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VAJIRAM & RAVI

GENERAL STUDIES

**MODERN INDIAN
HISTORY**

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EUROPEAN PENETRATION AND BRITISH CONQUEST OF INDIA

Portuguese

- The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in India in 1498. The closing of the traditional trade routes western Asia by the Ottomans and rivalry with the Italian states, set Portugal in search of an alternate sea route to India.
- The first successful voyage to India was by Vasco da Gama on May 17, 1498, when he arrived in Calicut, now in Kerala piloted by Abdul Majid and was received by the Hindu king, Zamorin.
- Vasco da Gama visited India for a second time in 1502.
- The Portuguese established a chain of outposts along the Indian west coast and on the island of Ceylon in the early 16th century which were called Feitorias.
- In 1501, Portuguese established Cochin as their first trading station in India, it was the early capital of Portuguese in India.
- In 1505, Franchise De Almedia (1502-09) was sent as first Portuguese governor to India to establish Portuguese naval supremacy in this region.
- He was followed by Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1509 who was the real founder of Portuguese power in India. In 1510, Albuquerque captured Goa from ruler of Bijapur, and also controlled over parts of Rajouri and Dabhol thereby bringing Bijapur naval trade at stand still. Albuquerque encouraged his countrymen to marry Indian women and abolished Sati.
- Nino-da-Cunha transferred the Portuguese capital from Cochin to Goa in 1530 and acquired Diu in 1535 and Daman in 1559.
- The famous Jesuit Saint Francisco Xavier came to India with the governor Martin Alfonso De Souza.
- The Portuguese power witnessed a decline by the end of the 16th century as they lost Hugli in 1631 after being driven out by Qasim Khan, a Mughal noble. They lost Hormuz in 1622 to the British. The Marathas captured Salsette and Bassein in 1739. Ultimately the Portuguese were left only with Goa, Daman and Diu, which they retained till

1961. The naval monopoly of Portuguese was shattered by the Dutch.

- In 1661, the Portuguese king gave Bombay to Charles II of England as dowry for marrying his sister.
- The Portuguese made spice trade particularly (pepper trade) a monopoly.
- The Portuguese had armed vessels plying in the Indian Ocean and Arabian Sea.
- Ships carrying commodities which were not given passes (cartage) by the Portuguese officials were confiscated by them. The cartage was first issued in 1502, which was available at their custom house. The booty thus obtained yielded a sizeable source of income which was again invested in trade. In cartage, it was specifically mentioned that certain items like pepper, horses, ginger, coir, ship, pitch, sulphur, lead, saltpeter, cinnamon, etc. were not to be loaded on others ships.

British

The Growth of the East India Company's Trade and Influence (1600-1740)

- John Mildenhall, a merchant adventurer was the first Englishman who arrived in India in 1599 by overland route ostensibly for the purpose of trade with Indian merchants.
- The English East India Company was formed by a group of merchants known as 'Merchant Adventures' in 1599. The company was given a Charter by Queen Elizabeth-I on 31 December 1600, giving it the monopoly of Eastern trade for fifteen years.
- In 1608, the company decided to open a factory (the name given to a trading depot) at Surat. The English ambassador Captain Hawkins arrived at Jahangir's Court to seek permission for trade with India. He was granted a Mansab of 400 zat.
- In 1611, as a result of Portuguese intrigue, he was expelled and had to leave Agra for Surat, where he met Henry Middleton head of three big English ships.

- In 1612, two English naval ships under Captain Best reached Surat, defeated a Portuguese naval squadron at Cwally near Surat and again in 1615 by Nicholas Downtown.
- A firman was issued by Jahangir permitting the English to build a factory at Surat (1613) under Thomas Aldworth and also on the west coast.
- Sir Thomas Roe came to India as ambassador of James to Jahangir's court in 1615, received imperial firman to trade and establish factories in different parts of India.
- In 1619, by the time Sir Thomas Roe left India, English had already set up factories in different parts of India.
- Captain Bust succeeded in getting a royal firman to open factories in Surat, Cambaya, Ahmedabad and Goa in 1613.
- In South, factories were established at Masulipatnam in 1611 and at Armagaon (near Pulicat) in 1626.
- Francis Day obtained the site of Madras from the Raja of Chandragiri with permission to build a fortified factory (1639) which was named Fort St. George. All the English settlements in Eastern India (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) and their command were placed under the control of the president and council of Fort St. George in 1661.
- The company acquired Bombay from Charles II on lease of 10 pounds annually. Gerald Aunger was the first governor from 1669 to 1677. Later, Bombay replaced Surat as headquarters of the company on west coast.
- In Eastern India, English company had opened its first factories in Orissa at Hariharpur (1633), and also opened factories at Patna, Balasore (1633), Decca and other places in Bengal and Bihar.
- The Sultan of Golkunda issued the company the Golden Firman allowing them to trade within the parts of the kingdom freely on payment of duties worth 500 pagodas a year (1632).
- The English East India company got a nishan from Sultan Shuja in 1651 which they received trading privileges in return for a fixed annual payment of Rs 3,000.
- By another nishan the English company was exempted from custom dues in 1656.
- In 1689, English under Sir Joseph Child captured two Mughal ships, which prompted Aurangzeb to order Siddis to block Bombay.
- English factories at Surat Masulipatnam, Vizagpatnam were seized and their fort at Bombay besieged.
- On Sir John Childs plea Aurangzeb granted them permission to trade on payment of Rs 1,50,000 as compensation.
- The company acquired zamindari of Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindpur (1698), which later grew into the city of Calcutta.
- The factory at Sutanati was fortified and named Fort William (1700) and all settlements in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa were placed under Fort William (1700).
- Dr. William Hamilton, a member of Surman commission, cured Farrukhsiyar of a painful disease. Farrukhsiyar granted a firman in 1717 for duty free trade. The firman also gave British the right to rent additional territory around Calcutta. In return for an annual payment of sum of Rs 10,000 it was exempted from payment of all dues at Surat.
- The company's coins minted at Bombay were allowed currency throughout Mughal Empire.
- Bombay was fortified in 1720 by Charles Boon.
- The company's superior body court of directors was based in London while its subordinate body was in Asia.
- Each factory was administrated by a Governor-in-Council. The governor was the President of Council with no extra privileges. Everything was decided in council by majority votes. The members of the council consisted senior merchants of the company.
- The Court of directors was the supreme authority in framing policies for the country.
- No non-member was allowed to trade with East or to share its high profits.
- Many English merchants continued to trade in Asia inspite of monopoly of East India Company.
- They called themselves Free Merchants and the company called them 'interlopers'.
- In 1694, Parliament passed a resolution that all citizens of England had equal rights to trade in the East.
- The rivals of the company founded another company known as 'New Company' and was consequently granted monopoly of trade with East.
- Old company refused to give up its profitable trade. After long drawn conflict, both the companies agreed to join hands and a new company, 'The Limited Company of Merchant of English trading to the East India' was formed in 1708.

Dutch

- Dutch East India Company was formed in 1602; its chief administrative centre was Batavia.
- In 1595, first Dutch expedition under Cornelis de Houtman crossed the Cape of Good Hope to reach Sumatra and Bantam (1596).
- Dutch Company was governed through 17 directors commonly known as the Gentleman XVII.
- The main interest of the Dutch was in the Indonesian archipelago and the Spice Islands, but later they broke the Portuguese monopoly in India.
- They popularized textile trade and also exported indigo, saltpetre and raw silk.
- In 1639, Dutch encircled Goa, in 1641 captured Malaysia, in 1658 Ceylon (Sri Lanka) the largest Portuguese settlement was captured by the Dutch.
- They had two factories in the interior of the Golkunda territories.
- They got the right to mint coins at Pulicat in 1657.
- By firman of 1676, the Golkunda ruler granted the Dutch complete freedom from tariffs in Golkunda.
- In Bengal region two more factories were established by the Dutch in Khanapur in 1689 and in Malda in 1676 but both had to close down soon.
- The Dutch succeeded in getting firman from the Mughal Emperor Jahangir for trading along the West-coast.
- They were exempted from tolls from Burhanpur to Cambay and Ahmedabad.
- Shah Alam granted total exemption to the company from paying transit throughout the Mughal Empire.
- Aurangzeb confirmed all privileges granted by Shahjahan to the Dutch in Bengal in 1662.
- Jahandar Shah confirmed all the privileges granted by Aurangzeb in Coromandel in 1712.
- Dutch commercial activities began to decline by the beginning of 18th century and with the Battle of Banda with the English in 1759 came to an end.
- By 1795, the English succeeded in expelling the Dutch completely.
- In 1667, Dutch agreed to leave alone English settlements in India, while English gave up all claims to Indonesia.

French

- French East India Company was formed under state patronage by Colbert in 1664 under the reign of Louis XIV.

- The French company was created, financed and controlled by the State and it differed from the English company which was a private commercial venture.
- In 1667, a French group under Francois Caron reached India and in 1668, he set up the first French factory at Surat.
- Later, Maracara set up a factory at Masulipatnam in 1669 by securing a patent from the Sultan of Golkunda.
- In 1672, Admiral De La Haye defeated Sultan of Golkunda and Dutch, to capture San Thome.
- In 1673, two French (Francios Martin and Bellanger De Lespiniary) acquired from the Muslim governor of Valikoinda-puram, Sher Khan Lodi a small village.
- The village developed into Pondicherry and its first governor was Francois Martin.
- They acquired Chandernagore in Bengal from Mughal governor Shayista Khan in 1690.
- In 1693, Dutch snatched Pondicherry from French but was restored in 1697 by treaty of Ryswick.
- In 1706, population of Pondicherry was 40,000 while population of Calcutta was only 22,000 - which shows the prosperity of Pondicherry.
- Pondicherry (Fort Louis) was made the headquarters of all French settlements in India and Francois Martin became the governor general of French affairs in India.
- In 1720, the company was reconstituted as Perpetual Company of the Indies.
- The French power in India was revived under Lienor and Dumas (who were governors between 1720 and 1742).
- They occupied Mauritius in 1721, Calicut in 1739, Male in 1725 and Yanam, in Coromandal and Karaikal in 1739.
- Duplex was an important French governor in India (1742). His coming saw the beginning of Anglo-French conflict (Carnatic wars) resulting in their final defeat in India.
- The French maintained close ties with Dost Ali, the Nawab of Carnatic.
- On recommendation of Dost Ali, the Mughal emperor Muhammad Shah issued a firman granting permission to the French to mint and

issue gold and silver currency bearing the stamp of Mughal emperor and the name of the place of minting.

