intelligentsia
7. Impact of contemporary movements worldwide
8. Reactionary policies and racial arrogance of rulers

POLITICAL ASSOCIATIONS BEFORE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC)

1. **Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha, 1836:** It was formed by the associates of Raja Rammohun Roy.
2. **Bengal British India Society, 1843:** It worked to collect and disseminate the actual information of the condition of people in British India.
3. **East India Association, 1866:** It was established by Dadabhai Naoroji in London.
4. **Indian League, 1875:** It was founded by Sisir Kumar Ghosh.
5. **The Indian Association of Calcutta, 1876:** It superseded the Indian League led by younger nationalists of Bengal S. Banerjea and Anand Mohan Bose.
6. **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha, 1867:** It was established by M.G Ranade as a bridge between people and government.
7. **The Bombay Presidency Association, 1885:** It was founded by Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta and K T Telang.
8. **The Madras Mahajan Sabha, 1884:** It was founded by M Veeraraghavachary, B. Subramaniya Aiyer and P. Anandacharlu

Foundation and the Moderate Phase Of Indian National Congress

- **A.O. Hume** mobilized the leading intellectuals and organized the first session of INC at Bombay in **Dec 1885**. **S. Banerjea** and **Anand Mohan Bose** were the main architects of the **Indian National Conference**.
- The first session of INC was presided over by **W C Bonnerjee**. Other important presidents include **Dadabhai Naoroji** (was elected 3 times as president), Badruddin Tyabji, Pherozshah Mehta, Sarojini Naidu among others.

- The first woman president of INC was **Annie Besant** and first Muslim president was **Badruddin Tyabji**.
- In 1890, **Kadambini Ganguly**, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the Congress session, which symbolised the commitment of the freedom struggle to give the women of India their due status in national life.
- Safety Valve theory: Hume argued that INC would prove to be a safety valve for releasing the growing discontent of Indians. To this end he convinced **Lord Dufferin** not to obstruct the formation of congress.

MODERATE PHASE OF CONGRESS

- Main Leaders: Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozshah Mehta, D E Wacha, W C Bonnerjee, S N Banerjea.
- Main ideas: Moderates believed in liberalism and moderate politics. They aimed at constitutional agitation and orderly political progress. They had a narrow social base.
- A British committee of INC was established in London in 1899 which had India as its organ.
- Early nationalists led by Dadabhai **Naoroji**, **R C Dutt**, **Dinshaw Wacha** and others put forward the drain theory and were able to create an all India opinion that British rule in India was the major cause of poverty. The moderated campaign for Indianisation of government services on the economic grounds that British servants expected very high salaries which were remitted back to England, while inclusion of Indians will be more economical.
- Lord Dufferin called Congress 'a factory of sedition'. The government later used carrot and stick policy to pit moderates against extremists.

Contributions of Moderate Nationalists

1. Economic critique of British imperialism Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, Dinshaw Wacha and others put forward the "drain theory" to explain British exploitation of India
2. Constitutional reforms and propaganda in legislature

From 1885 to 1892, the nationalist demands for constitutional reforms were centred around—

1. expansion of councils—i.e., greater participation of Indians in councils; and
2. reform of councils—i.e., more powers to councils, especially greater control over finances.

Dadabhai Naoroji (1904), Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1905) and Lokmanya Tilak (1906) demanded self-government on the lines of the self-governing colonies of Canada and Australia.

3. Campaign for general administrative reforms
4. Defence of civil right

Indian Councils Act 1892

1. Number of additional members in Imperial Legislative Councils and the Provincial Legislative Councils were raised. In the Imperial Legislative Council, now the governor-general could have ten to sixteen non-officials (instead of six to ten previously).
2. The non-official members of the Indian legislative council were to be nominated by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and provincial legislative councils. The members could be recommended by universities, municipalities, zamindars and chambers of commerce. So the principle of representation was introduced.
3. Budget could be discussed.
4. Questions could be asked.

Era of Militant Nationalism (1905-1909)

Why Militant Nationalism Grew

1. Realisation that the true nature of British rule was exploitative, and that the British India government, instead of conceding more, was taking away even what existed.
2. Growth of self-confidence and self-respect.
3. Impact of growth of education—increase in awareness and unemployment.
4. International influences and events which demolished the myth of white/European supremacy. These included
 - emergence of Japan—an Asian country—as an industrial power
 - Abyssinia's (Ethiopia) victory over Italy.
 - Boer Wars (1899-1902) in which the British faced reverses.
 - Japan's victory over Russia (1905).
 - nationalist movements worldwide.
5. Reaction to increasing westernisation.
6. Dissatisfaction with the achievements as well as the methods of the Moderates.
7. Reactionary policies of Curzon such as the Calcutta Corporation Act (1899), the Official Secrets Act (1904), the Indian Universities Act (1904) and partition of Bengal (1905)
8. Existence of a militant school of thought.
9. Emergence of a trained leadership.

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT MOVEMENT

- It began as a reaction to the proclamation of partition of Bengal in 1905. The motive of partition was to weaken Bengal which was the nerve of Indian nationalist activity.

- Moderates took up the charge of the movement from 1903-05. They set up public meetings, signed petitions and raised their propaganda through newspapers and pamphlets. They resisted the idea of extremists to take the movement outside Bengal.
- Extremists took over the movement in 1905 as the moderates were unable to achieve positive results. They introduced methods like boycott of foreign cloth and emphasis on self reliance. It launched programs on Swadeshi and national education. The movement was joined by students, women and Muslims. The partition was annulled in 1911.
- A big step was taken at the Congress session held at Calcutta in 1906 under Dadabhai Naoroji where it was declared that the goal of INC was self-government.
- The moderates and extremists had different ideas to go about the movement which led to a split between the party at the Surat session INC in 1907.
- The movement saw the emergence of samitis such as Swadesh Bandhab Samiti (Barisal) of A K Dutta which became strong instruments of mass mobilization.
- Bengal National College inspired by Tagore's Shantiniketan was set up with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principal. On August 15, 1906 a National Council of Education was set up to organize a system of education on nationalist lines.
- Another important development was the propping up of All India Muslim League in 1906 as an anti- Congress front. Its main leaders were Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Aga Khan and Salimullah of Dacca. The Muslim League intended to preach loyalty to the empire and to keep Muslim intelligentsia away from Congress

Differences between Moderates and Extremists

Moderates	Extremists
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social base—zamindars and upper middle classes in towns. 2. Ideological inspiration— western liberal thought and European history. 3. Believed in England's providential mission in India. 4. Believed political connections with Britain to be in India's social, political and cultural interests. 5. Professed loyalty to the British Crown. 6. Believed that the movement should be limited to middle class intelligentsia; masses not yet ready for participation in political work. 7. Demanded constitutional reforms and pay for Indians in services. 8. Insisted on the use of constitutional methods only. 9. They were patriots and did not play the role of a comprador class 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Social base—educated middle and lower middle classes in towns. 2. Ideological inspiration—Indian history, cultural heritage and Hindu traditional symbols. 3. Rejected 'providential mission theory' as an illusion. 4. Believed that political connections with Britain would perpetuate British exploitation of India. 5. Believed that the British Crown was unworthy of claiming Indian loyalty. 6. Had immense faith in the capacity of masses to participate and to make sacrifices. 7. Demanded swaraj as the panacea for Indian ills. 8. Did not hesitate to use extra constitutional methods like boycott and passive resistance to achieve their objectives. 9. They were patriots who made sacrifices for the sake of the country

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES

- The Revolutionary youth decided to copy the methods of the Irish nationalists and Russian nihilists and populists. That is to say, they decided to organize the assassination of unpopular British officials.

A) Bengal:

- The first revolutionary group was the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti founded by Pramotha Mitter in 1902. He was joined by Jatindranath Banerjee and Barindra Kumar Ghosh among others.
- In 1908 Prafulla Chaki and Khudiram Bose attempted to murder Muzaffarpur Magistrate, Kingsford. In the same year Barrack Dacoity was organized by Dacca Anushilan under Pulin Das. In 1912 Rashbehari Bose and Sachin Sanyal threw bombs at Viceroy Hardinge.
- Important revolutionary papers were Sandhya and Yugantar (1906, started by Bhupendra Dutta and Barindra Ghosh).

B) Maharashtra:

- In the 1890's Tilak began propagating militant ideas through his journals Kesari and Maharatta. In 1897 two of his disciples, the Chapekar brothers, killed Rand the plague commissioner of Poona and Lt. Ayerst.
- In 1899 Mitra Mela a secret society was organized by Savarkar and his brother which later merged with Abhinav Bharat in 1904.

C) Punjab:

- Here revolutionary activity was carried out by Lala Lajpat Rai who brought out Punjabee. Ajit Singh organized the extremist Anjuman-i-Mohisban-i-Watan in Lahore with its journal Bharat Mata.
- The assassination of Curzon-Wyllie in London was done by Madan Lal Dhingra.

D) Abroad:

- In 1905 Shyamji Krishnavarma set up Home Rule Society and India House and brought out the journal The Sociologist in London. Savarkar and Lala Hardayal became the members of the India House.
- In 1909 Madan Lal Dhingra assassinated Curzon Wyllie.
- Madame Bhikaji Cama operated from Paris and Geneva and brought out the journal Bande Mataram.

Morley-Minto Reforms

- Number of elected members in Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils increased—elected non-officials still in the minority.
- Non-officials to be elected indirectly—thus elections introduced for the first time.

- **Separate electorates introduced for Muslims.**
 - Legislatures could pass resolutions, ask questions and supplementaries, vote **separate items of the budget.**
 - **One Indian to be on viceroy's executive council.**
 - Aimed at dividing the nationalist ranks and at rallying the Moderates and the Muslims to the government's side.
 - No responsibility entrusted to legislators—this resulted in thought-less criticism sometimes.
 - **System of election was too indirect**
-

First Phase of Revolutionary Activities (1907-1917)

Reasons for emergence

- Younger elements not ready to retreat after the decline of open phase.
- Leadership's failure to tap revolutionary energies of the youth.
- Government repression left no peaceful avenues open for protest.
- **Ideology** Assassinate unpopular officials, thus strike terror in hearts of rulers and arouse people to expel the British with force; based on individual heroic actions on lines of Irish nationalists or Russian nihilists and not a mass-based countrywide struggle.

The onset of the First World War received a divided Indian response. While the moderates and extremists supported the British in the war, the revolutionaries decided to utilize this opportunity.

America:

- G D Kumar setup Swadesh Sevak Home at Vancouver and also launched a paper in Gurmukhi called Swadesh Sewak.
- "United India House" at Seattle was set up in 1910 by G D Kumar and Taraknath das.
- There was an effective restriction on Indian immigration into Canada in 1908. Tarak Nath Das, an Indian student, and one of the first leaders of the Indian community in North America to start a paper (called Free Hindustan). He realized that while the British government was keen on Indians going to Fiji to work as labourers for British planters, it did not want them to go to North America where they might be infected by ideas of liberty.
- The centre of revolutionary activity soon shifted to the US, which provided a relatively free political atmosphere.

Ghadar party:

- It began in 1913 and carried out revolutionary activity in North America. It organized a weekly newspaper The Ghadar with its headquarters at San Francisco.
- Important members were Lala Hardayal, Bhagwan Singh, Barkatullah, Kartar Singh, Bhai Parmanand etc.

- Ghadar means Revolt. On the front page of each issue was a feature titled Angrezi Raj Ka Kacha Chitha or 'An Expose of British Rule.'
- The most powerful impact was made by the poems that appeared in The Ghadar, soon collected and published as Gadar di Goonj and distributed free of cost.
- The plans of Ghadarites were encouraged by two events in 1914—the Komagata Maru incident and the outbreak of the First World War.
- Komagata Maru was the name of a ship which was carrying 370 passengers, mainly Sikh and Punjabi Muslim would-be immigrants, from Singapore to Vancouver.
- They were turned back by Canadian authorities after two months of privation and uncertainty. It was generally believed that the Canadian authorities were influenced by the British government.
- The ship finally anchored at Calcutta in September 1914. The inmates refused to board the Punjab bound train.
- In the ensuing conflict with the police at Budge Budge near Calcutta, many persons died.
- Inflamed by this and with the outbreak of the First World War, the Ghadar leaders decided to launch a violent attack to oust British rule in India.
- The Defense of India Act was passed in 1915 primarily to smash the Ghadar movement.

Europe:

- Berlin Committee for Indian independence was established in 1915 by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Bhupendra Dutta
-

First World War and Nationalist Response

HOME RULE LEAGUES

- It was an Indian response to the First World War in a less changed but more effective way. The home rule leagues were based on Irish Home Rule Leagues which represented a new trend of aggressive politics. Its pioneers were Tilak and Annie Besant.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak :

- He wanted to reform administration but not overthrow the government. He further assured the Government of his loyalty to the Crown and urged all Indians to assist the British Government in its hour of crisis.
- He set up his league in April 1916 in Belgaum.
- He also linked up the question of Swaraj with the demand for the formation of linguistic states and education in the vernacular.
- Members of Gokhale's Servants of India Society, were not permitted to become members of the League but were encouraged to add their weight to the demand for Home Rule by undertaking lecture tours and publishing pamphlets.

Annie Besant :

- She began her political career in England as a proponent of Free Thought, Radicalism, Fabianism and Theosophy, and came to India in 1893 to work for the Theosophical Society.
- Besant's home rule launched a campaign to demand self government for India after the war on lines of White Colonies.
- She campaigned through her newspapers **Commonweal and New India**.
- Annie Besant did not succeed in getting the Congress and the Muslim League to support her decision to set up Home Rule Leagues.
- She did manage, however, to persuade the Congress to commit itself to a programme of educational propaganda and to a revival of the local level Congress committees.
- As a result, individual Home Rule groups were led by her followers.
- Jamnadas Dwarkadas Shankerlal Banker and Indulal Yagnik set up a Bombay paper Young India and launched an All India Propaganda Fund to publish pamphlets in regional languages and in English.
- In September 1916, Annie Besant announced the formation of her Home Rule League, with George Arundale, her Theosophical follower, as the Organizing Secretary.
- Its headquarters were at Adyar
- Besides her existing Theosophical followers, many others including Jawaharlal Nehru in Allahabad and B. Chakravarti and J. Banerjea in Calcutta joined the Home Rule League.
- The turning point in the movement came with the decision of the Government of Madras in June 1917 to place Mrs. Besant and her associates, B.P. Wadia and George Arundale, under arrest.
- Their internment became the occasion for nation-wide protest. In a dramatic gesture, Sir S. Subramania Aiyar renounced his knighthood.
- Those who had stayed away, including many Moderate leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya, Surendranath Banerjea and M.A. Jinnah now enlisted as members of the Home Rule Leagues to record their solidarity with the internees and their condemnation of the Government's action.

RESULTS OF HOME RULE LEAGUE

- The leagues resulted in getting the masses ready for Gandhian style of politics.
- The home rule leagues influenced Moderate and Extremists reunion in 1916.
- They also influenced the Montague Chelmsford reform of 1917.
- Montague, made a historic declaration in the House of Commons, On 20 August, 1917 in which he stated: 'The policy of His Majesty's Government . . . is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions, with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.'

- This statement was in marked contrast to that of Lord Morley who, while introducing the Constitutional Reforms in 1909, had stated categorically that these reforms were in no way intended to lead to self-government.
- The importance of Montague's Declaration was that after this, the demand for Home Rule or self government could no longer be treated as seditious

LUCKNOW SESSION OF INC, 1916 (LUCKNOW PACT)

- **It readmitted the extremists led by Tilak to INC.** Other development was the coming together of Muslim League and Congress whereby Congress accepted Muslim League's stand on separate electorates

Montagu's Statement of August 1917

August Declaration of 1917 Importance of Montagu's Statement Attainment of self government for Indians became a government policy

Emergence of Gandhi, Gandhi In South Africa

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi: An Overview

- Born at Porbandar in the princely state of **Kathiawar** on 2nd October **1869**.
- Father of Gandhi was a **Diwan (Minister)** of the state.
- Gandhi studied law in England.
- Gandhi went to South Africa in **1893** for his client **Dada Abdullah**

Making of Gandhi

Experience of Gandhi in South Africa

Gandhi witnessed the ugly face of **white racism** and realized the **humiliation and contempt** to which Asians as labourers had to go through.

Categories of Indians in South Africa :

The Indians in South Africa consisted of **three categories**.

Indentured Indian labor : They are from South India, who migrated to South Africa after 1890 to work on sugar plantations.

The merchants : Mostly Memon Muslims who had followed the labourers.

The ex-indentured labourers : Those who settled in South Africa after the expiry of their contracts.

Phases of Gandhian Struggle in South Africa

1. Moderate Phase of Struggle (1894-1906)
2. Phase of Passive Resistance(1906-14)

Moderate Phase of Struggle (1894-1906)

During this period :

- Gandhi relied on **sending petitions & memorials to the authorities** in South Africa & in Britain
- He was of the hope that they would take sincere steps to redress their grievances as the Indians British subjects.
- He set up the **Natal Indian Congress** and started a paper **Indian Opinion** to unite different sections of Indians.

Phase of Passive Resistance(1906-14)

This phase is characterised by the use of the method of **passive resistance** or **civil disobedience**, which Gandhi named **satyagraha**

It includes:

- a. **Satyagraha against Registration Certificates (1906)**
- b. **Campaign against Restrictions on Indian Migration**
- c. **Campaign against Poll Tax & Invalidation of Indian Marriages**
- d. **Protest against Transvaal Immigration Act**

Satyagraha against Registration Certificates (1906)

- A new legislation in South Africa made it **compulsory for Indians** there to **carry at all times certificates of registration** with their **fingerprints**.
- Indians organised under **Gandhi's leadership** & decided not to submit to this discriminatory measure.
- **Gandhi formed the Passive Resistance Association** to conduct the campaign of defying the law & suffering all the penalties resulting from such a defiance.
- The **Government jailed Gandhi** & others who refused to register themselves.
- Thus was born **satyagraha** or **devotion to truth**, the **technique of resisting adversaries without violence**.
- The **authorities later used deceit** to make these defiant leaders register themselves.

- The **Indians under the leadership of Gandhi retaliated by publicly burning their registration certificates.**
- There was a **compromise settlement** in the end as all this showed the South African government in a bad light.

Campaign against Restrictions on Indian Migration

- The earlier campaign was widened to include protest against a new legislation imposing **restrictions on Indian migration.**
- Indians defied the law by **crossing over from one province to another** and by **refusing to produce a license.**
- **Many** of these Indians were **jailed.**

Campaign against Poll Tax & Invalidation of Indian Marriages

- **Poll tax of 3 pounds** was imposed on all **ex-indentured Indians.**
- The inclusion of **demands for the abolition of poll tax** (which was too much for the poor ex-indentured Indians who earned less than 10 shillings a month) in the ongoing struggle further widened the base of the campaign.
- **The Supreme Court order** which invalidated all marriages not conducted according to Christian rites & registered by the registrar of marriages drew the anger of the Indians & others who were not Christians.
- By implication, Hindu, Muslim & Parsi marriages were illegal and children born out of such marriages, illegitimate.
- **The Indians treated this judgement as an insult to the honour of women** & many women were drawn into the movement because of this indignity.

Setting up of Tolstoy Farm

- As it became rather **difficult to sustain the high pitch of the struggle**, Gandhi decided to devote all his attention to the struggle.
- The funds for **supporting the families of the Satyagrahis & for running Indian Opinion** were fast running out.
- Gandhiji's own legal practice had virtually ceased since 1906, the year he had started devoting all his attention to the struggle.
- At this point, **Gandhiji set up Tolstoy Farm**, made possible through the generosity of **his German architect friend, Kallenbach**, to house the families of the Satyagrahis & give them a way to sustain themselves.

Protest against Transvaal Immigration Act

- Indians protested by illegally migrating from **Natal into Transvaal.**

- The campaign was launched by the **illegal crossing of the border** by a group of **16 Satyagrahis, including Kasturba**, who marched from **Phoenix Settlement in Natal to Transvaal**, & were immediately arrested.
- Government held these Indians in jails.
- Miners and plantation workers went on a lightning strike.
- In India, **Gokhale toured the whole country** mobilising public opinion in support of the Indians in South Africa.
- Even the viceroy, **Lord Hardinge**, condemned the repression & called for an impartial enquiry.

Compromise Solution

A series of negotiations involving :

- a) **Gandhi**
- b) **Lord Hardinge**
- c) **C.F. Andrews**
- d) **General Smuts**

An agreement was reached by which the Government of South Africa conceded the major **Indian demands** relating to the poll tax, the registration certificates & marriages solemnized according to Indian rites promised to treat the issue of Indian immigration in a sympathetic manner.

Gandhi's Experience in South Africa

- Gandhi found that the **masses had immense capacity** to participate in & sacrifice for a cause that moved them.
- He was able to **unite Indians** belonging to different religions & classes, & men and women alike under his leadership.
- He also came to realise that at times the leaders have to take **decisions unpopular** with their enthusiastic supporters.
- He was able to evolve his **own style of leadership & politics & new techniques of struggle** on a limited scale, untrammelled by the opposition of contending political currents.

Gandhi's Technique of Satyagraha

- Gandhi evolved the technique of Satyagraha during his stay in South Africa.
- **Based on truth and non-violence.**

Basic Tenets :

- A satyagrahi was **not to submit** to what he considered as wrong, but was to always remain **truthful, non-violent & fearless**.
- A satyagrahi works on the **principles of withdrawal of cooperation & boycott**.
- Methods of satyagraha include non-payment of taxes & declining honors & positions of authority.
- A satyagrahi should be ready **to accept suffering** in his struggle against the wrongdoer. This suffering was to be a part of his love for truth.
- Even while carrying out his struggle against the wrongdoer, a true satyagrahi would have no ill feeling for the wrongdoer; hatred would be alien to his nature.
- A true satyagrahi would never bow before the evil, whatever the consequence.
- Only the **brave & strong could practise satyagraha**; it was not for the weak & cowardly. Even violence was preferred to **cowardice**. Thought was never to be separated from practice. In other words, **ends could not justify the means**.

Gandhi in India

- Gandhi returned to India on **9th January 1915**.
- His efforts in South Africa were well known not only among the educated but also among the masses.
- He decided to **tour the country the next 1 year** & see for himself the condition of the masses.
- He also decided not to take any position on any political matter for at least one year.
- As for the political currents prevalent at that time in India, he was convinced about the limitations of moderate politics & was also **not in favor of Home Rule agitation which was becoming popular at that time**.
- He thought that it was **not the best time to agitate for Home Rule** when Britain was in the middle of a war.
- He was convinced that the only technique capable of meeting the nationalist aims was a **non-violent satyagraha**.
- He also said that he would join no political organisation unless it too accepted the creed of non-violent satyagraha.
- During 1917 & 1918, Gandhi was involved in 3 struggles—in Champaran, Ahmedabad & Kheda—before he launched the Rowlatt Satyagraha.

Champaran Satyagraha(1917) - First Civil Disobedience

- Gandhi was requested by **Rajkumar Shukla** to look into the problems of the farmers in context of **indigo planters of Champaran**.
- European planters had been forcing the peasants to grow indigo on 3/20 part of the total land (called tinkathia system).

- When towards the end of the 19th century German synthetic dyes replaced indigo, the European planters demanded high rents & illegal dues from the peasants in order to maximise their profits before the peasants could shift to other crops.
- Also, the peasants were forced to sell the produce at prices fixed by the Europeans.
- Indigo Cultivation was destroying the productivity of the land which was the main reason for the peasant's protest.
- When the authorities ordered him to leave, Gandhi defied the order & preferred to face the punishment.
- Gandhi was arrested but then later released by the magistrate.
- This passive resistance of an unjust order was a novel method at that time
- The government appointed a committee (Indigo commission) to go into the matter & nominated Gandhi as a member.
- Gandhi was able to convince the authorities that tinkathia should be abolished & that the peasants should be compensated for the illegal dues extracted from them.
- As a compromise with the planters, he agreed that only 25 % of the money taken should be compensated.

Prominent leaders associated with Champaran Satyagraha (1917):

- Rajendra Prasad
- Mahadev Desai
- Brajkishore Prasad
- Anugrah Narayan Sinha
- Ram Navami Prasad
- Mazhar-ul-Haq
- Narahari Parekh
- JB Kriplani
- Shambhusharan Varma

Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918) - First Hunger Strike

- Unlike Champaran, in this case both the **workers & employers were Indians**.
- In March 1918., Gandhi intervened in a dispute between cotton mill owners of Ahmedabad & the workers over the **issue of discontinuation of the plague bonus**.
- The workers were **demanding a rise of 50 % in their wages** so that they could manage in the times of wartime inflation (World War I).
- The mill owners were ready to give only a **20 % wage hike**.
- It was **Anusuya Sarabhai**, a **social reformer, sister of Ambalal Sarabhai**, one of the mill owners and the president of the Ahmedabad Mill Owners Association, who helped the workers in fighting for justice and also **asked Gandhi to intervene** and help resolve the impasse between owners and workers.
- Gandhi asked the workers to go on a strike & demand a **35 % increase** in wages instead of 50 %.

- This was the **first strike called by Gandhi in India**.
- **Gandhi advised the workers to remain non-violent** while on strike.
- When negotiations with mill owners did not progress, he himself undertook a fast unto death (his first) to strengthen the workers' resolve.
- The fast also had the effect of putting pressure on the mill owners who finally agreed to submit the issue to a tribunal. The strike was withdrawn.
- Industrialists referred the issue to a tribunal which awarded a 35% wage hike to the work.

Kheda Satyagraha of 1918

- Because of **drought** in 1918, the crops failed in **Kheda district of Gujarat**.
- According to **Revenue Code of British Government law**, if the yield was less than 1/4th the normal produce, the farmers were entitled to remission.
- The Gujarat Sabha, consisting of the peasants, submitted a petition to the highest governing authorities of the province requesting that the revenue assessment for the year 1919 be suspended.
- The government however **threatened** that the property of the farmers would be seized if the taxes were not paid.
- **Gandhi asked the farmers not to pay the taxes**.
- Gandhiji was mainly the **spiritual head of the struggle**.
- It was **Sardar Patel** & a group of other devoted Gandhians - Narahari Parikh, Mohanlal Pandya & Ravi Shankar Vyas, who went around the villages, organised the villagers & guided them & gave the necessary political leadership.
- Patel along with his colleagues organised the **tax revolt** which the different ethnic & caste communities of Kheda supported.

Ultimately, the **government agreed to** :

1. **suspend** the tax for the year in question
2. **reduce** the increase in rate
3. **return** all the confiscated property

Gains from Champaran, Ahmedabad and Kheda

- Gandhi demonstrated to the people the **efficacy of his technique of satyagraha**.
- He found his feet among the masses & came to have a surer understanding of the **strengths & weaknesses of the masses**.
- He acquired **respect & commitment** of many, especially the **youth**

The Rowlatt Act (1919)

- Government on one hand gave **carrot** of constitutional reforms in form of **Gol Act 1919**, on the other hand, it decided to **arm** itself with extraordinary powers to suppress any discordant voice against the reforms.
- It is also called as **Anarchical & Revolutionary Crimes Act, 1919**
- Rowlatt committee was a **Sedition Committee** appointed in 1918 by the British Indian Government with **Sir Sidney Rowlatt**, an English judge, as its **president** to investigate the '**sedition conspiracy**' of the Indian people.
- It was a **legislative act passed by the Imperial Legislative Council** in Delhi, **indefinitely extending the emergency measures** of preventive indefinite detention, incarceration **without trial & judicial review** enacted in the Defence of India Act 1915 during the 1st World War.
- According to this act any Indian could be **arrested on the charge of sedition, even on suspicious ground & without any trail could be jailed for up to 2 years**. Thus suspended the right of "habeas corpus" which is the foundation of civil liberty.
- The act allowed **political activists to be tried without juries or even imprisoned without trial**.
- It allowed arrest of Indians without warrant on the mere suspicion of 'treason'.
- **All the elected Indian members** of the Imperial Legislative Council **voted against** the bill but they were in a minority and easily overruled by the official nominees.
- All the elected Indian members—who included Mohammed **Ali Jinnah**, **Madan Mohan Malaviya** and **Mazhar UI Haq** – **resigned in protest**.

Satyagraha Against the Rowlatt Act— First Mass Strike

- Gandhi called the **Rowlatt Act the "Black Act"** & argued that not everyone should get punishment in response to isolated political crimes.
- Having seen the constitutional protest fail Gandhi organized a **Satyagraha Sabha Sarvadharm Prarthana Sabha (prayer meeting for all religions) & roped in younger members of Home Rule Leagues & the Pan Islamists**.
- The forms of protest finally chosen included observance of a nationwide **hartal** accompanied by **fasting & prayer, & civil disobedience against specific laws, & courting arrest & imprisonment**.

There was a **radical change** in the situation by now :

- ❖ The **masses had found a direction**; now they could 'act' instead of just giving verbal expression to their grievances.
- ❖ From now onwards, **peasants, artisans and the urban poor** were to play an increasingly important part in the struggle.
- ❖ Orientation of the **national movement turned to the masses** permanently. Gandhi said that salvation would come when masses were awakened and became active in politics.

- Satyagraha was to be launched on **6th April 1919**
- Before April 6 itself mass scale resistance grew against British rule , there were **large-scale violent, anti-British demonstrations in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, Ahmedabad, etc..**
- **In Punjab, the situation became so very explosive due to wartime repression, forcible recruitment and ravages of diseases.** So the Army was called which put martial law there.
- The Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, **Sir Michael O'Dwyer**, is said to have used aircraft strafing against the violent protests.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (April 13, 1919)

- Amritsar was the worst affected by violence against the Rowlatt Act.
- In the beginning there was no violence by the protestors.
- On April 9, two nationalist leaders, **Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr Satyapal**, were arrested by the British officials without any provocation except that they had addressed protest meetings, and taken to some unknown destination.
- This caused resentment among the Indian protestors who came out in thousands on April 10 to show their solidarity with their leaders.
- Soon the protests turned violent because the police resorted to firing in which some of the protestors were killed.
- Tension ran high. In the riot that followed.
- Troops were sent immediately to quell the disturbances.
- **Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer** was the senior British officer with the responsibility to impose martial law and restore order.
- By then the city had returned to calm and the protests that were being held were peaceful.
- There was a curfew imposed in Amritsar on 13 April but people from rural areas had no knowledge about it.
- **13 April** was celebrated as **Baisakhi** & peasants had come to celebrate at Jallianwala, a **park in Amritsar**.
- Incidentally a group of protestors protesting the arrest of 2 leaders Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal Malik had also come to the same place.
- General Dyer entered the place and ordered his men to fire at the crowd killing 379 people (according to government records).
- Media & local people said that the number of people killed were more than 1000.
- **The Hunter Commission** was set up to look into the event.
- Rabindranath Tagore renounced his **knighthood** in protest when House of Lords called this act by Gen Dyer as act of bravery
- Gandhi gave up the title of **Kaiser-i-Hind**, bestowed by the British for his work during the Boer War.

- Gandhi was overwhelmed by the atmosphere of total violence & **withdrew the movement on April 18, 1919.**

The Hunter Committee of Inquiry (The Hunter Commission)

- The Secretary of State for India, Edwin Montagu, ordered that a committee of inquiry be formed to investigate this matter of the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.
- Hunter Committee/Commission was formed, **Lord William Hunter as its chairman & having 3 Indians among the members, namely, Sir Chimanlal Harilal Setalvad, Pandit Jagat Narayan, & Sardar Sahibzada Sultan Ahmad Khan.**
- The Commission **unanimously condemned** Dyer's actions.
- The Commission on the Punjab atrocities proved to be an eyewash.
- In fact, **the House of Lords endorsed General Dyer's action** & the British public showed solidarity with Dyer by helping **The Morning Post collect 26k pounds for him.** A famous contributor to the fund was **Rudyard Kipling.**
- **The Commission did not impose any penal or disciplinary action** because Dyer's actions were condoned by various superiors (later upheld by the Army Council)
- **The Legal & Home Members** on the Viceroy's Council ultimately decided that, though Dyer had acted in a callous & brutal way, military or legal prosecution would not be possible due to political reasons.
- He was finally found guilty of a mistaken notion of duty & relieved of his command.
- **The honouring of Dyer** by the priests of Sri Darbar Sahib, Amritsar, was one of the reasons behind the intensification of the demand for reforming the management of Sikh shrines already being voiced by societies such as the Khalsa Diwan Majha & Central Majha Khalsa Diwan.
- Resulted in the **launch of the Gurdwara Reform movement.**

Congress View

- Indian National Congress appointed its own non-official committee that included **Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das, Abbas Tyabji, M.R. Jayakar & Gandhi.**
- Congress criticized Dyer's act as inhuman & also said that there was no justification in the introduction of the martial law in Punjab.

Assassination of Michael O'Dwyer

- **On 13 March 1940:** At Caxton Hall in London, Udham Singh, who had witnessed the events in Amritsar & was himself wounded, shot & killed **Michael O'Dwyer, the British Lieutenant- Governor of Punjab** at the time of the massacre, who had approved Dyer's action & was believed to be the main planner.
- **Udham Singh** bore the name, **Ram Mohammad Singh Azad.**
- **Dyer** himself had died in 1927
- **Udham Singh** was hanged for the murder on **31 July 1940.**

- His ashes were returned to India in 1974.

Montagu's Statement-August 1917

- The government policy is of **an increasing participation of Indians in every branch of administration & gradual development institutions** with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire.
- **From now onwards, the demand by nationalists for self-government or Home Rule could not be termed as seditious** since, attainment of self government for Indians now became a government policy, unlike Morley's statement in 1909 that the reforms were not intended to give self-government to India.

Indian Objections

The **objections of the Indian leaders** to Montagu's statement were **two fold**:

- **No specific time frame** was given.
- The **Government alone was to decide the nature & the timing of advance** towards a responsible government, & the Indians were resentful that the British would decide what was good & what was bad for Indians.

Government of India Act 1919

- It is based on Montagu – Chelmsford Reforms in line with **Montague's August 1917 statement**.
- As the British Government needed India's help in terms of both resources & manpower for WW-1, they promised the Indian leaders that more number of members would be included in the Executive council.

Provisions

Relaxation of central control over provinces:

- By **demarcating & separating the central & provincial subjects**. The central & provincial legislatures were authorised to make laws on their respective list of subjects. However, the structure of government continued to be centralised and unitary.

Bicameral Legislature at the Centre :

- ❖ The **Indian Legislative Council was replaced by a bicameral legislature** consisting of an Upper House (Council of State) & a Lower House (Legislative Assembly).
- ❖ The majority of members of both the Houses were **chosen by direct election**.

- Legislative assembly & Council of state to consist of **145 & 60 members**.
- **Separate Electorates** also given to **Sikhs, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians, & Europeans**.
- Legislators **could ask questions** & supplementaries, pass adjournment motions & vote a part of the budget, but 75% of the budget was still not votable.
- **Dyarchy** was introduced in the province , i.e., there were two classes of administrators – Executive councillors & Ministers.

Dyarchy

- **Dyarchy (rule of 2)** in the province .
- Term derived from the Greek word ‘**di-arche**’ which means **double rule**. This experiment was largely **unsuccessful**.
- **Popular ministers & governors** to be executive head
- Reserved & transferred subjects.
- **Reserved subjects** were to be administered by the **governor & his executive council** without being responsible to the legislative Council.
- The transferred subjects were to be administered by the **governor with the aid of ministers** responsible to the legislative Council.
- Reserved subjects such as finance, Law & order , land revenue, irrigation, etc.
- Transferred subjects such as health, education, industry, local government.
- Governor could veto the bill & issue ordinances.
- Women were given right to vote
- Indian legislature made more representative
- It required that the **3 of the 6 members** of the Viceroy’s executive Council (other than the commander-in-chief) were to be Indian.
- It created **a new office of the High Commissioner for India in London** & transferred to him some of the functions hitherto performed by the Secretary of State for India.
- It provided for the establishment of a **public service commission**. Hence, a Central Public Service Commission was set up in 1926 for recruiting civil servants
- It separated, for the 1st time, provincial budgets from the Central budget & authorised the provincial legislatures to enact their budgets.
- It provided for the **appointment of a statutory commission to inquire into & report** on its working after 10 years of its coming into force.

Drawbacks

- **Franchise was very limited**. The electorate was extended to some one-and-a-half million for the central legislature, while the population of India was around 260 million, as per one estimate.
- At the **centre, the legislature had no control** over the viceroy and his executive council.

- **Division of subjects** was not satisfactory at the centre.
- **Allocation of seats** for the central legislature to the provinces was **based on the 'importance' of provinces**—for instance, Punjab's military importance and Bombay's commercial importance.
- At the level of **provinces**, **division of subjects and parallel administration** of two parts was **irrational** and, hence, unworkable. Subjects like irrigation, finance, police, press and justice were 'reserved'.
- The provincial ministers had no control over finances and over the bureaucrats; this would lead to constant friction between the two. Ministers were often not consulted on important matters too.

Congress's Reaction

- The Congress **met in a special session in August 1918** at Bombay under Hasan Imam's presidency and declared the reforms to be "disappointing" and "unsatisfactory" and demanded effective self-government instead.
 - The Montford reforms were termed "**unworthy and disappointing—a sunless dawn**" by Tilak.
 - **Annie Besant** found them "**unworthy of England to offer and India to accept**".
-

Non Cooperation Movement and Khilafat Andolan

- During 1919-22, the British were opposed through two mass movements.
- Though the two movements emerged from separate issues, they adopted a common programme of action—that of **non-violent non-cooperation**.
- Khilafat issue was not directly linked to Indian politics but it provided the immediate background to the movement & gave an added advantage of **cementing Hindu-Muslim unity against the British**.

Non-Cooperation Movement- Background

- **Government of India Act, 1919:**
 - Ill conceived scheme of **dyarchy failed** to satisfy the rising demand of the Indians for self government.
- **Rowlatt Act** , the imposition of martial law in Punjab.
- **Jallianwala Bagh Massacre** & the **enquiry** thereafter.
- Reasons for which the Khilafat movement was started was a major cause for the Muslim population:

- Economic hardship post war
- Inflation
- Unemployment

Reasons for Common Political Action

- Lucknow Pact
- Rowlatt Act agitation brought Hindus , Muslims & other sections of the society together ○ Radical nationalist muslims like **Muhammad Ali, Azad, Hakim Ajmal Khan & Hasan Imam** had now become more influential than the conservative Aligarh school elements who had dominated the League earlier.
- The younger elements advocated militant nationalism & active participation in the nationalist movement.
- They had **strong anti-imperialist sentiments**.

Khilafat Issue - Background

- The word Khilafat means **institution** or **office of Khalifa** & the Khalifa or caliph of Turkey was regarded as the **spiritual & political head of Muslim world**.
- In World War-I, Turkey along with Germany lost to the allied power.
- The victory of allied forces imposed a humiliating treaty on Germany & a similar humiliating treaty was being planned for Turkey.
- **Turkey was dismembered & the Khalifa was removed from power.**
- The demands of the **Khilafat Committee** which was set up in India by **Ali brothers** were:
 - Khalifa must retain control over the Muslim sacred places.
 - The Khilafat must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith
 - The Jazirat-ul Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, & Palestine) must remain under the Muslim Sovereignty.
- Other leaders were **Azad, Ajmal Khan & Hasrat Mohani**.
- In **November 1919: All India Khilafat conference** held in **Delhi** where a call was made for the boycott of British goods.
- Khilafat leaders also clearly spelt out that unless **peace terms** after the War were **favorable to Turkey** they would stop all cooperation with the Government.
- **Gandhi, the president** of All India Khilafat conference saw the possibility of mass & united non cooperation.

The Congress Stand

- Congress support was essential for the Khilafat movement to succeed.
- Congress wasn't united on this issue:

- **Tilak** was opposed to an alliance with Muslim leaders over a **religious issue**. He had doubts over **satyagraha** too.
- **Boycott of councils** was not supported by all: Leaders like **C.R. Das** were **not willing**, but bowed to Congress discipline; they leaders boycotted elections held in November 1920 & the majority of the voters too stayed away.
- But, Gandhi got approval of all on this issue.
- the Congress felt inclined to support a non-cooperation programme on the Khilafat question because—
 - It was felt that this was a golden opportunity to cement Hindu-Muslim unity and to bring Muslim masses into the national movement.
 - The Congress was losing faith in constitutional struggle, especially after the Punjab incidents and the blatantly partisan Hunter Committee Report.
 - The Congress was aware that the masses were eager to give expression to their discontent.
- **Muslim league too supported** the Congress on this issue.

Khilafat Movement & Non-Cooperation

- In this atmosphere emerged the Khilafat issue around which developed the historic Non-Cooperation Movement.
- In **February 1920** : **Joint Hindu Muslim** delegation was sent to viceroy to seek redress of grievances on the issue of Khilafat but the mission failed.
- Gandhi announced that the issues of the Punjab, wrongs & constitutional advance had been overshadowed by the Khilafat question & that he would soon lead a movement of non cooperation if the terms of the peace treaty failed to satisfy the Indian Muslims.
- In **May 1920**: **The Treaty of Sevres** completely dismembered Turkey.
- In **June 1920**: **An all-party conference at Allahabad** approved a program of boycott of schools, colleges & law courts, & asked Gandhi to lead it.
- **Tilak had breathed his last on August 1st.**
- **August 31, 1920**: The Khilafat Committee started a campaign of non-cooperation & the movement was formally launched.
- **September 1920** : At a special session in **Calcutta**, the Congress approved a non cooperation programme **till the Punjab & Khilafat wrongs were removed & swaraj was established**. The programme was to include—
 - boycott of **government schools & colleges**;
 - boycott of **law courts** & dispensation of justice through panchayats instead;
 - boycott of **Legislative Councils**;
 - boycott of **foreign cloth** & use of khadi instead; also practice of hand-spinning to be done;
 - renunciation of **government honors & titles**.
- **Second** phase would include **mass civil disobedience** including resignation from **government service, & non-payment of taxes**.

- During the movement, the participants were supposed to work for **Hindu-Muslim unity** & for **removal of untouchability**, all the time remaining **non-violent**.