- The Dutch blocked the French commercial activities at Hugli.
- They seized San Thome near Madras in 1672 but were soon defeated by the combined forces of Sultan of Golkunda and the Dutch. Later, the Dutch established their control over San Thome.
- In Dutch-French rivalry, the Dutch were always supported by the English.
- After 1742, the French governor Duplex began the policy of extending territorial empire in India and started political occupations, leading to series of conflicts with English.
- They fought a decisive battle at Wandiwash against the East India Company in 1760 and lost almost all their possessions in India.
- Final settlement of the French with that of English was done by the treaty of Paris (1763), by which Pondicherry and some other French settlements were returned to the French.

Danish

- The Danish formed an East India Company and arrived in India in 1616.
- They established settlements at Tranquebar (Tamil Nadu) in 1620 and at Serampore (Bengal) in 1676. Serampore was their headquarter in India.
- At one time the Danish and Swedish East Asia companies together imported more tea to Europe than the British did.
- They could not establish their position in India and eventually sold all their Indian settlements to the English in 1845.
- They were more concerned with missionary activities than trade. They established their factories at Masulipatnam and Porto Novo.
- During the 18th century the English and the French succeeded in ousting the Dutch and the Portuguese traders from the Indian soil and became fiercely competitive. Soon after the death of Aurangzeb, the political stability of the subcontinent dwindled leading to the interference of the English and the French in the affairs of the country.

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MAJOR BATTLES

The Carnatic Wars

Reminiscent of European hostilities of the eighteen century, Anglo-French rivalry beginning with the outbreak of the Austrian War of Succession and ending with the conclusion of the Seven Years War, resonated in India in the animosity between the English and the French East India Companies; which issued the British expansion in South India. The French settlement was headquartered at Pondicherry with subordinate factories at Masulipatnam, Karaikal, Mahe, Surat and Chandernagore. The principal settlements of English included Madras, Bombay and Calcutta.

First Carnatic War (1746-1748)

Causes

- The Anglo-French animosity in India ensued as a sequel to the state of affairs in Europe with the breakout of the Austrian War of Succession in March 1740 in which the English and the French were on opposite sides.
- This animosity was fuelled by the trading rivalry of the companies which climaxed with the arrival of Dupleix (who wanted to strengthen the French position) as the French Governor of Pondicherry in 1742.

Course/Events

- The English navy under Barnett took the offensive and captured French ships. Dupleix, the French Governor General, appealed to La Bourdonnais, the French Governor of Mauritius (Isle of France) for help and the latter responded with a squadron of over 3000 men; defeating the English fleet, and reaching the Coromandal coast on 7 July 1746.
- Madras besieged by the French both by land and the sea capitulated to the French on 21st September 1746. However, it was restored to the English by La Bourdonnais for a ransom of £ 4,00,000 without the consent of Duplex who later recaptured Madras but was unsuccessful in capturing Fort St. David.
- The Battle of St. Thome, on the banks of the River Adyar followed in which the French fought and defeated the Indian forces of Anwar-ud-din, the

Nawab of Carnatic for the custody of Madras after its reduction in 1746.

- The First Carnatic came to an end after the conclusion of hostilities in Europe with signing of the Treaty of Aix-La-Chappelle in 1848 which also concluded the 18-month long siege over Fort St. David.

Results

- The Treaty of Aix-La-Chappelle that concluded the war mandated the return of Madras back to the English company in exchange of Louisburg in North America to France.
- The First Carnatic war demonstrated the importance of naval power in the Anglo-French conflict and the superiority of the small, welldisciplined and relatively modern European army against the much larger, loose Indian civvies.

Second Carnatic War (1748-1754)

- Though the Anglo-French rivalry ended in Europe, it continued in India; where encouraged by his success against the Nawab's forces, Dupleix sought to increase his power and the French political influence in Southern India by interfering in local dynastic disputes in a bid to outmaneuver the English.

Causes

- On 21st May 1748 Subedar of Deccan i.e. the Nizam of Hyderabad Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah died, which resulted in a war of succession between his second son Nasir Jang and the Nizam's grandson/ the former's nephew Muzaffar Jang on the ground that he was appointed by the Mughal Emperor as the Subedar of Deccan.
- In Carnatic, the right of Nawab Anwaruddin was disputed by Chanda Sahib, son in law of former Nawab Dost Ali.
- The two conflicts were merged into one and alliances formed as Muzzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib joined under French support while Nasir Jang and Anwaruddin aligned together with the English help. Thus the disputes over the thrones of Hyderabad and Carnatic became the cause of the war.

Course/Events

- The combined armies of Muzaffar Jang, Chanda Sahib and French defeated and killed Anwaruddin at the battle of Ambur near Vellore in August 1749.
- Anwaruddin's son Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly and Chanda Sahib became Nawab of Carnatic while Muzaffar Jang became Subedar of Deccan after the encounter death of Nasir Jung in 1750.
- Dupleix was appointed Governor of all the Mughal territories south of river Krishna. Some districts in Northern Circars were also surrendered to the French, including famous market town of Masulipatam. In return Bussey with a French army was stationed at Hyderabad.
- In 1750, the situation changed with the appointment of Saunders as Madras Governor; who decided to assist Muhammad Ali and on the suggestion of Robert Clive, the British under the former captured Arcot, the capital of Carnatic in a bid to divert pressure on Trichinopoly in August 1751, successfully sustaining the siege for fifty-three days (September 23 to November 14) and demoralizing the French.
- Subsequently, the British under Major Stringer Lawrence relieved Trichinopoly defeating the French forces and Chanda Sahib in Arni and Kaveripakkam in 1752. Chanda Sahib was treacherously killed by Raja of Tanjore.
- However, Dupleix not one to give up, won over Morari Rao, the Maratha chief of Mysore and secured the neutrality of Raja of Tanjore, thereby renewing the siege of Trichinopoly in December 1752 which continued for more than one year, both sides succeeding alternatively.
- Dupleix failure to capture Trichinopoly along with his political ambitions and ruinous expenses sealed his fate as he was recalled by the Directors of French Company in 1754. With his recall the second Carnatic war came to an end.

Results

- In August 1754, Godeheu replaced Dupleix as Governor-General of French possessions in India and reopened negotiations with the British; concluding a provisional peace treaty - the Treaty of Pondicherry in January 1755 according to which each party was left in possession of the territories that it actually occupied at the time of the treaty.

Thus, Godeheu and his incompetent Generals Astru and Maisi lost those territories which Dupleix had won.

- The English emerged victorious and Muhammad Ali was appointed Nawab of Carnatic.
- In Hyderabad, the French General, Bussy maintained a steady ascendancy of the French with a grant of the Northern Sarkars by Subedar Salabat Jung (Muzaffar Jang had been killed in accidental skirmish in Feb, 1751) consisting of the districts of Mustafanagar, Ellore, Rajahmundry and Chicacole, generating annual revenue of more than Rs 30 lakhs to meet expense of maintaining the French army.

Third Carnatic War (1756-1763)

Causes

- The third Carnatic war was an echo of the outbreak of the Seven Years War in Europe and ended the short peace between the European Companies in India.

Course/Events

- In 1757, The British under Clive defeated Siraj-uddaula and captured Bengal. Clive and Watson also won Chandernagar, the French possession in Bengal, thus capacitating the British finances.
- The French government sent Count-de-Lally as the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the French possessions in India, who soon after his arrival attacked and captured Fort St. David in 1758. The French military effort could not be sustained in Tanjore and on Indian waters due to lack of naval cooperation, shortage of finances and ammunition, mutual distrust, etc.
- However, Lally continued to challenge the British and called Bussy from Hyderabad, leaving the French forces under the incompetent Commander Cornila. Seizing the opportunity, Clive sent Colonel Ford from Bengal to Northern Circars and occupying Rajahmundry and Masulipatnam, the English concluded a favourable treaty with Salabat Jang, the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1759.
- The decisive battle of the third Carnatic War was fought at Wandiwash on 22 January, 1760 where Sir Eyre Coote defeated Lally.
- Bussy was taken prisoner; Lally retreated to Pondicherry and signed a treaty with Haider Ali. However, Pondicherry after a blockade of eight months was surrendered to the English on 16 January, 1761. Mahe, Jinji were lost by French in quick succession.

Results

- The third Carnatic war came to an end in 1763 by the Treaty of Paris.
- Pondicherry, Karaikal and some other French settlements were returned to the French by the Treaty but these were never to be fortified.
- This sealed the French ambitions in India and with the English conquest of Bengal and the significant disposal of resources; it furthered the growth of British power in Bengal.

Growth of British Power in Bengal

- The first English factory in Bengal was established at Hugli in 1651 under permission from Sultan Shuja, Subedar of Bengal, the second son of Emperor Shah Jahan.
- In 1651, much pleased with services of Mr. Boughton in curing a royal lady the Subehdar granted the company the privilege of free trade throughout Bengal, Bihar and Orissa for nominal a lumpsum payment of Rs. 3,000.
- In 1689, the English obtained from Subedar Azimus-Shan the zamindari of three villages Sutanati, Kalikata and Govindpur, the present site of Calcutta on payment of Rs. 1,200 to previous proprietors.
- In 1700, Murshid Quli Khan was appointed Diwan of Bengal and started administering as real ruler.
- There were three rebellions during Murshid Quli Khan's reign. First by Sitaram Ray, Uday Narayan and Ghulam Mohammad. Second, by Shujat Khan and third and last by Najat Khan.
- In 1705, Aurangzeb appointed Murshid Quli Khan as Governor of Bengal and later placed Orissa under his authority. He shifted his capital from Dacca to Murshidabad and after Aurangzeb's death, founded an independent kingdom.
- Murshid Quli Khan was succeeded by his son-in-law Shuja-ud-daula Khan who added Bihar to his dominions, where he appointed Alivardi Khan as his deputy.
- In 1717, Emperor Farukhsiyar confirmed the trade privileges granted by earlier Subedar of Bengal, besides according permission to the company to rent additional territory around Calcutta.
- Shuja died in 1739 and was succeeded by his son Sarfaraz Khan.
- In 1741, Alivardi Khan, Deputy Governor of Bihar under Nawab Sarfaraz Khan rose in revolt killed Nawab and became Subedar of Bengal, got

confirmation from Emperor Mohammad Shah by paying a huge amount.