Nagpur Session – Dec 1920

- **The non-cooperation program was endorsed.**
- An important change was made in Congress creed
- Now, instead of having the attainment of self-government through constitutional means as its goal, the Congress decided to have the attainment of **swaraj** through peaceful & legitimate means, thus committing itself to an **extra constitutional mass struggle**.
- Organizational changes made within the congress:
 - A Congress Working Committee of 15 members was set up to lead the Congress from now onwards.
 - Provincial Congress Committees on linguistic basis were organised.
 - Ward committees were organised & entry fee was reduced to 4 annas.
 - The adoption by the Congress of the non-cooperation movement initiated earlier by Khilafat Committee gave it a new energy, & the years 1921 & 1922 saw an unprecedented popular upsurge.
- At this stage, some leaders like Jinnah, Annie Besant, G.S. Khaparde & B.C. Pal left the Congress as they believed in a constitutional & lawful struggle while some others like SN Banerjee founded the Indian National Liberal Federation & played a minor role in national politics hence forward.
- Gandhi declared that if the non-cooperation programme was implemented completely, swaraj would be ushered in within a year.
- Many groups of revolutionary terrorists, especially those from Bengal, also pledged support to the Congress programme.
- The adoption of the non-cooperation movement by the Congress gave it a new force, and the years 1921 & 1922 saw an unprecedented popular upsurge.

Spread of the Movement

- Gandhi accompanied by the Ali brothers undertook a nationwide tour.
- Students left government schools & colleges & joined national schools & colleges.
- English educational institutions were boycotted.
- Educational institutions were organized under the leadership of Acharya Narendra Dev, C.R. Das, Lala Lajpat Rai, Zakir Hussain.
- SC Bose became the principal of National College at Calcutta.
- English clothes were boycotted, foreign cloth were burnt publicly & their imports fell by 1/2.
- Khadi clothes were promoted. Khadi & Charkha became a symbol of protest, national unity & self reliance.
- Picketing of shops selling foreign liquor & of toddy shops was undertaken

- Many lawyers gave up their practice like ML Nehru, J Nehru, C.R. Das, Rajaji, Saifuddin Kitchlew, Vallabhbhai, Asaf Ali, T. Prakasam & R Prasad.
- Social boycott
- Tilak Swaraj Fund was oversubscribed & 1 crore rupees collected.
- Congress volunteer corps emerged as the parallel police.
- In July 1921: Ali brothers gave a call to the Muslims to resign from the Army as that was unreligious, for this they were arrested in September.
- Gandhi echoed their call & asked local Congress committees to pass similar resolutions to that effect.
- Now, the Congress gave a call to local Congress bodies to start civil disobedience if it was thought that the people were ready for it.
- Already, a no-tax movement against union board taxes in Midnapore & in Guntur was going on.
- In Assam, strikes in tea plantations, steamer services, Assam Bengal Railway had been organized by J.M. Sengupta was a prominent leader in these strikes.
- In Nov 1921: Visit of Prince of Wales to India invited strikes & demonstrations.
- Many local struggles began such as Awadh Kisan Movement , Eka Movement, Mappila Revolt & the Sikh agitation for the removal of mahants in Punjab.

People's Response

- Middle Class:
 - They led the movement at the beginning but later they showed a lot of reservations about Gandhi's programme.
 - In places like Calcutta, Bombay & Madras the response to Gandhi's call was very limited.
- Business Class:
 - The economic boycott received support from the Indian business group because they had benefited from the nationalists' emphasis on the use of swadeshi.
 - But, a section of them remained skeptical due to the fear of labor unrest in their factories.
- Peasants:
 - Participation was massive. In general, the peasants turned against the landlords & the traders.
- Students:
 - They become active volunteers of the movement.
- Women:
 - They gave up purdah & offered their ornaments for the Tilak Fund. They joined the movement in large numbers & took active part in picketing.
- Hindu-Muslim Unity:
 - The massive participation of Muslims & the maintenance of communal unity, despite the events like Moppila Uprisings, were great achievements.

Government Response

- Talks between Gandhi & Reading, the viceroy, broke down in May 1921 as the Government wanted Gandhi to urge the Ali brothers to remove those portions from speeches which suggested violence.
- Gandhi realized that the Government was trying to drive a wedge between him & the Khilafat leaders & refused to fall into the trap.
- Volunteer corps were declared illegal, public meetings were banned, the press was gagged & most of the leaders barring Gandhi were arrested.

The Last Phase of the Movement

- Gandhi was now under increasing pressure from the Congress rank & file to start the civil disobedience programme & the Ahmedabad session in 1921 (presided over, incidentally, by C.R. Das while still in jail; Hakim Ajmal Khan was the acting president) appointed Gandhi the sole authority on the issue.
- Feb 1, 1922: Gandhi threatened to launch civil disobedience from Bardoli if :
 - Political prisoners were not released.
 - Press controls were not removed.

Chauri Chaura Incident and Withdrawal of the Movement

- A mob of peasants & Khilafat agitators burnt 22 policemen alive, after the policemen ordered lathi charge on them, at Chauri Chaura on 5th February 1922
- Congress was planning to launch a “No Tax Movement” as the next phase of this movement & a meeting was planned to be held on 12 February at Bardoli
- CWC met at Bardoli in February 1922 & resolved to stop all activity that led to breaking of law & to get down to constructive work instead, which was to include popularization of khadi , national schools, Hindu-Muslim unity & against untouchability.
- Many nationalists had felt that the non-cooperation movement shouldn't have been stopped due to isolated incidents of violence.
- Nationalist leaders including C.R. Das, ML Nehru, SC Bose, JL Nehru, expressed their bewilderment at Gandhi's decision..
- C. R. Das & ML Nehru protested against the resolution of the working committee.
- SC Bose called it “a national calamity”.
- Jawaharlal also felt that the NCM should not have been suspended simply because some poor peasant had misbehaved.
- Impact of the withdrawal was a division of Congress into 2 groups.
- Most Congress leaders remained firmly behind Gandhi, disillusioned and broke away
- ML Nehru & CR Das formed the Swaraj Party, rejecting Gandhi's leadership.
- Ali brothers would soon become fierce critics.
- In March 1922 Gandhi was arrested & sentenced to 6 years in jail.

Why did Gandhi withdraw the movement ?

- Felt that people had not learnt or fully understood the method of nonviolence.
- Incidents like Chauri Chaura could lead to excitement & fervor, turning the movement generally violent.
- The movement was also showing signs of fatigue.
- The Government seemed to be in no mood for negotiations.
- The central theme of the agitation also dissipated soon.
- In 1922, the people of Turkey rose under Mustafa Kamal & deprived the Sultan of political power.
- Turkey was made a secular state.
- A European style of legal system was established in Turkey & extensive rights granted to women.
- Education was nationalized & modern agriculture & industries developed. In 1924, the caliphate was abolished.

Evaluation of Khilafat Non- Cooperation Movement

- The movement brought the urban Muslims into the national movement, but at the same time it communalized the national politics to an extent.
 - Although Muslim sentiments were a manifestation of the spread of a wider anti-imperialist feeling, the national leaders failed to raise the religious political consciousness of the Muslims to a level of secular political consciousness.
 - Nationalist sentiments reached every nook & corner of the country & politicized every strata of population—the artisans, peasants, students, urban poor, women, traders etc.
 - It was this politicization & activation of millions of men & women which imparted a revolutionary character to the national movement.
 - Colonial rule was based on 2 myths— one, that such a rule was in the interest of Indians & two, that it was invincible.
 - The 1st myth had been exploded by the economic critique by Moderate nationalists.
 - The 2nd myth had been challenged by satyagraha through mass struggle.
-

Emergence of Swarajists, Socialists ideas, Revolutionary Activities

Swarajists and No-Changers

Congress-Khilafat Swarajya Party

- After Gandhi's arrest (March 1922), there was disintegration, disorganization & demoralization among nationalist ranks.
- A debate started among Congressmen on what to do during the transition period, i.e., the passive phase of the movement.
- One section led by C.R. Das, ML Nehru & Ajmal Khan wanted an end to the boycott of legislative councils so that the nationalists could enter them to expose the basic weaknesses of these assemblies & use these councils as an arena of political struggle to arouse popular enthusiasm.
- They wanted, in other words, to 'end or mend' these councils, i.e., if the Government did not respond to the nationalists' demands, then they would obstruct the working of these councils.
- Those advocating entry into legislative councils came to be known as the Swarajists
- Another school of thought led by Vallabhbhai Patel, R Prasad, Rajaji & M.A. Ansari came to be known as the 'No-changers'.
- 'No-changers' opposed council entry, advocated ,concentration on constructive work, & continuation of boycott & noncooperation, & quiet preparation for resumption of the suspended CDM.
- The differences over the question of council entry between the 2 schools of thought resulted in the defeat of Swarajists' proposal at the Gaya session (1922).
- On 1st January 1923: C.R Das & Motilal Nehru resigned from the president ship & secretary ship respectively of the Congress & announced the formation of a new party, with C.R. as the president & M L Nehru as one of the secretaries.

Swarajists' Arguments

- Swarajists argued that entering the councils wouldn't negate the non-cooperation programme; in fact, it would be like carrying on the movement through other means—opening a new front.
- In a time of political vacuum, council work would serve to enthuse the masses & keep up their morale.
- Entry of nationalists would deter the Government from stuffing the councils with undesirable elements who may be used to provide legitimacy to government measures.
- Their only intention was to use the councils as an arena of political struggle; they had no intention to use the councils as organs for gradual transformation of colonial rule.

No Changers' Arguments

- No-Changers argued that parliamentary work would lead to neglect of constructive work, loss of revolutionary zeal & to political corruption.
- Constructive work would prepare everyone for the next phase of civil disobedience.
- The no-changers, whose effective head was Gandhiji even though he was in jail, argued for the continuation of the full programme of boycott & non-cooperation.

Compromise

- Both sides wanted to avoid a Surat & kept in touch with Gandhi who was in jail.
- Both sides also realised the significance of putting up a united front to get a mass movement to force the government to introduce reforms, & both sides accepted the necessity of Gandhi's leadership of a united nationalist front.
- Keeping these factors in mind, a compromise was reached at a meeting in Delhi in September 1923.
- Swarajists were allowed to contest elections as a group within the Congress.
- Swarajists accepted the Congress programme with only 1 difference—that they would join legislative councils.
- It declared that it would present the national demand for self government in the councils & in case of its rejection its elected members would adopt 'a policy of uniform, continuous & consistent obstruction within the councils, with a view to make the Government through the councils impossible'.
- The elections to the newly constituted Central Legislative Assembly & to provincial assemblies were to be held in November 1923.

The Swarajist Manifesto for Elections

- Released in October 1923.
- The Swarajist manifesto took a strong anti-imperialist line.
- The points put forward were as follows:
 - a. The guiding motive of the British in governing India lay in selfish interests of their own country.
 - b. The so-called reforms were only a blind to further the said interests under the pretence of granting a responsible government, the real objective being to continue exploitation of the unlimited resources of the country by keeping Indians permanently in a subservient position to Britain.
 - c. The Swarajists would present the nationalist demand of self-government in councils.
 - d. If this demand was rejected, they would adopt a policy of uniform, continuous and consistent obstruction within the councils to make governance through councils impossible.

- e. Councils would thus be wrecked from within by creating deadlocks on every measure.

Gandhi's Attitude

- Gandhi, initially opposed the proposal of council entry.
- In February 1924: But after his release from prison on health grounds, he moved towards a reconciliation with Swarajists because he felt public opposition to the council entry would be counter-productive.
- The courageous & uncompromising manner in which Swarajists functioned convinced him that they won't become just another limb of colonial administration.

SPREAD OF MARXIST AND SOCIALIST IDEAS

Left movements in India developed in two main streams:

(a) Communism which functioned as a branch of the International Communist Movement and was by and large controlled by the Comintern.

(b) The Congress Socialist Party which functioned as the left wing of the Indian National Congress and drew inspiration from the philosophy of Democratic Socialism. Both these movements drew support from the anti-imperialist sentiments prevalent in India

1. The spread of the ideas of Marx and socialism resulted in the rise of a left wing in the Congress represented by Nehru and S. Bose.

Congress Socialist Party:

- The Congress Left Wing emerged as a 'rationalist revolt' against the mysticism of Gandhism on the one hand and dogmatism of Communism on the other.
- Their ideological inspiration came from Marxism and Democratic Socialism and they stood for anti-imperialism. They stood for complete independence and Socialism; they wanted Swaraj not for the classes but for the masses.
- The Congress Socialist Party was not a rival political organization to the Congress but was launched to work within the Congress. The CSP condemned the Government of India Act 1935.
- It was because of the socialist pressure that the Congress Election Manifesto of 1936 contained a programme for the removal of the socio-economic grievances of the people.
- In July 1931, J.P Narayan, Phulan Prasad Varma and others formed the Bihar Socialist Party.
- **The Punjab Socialist Party came into existence in September 1933.**
- **The All India Congress Socialist Party** was formally started in October 1934 with a constitution and a specific 15-point programme.

2. **Communist Party of India** was formed in **1920 in Tashkent by M N Roy** (first to be elected to the leadership of Comintern. In 1925 Indian Communist conference was held at Kanpur whereby the foundation of CPI was formalized.

- The Communist Movement involved in conspiracy trials thrice, viz. the **Peshawar Conspiracy Trial (1922-23)**, the **Kanpur Conspiracy Trial (1924)** and the **Meerut Conspiracy (1929-33)**.

Peshawar Conspiracy Trial (1922-23) : The defendants in these cases had allegedly snuck into British-controlled India from the Soviet Union "to foment a proletarian revolution against the British imperialist oppressors and restore freedom to the masses

The Kanpur Conspiracy Trial (1924): On 17 March 1924, M.N. Roy, S.A. Dange, Muzaffar Ahmed, Nalini Gupta, Shaikat Usmani, Singaravelu Chettiar, Ghulam Hussain and others were charged, in what was called the Cawnpore (now spelt Kanpur) Bolshevik Conspiracy case. The specific charge was that they as communists were seeking "to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from imperialistic Britain by a violent revolution."

The Meerut Conspiracy (1929-33) : Several trade unionists, including three Englishmen were arrested for organizing an Indian railway strike. The British Government convicted 27 leftist trade union leaders under a false lawsuit. The trial immediately caught attention in England, where it inspired the 1932 play Meerut by Manchester street theatre group the 'Red Megaphones', highlighting the detrimental effects of colonisation and industrialisation

- The Congress members successfully opposed the enactment of the Public Safety Bill (1928)-a bill directed against the Communists in India thus showing their support. By 1934 the Communist Movement in India acquired some respectability and Communist ideology may be said to have been established in this country.
- In July 1934, the CPI was declared an illegal organization. Later, the Government of India declared the CPI a legal organization again in 1942.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES DURING THE 1920'S

A) Punjab:

- **Hindustan Republican Association** was founded in October 1924, Kanpur by **Ramprasad Bismil, Jogesh Chandra Chatterjee and Sachin Sanyal** to organize an armed rebellion to overthrow the government.

- This organization conducted the **Kakori Train robbery in 1925** wherein Ramprasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Roshan Singh and Rajendra Lahiri were hanged.
- It was reorganized in 1928 and named as **Hindustan Socialist Republican Association**.
- In 1929 **Bhagat Singh and B K Dutt** threw a bomb in the Central Legislative Assembly against the passage of the **Public Safety Bill and Trade Disputes Bill** which aimed at curtailing the civil liberties of citizens.
- Bhagat Singh organized Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha in 1926 and was a complete supporter of Marxist ideas.

B) Bengal:

- **Chittagong Armory Raid** was conducted in 1930 under Surya Sen assisted by Kalpana Dutt
-

Simon Commission and the Nehru Report

Appointment of the Indian Statutory Commission

- **The Government of India Act, 1919** had a provision that a commission would be appointed ten years from date to study the progress of the governance scheme and suggest new steps.
- **An all-white, seven-member Indian Statutory Commission headed by Sir John Simon, popularly known as the Simon Commission was set up by the British government in 1927**
- The commission was to recommend to the British government whether India was ready for further constitutional reforms and along what lines.
- The **purpose** of this mission was:
 - To review the Government of India Act, 1919
 - To suggest legal & administrative reforms for the future
- In 1928: Commission reached India & witnessed widespread protests.
- The main reason for protests was that the mission didn't include any Indian.
- Commission was a group of 7 British MPs of UK

Indian Response

- The Indian response to the Simon Commission was immediate and nearly unanimous.

- What angered the Indians most was the exclusion of Indians from the commission and the basic notion behind the exclusion that foreigners would discuss and decide upon India's fitness for self-government.
- This notion was seen as a violation of the principle of self-determination, and as a deliberate insult to the self-respect of Indians.

Congress Response

- The Congress session in Madras (December 1927) meeting under the presidency of M.A. Ansari decided to boycott the commission "at every stage and in every form".
- Meanwhile Nehru succeeded in getting a snap resolution passed at the session, declaring complete independence as the goal of the Congress

Other Groups

- Those who decided to support the Congress call of boycott of the Simon Commission included the liberals of the Hindu Mahasabha and the majority faction of the Muslim League under Jinnah.
- Some others, such as the Unionists in Punjab and the Justice Party in the south, decided not to boycott the commission.

Public Response

- A countrywide hartal was organised and mass rallies held.
- Nehru and Subhash Bose emerged as leaders of the new wave of youth and students. Both travelled extensively, addressed and presided over conferences.

Police Repression

- The police came down heavily on demonstrators.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru and G.B. Pant were beaten up in Lucknow.**
- **Lala Lajpat Rai received severe blows on his chest in October 1928 which proved fatal and he died on November 17, 1928.**

Impact of Appointment of Simon Commission on the National Movement

- The impact of the appointment of the Simon Commission on Indian politics was two-fold:
 - a) It gave a stimulus to radical forces demanding not just complete independence but major socio-economic reforms on socialist lines. When the Simon Commission was announced, the Congress, which did not have any active programme in hand, got an issue on which it could once again forge mass action.

- b) The challenge of Lord Birkenhead to Indian politicians to produce an agreed constitution was accepted by various political sections, and thus prospects for Indian unity seemed bright at that point of time.

Recommendations :

- **The Commission published its 2-volume report in May 1930.**
 - It recommended that separate communal electorates be retained, but only until tensions between Hindus & Muslims had died down.
 - It proposed the abolition of diarchy & the establishment of representative government in the provinces.
 - The outcome of the Simon Commission was the Government of India Act 1935.
 - The provincial legislative council should be enlarged.
 - A federation represented in both the British India & the princely states was supposed to be set up.
 - It was stated that viceroy's executive council (the cabinet) could not be made as responsible to the popularly elected legislature.
 - It suggested that the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan should get local legislatures, and both NWFP and Balochistan should have the right to be represented at the centre
 - It recommended that Sindh should be separated from Bombay, and Burma should be separated from India because it was not a natural part of the Indian subcontinent.
 - It also suggested that the Indian army should be Indianised though British forces must be retained. India got fully equipped.

Response of Political Parties

- All political parties condemned the report as partial & inadequate.

Relevance of the Recommendations

- **By the time the report came out, it was no longer relevant because several events overtook the importance of its recommendations.**

Nehru Report

Nehru Committee

- Secretary of State, **Lord Birkenhead** challenged the Indians to produce a constitution that would be acceptable to all.
- All important Indian leaders and parties decided to meet the British challenge by drawing up an agreed constitution for India.
- An All Parties Conference was convened for the purpose at Delhi.

- The Conference appointed a sub-committee headed by ML Nehru.
- The sub-committee submitted its report known as the Nehru Report in August 1928.
- Other prominent members were Tej Bahadur Sapru, SC Bose, M.S. Aney, Mangal Singh, Ali Imam, Shuab Qureshi & G.R. Pradhan.
- The report was placed before the Congress Session in Calcutta in 1928 where it was adopted unanimously.

Recommendations

- Dominion Status
- Secular State
- Nineteen fundamental rights including equal rights for women, right to form unions, and universal adult suffrage
- To end separate electorate
- Reservations of seats for minorities
- Federal form of Government with residuary powers to the centre
- Linguistic Provinces
- Full protection to cultural and religious interests of Muslims
- Provincial councils to have a 5-year tenure, headed by a governor acting on the advice of the provincial executive council.

Reactions to the Report

- Younger section of the Congress led by JL Nehru & SC Bose regarded the idea of dominion status in the report as a step backward & demanded 'Poorna Swaraj' or complete independence.
- Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha & the Sikh communalists were unhappy about the Nehru Report.
- Later Jinnah convened an All India Conference of Muslims & drew up a list of 14 points.

Delhi Proposals of Muslim League

- In December 1927, a large number of Muslim leaders had met at Delhi at the Muslim League session and evolved four proposals for their demands to be incorporated into the draft constitution.
- These proposals, which were accepted by the Madras session of the Congress (December 1927), came to be known as the 'Delhi Proposals'
- These were:
 - 1) Joint electorate in place of separate electorates with reserved seats for Muslims.
 - 2) One-third representation to Muslims in the Central Legislative Assembly.
 - 3) Representation to Muslims in Punjab and Bengal in proportion to their population.

- 4) Formation of three new Muslim majority provinces— Sindh, Balochistan and North-West Frontier Province.

Hindu Mahasabha Demands

- The Hindu Mahasabha was vehemently opposed to the proposals for creating new Muslim-majority provinces and reservation of seats for Muslims majority in Punjab and Bengal (which would ensure Muslim control over legislature in both).
- It also demanded a strictly unitary structure.
- This attitude of the Hindu Mahasabha complicated matters.

Compromises

- In the course of the deliberations of the All Parties Conference, the Muslim League dissociated itself and stuck to its demand for reservation of seats for Muslims, especially in the central legislature and in Muslim majority provinces.
- Thus, Motilal Nehru and other leaders drafting the report found themselves in a dilemma.
- if the demands of the Muslim communal opinion were accepted, the Hindu communalists would withdraw their support, if the latter were satisfied, the Muslim leaders would get estranged.
- The concessions made in the Nehru Report to Hindu communists include the following:
 - 1) Joint electorate proposed everywhere but reservation for Muslims only where in minority
 - 2) Sindh to be detached from Bombay only after dominion status was granted and subject to weightage given to Hindu minority in Sindh
 - 3) Political structure proposed broadly unitary, as residual powers rested with the centre.

Amendments Proposed by Jinnah

- At the All Parties Conference held at Calcutta in December 1928 to consider the Nehru Report, Jinnah, on behalf of the Muslim League, proposed three amendments to the report:
 - a)) one-third representation to Muslims in the central legislature.
 - b) reservation to Muslims in Bengal and Punjab legislatures proportionate to their population, till adult suffrage was established.
 - c) residual powers to provinces. These demands were not accommodated.

Jinnah's Fourteen Points

- In March 1929 gave fourteen points which were to become the basis of all future propaganda of the Muslim League.
 - The fourteen points were as follows:
 - 1) Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces.
 - 2) Provincial autonomy.
 - 3) No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation.
 - 4) All legislatures and elected bodies should have adequate representation of Muslims in every province without reducing a majority of Muslims in a province to a minority or equality.
 - 5) Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
 - 6) One-third Muslim representation in the central legislature.
 - 7) In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, one third to be Muslim.
 - 8) Separate electorates.
 - 9) No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three-fourths of a minority community consider such a bill or resolution to be against their interest
 - 10) Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP.
 - 11) Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
 - 12) Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Balochistan.
 - 13) Full religious freedom to all communities.
 - 14) Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture, education and language
-

Civil Disobedience Movement and Round Table Conference

Run up to the civil disobedience movement

1928 Indian National Congress Session at Calcutta :

- The Nehru Report was approved.
- Seniors like Gandhi and Nehru wanted to give 2 years' time to the government to accept their demand of dominion status. While the youth which included Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhash Bose forced them to reduce it to 1 year.
- Now, Congress decided that if the government did not accept their demand, they would launch a full fledged Civil Disobedience Movement with Purna Swaraj (complete independence) as its goal.
- In the meantime, Gandhi was travelling far and wide, gathering the masses and making them ready for a new national movement.
- Congress Working Committee (CWC) organized foreign cloth boycott committee.
- In England, the Labour Party came to power under Ramsay MacDonald.

- Viceroy Lord Irwin gave a statement regarding dominion status and promised Round Table Conference once Simon Commission would submit its report.

Delhi Manifesto, 1929 : It put forward certain conditions by INC for attending the Round Table Conferences:

- Basic principle of dominion status to be accepted immediately
- Congress should have majority representation at the conference
- There should be a general amnesty for political prisoners and a policy of conciliation

Gandhi and Motilal Nehru wanted assurance that the purpose of the RTC was to draft a constitutional scheme for dominion status. But after the Viceroy rejected these demands, the stage of confrontation was to begin.

Lahore Congress and Purna Swaraj : Jawaharlal Nehru was chosen to preside of this Congress Session of December 1929 with Gandhi's backing. He declared, "We have now an open conspiracy to free this country from foreign rule and you, comrades, and all our countrymen and country-women are invited to join in."

Major decisions :

- The Round Table Conference was to be boycotted.
- Complete Independence was declared as the main aim of the Congress.
- Launching of the Civil Disobedience Movement, non-payment of taxes and resignation of legislators.
- January 26, 1930 was fixed as the first Independence day

December 31, 1929- on the banks of River Ravi, J.L. Nehru hoisted the newly adopted tricolor flag amidst the slogans of Inquilab Zindabad.

January 26, 1930- the Independence pledge :

Gandhi's Eleven Demands

- Issues of general interest
 - Reduce expenditure on army and civil services by 50 percent
 - Introduce total prohibition
 - Carry out reforms in Criminal Investigation Department (CID)
 - Change Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of firearms licenses
 - Release political prisoners
 - Accept Postal Reservation Bill
- Specific bourgeois demands
 - Reduce rupee sterling exchange ratio to 1s 4d
 - Introduce textile protection
 - Reserve coastal shipping for Indians

- Specific peasant demands
 - Reduce land revenue by 50 percent
 - Abolish salt tax and government's salt monopoly

Gandhiji presented these demands with an ultimatum of January 31, 1930 to accept or reject them.

February 1930- No response from the government and therefore, Gandhi launched the CDM. he chose "salt" as the means of protest. Why?

- The most inhuman poll tax ever
- Affects the masses all the same
- Even the urban class could connect with the rural masses

Dandi March (March 12- April 6, 1930)- 8 members start from Sabarmati Ashram at Ahmedabad to Dandi. Hundreds gathered at the Ashram before the march officially began. Gandhi gave instructions before starting the march-

- In case he is arrested, the other local leaders should be obeyed.
- Lawyers can give up practice.
- Refuse to pay taxes if you can.
- Wherever possible, Salt Satyagraha should be carried out.
- Foreign liquor and cloth shops should be picketed.
- Government servants can resign from their posts.
- All these should be done on two ideals- truth and non violence

April 6, 1930 - Reached Dandi and picked up a handful of salt.

Spread of Salt Law Disobedience :

- Tamil Nadu- C. Rajagopalachari (Thiruvichirapally to Vedaranniyam)
- Kerala- K. Kelappan (Calicut to Payyanur)
- Assam- Satyagrahis walked from Sylhet to Noakhali (Bengal)
- Andhra Pradesh- A lot of camps, called sibirams, were setup as headquarters of salt satyagraha
- Orissa- Gopalbandhu Chaudhuri (Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts)
- Peshawar- Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, also called Frontier Gandhi and Badshah Khan, had started the first Pushto political monthly Pukhtoon and had organized a volunteer brigade known as "Red Shirts" or "Khudai Khidmatgars". They were pledged to the freedom struggle and non violence.
- Sholapur- located in Southern Maharashtra, where the textile workers went on strike and liquor shops were burnt. Government infrastructure was damaged, and a virtual parallel government was established which was later dislodged by martial law.
- Dharasana- Sarojini Naidu, Imam Sahib and Manilal (Gandhi's son) took up the unfinished task of leading a raid on the Dharasana Salt Works.

- Manipur and Nagaland- At the young age of 13, Rani Gaidinliu, a Naga spiritual leader, who followed her cousin Haipou Jadonang, raised the banner of revolt against the foreign rule. She was arrested in 1932 and was sentenced to life imprisonment. (The title Rani was given by JL Nehru.)
- Bihar, Bengal, Gujarat, UP- Activists protested by not paying taxes of different forms and also by not paying land revenue.

Nehru was arrested in April 1930 and Gandhiji in May 1930. There were fierce protests everywhere. The CWC sanctioned :

- Non payment of revenue in ryotwari areas
- No chowkidari tax campaign in amindari areas
- Violation of forest laws in Central Provinces

Impact of Agitation :

- Imports of foreign cloth and other items fell
- Government suffered a huge loss of income from liquor, excise and land revenue
- Elections to the Legislative Assembly were largely boycotted

Government's Response to CDM :

- Government was totally confused and perplexed- "Damned if you do, damned if you don't."
- If force was applied, Congress cried "repression"; and if little was done, Congress cried "victory".
- They even feared to arrest Gandhi, as it would lead to reactions and riots across the country or even worse.
- However, they put a ban on civil liberties and freedom of press.
- There were lathi charges, firing on unarmed crowds and about 90,000 including Gandhi and Nehru were arrested.

Simon Commission which finally submitted its report, had **no mention of dominion status**. This further upset the nationalists.

In July 1930, the Viceroy then arranged the Round Table Conference to discuss and decide dominion status.

In August 1930, Motilal Nehru and Jawaharlal Nehru were taken to Yervada jail to meet Gandhi and discuss the possibility of a settlement. The Nehrus and Gandhi unequivocally reiterated the demands of:

- Right of secession from the British
- Complete national government with control over defence and finance
- An independent tribunal to settle Britain's financial claims

Talks broke down at this point.

First Round Table Conference (November 1930 to January 1931) :

- Officially opened by King George V and chaired by Ramsay MacDonald
- First ever conference arranged with Brit and Indians as equals
- Gandhi, Congress and most business leaders did not participate
- Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Liberals and princes attended
- Outcome- Nothing much happened without the Congress. The British expected them to join the 2nd RTC

Gandhi-Irwin Pact (also known as Delhi Pact) :

It placed the Congress on an equal footing with the government. Irwin, on behalf of the government agreed on :

- Immediate release of all political prisoners not convicted of violence
- Remission of all fines not yet collected
- Return of all lands not yet sold to third parties
- Lenient treatment to those government servants who had resigned
- Right to make salt in coastal villages for personal consumption only
- Right to peaceful and non-aggressive picketing
- Withdrawal of emergency ordinances

However, two demands were turned down :

- Public inquiry into police excesses
- Commutation of Bhagat Singh and his comrades' death sentence to life sentence

Gandhi, on behalf of the Congress agreed the following :

- To suspend the Civil Disobedience Movement
- To participate in the next Round Table Conference

End of CDM :

Many criticized that this pact was a retreat but in reality it wasn't. Anyway, all mass movements are short-lived. Capacity of the masses to make self-sacrifices are limited, unlike the revolutionaries. The initial enthusiasm was exhausting. Despite the youth being largely upset, they believed in Gandhi and his leadership.

Civil Disobedience Movement vs. Non-Cooperation Movement

- CDM aimed for complete independence. NCM was against Khilafat and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
- Methods were different. Here it is breaking the law and there it was not following the law
- Number of people giving up government jobs were lesser in CDM
- Muslim participation was far lesser compared to NCM
- But peasants and business class were more in CDM
- Number of political prisoners were more in CDM
- INC was organizationally stronger

Karachi Congress Session, 1931

President- Vallabhai Patel

Importance- Gandhi Irwin Pact endorsed and the goal of Purna Swaraj reiterated.

Two major resolutions were adopted :

- Fundamental Rights- freedom of speech, press, assemble, adult franchise, equal legal rights, secularism, free and compulsory education, protection to culture etc
- National Economic Programme- reduction in rent, revenue, relief from indebtedness, better conditions of work, rights for workers and peasants, state ownership of key industries, mines and means of transport etc

For the first time, the actual meaning of “Swaraj” was spelt out for the masses.

Second RTC (December 1931)- Congress and Gandhi attended and still, talks failed.

Reasons :

- Opposition from Conservative party under Churchill
- Princes were not so enthusiastic in forming a federation
- Majority participants were loyalists and the government was using them against INC
- Session got deadlocked on the issue of Minorities. Separate electorates were being demanded by Muslims, depressed class, Anglo-Indians and Christians. Gandhi was against it.

The session ended with MacDonald’s announcement of :

- Two Muslim majority provinces- North-West Frontier Province and Sindh
- Setting up of an Indian Consultative Committee
- Setting up of three expert committees- finance, franchise and states
- The prospect of a unilateral British Communal Award if Indians failed to agree.

Communal Award :

- This was yet another expression of British Policy of divide and rule
- Muslims, Sikhs and Christians were already recognized as minorities
- Now depressed classes were also considered minority and to give them separate electorates

INC- disagreed to support it without the consent of minorities. They neither accepted nor rejected the award.

Gandhi- saw it as an attack on Indian unity and nationalism. Opposed it. If depressed classes were going to be seen as separate from Hindus, then untouchability would be tough to abolish. Agreed for reserved seats in the joint electorates. For this, he went on an indefinite fast.

Ambedkar- strongest support for the award.

Poona Pact :

M.M. Malviya and M.C. Rajah, a Dalit leader from Madras convinced Ambedkar to sign an agreement with Gandhi. Therefore, signed by B.R. Ambedkar on behalf of the depressed classes on September 24, 1932, the Poona Pact abandoned the idea of separate electorates for the depressed classes. But the seats reserved for them increased from 71 to 147 in provincial legislatures and to 18 percent of the total in the Central Legislature.

The Poona Pact was accepted by the government as an amendment to the Communal Award.

Third RTC :

- Held between November 17, 1932 and December 24, 1932
- Was not attended by most of the Congress leaders and Gandhi. It was ignored by most other Indian leaders.
- Again, like the other two conferences, little was achieved. The recommendations were published in a White Paper in March 1933 and debated in the British Parliament afterwards.
- A Joint Select Committee was formed to analyse the recommendations and formulate a new Act for India, and that committee produced a draft bill in February 1935 which was enforced as the Government of India Act of 1935 in July 1935.

Gandhi and Harijan :

1932- set up All India Untouchability League, when he was in jail

1933- started the weekly Harijan

1933 to 1934- starting from Wardha, conducted harijan tour across India (20,000 kms)

Raised funds for the newly setup Harijan Sevak Sangh and widely propagated the removal of untouchability.

Proceedings-

- Asked political workers to go to villages to work for overall development of Harijans
- He undertook 2 fasts, to indicate the seriousness of this task
- He faced a lot of orthodox and reactionary elements in villages
- He asked to throw open temples and public places to everyone
- Shastras do not sanction untouchability. Even if it does, it should be ignored as it is against human dignity.

“Hinduism dies if untouchability lives: Untouchability has to die if Hinduism is to live.”

Gandhiji, however, did not oppose the caste system. He did not find anything wrong with the Varnashrama System. He differed with Ambedkar on this aspect who wanted to abolish the caste system itself.

Gandhi and Ambedkar :

Similarities :

- Burning of foreign cloth by Gandhi and burning of Manusmriti by Ambedkar were not mere acts of burning. It represented the slavery and bondage of the nation.
- So too, a pinch of salt from the ocean and a drop of water from the Mahad tank were acts of political catharsis and social philosophy.
- The idea of proper education to make individuals desire for change, reform and integration.
- Religion as an agent of social change.

Differences :

- Nature and scope of democracy as a method of government- Ambedkar advocated parliamentary system whereas Gandhi believed that democracy tends to get converted into mass democracy.
- Gandhi believed that freedom was to be wrested from the authority of the people, whereas Ambedkar expected bestowing of freedom by the imperial rulers.
- Gandhi tried to put forward simple practical alternatives, while Ambedkar believed in liberal ideology and desired institutional framework and structures.
- Gandhi said ‘Gramraj’ and ‘Ramraj’ were real independence for India. But Ambedkar differed on the basis that, that social hierarchy would continue the age old discrimination and inequality.
- Ambedkar held that the centre of religion must be between man and man, and not man and God alone, as preached by Gandhi.
- Gandhi did not oppose the caste system whereas Ambedkar strongly held against it.
- In political precepts, Ambedkar believed in freedom of religion, free citizenship and separation of State and religion. Gandhi also endorsed the idea of freedom of religion, but did not endorse separation of politics and religion.
- Ambedkar believed in purity of ends and justified means as just when the ends were just. Whereas in Gandhian perception, it was purity of means that determined the end.

- Untouchables and depressed class- Gandhi considered them as a part of the Hindu whole, while Ambedkar had an ambivalent stand on the issue.

Debates on the Future Strategy after Civil Disobedience Movement

After CDM was withdrawn, three new visions came up :

- Constructive work to be done on Gandhian lines
- There should be a constitutional struggle and participation in elections to the Central Legislature as advocated by M.A. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai, S. Satyamurthy and B.C. Roy among others.
- There was a strong leftist trend under Nehru that opposed both the above. Should continue mass struggle and throw away imperialists.

Nehru considered withdrawal of CDM as a spiritual defeat. He suggested empowering classes of peasants and workers via Kisan Sabhas and Trade Unions and affiliate the classes to the Congress. He wanted to utilize the class struggle of the masses.

Senior Congress leaders believed in the S-T-S methodology.

S-T-S Struggle vs Nehru's Vision-

Struggle-Truce-Struggle is, a phase of struggle followed by a phase of truce and again followed by struggle. They argued that the truce period would enable them to mobilize the masses. But Nehru's vision was victory by continuous struggle (Struggle-Victory strategy).

Gandhi insisted on council entry. He said, those who could not offer satyagraha or who could not participate in constructive work should not be unoccupied.

Nehru focused more on socialism, but he wanted the imperial power to leave first.

Gandhi decided to resign INC in 1934, while INC participated in the elections fairly.

In the elections held to the Central Legislative Assembly in November 1934, the Congress captured 45 out of 75 seats reserved for Indians.

Government of India Act, 1935 :

Passed by the British Parliament in August 1935, its main features were-

- An All India Federation- It was to comprise all British Indian Provinces, all chief commissioner's provinces and the Indian states (princely states). However, it never came up because the conditions for the formation could not be met.
- Federal level
 - Executive

- Governor-General was the pivot of the entire constitution
- Subjects were distinguished as reserved and transferred
- Governor-general could act in his individual judgement
- Legislative
 - The bicameral legislature was to have an Upper House (Council of States) and a Lower House (Federal Assembly)- partly elected and partly nominated in each case
 - Elections to the Upper and Lower houses were indirectly and directly conducted, respectively
 - Three lists- federal, provincial and concurrent
 - Members of Federal Assembly could move a vote of no confidence, while the Council of States could not
 - Religion and class based electorates were further extended
 - 80 percent of the budget was non-votable
 - Governor-General had residuary power
- Provincial autonomy
 - It replaced dyarchy
 - Autonomy and separate legal identity
 - Derived legal authority directly from the British crown
 - Independent financial powers and resources
- Legislature
 - Separate electorates based on the basis of the Communal award to be made operational
 - Franchise was extended- women got same rights as men
 - Ministers were made answerable to and removable by the adverse vote of the legislature
 - Provincial legislature could legislate on subjects in the provincial and concurrent lists

After the GoI Act was outrightly rejected by INC, the next debate began on elections.

- Nehru, Subhash Bose, Socialists and Communists- were against council entry or getting ministries. They favored mass struggle. But also suggested that council entry could be a method to create deadlock in routine.
- Other Senior Congress leaders- were in favor of contesting elections and entering councils as a short term tactic, as the option of mass struggle was not available now.
- Gandhi- he opposed office acceptance in the CWC meetings but by the beginning of 1936, he was willing to give a trial to the formation of Congress ministries.

Congress Manifesto for Elections- It reaffirmed total rejection of the GoI Act of 1935, and promised release of prisoners, removal of disabilities on the basis of gender and caste, radical transformation of the agrarian system, substantial reduction of rent and revenue, scaling down of rural debts, cheap credit and right to form trade unions and to strike.

Gandhi did not attend a single election meeting.

Performance- Congress won 716 out of 1161 seats it contested.

Congress Rule in Provinces

Congress ministries were formed in Bombay, Madras, Central Provinces, Orissa, United Provinces, Bihar and later in the NWFP and Assam also.

Gandhi advised the Congressmen to hold the seats lightly and not tightly. These were crowns of thorns. The masses were happy. But the Congress leaders could not bring about huge changes in the overall imperialistic structure or governance.

28 month Congress rule :

Congress ministers resigned in October 1939 during WW-2.

Following are the details of work done by the Congress :

- Civil liberties
 - Laws giving emergency powers were repealed
 - Ban on nationalist bodies, press, newspapers etc were lifted
 - Police powers curbed. CID could not shadow politicians now
 - Political prisoners and revolutionaries released
 - Lands, pensions held back during CDM was restored
- Agrarian reforms- reduction in rent, revenue etc but overall, not very beneficial.
Reasons-
 - They did not have much power in land matters
 - Zamindari system was tough to remove and poor peasants difficult to reach
 - Lack of adequate financial resources
 - Legislative councils included landlords
 - Insufficient time as war hovered by 1938
- Labour reforms- formed unions. But tried to reduce strikes by maintaining industrial peace.
- Social reforms- measures to improve conditions of Harijans, education, sanitation, public health, khadi development, prison reforms and growth of other indigenous industries.
- Congress police stations were set up, panchayats and mass literacy campaigns were held.

Significance :

- The contention that Indian self-government was necessary for radical transformation got confirmed.
- People were able to perceive the shape of things to come if independence was won.
- Administrative work by Indians further weakened the myth that Indians were unfit to rule.

Nationalist Response in the Wake of World War II

In the aftermath of the Civil Disobedience movement, there was disarray within the Congress on the method of struggle. In Gandhi's perception, there was rising corruption and indiscipline in the organisation.

Subhash Chandra Bose was president of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee. His main area of work lay in the organization of the youth and promoting the trade union movement. He was a man of action and radical ideas.

Haripura session- This February 1938 Congress session was presided by SC Bose. The session adopted a resolution that the Congress would give moral support to those who were agitating against the governance in the princely states. In the following months, the international scenario had clouds of war hovering over it.

In January 1938, Bose decided to stand again for the President's post in Congress. Gandhi was not happy with his candidature and therefore, fielded Pattabhi Sitaramayya in opposition. Eventually, Bose won the election by 1580 votes against 1377.

Gandhi and Bose: Ideological Differences

- Non-violence vs militant approach- Gandhi was a firm believer in ahimsa and satyagraha, while Bose believed that violent resistance alone could oust the alien imperialist rule from India.
- Means and ends- Bose had his eye on the result of the action whereas Gandhi felt that non-violent ways of protest could not be practised unless the means and ends were equally good.
- Form of government- Bose laid his basis on Socialism and combined it with the efficacy and discipline of Fascism. However, he was not a Nazi or a Fascist, neither a Communist. Gandhi's ideas can be found in his Hind Swaraj, that his Ramrajya meant self-governance through individuals and community building.
- Militarism- Bose was deeply attracted to military discipline whereas Gandhi was against the military on the whole.
- Ideas on economy- Gandhi envisioned a decentralised economy without state control, and developed the idea of Sarvodaya (back to the roots). And Bose considered economic freedom to be the essence of social and political freedom.
- Religion- Gandhi said God is truth and love, and that he could be worshipped by serving the poor and identifying God in them.
Bose believed in Upanishadic teachings. However, he was free of bigotry and orthodoxy. He was more of a secularist with an impartial attitude towards all religions.