❖ Battle of Plassey, 1757

Causes

- On Alivardi Khan's death in 1756, Siraj-ud-daula, his grandson became the Nawab of Bengal at 24. Soon after his accession to the throne, the Nawab came into conflicts with the English in Bengal.
- Siraj prevented the English from fortifying Fort William. However the English refused to stop the new fortification which prompted the Nawab to attack their factory at Cassim Bazar.
- The Nawab captured Fort William, taking 146 Englishmen prisoners. Holed up in a very small room 123 died on 20th June, 1756 out of suffocation and only 23 survived. English historians describe this incident as the Black Hole Tragedy.
- This incident instigated the English at Chennai to send a relieving force under Robert Clive alongwith Admiral Watson to Bengal. And Clive entered into a conspiracy with Mir jafar, the Commander-in-Chief of Siraj-ud-daulah.

Course/Events

- Clive marched towards Plassey on 23rd June, 1757; which was near the Nawab's capital of Murshidabad.
- As agreed earlier, Mir Jafar, the Commander-in-chief of Siraj-ud-daula did not take up arms against the English army and on the other hand the Nawab's soldiers fled from the battlefield.
- Later the Nawab was killed by Miran, Mir Jafar's son and the latter was made the Nawab of Bengal as promised by Clive.
- The conspirators against Siraj, besides Mir Jafar included Manick Chand, the office-in-charge of Calcutta, Amichand, a rich merchant, Jagat Seth, the biggest banker of Bengal and Khadim Khan, who commanded a large number of the Nawab's troops.
- Mir Madan and Mohan Lal, loyal to the Nawab fought bravely but were killed due to treachery of Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh.

Results

- The battle of Plassey was merely a skirmish but in its results was one of the most decisive battles in Indian history as it paved the way for the foundation of the English rule in India.

- The English acquired a large sum of money from the new Nawab - the first installment of wealth paid to the Company being a sum of £ 8,00,000, all paid in coined silver. Jafar granted the English, zamindari of 24 Parganas and a personal gift of 2,34,000 pound to Clive.
- Mir Jafar became a puppet in the hands of Clive and could not satisfy the demands of the English. He was forced to resign in 1760.
- His son-in-law, Mir Kasim succeeded him but in due course of time he too failed to satisfy the growing demands of the English.

❖ Battle of Buxar, 1764

Causes

- Mir Kasim was a young, energetic and ambitious ruler. Wanting to be independent he shifted his capital to Monghyr, a place far away from Calcutta. He also employed foreign experts to train his army.
- Mir Qasim took a drastic step to abolish all inland duties, thus placing the Indian merchants on the same as the English. The English decided to overthrow him and war broke out between Mir Kasim and the Company in 1763.
- Mir Qasim escaped to Oudh to organise a confederacy with Shuja-ud-daula, the Nawab of Oudh and the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II in a final bid to oust the English from Bengal. The Combined armies of the three powers numbering between 40,000 to 60,000 met the English army of 7,072 troops commanded by Major Munro in the battle of Buxar on October 22, 1764.

Course/Events

- The combined armies were defeated by the British. Mir Qasim fled from the battle and the other two surrendered to the English.

Results

- Clive was sent out to India as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the British possession in Bengal in 1765 and he made political settlements with Shuja-ud-Daula of Awadh and Emperor Shah Alam II concluding the Treaty of Allahabad (16 August 1765) which ended the Battle of Buxar.
- By the Treaty Shuja-ud-Daulah was confirmed in his possessions on the following conditions:
 - (i) The Nawab surrendered Allahabad and Kara to Emperor Shah Alam;
 - (ii) He agreed to pay Rs. 50 lakh to the Company as war indemnity;

(iii) He confirmed Balwant Singh, Zamindar of Benares in full possession of his estate; While also being forced to maintain English troops for the defence of the state.

- Fugitive Emperor Shah Alam was taken under the Company's protection and was to reside at Allahabad where he was assigned Allahabad and Kara ceded by the Nawab of Awadh. The Emperor in turn issued a *firman* on 12 Aug 1765 granting to the Company in perpetuity the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in return for the Company making an annual payment of Rs. 26 lakhs to him and providing for expenses of Nizamat of said provinces which was fixed at Rs. 53 lakhs.
- The Battle of Buxar made the English virtually the masters of Bengal as it also proved their military superiority and unchallenged power.
- As a result of his success in Bengal, Robert Clive was appointed the first Governor General of Bengal and he consolidated the British power both in Bengal and in the Deccan.
- The Company acquired Diwanji functions from Emperor Shah Alam II (12th August 1765) and Nizamat functions from Subedar of Bengal. For the exercise of Diwani functions, the company appointed two Deputy Diwans, Mohammad Reza Khan for Bengal and Raja Shitab Roy for Bihar. Md. Reza Khan acted as deputy Nizam. This arrangement was known as Dual Government wherein the administration of Bengal was carried out by two heads with the Nawab of Bengal being the nominal head and the Company, as the Diwan controlled the revenue as well as police and judicial powers.

In time, the Company authorities in England stopped sending money from England to purchase Indian goods, instead they purchased goods from revenues of Bengal and sold them abroad. Clive compelled servants of the Company to sign 'covenants' prohibiting acceptance of presents and forbade 'servants' of the Company from indulging in private trade and made payment of internal duties obligatory. A Society of Trade was formed in August 1765 with monopoly of trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco, but he abolished it in January 1765. Clive issued an order with effect from 1st January 1766 according to which double allowance would be paid only to officers on service outside frontiers of Bengal and Bihar.

The Mysore Wars

Haider Ali, born in 1721 was the son of a faujdar of the Mysore army. He started his career as an ordinary

soldier. Though unlettered his hardwork, determination, keen intellect, admirable courage and commonsense took him to the post of Commander inchief of the army. When the ruler of Mysore died he proclaimed himself the ruler and became the Sultan of Mysore.

First Mysore War (1767-1769)

Causes

- Hyder Ali strengthened his army by including French soldiers into his service. In 1755, established modern arsenal in Dindigul with French help. He extended his territories by conquering many areas in South India including Bidnur, Sunda, Sera, Canara, and Malabar to gain access to Indian Ocean.
- His rapid rise fuelled the jealousy of the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad and the English who joined together and formed a triple alliance and declared war on Hyder Ali.

Course/Events

- By his diplomacy Hyder Ali cleverly won over the Marathas and the Nizam but under the leadership of the English General, Smith, Hyder Ali was defeated at Changam and Tiruvannamalai in 1767.
- At the same time Tipu Sultan, son of Hyder Ali advanced towards Madras and the English were forced to enter into an agreement.

Results

- The war ended by the Treaty of Madras in 1769
- Territories conquered during the war were restored to each other.
- The English agreed to help Hyder Ali in case of an attack by his enemies, the Nizam and the Marathas.

Second Mysore War (1780-1784)

Causes

- Mysore was attacked by the Marathas in 1771. In violation of the Treaty of Madras, the English did not help Hyder Ali. This angered the latter who wanted an opportunity to strike at the English.
- When Mahe, a French possession in the dominion of Hyder Ali was attacked by the English, he declared war on the English in 1780.

Course/Events

- In the Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-89), Hyder formed a common front with the Nizam and the Marathas against the English.
- Hyder Ali defeated Colonel Braithwaite in Arcot

and made the English surrender. He occupied almost the whole of Carnatic.

- But the English under Sir Eyre Coote, defeated Hyder Ali at Porto Novo in 1781. In the meantime Hyder Ali died in 1782.
- But his son Tipu Sultan continued the war with the British for two more years.

Results

- The war came to an end with an agreement signed in 1784 called the treaty of Mangalore.
- Both sides agreed to exchange the captured territories and war prisoners.
- Thus the second Mysore war came to an end without any tangible results.

Third Mysore War (1786-1793)

Causes

- The English started improving their relationship with the Nizam and the Marathas.
- Tipu Sultan on the other hand improved his resources with the French help.
- He attacked Travancore in 1789, a friendly state of the British which prompted Lord Cornwallis who had been made the Governor General of Bengal and the Commander-in-Chief of the English army in 1786; to declare a war on Tipu in 1790.
- Both the sides were victorious and defeated alternately and the war came to an end in 1792.

Results

- Tipu Sultan signed the Treaty of Srirangapatnam with the British according to which he had to give half of his kingdom to the English. The English got Malabar, Coorg, Dindugal and Baramahal (now Salem and Erode areas).
- He was also compelled to pay a huge war indemnity of over three crore rupees and had to surrender two of his sons as hostages to the English until he paid the indemnity.

Fourth Mysore War (1799)

Causes

- The Treaty of Srirangapatnam failed to bring peace between Tipu Sultan and the British.
- Tipu refused to accept the subsidiary alliance of Lord Wellesley and instead wanted to take his revenge on the English.
- He sent emissaries to Kabul, Constantinople, Arabia and France to get their support - the

knowledge of which instigated the British to declare war on him once again in 1799.

Results

- Tipu Sultan suffered defeat at the hands of General Stuart and General Harris. Wellesley himself besieged Srirangapatnam and Tipu Sultan died in battle while his family was deported first to Vellore and later to Calcutta.
- His territories were divided between British and the Nizam of Hyderabad.
- A boy of a royal family (Wodeyar) was installed on the Mysore throne, and the subsidiary alliance signed.
- Lord Wellesley, the Governor General of Bengal (1798-1805) after the Mysore war furthered the expansion of the East India Company from a trading corporation into a supreme power in India by using the method of Subsidiary Alliance apart from wars and conquests and annexation of territories.

Subsidiary Alliance System

The Indian rulers were persuaded by Wellesley to sign a friendly treaty with the British according to which they would have to follow certain conditions:

1. The states had to accept the English as a supreme power.
2. A British Resident and British subsidiary forces had to be stationed inside the state.
3. The states had to cede territories to the company for the maintenance of the subsidiary forces.
4. The natives could not entertain any other Europeans other than the English.
5. The states were not allowed to negotiate with any other kingdom without the permission of the governor-General.
6. In return the English promised them protection against any external attacks and non-interference in their internal matters.

States which entered into the Subsidiary Alliance

- The Nizam of Hyderabad was the first to accept the subsidiary alliance system. He handed over Cuddappah, Bellary, Anantapur and Carnool.
- After the death of Tipu Sultan his kingdom was handed over to Krishna Raja Wadiar who accepted the scheme.
- The Nawab of Oudh accepted the pact and surrendered Rohilkhand and Southern districts of Doab region.

- Peshwa Baji Rao II and many Rajput rulers also entered into this alliance.

The Maratha Wars

The Third Battle of Panipat fought between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Marathas on 14th January 1762 weakened the Maratha power.

First Maratha War (1775-1782)

Causes

- After the third Battle of Panipat, the fourth Peshwa Madhaw Rao had reorganised the Maratha power under him. However, after his death in 1772 internal dissensions among Marathas left them weakened.
- His younger brother, Peshwa Narayan Rao succumbed to the intrigues of his ambitious uncle Raghunath Rao, another claimant for the gaddi.
- Raghunath Rao was opposed by a strong party at Poona under Nana Phadnavis who proclaimed Narayan Rao's posthumous son as Peshwa.
- This drove Raghunath Rao to point of desperation and he signed Treaty of Surat (1775) with Bombay Government hoping to gain the gaddi with the help of English subsidiary troops. By this Treaty, Raghunath agreed to hand over the islands of Salsette and Bassein to the English in return for their help to get Peshwaship.
- However, this was done without the knowledge of Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of Bengal and the supreme head of the English in India, who rejected the treaty.

Course/Events

- Thus the English were involved in a long drawn war with the Marathas which lasted from 1775 to 1782.
- In the beginning, the Marathas defeated British at Talegaon and forced them to sign convention of Wadgaon by which English renounced all their conquest and gave up the cause of Raghunath Rao.
- Nana Phadnavis signed the Treaty of Purandhar in 1776 with the English, raised his position and defeated Raghunath Rao.
- But then all Maratha Chiefs were united behind Peshwa and his Chief Minister Nana Phadnavis while on the other hand, the British were led by Governor-General Warren Hastings.
- A British force under Goddar marched across Central India and after series of victorious engagement reached Ahmedabad which he captured in 1780.

- Mahadji Scindhia did not want confrontation with British and Treaty of Salbai was signed in 1782 by which status quo was maintained, was ratified by Nana Phadnavis in 1785. This ended the war and gave the British respite from Maratha menace.

Results

- British possession of Salsette was confirmed and Madhaw Rao Narayan was recognised and ratified Peshwa.
- Raghunath rao was granted a pension of three lakh rupees a year.
- Treaty of Salbai enabled British to exert pressure on Mysore as Marathas promised to help them in recovering territories from Hyder Ali.

Second Maratha War (1803-1805)

Causes

- Nana Phadnavis died in March 1800 "with him", remarked Colonel Palmer "departed all wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government."
- Maratha Empire at this time consisted of confederation of five big chiefs, Peshwa at Poona, Gaikwad at Baroda, Scindhia at Gwalior, Holkar at Indore and Bhonsle at Nagpur, Peshwa being nominal head. After Nana Phadnavis' death war broke out among the Maratha chiefs.
- Yashwant Rao Holkar vs Daulat Rao Scindhia and Peshwa Baji Rao II on other side were locked in a mortal combat and in April 1801. Peshwa brutally murdered Vithuji, the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar.
- On 25th October 1802, on the occasion of Diwali day, Jaswant Rao Holkar defeated the combined armies of Peshwa and Scindhia at Hadaspur near Poona, placing Vinayak Rao, son of Amrit Rao on the gaddi of Peshwa.
- Peshwa approached Wellesley for help thereby providing the British, the much wanted opportunity to intervene and accepted the subsidiary alliance and signed the treaty of Bassein on 31st December 1802.
- The Peshwa agreed to receive from the Company a permanent regular Native Infantry stationed in his territories, to cede in perpetuity territories yielding an income of Rs 26 lakhs. The territories surrendered were in Gujarat, South of Tapti, between Tapti and Narmada and some Territory near Tungabhadra. He also surrendered Surat and agreed to give up all claims of Chauth on Nizam's dominions and agreed not to resort to arms against Gaikwad.

Course/Events

- Thus coming to the call of the Peshwa for help, in South, the British armies led by Arthur Wellesley defeated the combined armies of Scindhia and Bhonsle at Assaye in Sept. 1803, Aragon in November 1803.
- In North, Lord Lake routed Scindhia's army at Laswari on first November and occupied Aligarh, Delhi and Agra.
- The two chiefs accepted humiliating treaties and signed the Subsidiary Alliance.

Results

- By Treaty of Deogaon (17th Dec 1803) the Bhonsle Raja ceded to the Company province of Cuttack and the entire territory west of River Warda.
- Scindhia concluded the Treaty of Sarji-I-Arjangaon (December 30, 1803), surrendered territories between Jamuna and Ganges, all territories north of principalities of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Gokul besides the fort of Ahmadnagar, harbour of Broach and his possessions between Ajanta Ghat and River Godavari were surrendered to British.
- Raja of Bharatpur, Holkar's ally, fought British armies to a stand-still and inflicted heavy losses on Lord Lake who unsuccessfully attempted to storm his fort.
- Wellesley was called back from India. It was Sir George Barlow who concluded with Holkar the treaty of Rajpurghat (25th Dec 1805) whereby the Maratha Chief gave up all claims to places North of Chambal, Bundelkhand and over Peshwa and other allies of the Company while the latter got back greater part of his territories.

Third Anglo Maratha War (1817-1818)

Causes

- Final phase of struggle began with coming of Lord Hastings as Governor General in 1813.
- Hastings moved against Pindaris, transgressed the sovereignty of Maratha Chiefs and two parties were drawn into war.
- Hastings forced humiliating treaties on the Raja of Nagpur (27th May 1816) on Peshwa (13th June 1817) and Scindhia (05th Nov 1817).
- Refusing to sign the humiliating treaty, the Peshwa made a last bid to throw off the British yoke in course of the third Maratha War and attacked British Residency at Poona in Nov 1817.

Course/Events

- Appa Sahib of Nagpur attacked Residency at Nagpur and Malhar Rao Holkar made preparation for war.

- Peshwa was defeated at Khirki in November 1817, Bhonsle army routed at Sitabaldi and Holkar army crushed at Mahidpur.
- Peshwa, however, continued to fight but was defeated at the battle of Korgaon and Ashi in January-February, 1818.

Results

- The Peshwa was dethroned and pensioned off at Bithur near Kanpur, Maratha confederacy dissolved and Peshwaship abolished.
- Peshwa's territories were annexed and Presidency of Bombay came into existence.
- Holkar accepted subsidiary forces by the Treaty of Mandasor.
- The British occupied Bhonsle's territory but a small part was given to Raghoji's son to rule.
- The small kingdom of Satara was founded out of Peshwa's land and given to a descendant of Shivaji, Pratap Singh. Thus all Maratha chiefs were reduced to a subordinate position under the English.

Pindari War (1817-1818)

- Hastings assembled a large force to round up and exterminate the seemingly lawless Pindaris and their chiefs - Karim Khan, Wasil Muhammad and Chintu.
- Karim Khan submitted and was offered an estate at Gawashpur. Wasil Muhammad was forced to lay down arms and died in captivity. Chintu was defeated and not heard of again.

Anglo-Sikh Wars

First War (1845-1846)

- Anarchy in Punjab after the death of Ranjit Singh; murder of three rulers (Kharak Singh, Nao Nihal Singh and Sher Singh) within six years (1839-1845); succession of Dalip Singh (5 year old son of Ranjit Singh in 1845) and the absence of any control over the army (Khalsa) contributed to the weakening of the Sikh power.
- The British pursued the policy of encirclement of Punjab from 1833 onwards (occupation of Ferozepur in 1835 and Sikkharpur in 1836, and appointment of British Residents in Ludhiana and in Sindh in 1838) and their military preparations (increase of their army from 2500 in 1836 to 14000 in 1843) fuelled the animosity between the British and the Sikhs.

- Confirmations of the suspicions of the Sikh army were exacted by the annexation of Sindh by the British in 1843 and the first Anglo-Sikh War started soon after in 1845.

Course/Events

- The Sikh army was soon defeated under Lal Singh (P.M.) by Sir Hugh Gough at Mudki in 1845.
- The British also defeated the Sikh army under Tej Singh, Commander-in-Chief at Ferozepur in 1845.
- However, the British under Harry Smith suffered a blow at the hands of Ranjor Singh Majhithia at Buddewal in 1846.
- Finally the Sikhs were defeated by Smith at Aliwal and Sobroan (1846) on the crossing of the Sutlej and occupation of Lahore by the British.
- The War ended with the Treaty of Lahore in 1846.

Results

- Jullundar Doab was ceded to the British and payment of a war indemnity of Rs. 1.5 crore imposed on the Sikhs. But they were able to pay only half of this amount and for the rest the British got Kashmir which they sold to Gulab Singh.
- A British resident Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed at Lahore and Dalip Singh was recognized as the ruler of Punjab with Rani Jindan as his regent.
- The Sikh army was reduced and its ruler prohibited from employing any European without the prior consent of the British. Also, the British troops were permitted to pass through Sikh territory whenever the need arose.

- Soon after the Treaty of Bhairowal was signed in December 1846 which resulted in:
- Removal of Rani Jindan and setting up of a Council of Regency for Punjab (consisting of 8 Sikh Sardars and presided over by Sir Henry Lawrence.)
- Stationing of British forces at Lahore for which the Sikhs had to pay Rs. 22 Lakhs.
- Power to the governor general of India to take and garrison any fort in Punjab.

Second War (1848-1849)

Causes

- Desire of the Sikh army to avenge their humiliation of the first war and the discontentment of the Sikh Sardars with the British control over Punjab.
- Treatment of Rani Jindan by the British - her transportation to Shaikpur first and then to Benaras

and the drastic reduction in her pension fuelled the second Anglo-Sikh War.