- Women- Gandhi played an important role in the upliftment of women, by bringing them out of their homes to take part in the mass struggle. His ideal woman was not the “modern woman” though. Bose had a more robust view of women.
- Education- Gandhi was against the English system of education and supported it in vernacular. He advocated free and compulsory education for an all-boys and girls school. And Bose was for higher education, especially in the technical and scientific fields, as he wanted an industrial India.

September 1, 1939- Germany attacks Poland. Second world war begins.

September 3, 1939- Britain declares war and India's support without consent.

Congress' position was that they would offer support on two conditions :

- Immediate formation of some genuinely responsible permanent government at Centre
- Form constituent assembly after war to determine the political structure of free India

Gandhi- unconditional support to the Allies (Britain, France, Russia)

Nehru- support the Allies only after the mentioned conditions are agreed upon

Bose and other **Socialists-** take advantage of the situation and launch a mass struggle

CWC Resolution, Wardha Session- 1939

- Condemn fascist aggression. No support of any sort to the German side
- War was told to be fought for democratic freedom. But there was no consideration about Indian freedom
- Government should declare its war aims and declare how democracy would be applied to India

The government under Viceroy Linlithgow, rejected all terms mentioned by CWC. they even tried to use the Muslim League, minorities, princes against INC. The British would not declare war aims, and would decide after discussing to all communities on free India.

Hidden agenda :

- Wanted to amend 1935 Act, to get emergency powers on provinces
- Use the allied troops stationed in India to regain the lost ground
- Gain sympathy from the world, showing India as pro Germany and pro Japan
- Branded Congress as a Hindu organization which would get them the support of the minorities

October 23, 1939- CWC Meeting

- No support for war
- Congress ministries decided to resign

What next?

As the masses were not ready for immediate struggle, and there was lack of Hindu Muslim unity, it was decided that the civil disobedience movement would be continued. Political work and constructive work would be carried out.

Bose wanted mass struggle, but he lacked support from the INC.

In the meantime, Muslim League passed resolution for **Pakistan** and grouped geographical areas in its Lahore Session of March 1940.

August Offer of 1940 :

Reason- Hitler's success and the fall of Belgium, Holland and France. Therefore, the English badly needed cooperation from Indians.

The Offer :

- Dominion status as the objective for India
- Expansion of Viceroy's executive council
- Set up a constituent assembly after war, where the constitutional set up would mainly be done by Indians- based on their political, socio-economic conceptions
- No future constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities

Response :

- INC rejected the offer
- "Dominion status concept is dead as a doornail"- Nehru
- "The declaration has widened the gulf between nationalists and British rulers"- Gandhi
- Muslim League welcomed the veto assurance but wanted Partition.

Evaluation- For the first time, there was explicit mention of "constituent assembly" and "dominion status". The Viceroy's executive council was expanded with 8 out of 12 majority of Indians.

Individual Satyagraha :

The August Offer was rejected and also caused deadlock with the Muslim League. Congress gave command to Gandhi to initiate mass struggle.

But Gandhi had new plans- limited satyagraha by individuals in every locality.

Aims :

- To show the government that the silence of nationalists is not due to weakness
- To express the peoples' feelings that they were against the war and did not support it

- To give another opportunity to the government to agree upon Congress' demands

Individual satyagraha demanded freedom of speech against war. If they would not be arrested, then they would initiate a march towards Delhi, from their locality. This was known as the “**Delhi Chalo Movement**”.

First- Vinoba Bhave

Second- Jawaharlal Nehru

Third- Brahma Dutt

In total, there were about 25,000 convicted for individual satyagraha movements in different localities.

Again, when they were released from prison, they demanded a free India.

Meanwhile, **Gandhi** designated **Nehru** as his successor.

Cripps Mission, 1942 :

Headed by **Stafford Cripps** (member of war cabinet, leader of House)

Reasons :

- Japan's advances over South East Asia. They had reached Rangoon
- Pressure from USA, USSR and China to seek cooperation
- Indian nationalists had offered support if given freedom

Main proposals :

- Dominion Status- free to decide its relation with Commonwealth
- Constituent assembly would be convened after the war to frame a new constitution solely by Indians. Members partly elected by proportional representation, and partly nominated by princely states
- Any province willing not to join the Union could have separate union and constitution
- The new body and British power would negotiate a treaty for transfer of power
- Powers of the Governor-general would remain intact.
- Defence would remain with Britain

Failure :

- Unacceptable terms :
 - Right to secede from union
 - Powers of governor-general and defence
- Gandhi- “post-dated cheque”
- Nehru- “Autocratic setup would remain and we would just be camp followers of Viceroy.”
- Muslim league's stand
 - Did not like the idea of Single Union

- Only aim was Pakistan

But, Cripps' powers were limited. He was not permitted to negotiate.

Quit India Movement, Demand for Pakistan, and the INA

Quit India Movement, 1942 :

After Cripps' departure and the Japanese closing by, Gandhi decided to launch the movement.

Why Struggle now :

- Failure of Cripps' mission and the unchanging attitude of the British government
- Scorched Earth Policy of Bengal, Assam, Orissa
- Make ready the masses for a possible Japanese invasion
- Decreasing faith in British power

AICC Meeting at Gowalia Tank, Bombay

- Quit India resolution ratified. Gandhi was named leader
- Demand immediate end to British rule
- Form a provisional government in India after British withdrew
- Sanction a civil disobedience movement against British rule

Directions given to other sections of the society

- Government servants- Do not quit, but support Congress
- Soldiers- Do not quit army but do not fire on the Indians
- Students- If confident, quit schools and participate
- Peasants- Pay mutually agreed rent to anti government zamindars, else don't pay
- Princely states- Support your Ruler only if he is anti-British

Spread of the Movement

- Gandhiji carefully created tempo from individual satyagraha to mass movements
- Government did not wait long and immediately arrested all senior leaders
- Youth engaged in actions all across the provinces- hoisting flags, blowing up railway lines, telegraph lines, individual satyagraha, and even offered themselves to be arrested
- Underground leadership to guide youth, provide arms and ammunitions
- Usha Mehta started an underground radio in Bombay
- Parallel governments were being formed-
 - Ballia- Chittu Pandey
 - Tamluk, Midnapore- relief activities, grants to schools, supply paddy from rich to poor. Organized "Bidyut Bahinis"

- Satara- named “Prati sarkar”
Leaders- YB Chavan, Nana Patil
Activities- village libraries, nyayadan mandals, Gandhi marriages
- Businessmen provided funds and donations
- Villagers gave shelter and revealed no information

Extent of Mass participation

- Youth left schools and colleges and were on the forefront of the struggle
- Women leaders- Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta, Sucheta Kriplani
- Workers went on strike and faced repression
- Peasants were the heart of the movement. Few zamindars also participated
- Government officials, especially of the lower rungs of the administration
- Muslims gave shelter to underground activities. This period saw no communal clashes
- Communists felt the irresistible pull of the movement
- Princely states showed a low key response

Government Repression

Although martial law was not applied, the repression was severe. Agitating crowds were lathi-charged, tear-gassed and fired upon. The number of those killed is estimated at 10,000. The press was muzzled. The military took over many cities; police and secret service reigned supreme. Rebellious villages were fined heavily and in many villages, mass flogging was done.

Significance and Evaluation

It proved that it was no longer possible to rule India without the wishes of the Indians. And that, Independence was the only demand and immediate demand by all.

Gandhi's fast, 1943

Against the Britishers who came down heavily on the Indians. Protests were being organized at home and abroad- strikes, hartals, demonstrations. 3 members from the executive council resigned.

Gains

- Public morale raised to a new high
- Anti British feelings and patriotic feelings saw its peak
- Government's high handedness was exposed

On March 23, 1943 Pakistan Day was observed.

Famine of 1943

The worst affected areas were south-west Bengal comprising the Tamruk-Contai-Diamond harbor region, Dacca, Faridpur, Tippera and Noakhali. Around 1.5 to 3 million people perished in this man-made famine, epidemics, malnutrition and starvation.

Causes

- Need to feed a vast army diverted food
- Rice imports from Burma and South-East Asia had stopped
- Famine got aggravated by gross mismanagement and deliberate profiteering

Rajagopalachari Formula :

The veteran Congress leader came up with a plan. It was a tacit acceptance of the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan. Gandhi supported the formula.

Main provisions :

- Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence
- League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre
- After the end of the war, the entire population of Muslim majority areas would decide by plebiscite, whether or not to form a separate sovereign rule
- In case of acceptance of partition, agreement to be made jointly for safeguarding defence, commerce, communications etc
- The above terms to be operative only if England transferred full powers to India

Objections :

Jinnah wanted Congress to accept the two-nation theory. He wanted only the Muslim population to vote in the plebiscite. He opposed the idea of a common centre. Hindu leaders led by Vir Savarkar condemned the CR Plan.

Desai-Liaquat Pact :

There were continued efforts to end the deadlock between the Congress and Muslim League. Bhulabhai Desai (Congress) and Liaquat Khan (Muslim League) came up with the draft proposal for the formation of an interim government at the centre, consisting of :

- Equal number from Congress and League at centre
- 20% reserved seats for the minorities

No settlement could be reached, but the fact that a sort of parity between the two parties was decided upon had far-reaching consequences.

Wavell Plan, 1945 :

Reasons :

- Conservative party led by Churchill was keen to reach a solution soon, as elections were due in England
- There was pressure from the Allies to seek India's cooperation
- The government wanted to divert India's energies to channels more profitable to Britain

The Plan :

- Except Governor- General and Commander-in-Chief, rest were all Indians in the executive council
- Reconstructed the council to act as Interim Government within the framework of GoI Act of 1935
- Governor general had veto over advice of ministers
- Hindus and Muslims to have equal representation
- Representatives of separate parties to submit nominations to the executive council
- Possibilities to be kept open for own constitution once the war was over

Muslim League - wanted sole authority to nominate Muslims

Congress - did not want to be reduced to a Hindu party, and wanted to represent all

Wavell's mistake - he announced a breakdown of talks thus giving the League a virtual veto.

This strengthened the League's position and boosted Jinnah's position, whilst exposing the real character of the Churchill government.

The Indian National Army and Subhash Chandra Bose

Idea was first conceived by **Mohan Singh** in Malaya.

Phase 1 :

- He left the British Indian Army and turned to the Japanese for help
- Japan handed over the prisoners of war (POW) to Mohan Singh
- By 1942, there were about 40,000 ready to join INA
- But they were planning to enter India only when invited by the INC
- Also kept ready the army to counter any possible Japanese invasion on India
- Differences arose between Japanese and Mohan Singh as well (2000 vs 20000)

Phase 2 :

- Arrival of Subhash Bose in Singapore in 1943
- 1938, 1939- President of INC at Haripura and Tripuri sessions. Differences with Gandhi
- 1940- formed the Forward Bloc

- 1941- He fled India (despite house arrest)
- Journey via Afghanistan, Central Asia to Russia
- Once Russia joined the Allies in WW2, he shifted to Germany for help. And then reached Japan.
- With Japanese help, he set up a strong INA

Conclusion :

- Bose was welcomed in Singapore by Rash Behari Bose
- He set up a provisional government on October 21, 1943 with headquarters at Rangoon and Singapore
- The famous slogan- “Give me blood, I will give you freedom” was given in Malaya
- This was recognized by the Axis Powers (anything against Britain was welcomed)
- INA had many regiments, including a women regiment- Rani Jhansi Regiment
- It was called as “India’s last war of Independence” and sought Gandhi’s blessings
- The Azad Hind Fauz crossed the Burma border, and stood on Indian soil on March 18, 1944
- April 14, Colonel Malik of the Bahadur group hoisted the INA flag for the first time on Indian soil, in Manipur
- On August 15, 1945 the surrender of Japan in the WW2 took place and with this the INA also surrendered
- On August 18, 1945, reportedly, Bose died mysteriously in an air-crash at Taipei, Taiwan

Post-War National Scenario

Two strands of National upsurge :

- Tortuous negotiations involving the government, Congress and Muslim League
- Sporadic, localised and often extremely militant and united mass action

Change in Government’s attitude :

In July 1945, the Labour Party formed a new government in Britain, under Clement Atlee. In August 1945, elections to central and provincial assemblies were announced, according to the spirit of the Cripps Offer.

Reason for such a change :

- Change in balance in global power. USA and USSR became new super powers
- Labour Party was more sympathetic towards Indian demands

- British economy was shattered and military was exhausted
- Lot of socialist radicals spread across European nations
- Anti-imperialist sentiments in South and South-East Asia were at work
- British feared another mass movement like QIM of 1942
- British realized they had to retreat anyway. So they speeded up the process

Congress Election Campaigns and INA trials :

- Used sentiments of QIM suppression and INA trials, not only to get votes, but to overthrow the British empire from India forever
- Bhulabhai Desai, Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kailash Nath Katju, Nehru, Asaf Ali- lawyers for defence of the INA prisoners
- INA relief and enquiry committee distributed small sum of money and food and helped getting employment too
- Mass campaigning- distributing pamphlets, graffiti messages, public meetings, celebrating INA day and INA week in November
- Wide geographical reach- Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Assam, Punjab, UP towns, Balochistan
- Funds were raised from film stars, municipalities, gurudwaras, Indians living abroad etc
- Huge INA support by closing shops, protest on streets
- INA support was extended not only by the INC but by all other parties as well
- Too much pressure on the British government. Each day, the difference between the British Rule and the need for Indian rule was highlighted

Three major upsurges in the winter of 1945-46

- November 21, 1945- Against INA trials

Students procession consisting of Forward Bloc sympathizers, SFI members, activists of Islamia college marched to Dalhousie square in Calcutta. They objected to retreat and then lathi charge and firing was initiated which killed two.

- February 11, 1946- Against 7 year sentence to INA officer Rashid Ali

This was led by the Muslim League, students from some Congress and Communist bodies. Students defied Section 144- arrests and lathi charge was initiated

- February 18, 1946- Royal Indian Mutiny, Strikes in Bombay

Indian naval men of HMIS Talwar went on a strike to protest against British white officers :

- ❖ Unpalatable food
- ❖ Abuse by superior officers
- ❖ INA trials

- ❖ Equal pay for Indian and British troops
- ❖ Use of Indian troops in Indonesia
- ❖ Arrest of Navy men for writing QUIT INDIA on Talwar

There were mass protests in Bombay extending full support to the RIN. However, Patel and Jinnah persuaded the ratings to surrender on February 23 with an assurance that national parties would prevent any victimization.

Evaluation and Impact of the Upsurges :

- Fearless action by the masses- militancy in the minds of the people
- RIN Revolt was seen as the final blow on British rule
- British announced that only those INA members accused of murder and brutal treatment of others would be brought to trial
- Indian soldiers were withdrawn from Indo-China and Indonesia regions
- Life imprisonments were remitted
- Decision to send a parliamentary delegation and hence, Cabinet Mission was made
- But the upsurges were limited to only a few cities unlike the INA support
- Also, the Hindu Muslim unity was not as progressive as it was evident. The Muslim member of RIN sought advice of the League, while others turned to Congress.

Congress strategy :

Gandhi remarked that the mutiny was doubly wrong, as he strongly believed in peaceful demonstrations. It should have involved leaders. INC did not support them officially because of wrong timings and tactics. It was a violent struggle unlike earlier ones. Disciplined army was a must in India. So, unorganized mutiny was not supported.

Election Result :

- INC won 57 out of 102 seats
91% non-Muslim votes
Majority except in Bengal, Punjab and Sindh
- Muslim League got all 30 reserved seats
86.6% Muslim votes
Now a dominant party unlike in 1937

Cabinet Mission, 1946 :

Members- **Pethick Lawrence, Stafford Cripps, A.V. Alexander**

Why? - The Britishers understood that their time in India is over.

Aim- To negotiate a peaceful transfer of power to India. Since INC and ML could not come to a conclusion, the cabinet mission put forward their own plan.

Atlee's statement about Partition- "Though mindful of the rights of the minorities ... cannot allow a minority to place their veto in advance of the majority."

The Plan :

- The idea of Pakistan was rejected due to the following reasons-
 - The so formed Pakistan will have large number of non Muslim population in NW and NE
 - Domino effect- Sikhs were already demanding Khalistan like Pakistan
 - Regional ties would be disturbed in Punjab and Bengal
 - Administrative problems- Pakistan on either side on India
 - Division of armed forces, resources would be difficult
- Grouping of existing provincial assembly into 3 sections-
 - Section A- Madras, Bombay, Central provinces, UP, Bihar, Orissa (Hindu majority)
 - Section B- Punjab, NWFP, Sindh (Muslim majority)
 - Section C- Bengal and Assam (Muslim majority)
- 3 tier executive and legislature at provincial and union levels
- A constituent assembly to be formed by provincial assemblies by proportional representation
- A,B,C will sit separate for constitution of province and together for union
- Common centre will decide defence, communication, and external affairs
- Provinces will have full autonomy and residual powers
- Princely states free to join any government or even the British
- After first general election, a province free to come out of a group
- After 10 years, province free to reconsider the union constitution
- Meanwhile an interim government to be formed from the constituent assembly

Interpretations by various groups :

- INC- Grouping is optional. So veto of Muslim league is gone. Only one centre
- ML- Groups is compulsory and also we can secede from the union after elections

Both INC and ML had their own reasons for accepting as well as rejecting the plan. INC had majority provinces in Assam and NWFP (Group B and C). Although, ML thought that the INC would readily reject it.

But to everyone's surprise, the proceedings were as follows :

- June 6, 1946- ML accepted the Plan
- July 1946- elections took place
- July 10, 1946- INC accept the long term plan of the Cabinet mission
- July 24, 1946- ML withdrew and called for D-DAY (DELIVERANCE DAY)

Great Calcutta Killings- communal clashes caused the death of over 5000 people. It extended to Bombay, Bihar and Noakhali as well.

Now, Wavell was ready to set up an interim government even without the Muslim league.

Interim Government :

- September 1946- Interim government sworn in with Nehru as its head
- October 1946- Wavell brought in Muslim League also, even though they did not give up the D-day or demand for a Pakistan
- December 1946- First session of Interim government. ML boycotts it. Nehru passed the "Objectives Resolution"- Future of Sovereign India
- February 1947- INC ministers wrote to viceroy demanding removal of ML

14 ministers of Interim Government (September 2, 1946- August 15, 1947)

- Jawaharlal Nehru- (Vice-President) external affairs, commonwealth relations
- Sardar Vallabhai Patel- home, information and broadcasting
- Baldev Singh- defence
- Dr. John Mathai- industries and supplies
- C. Rajagopalachari- education
- C.H. Bhabha- works, mines and power
- Rajendra Prasad- agriculture and food
- Jagjivan Ram- labour
- Asaf Ali- railway
- Liaquat Ali Khan- finance
- Ibrahim Ismail Chundrigar- commerce
- Abdur Rab Nishtar- communications
- Ghazanfar Ali Khan- health
- Jogendra Nath Mandal- law

Obstructionist approach and ulterior motives of the League :

They did not attend the first meeting of the constituent assembly, and also refused to attend informal meetings of the cabinet to take decisions. Moreover, they questioned the decisions taken by the Congress.

As the Finance Minister, Liaquat Khan restricted and encumbered the efficient functioning of the other ministries.

They had only sought a foothold in this government to strengthen their fight for Pakistan.

Birth and Spread of Communalism in India :

Features of Indian Communalism - Communalism, more accurately 'sectarianism' is basically an ideology, which gives more importance to one's own ethnic/religious group rather than to the wider society as a whole.

- Communal nationalism- notion that since a group belongs to a particular religious community, their secular interests are the same.
- Liberal communalism- notion that since two religious communities have different religious interests, they have different interests in the secular sphere also.
- Extreme communalism- notion that not only do different religious communities have different interests, but also that these interests are incompatible.

There is nothing unique about Indian Communalism. It was the result of the conditions that have caused similar phenomena worldwide.

Religiosity itself did not amount to communalism but in a country where lack of education and low awareness of the outside world was a sad reality, religion had the potential of becoming, and was used as a vehicle of communalism.

Independence And Partition

British PM Atlee and the House of Commons declared their intention of leaving the Indian Subcontinent.

Atlee's Statement of February 20, 1947 :

- Deadline of June 30, 1948 fixed to transfer power
- If the constituent assembly are unable to resolve their problems, they would give away power to the existing body... whether centre or provinces
- The right over princely states would end, but it won't be given to any others also

Reason :

- To show that British would fulfil their promise
- To end the deadlock between INC and ML

Congress Stand :

The provision of transfer of power to more than one centre was acceptable because it meant that they could go ahead with the framing of the Constitution. It offered a way out of the deadlock.

March 1947- Nehru agreed with the Cabinet mission groupings, but partition should be fair
April 1947- Kripalani said, “ let them have their Pakistan. It is better than battle.”
Hindu Mahasabha in Bengal was objecting to Bengal grouping under Pakistan.