Course/Events

- The Revolt of Mulraj, Governor of Multan ensued and two English officers, Vans Agnew and Lt. Anderson who were sent to take over the administration in Multan were murdered.
- Sher Singh, sent to suppress the revolt of Mulraj, himself joined the revolt against the British leading to an outbreak of general rebellion by the Sikh army and the Sardars.
- The Battle of Ramnagar between Sher Singh and Lord Gough in 1848 and the Battle of Chillianwala in 1849 between the two ended without any result.
- Lord Gough captured Multan and Mulraj surrendered who was deported for life.
- The Sikhs were finally defeated by Gough in the Battle of Gujarat (1849) and Sher Singh and other Sikh chiefs surrendered.

Results

- Punjab was annexed by Lord Dalhousie and Dalip Singh disposed and pensioned off to England along with Rani Jindan.
- A Board of Three Commissioners consisting of the Lawrence brothers - Henry and John and Charles G. Mansel was constituted in 1849 to administer Punjab.
- Soon afterwards the Board was abolished and a Chief Commissioner for Punjab, Sir John Lawrence was appointed in 1853.

Annexation of Sindh

Sindh in the 18th Century was ruled by Kallora Chiefs. In 1783, Mir Fateh Ali Khan leader of Talpura established complete hold over Sind and Kallora prince was exiled. When Fath Ali Khan died in 1800, brothers popularly known as 'Char Yar' divided the kingdoms among themselves calling themselves Amirs or Lords of Sind. The Amirs extended dominion on all sides, took Amarkot from Raja of Jodhpur, Karachi from chief of Luz, Shikarpur and Bukkar from Afghans and established three branches with head-quarters at Hyderabad, Khairpur and Mirpur.

Early relations between Sindh and the British

- In 1775, East India Company had established factories at Thatta and had commercial relations with Sindh which were abandoned in 1792 due to political unrest.

- Fear of the French design prompted Lord Minto to send British mission to Kabul, Persia, Lahore and Sind and a treaty of 'eternal friendship' was signed with the Amirs in 1809 providing for mutual intercourse through envoys, and Amirs promised not to allow the French to settle in Sindh.
- The Treaty was renewed in 1820 with an additional article which excluded Americans from Sindh.
- Punjab under Ranjit Singh became powerful and planned to conquer Sindh, with this intention met Lord William Bentinck in 1831 at Ropar with proposal of jointly conquering Sindh and dividing it between them but, Bentinck refused it.
- In pursuance of commercial motives in 1831, Alexander Burnes under order from Lord Ellenborough was sent to explore Indus under pretence of carrying presents to Ranjit Singh at Lahore.
- In 1832, William Bentinck sent Col. Pottinger to Sindh to sign a new commercial treaty with Amirs and Lieutenant Del Host was sent to survey course of Lower Indus.
- Terms of treaty signed between Pottinger and Amirs of Sindh were:
 - A free passage for English travellers for merchants through Sind for use of Indus for commercial pursuits;
 - No English merchant was to settle in Sindh, travellers and visitors were required to have Passports;
 - Tariff rates were to be announced and no military dues or toll be demanded and tariffs could be altered if high;
 - Amirs to put down border robbers of Cutch in concert with Raja of Jodhpur;
- Old treaties of friendship were confirmed.
- Details of tariff rates were settled by a supplementary commercial treaty of 1834. Colonel Pottinger was stationed as the Company's political agent in Sind.
- Pottinger was sent to Hyderabad to negotiate a new Subsidiary Treaty in 1838 by which Amirs accepted mediation in their dispute with Sikhs and secondly accepted a British Resident at Hyderabad who could move freely.
- Auckland brought Ranjit Singh, Shah Shuja and Amirs to sign a tripartite treaty in June 1838 whereby Ranjit Singh accepted British mediation for his disputes with Amirs and Shah Shuja agreed to relinquish his sovereign rights on Sindh against receiving arrears of tribute.

- Under threat of superior military force of British, Amirs accepted a treaty in February 1839 by which British subsidiary force was to be stationed at Shikarpur and Bukkar and Amir of Sind to pay Rs 3 lakh annually for its maintenance.
- Amirs were not to negotiate with foreign states without the Company's knowledge, were to provide a store room at Karachi for military purposes abolish all tolls on Indus and furnish an auxillary for Afghan war it needed. The British, in turn, were not to meddle in internal affair of Sindh.
- The Amirs even helped the British in the Afghan War (1839 - 1842).
- As a punishment, Lord Ellenborough imposed a new treaty on the Amirs in 1843 and Outram was sent to negotiate the details. By this treaty, the Amirs were required to cede important territories like Karachi, Thatta, Bhakkar, Rohri in lieu of tribute to provide fuel to steamers of Company navigating the Indus and surrender right of coining money.
- A dispute of succession rose at Khairpur which gave Napier the opportunity to interfere. Napier supported claims of Ali Murad, brother of old Mir Rustum, in preference to Mir Rustum's son whom he had abdicated and taken to flight.
- Napier prior to Treaty of 1843 had destroyed the fort of Imamgarh at Khairpur and Hyderabad in January 1843.

Causes

- Conquest of Sindh was result of growing Anglo-Russian rivalry in Europe, to counter Russia, British Government decided to increase its influence in Afghanistan and Persia.
- This policy could be successful if Sindh was under British control. Commercial possibilities were an additional attraction.
- In 1842, Lord Ellenborough succeeded Auckland as Governor-General, he made plan to annex Sindh. To regain prestige of English, suffered in Afghan War.
- In September 1842, Sir Charles Napier replaced Major Outram as Company's Resident at Sind with full civil and military authority and was placed in charge of all the troops of upper and lower Sind.
- He got the pretext when Amir Rustum of Khairpur was charged with entering into a secret offensive and defensive alliance against the Company.

Course/Events

- Baluchis attacked Major Outram on 15th February, 1843 and declared war.
- In February 1843, Napier defeated a Baluchi army at Miani and won another victory at Dabo in March, 6 miles from Hyderabad the following month.
- By April, the whole of Sindh had capitulated; Amirs were captured and banished from Sindh.
- In August 1843, Sindh was formally annexed to English Empire.

Results

- Napier was appointed as the first Governor of Sindh and received 7 lakh rupees as prize money and Outram offered 3000 pounds.

BRITISH POLICIES

The British conquest had a pronounced and profound economic impact on India. There was hardly any aspect of the Indian economy that was not changed during the entire period of British rule down to 1947.

The economic policies followed by the British led to rapid transformation of Indian economy into colonial economy whose nature and structure were determined by the needs of the British economy.

The British conquerors were entirely different from previous ones. They totally disrupted the traditional structure of Indian economy. Moreover, they never became integral part of Indian life. They always remained foreigners in the land, exploiting Indian resources, carrying away Indian wealth, as a tribute. Through laws, administrative, economic and fiscal policies, the British government in England and companies administration in India used their powers for the advantage of British manufacturers and to detriment of India's socio-political and economic fabric.

The gradual "development of underdevelopment" has been traced through three stages of British colonialism. R.P. Dutt in his classic work "India Today" has made a brilliant analysis of Indian colonial economy and delineated three phases of British colonialism and economic exploration of India:

- Period of Merchant Capital (Mercantilism)-from 1757 to the end of 18th century.
- Period of Industrial Capital (Free Trade Capitalism)-developed during the 19th century and;
- Period of Finance Capital-from the closing decades of 19th century to 1947.

Mercantilist Phase

From 1757 (the British victory in the battle of Plassey) the East India Company completely monopolised trade and began the direct plunder of Indian wealth. This was the phase of buccaneering capitalism whereby wealth flowed out of the barrel of trader's guns with which they could impose their own prices which had no relation to the cost of production. Twin aims of the merchant companies were: to have a favourable balance of trade and to promote flow of bullion into the home country. The Merchant Companies aimed at large profit margin.

This could be possible through three methods:

- (a) Monopoly control over trade and elimination of all possible rivals.
- (b) Purchase of goods at cheap rates and sale of commodities at very high rates.
- (c) The above objectives could be achieved if they could establish political control over the countries they traded with.

The Company used its political power to dictate terms to weavers of Bengal who forced to sell their products at a cheap and dictated price. Many of them were compelled by the Company to work for them and were forbidden to work for Indian merchants. The servants of the Company monopolised the sale of raw cotton and made the Bengal weaver pay exorbitant prices for it.

Period of Industrial Capital

The real blow to Indian handicrafts fell after 1813, when Indians lost not only the foreign markets but markets in India also. Thus India entered the second phase of colonialism, the Industrial Phase (1813 - 1858). India was thrown open for exploration at the hands of British mercantile industrial capitalist class. The Industrial Revolution in Britain completely transformed Britain's economy and its economic relationship with India. The British now took away raw materials and brought back manufactured goods for being marketed in India. Imports of British cotton goods alone increased from 1,000000 pounds in 1813 to 6,300000 pounds in 1856. The doors of India were open to foreign trade but the Indian products had to compete with British products with heavy import duties on entry into Britain. Indian sugar had to pay on entry into Britain a duty that was over 3 times its cost price.

In some cases, the duties went as high as 400%. India was now forced to export raw materials instead of exporting manufactured goods. Thus the Indian exports consisted of raw cotton, jute, silk, oilseeds, wheat indigo and tea. After 1813, all policy was guided by the needs of British industry.

Finance Capital

This was coterminous with emergence of the phase

of Finance Capitalism in Britain. It began after 1860. The rebellion of 1857 was the key factor in change of the nature of the colonialism. British capital penetrated into India in diverse economic fields in the latter half of the 19th century but tightened its tentacles over India in 20th century in form of finance capital. Finance capital became the new most powerful mode of colonial exploitation. Forms of Investment were:

- (a) Loans raised in England by the Secretary of State on behalf of Indian Government and by semi-public organisation mostly for investment in railways, irrigation, development of ports, hydro electric projects, etc.
- (b) Foreign business investment in India.

It has been estimated that before 1914, nearly 97% of British capital investment in India were diverted towards completion of economic overheads (mainly railways road transport, merchant, shipping, etc) mining industry (coal and gold mines) development of financial houses (banking, finance, insurance etc) towards promotion of auxiliaries calculated to fuller commercial exploitation of India's natural resources. British capital went into activities that were complementary to British industries and was in no way planned for industrial development of India.

British capitalist retained a dominant control over Indian banking, commerce, exchange and insurance and with their capital resources and official patronage dominated industrial sectors in Indian economy.