Mountbatten as Viceroy :

- Given more powers, so quick in taking decisions
- Soon, he realized the seriousness
- He heard both sides of the story and made a plan

Mountbatten Plan, June 3, 1947 :

VP Menon suggested immediate transfer of power with dominion status, and later form the political structure in the meetings of Constituent Assembly

- Hindus and Muslims to vote in 2 groups in Bengal and Punjab. If even one simple majority for partition, then it would definitely happen
- If partition will happen, then 2 separate constituent assemblies and dominions
- Sindh will decide its own fate. Referendum in NWFP and Sylhet
- Princely states should join either India or Pakistan
- Hyderabad cannot stay independent, or not to go to Pakistan (win for INC)
- Boundary Commission to be set up and August 1947 would be the date if all goes fine

Early date given by Britain ?

They wanted to get away from the communal riots
India would remain a member of Commonwealth temporarily

East Bengal and West Punjab joined Pakistan
Sylhet went to East Pakistan. NWFP went in favor of Pakistan (INC abstained)
Balochistan and Sindh voted for Pakistan

Indian Independence Act :

- On July 5, 1947 the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act which was based on the Mountbatten Plan, and the Act got royal assent on July 18, 1947.
- It was implemented on August 15, 1947.
- It provided for the creation of two separate dominions- India and Pakistan.

Why did Congress accept dominion status?

- For peaceful transfer of power
- INC wanted to come in power soon, to handle the situation themselves
- It would allow in continuity of bureaucracy and army

Gandhi's helplessness :

Gandhi felt helpless because there had been communalisation of the people. He, however, agreed to it only because the people chose it. He could not bear any more violence. He told the INC leaders to not let the heart part. He wanted everyone to work for a peaceful India and Pakistan in future.

British Policies in India

Administrative policies :

Contrary to their pre-1857 intentions of trying to modernize India on progressive lines, now the administration adopted blatantly reactionary policies on the pretext that Indians were not fit for self-governance and needed British presence in their lives.

Divide and Rule : To prevent a united mass action challenging the British authority, they decided to put the princes against each other, states' people, region against region, provinces against provinces, caste against caste and Hindus against Muslims.

After 1870, the authorities used the middle and upper educated class among Muslims against the rising tide of nationalism, using conflicts over scarce resources in education, administrative jobs and later political spoils as a tool to create a split along religious lines among educated Indians.

Hostility against educated Indians - The emerging middle class nationalist leadership was analysing the exploitative, colonial character of British rule and demanding Indian participation in administration. At a time when the INC was founded, the British interpreted it as a challenge to their authority and adopted a hostile attitude towards them.

Attitude towards the zamindars - With hopes of expanding their social base, the British looked for alliances with reactionary social groups, which included the zamindars. By giving them certain privileges compared to the peasants, the former saw the British as guarantors of their very existence and became their firm supporters.

Attitude towards social reforms - Having decided to side with the reactionary elements of the Indian society, the British withdrew support to social reforms, which they felt had aroused the wrath of orthodox sections against them. Also, by encouraging caste and communal consciousness, the British helped the reactionary forces.

Underdeveloped social services - Main reason was the disproportionately high expenditure on army and civil administration. Plus, whatever facilities were established, were catered to the elite sections and urban areas.

Labour legislations -

As in the early stages of industrial revolution in Europe, the working conditions in the nineteenth century in India, were miserable. Ironically, the first-ever demand for regulation of the condition of workers in factories in India came from the Lancashire textile capitalist lobby. A commission was appointed for investigation into factory conditions. The first one was appointed in 1875 although the First Factory Act was not passed before 1881.

The Indian Factory Act, 1881 dealt primarily with the problem of child labor (between 7 and 12 years of age). Significant provisions -

- Employment of children under 7 years of age prohibited
- Working hours restricted to 9 hours per day for children
- Children to get 4 holidays per month
- Hazardous machinery to be properly fenced off

The Indian Factory Act, 1891

- Increased minimum age from 7 to 9 years, and maximum from 12 to 14 years
- Reduced maximum working hours for children to 7 hours a day
- Fixed maximum working hours for women at 11 hours per day with a one and half hour interval
- Weekly holiday for all

But these laws did not apply to British-owned tea and coffee plantations where labor was exploited ruthlessly and treated like slaves.

Restrictions on Freedom of Press - The nationalists wanted to educate public opinion and influence government policies through criticism and censure and later to arouse national consciousness.

In 1835, Metcalfe had lifted restrictions imposed on the Indian press. But Lytton, fearing an increased influence of the nationalist press, imposed restrictions on Indian language press through the infamous Vernacular Press Act, 1878. This act had to be repealed under public protest in 1882.

White Racism- The notion of white superiority was maintained very carefully by the colonial rulers by systematically excluding the Indians from every walk of life. As Elgin wrote once, "We could only govern by maintaining the fact that we were the dominant race- though Indians in services should be encouraged, there is a point at which we must reserve the control to ourselves, if we are to remain at all."

British Social and Cultural Policy in India -

During the 18th and 19th centuries, new cultural environs, interests and ideas were emerging in Britain.

- Industrial Revolution which began in the 18th century and resulted in growth of industrial capitalism. They wanted to make India a market of their finished goods and therefore, required partial modernisation and transformation of Indian society.
- Intellectual Revolution which gave rise to new attitudes of mind, manners and morals.
- French Revolution which with its message of liberty, equality and fraternity, unleashed the forces of democracy and nationalism.

Different schools of thoughts in the 18th century-

Characteristics-

- Rationalism- advocated faith in reason and a scientific attitude
- Humanism- love of man, socialism, liberalism, individualism
- Doctrine of Progress- believed that nothing is static. Society should change with time

Schools of thought-

- Conservatives- Representatives included Warren Hastings, Elphinstone, Metcalfe etc. They introduced as few changes as possible. They believed that Indians were different from the Europeans but were not to be undermined. They respected Indian culture and philosophy. If needed, gradually, western culture would be introduced.
- Paternalistic Imperialists- Curzon, Auckland, Dalhousie; became influential after 1800. They were sharply critical of Indian culture and lifestyle, and preferred enslavement.
- Radicals- William Bentinck. They knew Indians were capable and should be helped to improve. Applied humanistic and rational thoughts to the Indian situation. They desired most of all the safety and perpetuation of the British rule in India.

Indian Renaissance- Raja Rammohan Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, B.M. Malabari, to name a few social reformers, worked hard to get legislation passed by the government to remove social evils.

Dilemma before the government- Government feared that too much modernisation might generate forces hostile to their interests; thus it was thought to be appropriate to opt for partial modernisation- in other words, colonial modernisation..

Role of Christian missionaries-

- Supported the Radicals whose scientific approach, they believed, would undermine the native culture and beliefs
- Supported the Imperialists since law and order and the British supremacy were essential for the propaganda
- Sought business and the capitalist support holding out the hope to them that the Christian converts would be better customers of their goods

British retreat - After 1858, however, the policy of hesitant modernisation was gradually abandoned. The Indians then rapidly shifted towards modernisation of the society and assertion of their culture and demanded a rule in accordance with the modern principles of liberty, equality and justice.

British policies towards princely states-

It was guided by a two-point policy-- using and perpetuating them as bulwark of the empire and subordinating them completely to British authority. These states were being cultivated as buffer states against future political unrest.

Also, territorial integrity of states was guaranteed and further annexation and expansion was stopped.

Later, Lord Curzon said that these princes ruled their states merely as agents of the British Crown. With paramountcy, the British Government exercised the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the states.

British foreign policy in India -

A foreign policy guided by the interest of Imperialism caused conflicts with neighboring countries. The British Government had as its major aims in Asia and Africa-

- Protection of the invaluable Indian empire
- Expansion of British commercial and economic interests
- Keeping other European imperialist powers, whose colonial interests came in conflict with those of the British

While the interests served were British, the money spent and the blood shed was Indian.

Economic Impact of the British Rule in India

De-industrialisation- The portion of national product of India which was not available for the consumption of its people, but was getting drained away to Britain for political reasons and India was not getting adequate economic or material returns to it.

Leaders- Dadabhai Naoroji, MG Ranade, RC Dutt, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, G Subramanyam Ayer, Prithwish Chandra Ray

Books :

- Poverty and Unbritish rule in India- Dadabhai Naoroji

- The Economic History of India- RC Dutt

Major components -

- Salaries and pensions of civil and military officials
- Interests on foreign loans taken by the government
- Profits of foreign loans taken by the Government
- Store purchases in Britain for civil and military departments
- Payments for shipping and insurance services

A detailed survey of the economic impact of the British rule follows.

- Deindustrialization- Ruin of Artisans and Handicraftsmen
One way free trade- turned from net exporter to net importer. Cheap and machine made goods flooded Indian markets. Rail network acted as an advantage. Charter Act, 1813- ended the monopoly of the Company except trade in tea and trade with China. By 1820- European markets almost closed for Indian goods. Loss of traditional livelihood. Loss of patronage by Indian rulers and nobles. Rapid deindustrialization while England was becoming more rich- due to industrial revolution.
- Ruralization- artisans and handicrafts faced losses. Sold off products and shifted to villages. Agriculture burden was one of the primary causes of poverty in India.
- Impoverishment of Peasantry- permanent settlement, ryotwari system, mahalwari system. Government was bothered only by the revenues. For this, the zamindars burdened peasants. Moneylenders were involved and influenced the judiciary. Thus, the triple burden on the peasants- of the government, zamindar and the moneylender. Eventually, the peasants became landless.
- Stagnation and Deterioration of Agriculture- no incentive for farmers to grow and produce better, lack of government spending, fragmentation of land-- harmed growth of crops.
- Famine and poverty- the country faced forced famine due to colonial rule, almost 2.8 crore people died just in the 1850s.
- Commercialization of Indian agriculture- agriculture transformed from a way of life to business enterprise. The farmers were forced to grow cash crops like cotton, jute, groundnut, oilseeds, sugarcane, tobacco etc. and work in the plantations of tea, coffee, rubber and indigo. The high price rise only benefited the rich. For instance, the cotton of the 1860s pushed up prices but this mostly benefited the intermediaries, and when the slump in prices came in 1866, it hit the cultivators the most, bringing in its heavy indebtedness, famine and agrarian riots in the Deccan in the 1870s. Thus, the cultivator hardly emerged better from the new commercialisation trend.
- Late development of modern industry- the first cotton industry was built in Bombay in 1853, the first jute mill was built in Bengal in 1855; and most of these were foreign owned. India provided raw materials and a market for finished goods. Therefore, huge investments were made aiming profit. Indians could not grow because of credit problems and poor technology. Regional disparities were present too. A thriving shipbuilding

industry was crushed. Surat and Malabar on the western coast and Bengal and Masulipatnam on the eastern coast were known for their ship building industries. The British ships contracted by the Company were given a monopoly over trade routes, while the Indian merchant ships plying on these routes had to pay heavy duties.

- Rise of Indian bourgeois- the middle class population worked as junior officials under British capitalists. They tried helping in distributing imports and exports, but could not function independently and were crumbled under the foreign rule.

Nationalist Critique of Colonial Economy :

The early intellectuals of the first half of the nineteenth century supported British rule under the impression that it would modernize their country, but soon disillusionment started to set in. Foremost among the economic analysts was the 'Grand old man of India', Dadabhai Naoroji. In his book- Poverty and Unbritish rule in India, he has put forward the theory of economic drain.

- British policies were making India poor- primarily because industrialization was based on Indian and not foreign capital, according to early nationalists- foreign capital replaced and suppressed instead of augmenting and encouraging Indian capital. The political consequences of foreign capital were equally harmful as they caused political subjugation and created vested interests.
- Growth of trade and railways to help Britain- it was pointed out that the pattern of foreign trade was unfavorable to India. It relegated India to a position of importer of finished goods and exporter of raw materials. The development of railways, too, was not coordinated with India's local needs. The net effect of the railways was to enable foreign goods to outsell indigenous products. G.V. Joshi remarked, "Expenditure on railways is an Indian subsidy to British industry."
- One way free trade and tariff policy- The taxations scheme was discriminatory though, there was only one way free trade. This was ruining the Indian handicrafts industry, exposing it to premature and unfair competition. Government expenditures only served colonial needs, while development and welfare were ignored.
- Effect of economic drain-
 - At that time it was more than the total land revenue, or
 - Half of the total government expenditure, or
 - One third of the total savings

The concept of drain was- simply put- one country taking away wealth from another country.

Stages of Colonialism in India :

First stage - The period of Merchant Capital or Mercantilism, often described as the Period of Monopoly Trade and Direct Appropriation. It was based on two objectives-

- To acquire monopoly of trade with India, relative to all other competitors
- To directly appropriate or take over governmental revenues through control over State power

The only changes made during this period were-

- In military organization and technology which native rulers were also introducing in their armed forces
- In administration at the top of the structure of revenue collection so that it could become more efficient

Result- large scale drain of wealth from India, from which the British' Industrial Revolution benefited immensely.

There was no large scale import, rather a good amount of raw materials were exported from India.



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Second Stage- Owing to its mode of exploitation being trade, this stage is also termed as Colonialism of Free Trade. It started around 1813 and went on till the 1860s. The newly emerging industrial capitalists of Britain demanded that the colonial rule should serve their interests. Now, India was to serve as a market for the ever increasing output of British manufactured goods.

The export of raw materials increased sharply to meet the dividends of the Company and the profits of British merchants. Besides, there was a need to pay for pensions of British officials who would go to Britain after retirement.

Features-

- Introduction of free trade- India's colonial economy was integrated with the world economy
- Free entry was also granted to the British capitalists to develop tea, coffee and other plantations
- Permanent settlement and ryotwari system were introduced to transform traditional agrarian structure into capitalist one
- Administration was made more comprehensive which included the grass roots levels. Reason- so that British goods could reach even the remotest areas
- Personal law was largely left untouched
- Modern education was introduced to provide cheap manpower to the vastly expanded administration
- Taxation and burden on the peasants rose sharply
- Indian army was used for British expansion of colonialism in Asia and Africa

Third Stage- Era of Foreign Investments and International Competition for Colonies. Changes brought about were as follows :

- Britain's industrial supremacy was challenged by several countries
- Pace of industrialization rose sharply
- World market became more unified due to revolution in the means of international transport

During this stage, the British made strenuous efforts to consolidate their hold over India. Liberal imperialist policies got replaced with reactionary imperialist policies.

Result- The notion of training people for self-government vanished. Now, the aim of British rule was declared as permanent trusteeship over the Indians.

Development of Indian Press Under British Rule

Initial Newspapers :

1780- first newspaper- Bengal Gazette- by James Augustus Hickey

1784- Calcutta Gazette

1788- Madras Courier

1789- Bombay Herald

These newspapers were outspokenly criticised and therefore, were later seized.

Initial Acts and Restrictions :

- Censorship of Press Act, 1789- by Lord Wellesley
Reason- wartime press restricted
- Licensing Regulations, 1823- by John Adams
Effect- Rammohan Roy's Mirat-ul-Akbar stopped
- Press Act, 1835- also known as the Metcalfe Act. He is also known as the "Liberator of Indian Press" because he removed the 1823 rule
- Licensing Act, 1857- again license in addition to registration
Reason- restrictions anytime
- Registration Act, 1867- removed Metcalfe Act

Newspapers and their respective writers-

Name of newspaper	Written by
Hindu and Swadeshimithran	G. Subramaniam Iyer
Kesari and Mahratta	Bal Gangadhar Tilak
Bengalee	Surendranath Banerjee
Amrita Bazar Patrika	Sisir Kumar Ghosh
Sudharak	Gopal Krishna Gokhale

Indian Mirror	N. N. Sen
Voice of India	Dadabhai Naoroji
Hindustan and Advocate	G. P. Varma

Outside India-

Name of newspaper	Written by	Place
Bande Mataram	Madam Bhikaji Cama	Paris
Gadar	Lala Hardayal	San Francisco
Indian Sociologist	Shyamji Krishna Varma	London
Talwar	Virendranath Chattopadhyaya	Berlin

Struggle by Early Nationalists

Vernacular Press Act, 1878 :

The Indian press was never profit seeking. Nationalism was the only motive. They were always critical of the British rule and by 1876, it had reached its peak.

Lord Lytton's rule :

There was a harsh famine in 1876-77, yet a grand Delhi Durbar was organized. He introduced this Act which is also infamously known as "Gagging Act".

Certain provisions :

- The District Magistrate could call upon any publisher to enter into a bond with the government stating that, nothing would be written against the government, or anything which creates problems between people of different religions, castes etc
 - A security deposit would be mandated, which could be forfeited and press equipment could be seized for breaking of terms
 - District Magistrate's action was final and no appeal could be made above that
 - However, exemptions could be sought by submitting proof to the government censor
- Newspapers which were seized included- Som Prakash, Bharath Mihir, Dacca Prakash, Samachar. Amrita Bazar Patrika turned English overnight and was therefore secure from this Act.

1882 - **Lord Ripon** repealed the Act after strong opposition from the nationalists.

1883 - **Surendranath Bannerjee** was arrested for writing against a Calcutta judge against his judgement.

Balgangadhar Tilak :

- Fought for the liberation of the press. Started his own Kesari and Mahratta
- First to organize workers, peasants, artisans, and the middle class together in a protest
- Ganpati and Shivaji festivals organized in 1893 and 1896 respectively
- 1896-97 -- initiated no tax campaign in Maharashtra
- 1897-- Plague in Pune. The Plague commissioner Rand was killed by the Chapekar Brothers
- The government, looking for a chance to suppress militancy, arrested Tilak
- Poem- "Shivaji's utterances" in Kesari and speech delivered at Shivaji festival. Justified killing of Afzal Khan by Shivaji. Since he had become a threat to the English, he was sent to prison for 18 months
- Widespread protests took place, and overnight Tilak became a hero. And was given the title of "Lokmanya"
- Workers were on strike in Bombay. Even Lenin appreciated their entry

Meanwhile, Britain had strict sedition rules which provided that anyone trying to cause disaffection against the British Government in India was to be transported for life or for any term or imprisoned up to three years. In 1898, the government amended Section 124A and added another Section 153A which made it a criminal offence for anyone to bring into contempt the Government of India or to create hatred among its people.

Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908- Aimed against Extremist nationalist activity, the act empowered the magistrates to confiscate press property which published objectionable material likely to cause incitement to murder or acts of violence.

Indian Press Act, 1910- This act revived the worst features of the VPA- local government was empowered to demand a security at registration from the printer/publisher and forfeit/deregister if it was an offending newspaper, and the printer of a newspaper was required to submit two copies of each issue to local government free of charge.

During and After the First World War

Defence of India rules were imposed for repression of political agitation and free public criticism during the First World War.

Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931- This Act gave sweeping powers to provincial governments to suppress propaganda for CDM.

During the Second World War- Under the Defence of India Rules, pre-censorship was imposed and amendments made in the Press Emergency Act and Official Secrets Act. At one time, publication of all news related to Congress' activity was declared illegal.

After Independence :

- Press inquiry committee, 1947- it repealed Act of 1931, modified sections 124A and 153A
 - Press Commission under Justice Rajadhyaksha- establishment of All India Press Council, which set proper rules for the future press.
 - Press Council of India in 1966- watchdog for the press
 - Statutory body under Press Council Act, 1978
 - Headed by retired supreme court judge by convention
-

Development of Education Under British Rule In India

Under Company Rule :

1781- Calcutta Madrasa established by Warren Hastings

1791- Sanskrit College, established by Jonathan Duncan, resident at Benares

1800- Fort William College by Wellesley- for the training of civil servants.

So, till then the Britishers were focusing on Vernacular learning for communication. Enlightened Indians and missionaries exerted pressure for Western education, sciences.

Raja Rammohan Roy- established the Hindu College with David Hare (present, Presidency College), Anglo Hindu schools and Vedanta college.

1813- Charter Act- sanctioned 1 lakh rupees annually. But it never came to effect till 1823.

1817- Calcutta College- imparting education in English, western humanities, sciences

3 sanskrit colleges were set up at Calcutta, Agra and Delhi.

Orientalists- Anglicists conflict

- Orientalists agreed western education is important, but focus more on vernacular language and traditional learning
- Anglicists argued, government spending on education should be strictly on western model and sciences
- Within Anglicists, there was another conflict, on the medium of instruction

1835- Lord Macaulay's Minute

- In favor of Anglicists, Government funding was to be devoted to western learning
- Macaulay considered Indian learning inferior to European learning
- English was decided to be the medium of instruction
- Mass education was neglected. Few English schools and colleges were opened
- Idea was to create a class of individuals who were "Indian in blood and color but English in taste"
- They applied the Downward Filtration Theory- they believed in educating the upper class and gradually pass on to the masses
- The only positive was that it enlightened most of the nationalists

1843-53 -- Efforts of Thompson

James Thompson, lieutenant governor of NW provinces-- focused on village education. For the new Revenue and Public works Department, he focused on mensuration and agricultural sciences.

1854- Wood's Despatch

Also known as the "Magna carta of English education in India"

- Recommended government to take up education of masses. So no downward filtration
- Proper hierarchy- Vernacular primary schools at villages followed by Anglo- Vernacular high schools, Affiliated colleges at district level, Affiliating universities at presidency levels
- Laid stress on female education, vocational education, teachers training
- Education imparted in government institutions should be secular
- System of grant in aid to encourage private institutions

Miscellaneous points :

- 1849- Bethune School at Calcutta by J.E.D. Bethune. It was the first fruit of a powerful movement for women education. Many girls' schools were set up by his effort.
- 1857- universities were set up at Bengal, Bombay and Presidencies
- Agriculture institute at Pusa (Bihar, Engineering institute at Roorkee)
- Missionaries played their own role in spreading education
- Wood's despatch was popular for the next 5 decades. This meant rapid westernization of education

1882-83 -- Hunters Commission

To review education system since Woods Despatch

- Government need to focus more primary education in vernacular language
- Recommended transfer of control of primary education to newly setup district and municipal boards

- Secondary high school should have two levels
 - Literary- leading upto university
 - Vocational- for commercial purposes
- Cited poor conditions of women education. Wanted to extend beyond just the presidencies
- More universities were set up- Punjab University (1882), Allahabad university (1887)

1904- Indian Universities Act (based on Raleigh Commission, 1902)

Need- Deterioration under private management, rise of revolutionaries. Recommendations :

- Universities should focus more on study and research
- Number of fellowships and their terms reduced. Only government can nominate
- Government to have veto on decisions made in and by universities
- Stricter conditions to affiliate private colleges
- 5 lakh rupees to be sanctioned for 5 years for improvement in higher education

Reason given for stricter control over universities was better management and output. However, the actual reason was to discipline the educated towards loyalty to the government. Gokhale called it a "retrograde move".

1913- Government resolution on Educational Policy

- In 1906, Baroda state introduced compulsory primary education for all. Nationalists wanted it to be spread to entire British India and raised the issue in Legislative Assembly, but the government did not take it up as such
- Government agreed to accept the policy of removal of illiteracy and advised provincial governments to take steps to provide free elementary education for all
- Improve quality of secondary education and increase private efforts for the same
- University to be set up in each province and learning has to be encouraged

1917-19 -- Saddler University Commission

- Set up to study and report problems of Calcutta University, but its recommendations were applicable to other universities as well
- It reviewed the whole education system- from school to university level
- Students should have 12 years of schooling and only then allowed to enter university-
- Prepare students for university stage
- University will not be overburdened with lot of matric level students
- Provide college education to those who do not want university stage
- University should have less rigid rules for improved functioning
- University should be centralized autonomous body and not scattered colleges
- Extend female education, vocational training, science and technology learning, professional courses

- Lot of new universities set up- Mysore, Patna, Aligarh, Dacca, Lucknow
- In 1920, Government recommended for provincial governments also

Under Montague - Chelmsford reforms, education fully shifted to provincial Government, and also the financial grants were stopped. So education deteriorated.

1929- Hartog Committee

- Primary education should be focused upon, but not expanded or made compulsory
- Only deserving students should go to high school. Rest should get vocational training after 8th grade
- Admissions to universities should be restricted for better efficiency

1937- Wardha Scheme of Basic Education

- INC organized National Conference on education in Wardha
- Based on the resolution, Zakir Hussain Committee formulated a detailed scheme
- Main principle based on 'learning through activity'
- Overall system based on Gandhi's ideas published in weekly Harijan
- Gandhi believed that western education created a gulf between elite and masses

Important provisions of the scheme :

- Inclusion of basic handicraft in the syllabus
- First 7 years of education- free, compulsory and in the mother tongue
- Teaching of English only after class 8th
- Establish contact with communities surrounding schools through service
- Child centered, cooperative, develop a good non violent society
- No religious teachings to be implemented

This idea did not develop because :

- Beginning of WW2
- Resignation of the Congress ministries

1944- Sergeant Plan of Education (Educational advisor to Government)

Aimed at making Indian education on par with European education in next 40 years

Although well drafted, there were no steps towards its implementation

- Pre Primary education (3-6 years)
- Free universal elementary education (6-11 years)
- High school education for selected children (11-17 years)

- University education for 3 years
- Adequate technical, commercial and arts education
- Liquidation of adult illiteracy in next 20 years
- Teachers training, vocational education, physical education for all (even disabled)

Important dates/ committees/ Acts after independence

- 1948-49 -- Radhakrishna Committee
- 1953 -- University Grants Commission set up. Statutory status in 1956
- 1964-66 -- Kothari Commission- experts from other countries, UNESCO pulled in
- 1968 -- National policy on education announced- 3 language formula
- 1976 -- 42nd amendment- Education placed in concurrent list
- 1986 -- New education policy announced
- 2002 -- Free and compulsory education (6-14 years of age) made fundamental right
- 2020 -- New Education Policy

Why did British spend on Education on Indians after all ?

- Pressure from Christian missionaries, Orientalists, Indian Nationalists
- Need of cheap supply of educated Indians for subordinate administrative posts
- Needed Indians to expand British manufacture in India
- Hoped Indians would stay loyal to British after learning of their glory
- Overall, to strengthen British political authority in India

III effects of British interference in Indian education

- Traditional education declined. After 1844, it was totally considered worthless because, English was made mandatory for entry to jobs
- Mass education was neglected over the years, which declined the literacy rates
- Since education was not free, it only favored the middle and upper classes
- Very less work done on female education for two reasons-
 - Government did not want to arouse the wrath of orthodox section
 - Britishers had no immediate need to get the women educated like men
- Scientific and technical education was very limited and not expanded
- By 1857, only 3 medical colleges and one Roorkee engineering college which was open only to Europeans and Eurasians.

Peasant Movements in India

Peasantry under Colonialism

The impoverishment of the Indian peasantry was a direct result of the transformation of the agrarian structure due to :

- Colonial economic policies
- Ruin of the handicrafts leading to overcrowding of the land
- The new land revenue system
- Colonial administrative and judicial systems

The peasants often resisted the exploitations, and soon they realized that their real enemy was the colonial state.

A Survey of Early Peasant Movements

Revolt	Indigo Revolt	Pabna Revolt	Deccan Riots
Year/ Location	1859-60 Bengal	1870-85 Bihar, East Bengal	1860s and 70s Deccan, West India
Leaders/ Ryots themselves	Digambar Biswas Bishnu Biswas	Yusufshahi Pargana in Patna, supported by Bankim, Indian Association (Surendranath Banerjee)	Ryots themselves supported by intelligentsia of Maharashtra
Against	Exploitation of Europeans	Oppressive zamindars	Gujarati marwaris, moneylenders
Reason	Forced to grow indigo instead of rice	Increased rent illegally, denied occupancy rights	Debt trap, fall in cotton prices after American civil war
Atrocities	Cattle seizure, kidnapping, attack on women and children	Forcible evictions, cattle and crop seizure	Increased land revenue in spite of bad harvest
Protest	Protested using physical pressure, refused to pay rent, fought legally	Did not pay rents, fought legally, no violence	Social boycott by all sects. Later planned attacks
Suppressed/ End	1850, Government assured no more forced Indigo cultivation	1885, Bengal Tenancy Act	1879, Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act

Changed Nature of Peasant Movements after 1857 :

- Peasants emerged as main force, fighting directly for their own demands
- Demands centered around economic issues
- Movements directed against foreign planters, zamindars and moneylenders
- Colonialism was not the target of these movements
- Territorial reach was limited
- No continuity of struggle or long-term organization
- The peasants developed a strong awareness of their legal rights and asserted them in and outside the courts

Weaknesses :

- Lack of adequate understanding of colonialism
- Lack of new ideology and fresh effective programmes
- Struggles, however militant, occurred within the framework of the old societal order lacking a positive conception of an alternative society

Later movements

Kisan Sabha Movement :

- 1857, Awadh- Taluqdari system by Lord Canning
- High rents, evictions, illegal levies, renewal fees also called nazrana
- First world war hiked prices of food and other necessities. Conditions were miserable
- Home rule league movement- set up by Kisan Sabhas across India
- 1918, UP Kisan Sabha- by Gauri Shankar Mishra, Indra Narayan Dwivedi supported by Madan Mohan Malviya
- Other leaders- Jhinguri Singh, Durgapal, Baba Ramachandra
- Nehru was invited to visit villages by Baba Ramchandra and developed close contacts
- In 1920, Awadh Kisan Sabha was formed. Suggested social boycott. Asked tenants not to offer hari or begar, not to kill bedakhali land
- 1921- Social boycott changed to mass looting of bazaars, houses, granaries
- Centre of Revolt- Rai Bareilly, Faizabad and Sultanpur
- Movement was short lived due to government repression and partly because of the passing of the Awadh Rent Act

All India Kisan Sabha :

- Formed at Lucknow in 1936
- Swami Sahjanand Saraswati- President
- N.G. Ranga- Secretary
- Indulal Yagnik- started a periodical, Kisan manifesto was issued
- 1937- Congress election campaign were influenced by it

Eka movement (Unity Movement) :

- 1921- problems resurfaced in UP (Hardoi Bahraich, Sitapur)
- Leader- Madari Pasi, other low caste leaders
- Problems- increased rent- over 50%, oppression of thekaders
- Protests-
 - Pay only recorded rent
 - Refuse forced labor
 - Not leave when evicted
 - Give no help to criminals
 - Abide by panchayat decisions
- Came to an end in 1922 after severe repression from Britishers

Mappila Revolt

- 1921, in the Malabar region of Kerala
- Leaders- Ali Musaliar (priest leader later arrested), Kunjahmed Haji
- Problems- Against Hindu landlords- security of tenure, high rent
- Protests- joined Khilafat Non-cooperation Movement
- Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Maulana Azad addressed the Mappila meetings
- Annie Besant mentioned about forced conversions of Hindus to Islam
- What started as anti-landlord movement changed into a communal riot later
- After NCM and Khilafat ended, the Mappila revolt also slowly faded away

Bardoli Satyagraha :

- 1926-28, Bardoli Taluka in Surat district
- Leader- Vallabhai Patel and Gandhi
- Problems- increased land revenue- by over 30%
- Protests-
 - Congress intervened and set up Inquiry Committee, which found the price hike unjustified
 - Vallabhai Patel invited and given the title of Sardar
 - Peasants refused to pay increased rent unless independent tribunal was set up
 - Patel set up 13 chhavanis (worker camps)
 - Bardoli Satyagraha Patrika was popularized
 - KM Munshi, Lalji Naranji resigned from Bombay Legislature
 - Intelligence wing set up to see progress of movement
 - Massive protest- railway strike in Bombay
 - Committee finally agreed to a compromised hike

Peasant Activity in Provinces

Kerala-

- Mainly mobilized by Congress Socialist parties
- Many Krashak Sanghams came into existence
- Most common form of protest- Peasants marching to landlords to fulfill demands
- Significant campaign- 1938- for Amendment of Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929

Andhra Pradesh-

- 1933- N.G. Ranga set up India Peasants institute
- 1936- Congress socialists involved. Summer classes on economics and politics
- Leaders who addressed- P.C. Joshi, Ajoy Ghosh, R.R. Bharadwaj

Bihar-

- Sahjanand Saraswati, Karyanand Sharma, Yadunandan Sharma, Rahul Sankirtayan
- 1935- Kisan Sabha adopted Anti Zamindari slogans
- Rift with Congress over 'bakasht land' issue. Movement died out in 1939

Punjab-

- Punjab Naujawan Bharat Sabha, Kirti Kisan Party, Akali, Congress
- 1937- Punjab Kisan Committee was formed
- Main targets- rich landlords, resettlement of land revenues, increased water rates

Peasant activity was also organized in Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Central Provinces and NWFP.

Post-war phase

Tebhaga Movement :

Timeline- 1946

Location- North Bengal

Stakeholders- Rajbanshis (low caste of tribal origin), sharecroppers worked on land given by jotedars

Flood commission recommendations- share 2/3rds of the produce instead of 50% as before

Sharecroppers decided to take paddy to their own threshing floor. Earlier they used to take it to the jotedar's house.

Muslims also participated in large numbers.

End :

Heavy repressions and government pressure

Few were appeased by Bagardari Bill

Hindu Mahasabha idea of a separate Bengal. This caused a shift in focus.

Telangana Movement-

Timeline- 1946-48

Location- Hyderabad, Telangana villages

Story-

- Hyderabad ruled by Asajahi Nizams (Urdu speaking)
- Ruled over majority (Hindu Marathi- Telugu- Kannada speakers)
- Total lack of civil and political liberties
- Exploitation by deshmukhs or landlords
- Vethi- forced labor and illegal evictions

Movement led by communist guerillas who had built a strong base in Andhra.

Spark- A deshmukh's thug killed a village militant at Jangaon taluq of Nalgonda

Movement then spread to more areas- Warangal and Khammam

Peasants organized themselves into village sanghams

Movement at its peak in 1947-48. Later Indian security forces took over Hyderabad

Positives :

- Vethi disappeared, wages raised
- Condition of women improved
- Seized lands returned, land ceiling fixed and redistributed, irrigation improved
- Autocratic feudal regime ended
- Paved way for fight for linguistic set up of Andhra Pradesh

Balance sheet of peasant movements

- These movements created an atmosphere for post-independence agrarian reforms.
- They eroded the power of the landed class, thus adding to the transformation of the agrarian structure.
- These movements were based on the ideology of nationalism.
- The nature of these movements was similar in diverse areas.

IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES AND THEIR CONTRIBUTION IN INDIAN HISTORY

Personalities	Contribution
BADRUDDIN TYABJI 1844-1906	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• He was the first Barrister in Bombay.• Appointed to the Bombay Bench in 1895 and in 1902 and also became the second Indian Chief Justice.• He advocated Tilak's case on seditious writings in the new letters journal, Kesari.• Founder member of Bombay Legislative Council (1882) and INC (1885).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Presided over the third INC Session in Madras. • He stressed upon modernization of Muslims and also served as President of the Bombay based Anjuman-i-Islam
DADABHAI NAOROJI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First to demand 'Swaraj' in the Calcutta Session of INC, 1906. • Title — "Indian Gladstone", "Grand Old Man of India". • First Indian to be selected to the "House of Commons" on Liberal Party ticket. • He highlighted the draining of wealth from India by the British and its effect in his book "Poverty and un-British Rule in India" (1901) • Drain of wealth theory
GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • secretary of the "Reception Committee" of the 1895 Poona session of Indian National Congress • Gokhale joined as professor of history and political economy at the Fergusson College, Poona. • political guru of Gandhiji • President of the Banaras Session of INC, 1905, supported the Swadeshi Movement. • Founded the Servants of Indian Society in 1905, to train people who would work as national missionaries • Gokhale also worked with Ranade in a quarterly Journal, called "Sarvajanik". The Journal wrote about the public questions of the day in frank and fearless manner. • Gokhale also guided Muhammad Ali Jinnah
MADAN MOHAN MALVIYA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A moderate leader and a lawyer by profession, he served the provincial and central legislature for many terms. • Through his efforts a memorial was built at the Jallianwala Bagh site. • He founded the Nationalist Party in 1926. • He was appointed as the Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University. • He served as the editor of Hindustan, Abhyudaya and the Indian Union. • Founder of Scouting in India • English-newspaper 'The Leader' published from Allahabad in 1909.
CR DAS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lawyer by profession, he defended Aurobindo in the Alipore Bomb Conspiracy case. • He was the member of the Congress Enquiry Committee set up to look into the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. • He founded the All India Swaraj Party in 1923. • He was elected as the first Mayor of the Calcutta Corporation in 1924. • He prepared the Das Formula for Hindu-Muslim Cooperation. • He was nicknamed Deshbandhu Chittaranjan. • His works include Malancha in 1895 (poems), Mala in 1904, Antaryami in 1915, Kishore-Kishoree and Sagar Sangeet in 1913. • Newspapers / Journal-Narayana (Bengali monthly) and Forward • He was a believer of non-violence and constitutional methods for the realisation of national independence, and advocated Hindu-Muslim unity, cooperation and communal harmony and championed the cause of national education.
MOTILAL NEHRU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A lawyer by profession, Motilal became an active supporter of the Home Rule

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Movement in 1916 and started the journal 'The Independent'. ● He headed the Congress Commission looking into the Jallianwala Bagh Massacre. ● He founded the Swarajya Party along with CR Das. ● He had renamed Anand Bhawan as the Swaraj Bhawan and gifted it to the Congress
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● President of the Allahabad municipal corporation in 1920. ● General Secretary of INC in 1928 and its President in 1929. ● Jawaharlal Nehru criticized the famous "Nehru Report" prepared by his father Motilal Nehru in 1928 that favored the concept of a "dominion status for India within the British rule". ● The Independence resolution was passed under his Presidentship at the Lahore Session. ● First Prime Minister of Republic India (from 1947 to 1964), also known as architect of Modern India. ● Books — 'The Discovery of India', 'Glimpses of world, History', 'A Bunch of old Letters', 'The Unity of India', 'Independence and After', 'India and the world' etc. ● His autobiography was titled as "Auto- biography".
DR B.R AMBEDKAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Leader of the depressed class and an eminent jurist. ● He founded the Depressed Classes Institute (1924) and Samaj Samata Sangh (1927). ● He launched a newspaper called "Mooknayak" (leader of the silent) ● He set up a network college in the name of Peoples Education Society. ● Participated in all the Three Round Table Conferences and signed the Poona Pact with Gandhiji in 1932. ● In 1936, Ambedkar founded the Independent Labor Party. ● He was in the Governor General's Executive Council from 1942 to 1946 and organized the Indian Labour Party and Scheduled Caste Federation. ● Chairman of the Drafting Committee of Indian Constitution. ● As the first Law Minister of Independent India, he introduced the Hindu Code Bill. ● He started 'The Republican Party' in 1956. ● Towards the end of his life, he embraced Buddhism ● Ambedkar founded the Bharatiya Bauddha Mahasabha In 1955. ● His book "The Buddha and His Dhamma" was published posthumously. ● Ambedkar was posthumously awarded the Bharat Ratna, India's highest civilian award, in 1990.
CHANDRA SHEKHAR AZAD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● He was a famous revolutionary activist, member of the Hindustan Republican Association and leader of the Hindustan Social Republican Army. ● He was involved in Kakori Conspiracy of 1925, Second Lahore Conspiracy, the Delhi Conspiracy, the killing of Saunders in Lahore and the Central Assembly bomb episode.
DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Participated in Swadeshi Movement (established Bihari Students, Conference), Champaran Satyagrah, NCM, CDM and Quit India Movement. ● Founded the National College at Patna.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Minister in charge of Food and Agriculture in the Interim Government (1946). President of the Constituent Assembly. He wrote articles for magazines like "Searchlight" and "Desh" First President of the Indian Republic. Honored with 'Bharat Ratna' in 1962. Newspaper — Desh (Hindi weekly)
RAS BIHARI BOSE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A revolutionary from Bengal, Bose organized several clandestine activities in UP, Delhi and Punjab at an early age. He was associated with Hardinge Bomb Case and Lahore Conspiracy Case after which he managed to escape to Japan. He founded the Indian Muslim League and organized its first session at Bangkok in 1942. He also served as the President of the Council of Action for the formation of INA, and later handed it over to Subbash Chandra Bose. Bose died in Tokyo on January 21, 1945.
VALLABHBHAI PATEL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In 1917, Sardar Vallabhbhai was elected as the Secretary of the Gujarat Sabha. The next year, when there was a flood in Kaira, the British insisted on collecting tax from the farmers. Sardar Vallabhbhai led a massive "No Tax campaign" that urged the farmers not to pay their land. In 1928, the farmers of Bardoli faced a similar problem of "tax-hike". In 1931 Patel was elected as the president of Indian National Congress Party for its Karachi session. Vallabhbhai Patel played a crucial role during the freedom struggle of India and was instrumental in the integration of over 565 princely states into the Indian Union.
BAL GANGADHAR TILAK	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasized on the concepts of women education and women empowerment. To inspire a sense of unity, he introduced the festivals like 'Ganesh Chaturthi' and Shivaji Jayanti' Two newspapers 'Maharatta' (English) and 'Kesari' (Marathi). His movement was based on the principles of Swadeshi (Indigenous), Boycott and Education. founded the All India Home Rule League in 1916 with Joseph Baptista, Annie Besant and Muhammad Ali Jinnah.
LALA LAJPAT RAI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> helped to establish the nationalistic Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School and became a follower of Dayanand Saraswati. Rai helped found the Punjab National Bank He founded the Hindu Orphan Relief Movement to keep the Christian missions from securing custody of these children. He founded the Indian Home Rule League of America in New York. He plunged into the non-cooperation movement, which was being launched in response to the Rowlatt Act, came to be known as "Punjab Kesri" (The Lion of Punjab). BOOKS: The United States of America: A Hindu's impressions and a study, History of the Arya Samaj, Swaraj and social change, England's Debt to India: India, The Problems Of National Education In India were among the books.

SUBHASH CHANDRA BOSE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • join the freedom struggle and He joined the youth wing of the Congress Party • Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das as his political guru. • Two times elected president of the Indian National Congress (1938 and 1939) but following his disagreements with Mahatma Gandhi he relinquished his post and formed a progressive group known as the Forward Block. • The principles and the philosophy of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose were instrumental factors in his embracing of armed revolution in the later part of his political career. • leadership of Indian National Army (INA) founded by Rash Behari Bose. • Bolstered by material assistance from the Japanese forces, the INA attacked the British forces in Manipur and Nagaland in northeastern India and hosted the National Flag in the town of Moirang, in Manipur.
BHAGAT SINGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • joined the Hindustan Republican Association, a radical group, later known as the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association. • established contact with the members of the Kirti Kisan Party and started contributing regularly to its magazine, the "Kirti" • In March 1926, the Naujawan Bharat Sabha was formed with Bhagat Singh, as its secretary. • Bhagat Singh and his associates plotted the assassination of Scott, the Superintendent of Police, believed to have ordered the lathi charge. • In response to the formulation of Defence of India Act, the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association planned to explode a bomb inside the assembly premises, where the ordinance was going to be passed. • On April 8, 1929 Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw a bomb onto the corridors of the assembly and shouted 'Inquilab Zindabad!'