Economic Impact

♦ Drain of Wealth

The constant flow of wealth from India to England for which India did not get an adequate economic, commercial or material return has been described by Indian national leaders and economists as 'drain of wealth' from India. The drain of wealth was interpreted as an indirect tribute extracted by imperial Britain from India year after year. The drain of wealth was first cited by Dadabhai Naoroji etc. which was later expanded by R.P. Dutt, Bipan Chandra and others. Dadabhai Naoroji brought it to light in his book titled "Poverty and Un-British Rule in India."

Concept of Economic Drain: In the mercantilist concept an economic drain takes place if gold and silver flow out of the country as a consequence of an adverse balance of trade. In the 50 years before the battle of Plassey (1757), the East India Company had imported bullion worth £ 20 million into India to balance the exports over imports from India. As there was a flourishing market for Indian cotton and silk

outside, while demand for western products were low. British mercantilists were highly critical of the trade policies of the Company. Even the British government adopted a series of measures to restrict or prohibit the import of Indian textiles into England. Apart from other measures in 1720, the British government forbade the wear or use of Indian silk and calicoes in England on pay of a penalty of £ 5 for each offence on the wearer and of £ 20 on the seller.

After Plassey the situation was reversed and the drain of wealth took an outward turn as England gradually acquired monopolistic control over the Indian economy. After the East India Company extended its territorial aggression in India and began to administer territories and acquired control over the surplus revenues of India, the shape of drain underwent a change. Henceforth, the Company had a recurring surplus which accrued from a) profits from oppressive land revenue policy; b) profits from its trade resulting from monopolistic control over Indian market and c) exactions made by Company officials. The entire surplus was used by Company as an 'investment' i.e. for making purchases of exportable items in India and elsewhere. Again the export of goods made out of this was investment. India did not get anything in return. This system was brought to an end by the Charter Act of 1813 when territorial and commercial revenues of the Company were separated.

From 1813 onwards economic drain took the form of unrequited export. Barring a few exceptional years favourable balance of trade had been the normal feature of our foreign trade till the outbreak of World War II.

The focal point of the Drain Theory was that a portion of the national product of India was not available for consumption for her people or for capital formation but was being drained away to England for political reasons and India did not get an adequate economic return.

Constituents of Economic Drain: The first constituent of economic drain was Home Charges, which were as follows:

- (a) The costs of Secretary of State's India Office (previously the cost of East India Company's London establishment)
- (b) India's debt in England (caused by East India Company military adventures, the cost of suppressing the Mutiny of 1857 and the compensation to the Company's shareholders).
- (c) Home charges also included pensions to the British Indian officials and army officers, military and other stores purchased in England, cost of army training, transport and campaigns outside India, guaranteed interests on railways.

Economic Consequences of the Drain: Dadabhai Naoroji described the drain of wealth as the "evil of all evils" and the main cause of Indian poverty. He maintained that Britain was "bleeding India White". Comparing the plundering raids of medieval rulers with the British methods of colonial plunder, another critic has pointed out that the old time plunder had to restrict itself to richmen's houses and godowns where wealth was accumulated. It was not worthwhile ransacking every little hut and little village. In contrast the colonial plunder could reach the most lowly, the most humble and most remote. Thus, British methods of exploitation though less painful were more thorough and resembled the blood sucking leeches.

The drain of wealth checked and retarded capital accumulation in India, thereby retarding the industrialization of India. Indian products and treasure drained to England without adequate returns was of great help in creating conditions in that country conducive for the growth of British factory industry in early stages of industrial revolution.

What is worse is that part of the British capital entered India as Finance Capital and further drained India of her wealth. Dutt lamented that moisture raised from Indian soil under colonial rule descended as fertilizing rain largely on England and not India.

❖ Deindustrialization

During the first half of the 19th century or even upto 1880, India's economy witnessed a strange phenomenon. While western countries were experiencing industrialization, India suffered a period of industrial decline. This process has been described as 'deindustrialization'.

There was a sudden and quick collapse of the urban handicrafts which had for centuries made India's name a byword in the markets of entire civilized world. The collapse was caused largely by competition with cheaper imported machine-goods from Britain. The British imposed a policy of one way free trade on India after 1813 and the invasion of British manufactures, in particular cotton textiles immediately followed. The ruin of Indian industries, particularly rural artisan industries proceeded even more rapidly once the railways were built.

The railways enabled British manufacturers to reach and uproot the traditional industries in the remotest villages of the country. The ruin of Indian handicrafts was reflected in the ruin of the towns and cities which were famous for their manufacture. The tragedy was heightened by the fact that the decay of the traditional industries was not accompanied by the growth of modern machine industries as was the case in Britain and

Western Europe. The gradual destruction of rural craft broke up the union between agriculture and domestic industry in the countryside and thus contributed to the destruction of self sufficient village economy. Thus the British conquest led to the deindustrialization of the country and increased dependence of the people on agriculture. This increasing pressure on agriculture was one of the major causes of the extreme poverty of India under British rule.

❖ Commercialisation of Agriculture

In the latter half of the 19th century another significant trend in Indian agriculture was the emergence of the commercialization of agriculture. So far agriculture had been a way of life rather than a business enterprise. Now agriculture began to be influenced by commercial considerations i.e. certain specialised crops began to be grown not for consumption in the village but for sale in the national and even international markets. Commercial crops like cotton, jute, groundnut, oilseeds, sugarcane, tobacco etc. were more remunerative than food grains.

Again the cultivation of crops like spices, fruits, vegetables could cater to a wider market perhaps the commercialization trend reached the highest level of development in the plantation industry i.e. tea, coffee, rubber, etc. which were all produced for sale in a wider market.

A number of factors encouraged specialization and commercialization of new market trend such as the spread of money economy, the replacement of custom and tradition by competition and contract led to the growth of internal and external trade, the emergence of a united national market (facilitated by expansion of railways and road transport) and the boost to international trade given by entry of British Finance Capital etc. were also important.

Social & Economic Effects

Commercialization was an artificial and forced process which led to differentiation without genuine growth. To meet excessive land revenue demand of the state and high rates of interest charged by the money lender the cultivator perforce had to rush a part of his harvest into market and sell it at whatever price it fetched. Many poor cultivators had to buy back after six months a part of crop they had sold away at low prices at harvest time. The precise pattern of commercialization varied from crop to crop and from region to region. Tea required plantations directly managed by whites using indentured labour nearing slavery. Indigo was mainly cultivated by peasants, forced into their cultivation via forced advances by the sahib planters. No coercion was needed for jute in East Bengal.

British business houses had a near total control over overseas trade, shipping and insurance. Hence the bulk of the profits that accrued from the export boom of 1850s were appropriated by foreign business firms. These profits were a part of foreign leakages in the Drain of wealth.

Further Indian agriculture began to be influenced by widely fluctuating world prices. The cotton boom of the 1860s pushed up the prices but mostly benefited the host of intermediaries while the slump in prices in 1866 hit the cultivator the most - bringing in its turn heavy indebtedness, famine and agrarian riots in the Deccan of the 1870's. Thus, the cultivator hardly emerged better from the new commercialization.

Transport and Communication

With British rule, came modern means of transport like railways, buses and steamship and communication - telegraph. They were essential instruments for colonial management and control of vast alien territories. It was in the logic of colonialism that the empire was well knit by a vast network of roads and railways so as to ensure that colonial goods could penetrate the remotest village in India and swiftly transport the instruments of coercion and control to trouble spots thereby ensuring the vast tracts it controlled would remain subjugated for perpetuity.

It had the added benefit of supporting the newly developing modern industries of iron, steam engines, coal etc. and of being an investment area of the excess capital accumulated in Britain which needed an outlet for investment in the new era of Finance Capital. British Capitalists wanted to introduce the railways to facilitate their machine made goods.

Lord Dalhousie initiated a programme of wide railway construction in India. In his famous Minute on Railways, he defined the economic reason behind the construction. The first railway line running from Bombay to Thane was opened to traffic in 1853. By 1905 nearly 45000 kms of railways had been built. The entire amount of 350 crores invested in them was provided by the British investors. The railway lines were laid primarily to satisfy the interest of the British. Several railway lines in Burma and North-West India were built at high cost to serve the British imperial interest.

The British also established an efficient and modern postal system and introduced the postage stamps. Railways and other modern means of transport played extremely important role in the destruction of self sufficient economy of the villages and the propagation of the ideas of freedom movement. It is a fact that with the coming of the railways ancillary industries did not

develop in India. Only about 700 locomotives were indigenously produced in the entire British period.

By 1921, only 10% of the superior posts in the railways were manned by Indians. So the diffusion of new skills remained slim. Thus we see that means of transport and communication developed strictly to suit the purpose of colonial interests.

Modern Industries

An important development in the second half of the 19th century was the establishment of large scale machine based industries in India. The British rulers of India did not conceive of an industrialized India. However, compulsions of maintaining imperial control over the country and its thorough economic exploitation led Britain to construct roads, railways, posts and telegraph lines, develop ports, irrigation works, banking, exchange and insurance facilities etc. developments which provided the material basis for beginning of modern industry in India.

The machine age in India started when cotton textile, jute and mining industries were started in the 1850s. The first textile mill was started in Bombay by Cowasjee Nanabhai in 1853 and first jute mill in Rishra (Bengal) in 1855. These industries expanded slowly but continuously.

Most of the modern Indian industries were owned or controlled by British capital. Foreign capitalists were attracted to Indian industry by the prospects of high profits. Labour was extremely cheap; raw materials were readily and cheaply available; for many goods, India and its neighbours provided a ready market. For many Indian products, such as tea, jute and manganese, there was a ready demand the world over. On the other hand, profitable investment opportunities at home were getting fewer. At the same time, the colonial government and officials were willing to provide all help and show all favours.

Traditional business communities flourished mainly as moneylenders or dependent traders serving as agents of British export-import firms in the interior. The firm of Tarachand-Ghansyamdas acted as the agents of Shaw and Wallace. Moreover, Government followed a conscious policy of favouring foreign capital as against Indian capital.

Jute Industries

Demand for hemp, traditionally used in the West for rope, sail canvas and sacking, greatly increased with the growth of international commerce. Till 1870 Dundee had an almost complete monopoly of the world's factory made jute cloth trade based on cheap

Indian jute. In 1855 George Auckland started the first modern jute spinning factory in Rishra, Bengal which initially spun only yarn which was sold to local handloom weavers. By 1870s jute gunny bags and clothes penetrated foreign markets, leading to massive exports of finished jute products. The Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA) was formed in 1884 to cope with the problems of over production and excess capacity.

Cotton Textiles

Whereas the jute industry was dominated by foreigners, the cotton industry was essentially Indian in origin, largely controlled by Indian investors mainly in Bombay and a little later, at Ahmedabad.

The first steam powered mill was started near Calcutta by English-men in 1817, while 2 Frenchmen in 1830 set up a spinning mill in Pondicherry. In 1853 James Landen set up a spinning mill in Broach. These did not trigger off any development. Its rapid expansion only began after 1870.

In 1854, Cowasjee Nanabhoy Davar floated a spinning Company with a capital of Rs. 50,000 which was the first indigenous mill. By 1861 the first mill was opened in Ahmedabad and later the Bombay merchants financed mills in Surat and Kanpur. The great expansion began after the 1870s. British mills tended to specialize in spinning yarn or weaving cloth, while Indian mills did both. These mills quickly found foreign outlets in the Middle East and East Asian markets.

During the Swadeshi movement, boycott of Manchester goods led to expansion in Bombay. The Banga Lakshmi cotton mill was launched with much fanfare in August, 1906. The Bombay Mill Owners Association was founded in 1875. Parsis played the most important role in the Bombay Textile industry, but Europeans, Hindus, Muslims and Jews were also active. By 1895, at least 57% of all technical and administrative posts were held by Indians.

Iron and Steel

In the 1820's an Englishman named Health started a firm to produce Iron and Steel at Porto Novo, with the aid of the East India Company which was a failure, and was dissolved in 1874. It sought to produce charcoal iron. In 1874 the Bengal Iron works Company was formed but was shut down in 1879. The Government of India operated it as a public enterprise till 1889. In 1889 the Bengal Iron and Steel Company (BISCO) was incorporated in England.

J.N. Tata started TISCO, which was registered in 1907 with a nominal capital of Rs. 25,175,000 entire amount being subscribed by 8000 Indians in 3 weeks. In 1924, Tata Iron and Steel Company received a

Government subsidy and protection at the rate of 33-33%.

Land Revenue System

The British imperial rulers of India unleashed far-reaching changes in Indian agrarian structure. New land tenures, new land ownership concepts, tenancy charges etc. were extended to farmers.

Permanent Settlement in Bengal

Cornwallis' introduced permanent settlement in 1793 which declared *zamindars* as proprietors of the soil and fixed demand for their perpetuity: the government would promise never to increase it in future.

Effects of the Permanent Settlement: It may seem that the settlement was greatly in favour of the *zamindars* but they were also now obliged to pay a fixed amount by fixed dates every year, and any failure on their part meant the sale of the *zamindari*. Furthermore, many of the *zamindaris* were rated for large sums that left no margin for shortfalls due to flood, drought or other calamity. As a result, many *zamindars* had their *zamindaris* taken away and sold in the decades immediately after the permanent settlement.

However, many *zamindars* still found it difficult to pay the amount demanded by the British. One such *zamindar*, the Raja of Burdwan then divided most of his estate into lots of fractions called *patni taluqs*. Each such unit was permanently rented to a holder called *patnidar*, who promised to pay a fixed rent. If he did not pay, his *patni* could be taken away and sold. Other *zamindars* also resorted to this: thus a process of sub-infeudation commenced.

Maximum powers were given to *zamindars* to ensure revenue collection. Regulation Act of 1793 without using the court could seize movable property in case of default.

In pre-British India recovery of loans was not a legal right of the money-lender. It was instead a moral obligation of the debtor. British regulations strengthened the money lenders hand through a) Civil Procedure Code of 1859 b) Limitation of 1859 imposed a three year limit on realization of debt

Ryotwari System

Meanwhile, Munro and Read introduced the Ryotwari system. Under this system every registered holder of land is recognised as the proprietor of the land and is held responsible for direct payment of land revenue to the state. He has the right to sub-let

his landholdings- to transfer, mortgage or sell it. He is not evicted from his holdings by the Government so long as he pays the state demand of land revenue.

Accountable Situations: The factors responsible for Ryotwari System were as follows:

- (a) It was believed that Ryotwari System was the original system.
- (b) Maximization of revenue necessitated negation of intermediaries and direct collection.
- (c) With Permanent Settlement there was a loss of revenue in the future.

♦ Mahalwari System

Mahalwari system was developed by Holt Mackenzie. Under this system the *taluqdar*s and *zamindar*s were originally appointed by the state, and the real owner of villages was zamindars who lived in them or constituted the village community. This required that Government officials should record all the rights of cultivators, *zamindar*s and others, and also fix the amounts payable from every piece of land, demand of land revenue village by village or mahal by mahal and collection through village headman or lambardar.

The system broke down because of the excessive state demand and harshness in its working and collection of land revenue.

LAND REVENUE SYSTEM

Name of the System	% of Total Land	Areas of Implementation	Additional Points
Permanent Settlement	19%	Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, N. District of Madras, North Banares	Implemented in Bihar and Bengal in 1793 by Cornwallis
Mahalwari Settlement	30%	Gangadobaab, N-W province, parts of Central India and Punjab	An amended type of Zamindari System
Ryotwari Settlement	51%	Some parts of Madras and Mumbai Presidency	Provision by Read and Munro

Points to Remember

- Company used the revenue surplus from Bengal to purchase goods from England. This was called investments.
- East India Company's monopoly of her trading rights in India was ended by Charter Act of 1813. It only retained her monopoly over tea trade and trade with China which also ended in 1833.
- By Charter Act of 1813 free trade policy was implemented in India which was one sided free trade.
- R.P. Dutt in his classic work "India Today" has made a brilliant analysis of Indian colonial economy.
- Dadabhai Nauroji brought the drain of wealth into light in his book titled "Poverty and Un-British Rule in India."
- Dadabhai Nauroji described the drain of wealth as the "evil of all evils."
- The first railway line running from Bombay to Thane was opened to traffic in 1853.
- The first telegraph line from Calcutta to Agra was opened in 1853.
- First Railway line and Telegraph line and postage stamps were started by Lord Dalhousie.
- In 1855, George Duckland started the first modern jute spinning factory in Rishra, Bengal.
- The Indian Jute Mills Association (IJMA) was formed in 1884 to cope with the problems of over production and excess capacity.
- In 1921, Birla setup the first Indian financed and controlled mill, followed by Hukum-Chand (1922).
- The first steam powered mill was started near Calcutta by Englishmen in 1817 while two Frenchmen in 1830 set up a spinning mill in Pondicherry.
- In 1854 Cowasjee Nanabhoy Dawar floated a spinning Company with a capital of Rs. 800,000, which was first indigenous mill.
- The Bombay Mill Owners Association was founded in 1875.
- In 1878, the Bengal Iron Works Company was formed but was shut down in 1879.
- In 1889, Bengal Iron and Steel Company (BISCO) incorporated in England.

- J.N. Tata started TISCO which was registered in 1907.
- Oppression of Indigo planters has been vividly portrayed by famous Bengali writer Dinabandhu Mitra in his play Neel Darpan, in 1860.
- Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement of 1793 declared zamindars as proprietors of the soil and fixed demand for their revenue in perpetuity.
- Ryotwari system was introduced by Munro and Read in 1792 in Baramahal district and 1820 in Madras, the state demand was fixed on the basis of 50% of estimated produce of the fields.
- In 1835, Wingate Goldsmith and Davidson established the Bombay Survey System which was based on the principle that assessment should not exceed the cultivator's ability to pay.
- The Board of Commissioners (1808) preferred the village zamindars due to more fiscal benefits than from the Taluqdars.
- Holt Mackenzie in his Minute of 1819 propounded the theory that taluqdars and zamindars were appointed by state and real owners of village being zamindars who lived in them.
- Regulation VII of 1822 gave them legal sanction. The demand was fixed at 85% of the rental value for a zamindar and 95% of the rental value where estates were held by cultivators in common tenancy (Bhaichara village).
- R. Martin Birds, father of Indian land settlement by Regulation IX of 1833. Average rents were fixed on the basis of soil and the state demand of 66% of rental value was fixed, for 30 years.
- Mahalwari System was implemented in areas of Gangadoba, Northwest province, parts of Central India and Punjab.
- Between 1901-1941 total population dependent on agriculture increased from 63.7% to 70%.
- Between 1901 and 1939 total agriculture output reduced to 14%.
- Colin Clark had estimated that between 1925-34 India had the lowest per capita income in world.
- In 1939 there were only 7 engineering colleges in the country.
- In 1916 British government appointed an Industrial Commission.
- In 1922 Fiscal Commission recommended adequate protection to Indian industries. Thus, Tariff Board was constituted in 1923.
- In 1924 TISCO got Government contributions.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL AWAKENING IN INDIA

Hindu Reform Movements and Main Proponents

♦ Brahmo Samaj and Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772 - 1833)

In August 1828, Roy founded the Atmiya Sabha, which was later renamed Brahmo Samaj at Calcutta in order to purify Hinduism and preach monotheism. The Samaj under him was based on the twin pillars of reason and the ancient Hindu scriptures (only the Vedas and the Upanishads) and incorporated the best teachings of the other religions as well.

Raja Ram Mohan Roy

- Born in 1772 in Radhanagar in Burdwan district in West Bengal and died in Bristol in England. He is considered as the first 'modern man' as he was the pioneer of socio-religious and political reform movements in modern India.
- He studied numerous languages - Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, English, French, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, etc. in order to study the various religious scriptures in their original.
- He believed in monotheism i.e. doctrine of the unity of God-head and opposed idol-worship. In 1803 he published a Persian treatise named 'Tuhfat-ul-Muwahidin' or 'A Gift to Monotheists' wherein he explains his concept of monotheism.
- He established the Atmiya Sabha in Calcutta in 1815 in order to propagate monotheism and fight against the evil practices in Hinduism. Later in 1828 he established the Brahmo Samaj in Calcutta to purify Hinduism and preach monotheism.
- He laid emphasis on human reason and rationality to Christianity by publishing a book 'Percepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness' in 1920 which embodied the moral and spiritual percepts of Jesus without the narratives of the miracles.
- He defended Hinduism and its Vedanta philosophy, as found in the Vedas and the Upanishads, from the ignorant attacks of Christian missionaries.
- He led a lifelong crusade against sati and finally in 1829 he succeeded in persuading Lord William

Bentinck in abolishing it. He championed women's rights like right of inheritance and property and attacked polygamy and the degraded state of widows.