PROMINENT WOMEN DURING FREEDOM STRUGGLE

ANNIE BESANT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Founded the Theosophical Society in India and started the Home Rule League. • Established Central Hindu School and College at Banaras. • President of the Calcutta Session of INC, AD 1917. • She did not attend the AD 1920 Session at Nagpur due to growing difference with Gandhiji as she felt that • The Government of India Act, 1919 was a means to free India. • Newspapers — New India and Commonweal. • She prepared the Lotus Song, a translation of 'Gita' into English.
ARUNA ASAF ALI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She hoisted the Indian National Congress Flag tricolour at Mumbai's • Elected as first Mayor of Delhi, 1958. • She was awarded the International Lenin Prize in 1964. • Newspapers— Link and Patriot.
SAROJINI NAIDU	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • She became the first woman to participate in the India's struggle for independence

- participated in the Dandi March with Gandhiji
- presided over the Kanpur Session of Congress in 1925
- BOOKS: The Golden Threshold (1905), The Feather of the Dawn; The Bird of Time (1912) and The Broken Wing (1917)

Important INC Sessions

Number Of Session	Year	Place	President	Importance
1	1885	Bombay	W.C. Bonnerjee	First Session
2	1886	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji	Merger Of National Congress And National Conference
3	1887	Madras	Syed Badruddin Tyabji	First Session To Be Presided By a Muslim
4	1888	Allahabad	George Yule	First To be presided by a Non Indian
15	1899	Lucknow	Romesh Chandra Dutt	Demand for permanent fixation of land revenue
21	1905	Benaras	Gopal Krishna Gokhale	Against partition of bengal
22	1906	Calcutta	Dadabhai Naoroji	‘ swarajya ‘ discussed for first time
23	1907	Suat	Rash Behari Ghosh	The INC split into two, one consisting of Moderates, led by Gokhale and the other consisting of Extremists, led by Tilak
24	1908	Madras	Rash Behari Ghosh	constitution of the Congress drawn.
25	1909	Lahore	Madan Mohan Malaviya	expressed disapproval over formation of separate electorates on the basis of religion (of the Indian Councils Act, 1909).

30	1916	Lucknow	A.C.Majumdar	reunion of Congress factions; the Lucknow Pact signed.
33	1917	Calcutta	Annie Besant	First Time Presided By Women
35	1919	Amritsar	Motilal Nehru	Condemned Jallianwala Bagh Massacre
37	1921	Ahmedabad	C.R. Das (in prison) Hakim Ajmal Khan (acting president)	Swaraj Party Formed
41	1925	Kanpur	Sarojini Naidu	First Time Presided by an Indian Women
44	1928	Calcutta	Motilal Nehru	the first All India Youth Congress came into being.
45	1929	Lahore	Jawaharlal Nehru	passed the Purna Swaraj Resolution; authorised the Working Committee to launch civil disobedience programme
50	1936	Lucknow	Jawaharlal Nehru	the President urged the Congress to adopt socialism as its goal
51	1937	Faizpur	Jawaharlal Nehru	First session in a village
52	1938	Haripura	Subhash Chandra Bose	A National Planning Committee set-up under J.L.Nehru.
53	1939	Tripuri	Subhash Chandra Bose	Rajendra Prasad took over presidentship after Subhash Chandra Bose resigned

Congress Sessions Presided Over By Non Indians

Session Number	Place	Year	President
4	Allahabad	1888	George Yule
5	Bombay	1889	William Wedderburn

10	Madras	1894	Alfred Webb
20	Bombay	1904	Henry Cotton
26	Allahabad	1910	William Wedderburn
33	Calcutta	1917	Annie Besant

Governor Generals / Viceroys And Important Events During Their Time

Governor Generals	Important Works / Events
Warren Hastings 1773-1785	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Regulating Act of 1773. Act of 1781, under which the powers of jurisdiction between the governor-general-in-council and the Supreme Court at Calcutta, were clearly divided. Pitt's India Act of 1784. The Rohilla War of 1774. The First Maratha War in 1775-82 and the Treaty of Salbai in 1782. Second Mysore War in 1780-84. Strained relationships with Chait Singh, the Maharaja of Benaras, which led to Hastings' subsequent impeachment in England. Foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1784).
Lord Cornwallis 1786-1793	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Third Mysore War (1790-92) and Treaty of Seringa-patam (1792). Cornwallis Code (1793) incorporating several judicial reforms, and separation of revenue administration and civil jurisdiction. Permanent Settlement of Bengal, 1793. Europeanisation of administrative machinery and introduction of civil services.
Sir John Shore 1793-1798	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Charter Act of 1793. Battle of Kharda between the Nizam and the Marathas (1795).
Lord Wellesley 1798-1805	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Introduction of the Subsidiary Alliance System (1798); first alliance with Nizam of Hyderabad. Fourth Mysore War (1799). Second Maratha War (1803-05). Took over the administration of Tanjore (1799), Surat (1800) and Carnatic (1801). Treaty of Bassein (1802).
Sir George Barlow 1805-1807	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vellore Mutiny (1806).
Lord Minto I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treaty of Amritsar with Ranjit Singh (1809).

1807-1813	
Lord Hastings 1813-1823	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anglo-Nepal War (1814-16) and the Treaty of Sagauli, 1816. • Third Maratha War (1817-19) and dissolution of Maratha Confederacy; creation of Bombay Presidency (1818). • Strife with Pindaris (1817-1818). • Treaty with Sindhia (1817). • Establishment of Ryotwari System by Thomas Munro, governor of Madras (1820).
Lord Amherst 1823-1828	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Burmese War (1824-1826). • Capture of Bharatpur (1826).
Lord William Bentinck 1828-1835	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abolition of sati and other cruel rites (1829). • Suppression of thuggee (1830). • Charter Act of 1833. • Resolution of 1835, and educational reforms and introduction of English as the official language. • Annexation of Mysore (1831), Coorg (1834) and Central Cachar (1834). • Treaty of 'perpetual friendship' with Ranjeet Singh. • Abolition of the provincial courts of appeal and circuit set up by Cornwallis, appointment of commissioners of revenue and circuit.
Lord Metcalfe 1835-1836	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New press law removing restrictions on the press in India
Lord Auckland 1836-1842	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Afghan War (1838-42). • Death of Ranjit Singh (1839)
Lord Ellenborough 1842-1844	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annexation of Sindh (1843). • War with Gwalior (1843).
Lord Hardinge I 1844-1848	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46) and the Treaty of Lahore (1846). • Social reforms including abolition of female infanticide and human sacrifice.
Lord Dalhousie 1848-1856	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) and annexation of Punjab (1849). • Annexation of Lower Burma or Pegu (1852). • Introduction of the Doctrine of Lapse and annexation of Satara (1848), Jaitpur and Sambhalpur (1849), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853), Nagpur (1854) and Awadh (1856). • "Wood's (Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control) Educational Despatch" of 1854 and opening of Anglo-vernacular schools and government colleges. • Railway Minute of 1853; and laying down of first railway line connecting Bombay and Thane in 1853.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Telegraph (4000 miles of telegraph lines to connect Calcutta with Bombay, Madras and Peshawar) and postal (Post Office Act, 1854) reforms. • Ganges Canal declared open (1854); establishment of separate public works department in every province. • Widow Remarriage Act (1856).
Lord Canning 1856-1857	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establishment of three universities at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay in 1857. • Revolt of 1857.
Viceroy	
Lord Canning 1858-1862	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transfer of control from East India Company to the Crown, the Government of India Act, 1858. • 'White Mutiny' by European troops in 1859. • Indian Councils Act of 1861.
Lord Elgin I 1862-1863	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wahabi Movement
Lord John Lawrence 1864-1869	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bhutan War (1865) • Setting up of the High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (1865)
Lord Mayo 1869-1872	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opening of the Rajkot College in Kathiawar and the Mayo College at Ajmer for political training of Indian princes. • Establishment of Statistical Survey of India. • Establishment of Department of Agriculture and Commerce. • Introduction of state railways.
Lord Northbrook 1872-1876	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visit of Prince of Wales in 1875. • Trial of Gaekwar of Baroda. • Kuka Movement in Punjab.
Lord Lytton 1876-1880	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Famine of 1876-78 affecting Madras, Bombay, Mysore, Hyderabad, parts of central India and Punjab; appointment of Famine Commission under the presidency of Richard Strachey (1878). • Royal Titles Act (1876), Queen Victoria assuming the title of 'Kaiser-i-Hind' or Queen Empress of India. • The Vernacular Press Act (1878). • The Arms Act (1878). • The Second Afghan War (1878-80).
Lord Ripon 1880-1884	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Repeal of the Vernacular Press Act (1882). • The first Factory Act (1881) to improve labour conditions.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continuation of financial decentralisation. • Government resolution on local self-government (1882). • Appointment of Education Commission under chairmanship of Sir William Hunter (1882). • The Ilbert Bill controversy (1883-84). • Rendition of Mysore
Lord Dufferin 1884-1888	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Third Burmese War (1885-86). • Establishment of the Indian National Congress.
Lord Lansdowne 1888-1894	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factory Act (1891). • Categorisation of civil services into imperial, provisional and subordinate. • Indian Councils Act (1892). • Setting up of Durand Commission (1893) to define the Durand Line between India and Afghanistan (now between Pakistan and Afghanistan; a small portion of the line touches India in Pakistan occupied Kashmir).
Lord Elgin II 1894-1899	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two British officials assassinated by Chapekar brothers (1897).
Lord Curzon 1899-1905	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appointment of Police Commission (1902) under Sir Andrew Frazer to review police administration. • Appointment of Universities Commission (1902) and passing of Indian Universities Act (1904). • Establishment of Department of Commerce and Industry. • Calcutta Corporation Act (1899). • Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (1904). • Partition of Bengal (1905). • Curzon-Kitchener controversy. • Younghusband's Mission to Tibet (1904).
Lord Minto II 1905-1910	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Popularisation of anti-partition and Swadeshi Movements. • Split in Congress in the annual session of 1907 in Surat. • Establishment of Muslim League by Aga Khan (1906).
Lord Hardinge II 1910-1916	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of Bengal Presidency (like Bombay and Madras) in 1911. • Transfer of capital from Calcutta to Delhi (1911). • Establishment of the Hindu Mahasabha (1915) by Madan Mohan Malaviya. • Coronation durbar of King George V held in Delhi (1911).
Lord Chelmsford 1916-1921	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of Home Rule Leagues by Annie Besant and Tilak (1916). Appendices ★ 821 • Lucknow session of the Congress (1916). • Lucknow pact between the Congress and Muslim League

	<p>(1916).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foundation of Sabarmati Ashram (1916) after Gandhi's return; launch of Champaran Satyagraha (1916), Kheda Satyagraha (1918), and Satyagraha at Ahmedabad (1918). • Montagu's August Declaration (1917). • Government of India Act (1919). • The Rowlatt Act (1919). • Jallianwalla Bagh massacre (1919). • Launch of Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movements. • Foundation of Women's University at Poona (1916) and appointment of Saddler's Commission (1917) for reforms in educational policy. • Death of Tilak (August 1, 1920). • Appointment of S.P. Sinha as governor of Bihar (the first Indian to become a governor).
Lord Reading 1921-1926	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chauri Chaura incident (February 5, 1922) and the subsequent withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement. • Moplah rebellion in Kerala (1921). • Repeal of the Press Act of 1910 and the Rowlatt Act of 1919. • Criminal Law Amendment Act and abolition of cotton excise. • Communal riots in Multan, Amritsar, Delhi, Aligarh, Arvi and Calcutta. • Kakori train robbery (1925). • Murder of Swami Shraddhanand (1926). • Establishment of Swaraj Party by C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru (1922). • Decision to hold simultaneous examinations for the ICS both in Delhi and London, with effect from 1923.
Lord Irwin 1926-1931	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Visit of Simon Commission to India (1928) and the boycott of the commission by the Indians. • An All-Parties Conference held at Lucknow (1928) for suggestions for the (future) Constitution of India, the report 822 ☆ A Brief History of Modern India of which was called the Nehru Report or the Nehru Constitution. • Appointment of the Harcourt Butler Indian States Commission (1927). • Murder of Saunders, the assistant superintendent of police of Lahore; bomb blast in the Assembly Hall of Delhi (1929); the Lahore Conspiracy Case and death of Jatin Das after prolonged hunger strike (1929), and bomb accident in train in Delhi (1929). • Lahore session of the Congress (1929); Purna Swaraj Resolution. • Dandi March (March 12, 1930) by Gandhi to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement. • 'Deepavali Declaration' by Lord Irwin (1929). • Boycott of the First Round Table Conference (1930),

	Gandhi-Irwin Pact (1931) and suspension of Civil Disobedience Movement.
Lord Willingdon 1931-1936	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Second Round Table Conference (1931) and failure of the conference, resumption of Civil Disobedience Movement. • Announcement of Communal Award (1932) under which separate communal electorates were set up. • Fast unto death' by Gandhi in Yeravada prison, broken after the Poona Pact (1932). • Third Round Table Conference (1932). • Launch of Individual Civil Disobedience (1933). • The Government of India Act of 1935. • Establishment of All India Kisan Sabha (1936) and Congress Socialist Party by Acharya Narendra Dev and Jayaprakash Narayan (1934). • Burma separated from India (1935).
Lord Linlithgow 1936-1944	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First general elections (1936-37); Congress attained absolute majority. • Resignation of the Congress ministries after the outbreak of the Second World War (1939). • Subhash Chandra Bose elected as the president of Congress at the fifty-first session of the Congress (1938). • Resignation of Bose in 1939 and formation of the Forward Bloc (1939). • Lahore Resolution (March 1940) by the Muslim League, demand for separate state for Muslims. • 'August Offer' (1940) by the viceroy; its criticism by the Congress and endorsement by the Muslim League. • Winston Churchill elected prime minister of England (1940). • Escape of Subhash Chandra Bose from India (1941) and organisation of the Indian National Army. • Cripps Mission's Cripps Plan to offer dominion status to India and setting up of a Constituent Assembly; its rejection by the Congress. • Passing of the 'Quit India Resolution' by the Congress (1942); outbreak of 'August Revolution'; or Revolt of 1942 after the arrest of national leaders. • 'Divide and Quit' slogan at the Karachi session (1944) of the Muslim League.
Lord Wavell 1944-1947	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • C. Rajagopalachari's CR Formula (1944), failure of GandhiJinnah talks (1944). • Wavell Plan and the Shimla Conference (1942). • End of Second World War (1945). • Proposals of the Cabinet Mission (1946) and its acceptance by the Congress. • Observance of 'Direct Action Day' (August 16, 1948) by the Muslim League. • Elections to the Constituent Assembly, formation of Interim

	<p>Government by the Congress (September 1946).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Announcement of end of British rule in India by Clement Attlee (prime minister of England) on February 20, 1947.
Lord Mountbatten 1947-1948	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• June Third Plan (June 3, 1947) announced.• Introduction of Indian Independence Bill in the House of Commons.• Appointment of two boundary commissions under Sir Cyril Radcliff for the partition of Bengal and Punjab.

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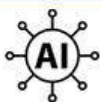
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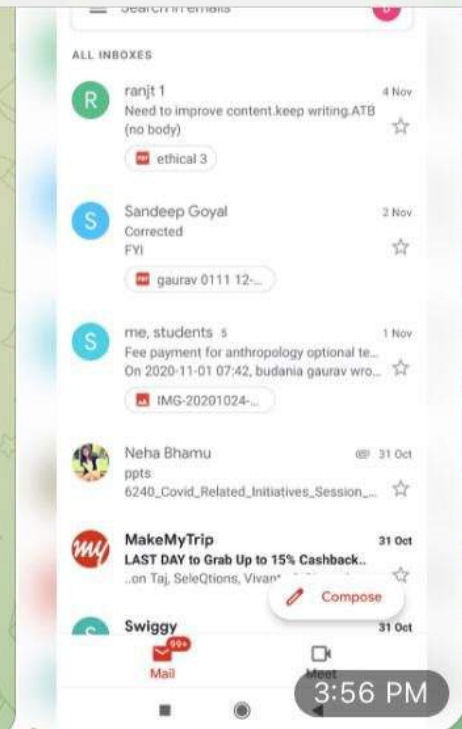
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November 29, 2020

Hey 9:54 AM ✓✓

January 20

Thank you sir to you and your team

7:06 PM

For answer writing

7:06 PM

We all the friends got benefited from your team and their analysisnow hoping for good results

7:07 PM





YouTube channel link for our video series

9:44 PM ✓✓

<https://m.youtube.com/c/IASNETWORK>

9:44 PM ✓✓

Can use questions from any source though

9:44 PM ✓✓

Yes sir , rest i know all about procedure

9:45 PM

Ok sir

9:49 PM

September 24

Hey

8:32 PM ✓✓

Congratulations

9:27 PM ✓✓

If I am correct

9:27 PM ✓✓

Rank 13

9:27 PM ✓✓

Hearty congratulations

9:38 PM ✓✓

September 25

Thank you sir

4:40 AM



Sir.. 65th BPSC AIR-1 6:04 PM

You secured 1st rank ? 6:06 PM ✓✓

Whoa !!!! 6:06 PM ✓✓

Congratulations 🎉 6:07 PM ✓✓

IAS NETWORK

You secured 1st rank ?

Yes sir 6:22 PM

Congratulations, Enjoy your moments

6:22 PM ✓✓

IAS NETWORK

Atleast clearing exam

Also this 6:23 PM ✓✓

You should be happy now 😊😊

6:23 PM ✓✓



6:23 PM

Yes sir 6:23 PM

Enjoy Bro, You deserve it 👍👍



Yes 20:40

AIR 217 20:40

Congratulations 20:41 ✓✓

Thank you so much. IAS network was an important part of my preparation 21:13

Thanks 21:18 ✓✓

29 September 2021

I wanted to thank your team. I have scored 140 in essay. I was very happy. Particularly Rachita Singh. Her criticism were the words in my head on the way to exam..

I kept in my mind all that her mails had conveyed. 12:56

And incorporated them while writing... i didnt make the mistakes i made while practusing...

Your team's quick reply and elaborate response in essays were very helpful. 12:57





Thank you so much. IAS network was an important part of my preparation

21:13

Thanks 21:18 ✓✓

29 September 2021

I wanted to thank your team. I have scored 140 in essay. I was very happy. Particularly Rachita Singh. Her criticism were the words in my head on the way to exam..

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12:56

And incorporated them while writing... i didn't make the mistakes i made while practising...

Your team's quick reply and elaborate response in essays were very helpful.

12:57

O have referred you to couple of aspirants!

Keep up the good work! Kudos to you and your team

12:58

Thanks 👍

12:57 ✓✓





Swathika GS PSIR 10K



Can you please resend your queries 14:07 ✓

20 December 2020

?? 10:34 ✓

Today

Good evening Sir 00:12

I am Swathika. Got 593 rank 00:12

I am truly grateful for your timely evaluation of my GS and PSIR answer papers 😊 00:13

I will need your continued support to improve the rank further Sir 😊 00:13

Congratulations 00:36 ✓✓



00:36 ✓✓

Swathika GS PSIR 10k

I will need your continued support to improve the rank further Sir 😊

Sure

00:47 ✓✓

Congratulations 7:07 PM ✓✓

Thank you friend 7:21 PM

442 rank 7:21 PM

Today

Getting good marks in mains is very vital for getting into the final list. For this, continuous practice is a must. But practice without unbiased assessment fails to explain to us our mistakes. This is where IAS NETWORK has helped me. It provided a precise, unbiased, and to the point evaluation of my answers. Which helped me to improve the content and structure of my answers. The easy and optional evaluation also helped me tremendously. Moreover, they provide the evaluation in less than 2 days, which helps in constantly modifying and improving our answers in accordance with the feedback. Thank you IAS NETWORK!

3:14 PM

Thanks 3:15 PM ✓



Pranjal AIR 529

typing...



So I took this attempt very lightly (being my first one). Didn't study even Vision Mains 365 or monthlies, didn't take a single test series for GS or PSIR. Only thing I did for GS was go through IAS Network's GS 1,2,3,4 notes, and SR Ma'am notes for PSIR. Along with it, I made my frameworks and short notes of 45 pages for all the papers of GS. So this was my Mains prep last time, don't want to commit the mistake again

16:19

Hmm, Thanks

16:20 ✓✓

BTW good to see that you got a rank from our notes only, don't know how many more toppers we have, whom we are not in touch with, are notes were freely shared

16:21 ✓✓

You

BTW good to see that you got a rank from our notes only, don't know how many more toppers we have, whom we are not in touch with, are not...

You are doing a great service. I also used to watch the daily answer writing videos of Nagesh Sir, and one more person, sometimes during the 3 months of Mains prep. That was helpful too.

16:23



Today

🔒 Messages and calls are end-to-end encrypted. No one outside of this chat, not even WhatsApp, can read or listen to them. Tap to learn more.

Congratulations For Your Success 11:24 ✓✓

Especially in the type of exam which was conducted this year

11:25 ✓✓

thanks to you for helping me in mains
answer writing practice...
your reviews and evaluation of my answers
were amazing and very insightful...
that helped me alot to maintain consistency
and improve my answer writing skill...
i am indebted to u for my success in pcs
exam and secured 4th rank
Without good marks in mains...it is nearly
impossible to make your name in final list



thanks again to the whole team 🙏🙏
i am grateful to you

11:31



11:32 ✓✓