- He fought for the introduction and spread of modern education through the medium of English and made Bengali the vehicle of intellectual intercourse in Bengal.
- In his political ideas and reforms, he believed in the unification of the divergent groups of Indian society in order to bring about national consciousness in India. He initiated public agitation on political questions like the need for reforms in the British administration, trade and economic policies, etc.
- He also pioneered Indian journalism through the Mirat-ul-Akbar in order to educate the public on current issues and to represent the public opinion before the government. His journal was called Samvad Kumudhi.

Brahmo Samaj after Roy - Debendranath Tagore (1817 - 1905)

- Debendranath Tagore established the Tattvabodhini Sabha (1839) at Calcutta to propagate Raja Ram Mohan Roy's ideas. He formally joined the Brahmo Samaj in 1843 and reorganized it.
- Keshav Chandra Sen promoted the Samaj in 1857 and became the right hand man of Debendranath. During this time problems emerged between the older and the conservative section led by Debendranath and the newer and progressive section led by Sen over the issues of social reform particularly the caste system and over the relationship between Hinduism and Brahmoism (while the latter stood for the complete abolition of the caste system and maintained that Brahmoism is different from Hinduism, the former group wanted to retain caste system, though criticizing its rigidity and asserted that Brahmoism is Hinduism.)
- This led to the secession of Sen's group from the parent body (which had come to be known as Adi Brahmo Samaj) in 1865 and formation of a new

VAJIRAM & RAVI

organization known as Brahmo Samaj of India by it in 1866.

- Debendranath Tagore spread the message of Brahmo Samaj in other parts of India including Bombay and Madras by his tours and adopted a much more radical and comprehensive scheme of social reforms and infused bhakti into Brahmoism.
- Further he formed the Indian Reform Association in 1870 and persuaded the British government to enact the Native Marriage Act of 1872 (popularly known as the Civil Marriage Act) which legalized Brahmo marriages and fixed the minimum age for the groom and the bride at 18 and 24 respectively.

Second Schism in Brahmoism

- The second schism in Brahmoism occurred in 1878 when a group of Sen's followers under Ananda Mohan Bose and Shivanatha Shastri left him and formed the Sadharana Brahmo Samaj.
- The cause for this split was the question of management of the samaj and the violation of the Native Marriage Act by Sen himself (he gave his daughter in marriage to the ruler of Cooch Behar but neither of them had attained the marriageable age under the Act.)

Manav Dharam Sabha

- Durgaram Manichharam (1809-1878) was a leading figure among the small group of educated Gujaratis who in the 1830s became strong critics of contemporary society.
- Other participants included Dadoba Panderung, Dinmuni Shanar, Dalpatram Bhagubai and Damodar Das. They founded the Manav Dharam Sabha at Surat in 1844 and held open meetings every Sunday.
- As part of its programme, the Manav Dharam Sabha challenged magicians and the reciters of incantations to demonstrate their skills. They also criticized caste but took no direct action against the institution.
- The sabha had only a short career as an active organization as it began to shatter in 1846 when Dadoba Panderung returned to Bombay and ceased to function in 1852 when Durgaram Manichharam left for Rajkot.
- Although its life was severely limited, the sabha was directly linked to later movements in Maharashtra and to the leaders of later movements.

Paramahansa Mandli

- The movement was closely linked to Manav Dharam Sabha and to the leadership of Dadoba

Panderung. Dadoba outlined his doctrine or principles in the Dharma Vivechan (1848) and it denied the polytheism of popular Hinduism, the caste system and the Brahmanical monopoly of knowledge.

- It was radical socio-religious society that was formed in 1849 and that met in secret.
- Ram Bal Krishna Jayakar became President of the mandali. All members were required to pledge that they would abandon caste restrictions and each inmate had to take food and drink from prepared by a member of a lower caste.
- The group came to an agreement on two major principles: firstly, they would not attack any religion and secondly, they rejected any religion which claimed infallibility.
- Branches of the organization were established at Poona, Ahmednagar and Ratnagiri.
- Its insistence on remaining a secret organization illustrated an unwillingness to openly challenge Hindu orthodox.

Prarthana Samaj

- The Brahmo ideas spread in Maharashtra where Paramhansa Sabha was founded in 1849.
- In 1867 under the guidance of Keshab, the Prarthana Samaj was established in Bombay by Atmaram Pandurang.
- Apart from worship of one God, in western India the main emphasis has been on social reform works rather than faith.
- In the field of social reform the focus was on disapproval of caste system, raising the age of marriage for both boys and girls, widow remarriage and women education.
- Prominent leaders of the Prarthana Samaj were Mahadev Govind Ranade, R.G. Bhandarkar and N.G. Chandravarkar.
- In Punjab, the Dayal Singh Trust sought to implement Brahma ideas by the opening of Dayal Singh college at Lahore in 1910.

Arya Samaj and Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824 - 1883)

- It was revivalist in form though not in content.
- It was founded by Swami Dayananda. He rejected western ideas and sought to revive the ancient religion of the Aryans.
- In 1875, Dayananda formally organised the first Arya Samaj unit at Bombay. A few years later the headquarters of the Arya Samaj was established at Lahore.

- He looked on the Vedas as India's 'rock of the ages', the true original seed of hinduism. His motto was 'go back to the Vedas'.
- He condemned idol worship and preached unity of God head.
- His views were published in his work 'Satyarth Prakash'.
- He accepted the doctrine of Karma but rejected the theory of niyati (destiny).
- He pleaded for widow remarriage and condemned child marriages.
- Anglo-vedic school was established at Lahore in 1866.
- The orthodox opinion in the Arya samaj which stands for the revival of vedic ideal in modern life set up the gurukul pathsala at Hardwar in 1902 which was exclusively for boys.
- The Samaj started the Shuddhi movement to convert non-Hindus to Hinduism.
- Lala Hans Raj, Pandit Guru Dutt and Lala Lajpat Rai were prominent leaders of the other section who stood for the spread of English education and established a number of DAV schools and colleges for both boys and girls.
- Dayanand's political slogan was 'India for the Indians'.

❖ Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836 - 1886), Ramakrishna Paramhansa and the Ramakrishna Movement

- Originally known as Godadhar Chattopadhyay, he was born in 1836 in Kamarpukur village in Hoogly district in West Bengal.
- He was a priest at the Kali temple in Dakshineswar near Calcutta and considered and emphasised that Krishna, Hari, Ram, Christ, Allah are different names of the same God.
- Unlike Arya samaj, Ram Krishna Mission recognises the utility and value of single worship in developing spiritual fervour and worship of the Eternal Omnipotent God.
- Vivekanand emerged as the preacher of new-Hinduism.
- He attended the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893.
- The famous magazines of Ramkrishna Mission were Prabudh Bharat and Udbodhan.

Ramakrishna Mission and Ramakrishna Math

- The former is a social service and charitable society formed by Swami Vivekananda in 1897 at Belur,

with the objective of carrying on humanitarian relief and social work through the establishment of schools, colleges, orphanages, hospitals, etc.

- The latter is a religious order or trust founded by Vivekananda in 1887 at Baranagar (Though Belur has become the headquarters of both the Mission and the Math since 1898) with the objective of bringing in to existence a band of dedicated monks who would propagate the teachings of Ramakrishna Paramhansa (the universal message of the Vedanta).
- Though legally two distinct entities, with separate funds and finances, the Mission and the Math are in practice a single body, with the members of the Math forming the principal workers of the Mission and the trustees of the Math forming the governing body of the Mission.

Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902)

- Originally known as Narendranath Datta, he was born in 1863 in Calcutta.
- He first visited Ramakrishna in 1881 and made frequent visits thereafter. He established a monastery in Baranagar in 1887 after the death of his guru.
- He toured India extensively, attended the World Parliament of Religions in 1893 at Chicago and spoke at the Congress of History of Religions at Paris in 1900.
- He published two papers: the monthly Prabudha Bharata in English and the fortnightly Udbodhana in Bengali.
- He popularized the teachings of his guru, proclaimed the essential oneness of all religions and held Vedanta as a fully rational system.

Theosophical Society

- Madam H.P. Blavatsky laid the foundation of the movement in the United States in 1875. Later Colonel M.S. Olcott joined her.
- In 1882 they shifted their headquarters to India at Adyar.
- The members of this society believe that a special relationship can be established between a person's soul and God by contemplation, prayer, revolution.
- The society believes in re-incarnation, Karma and draws from the philosophy of the upanishads and Samkhya, yoga and vedanta schools of thought.
- The theosophical movement came to be allied with Hindu renaissance.
- After the death of Olcott in 1907 Annie Besant was elected as its President. She had joined the society in 1889.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

- The society under Besant concentrated on the revival of Hinduism and its ancient ideas and in order to provide Hindu religious instruction, she founded the Central Hindu University at Varanasi in 1898 which was later developed into the Benaras Hindu University by Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Young Bengal Movement

- Its founder was Henry Vivian Derozio, who was born in Calcutta in 1809 and who taught at the Hindu college between 1826 and 1831. He died of cholera in 1831.
- His followers were known as the Derozians and their movement as the Young Bengal Movement.
- The movement attacked old traditions and decadent customs, advocating women's rights and education and educating the public on the current socio-economic and political questions through press and public associations.
- They carried on public agitation on public questions like freedom of the press, trial by jury and protection of peasants, etc.

Muslim Reform Movements

Aligarh Movement

- It was founded by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan for the social and educational advancement of muslims in India.
- Other prominent members of the movement were Altaf Hussain Hali, Dr. Nazir Ahmed, Nawab Mushin-ul-Mulk, Chirag Ali, etc.
- He established two madarassas at Muradapur and Gazipur and in 1870 published Tahzib ul Akhlaq and Asbad-i-Baghvati.
- He advocated a rational approach towards religion, rejected blind adherence to religious law and asked for a reinterpretation of the Quran in the light of reason to suit the new trends of the time.
- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was in the judicial services of the company at the time of rebellion of 1857 and stood loyal to the government.
- He tried to reconcile his co-religionists to modern scientific thoughts and to the British rule and urged them to accept services under the government.
- He condemned the system of Piri and Muridi.
- He opened a modern school in Aligarh in 1875 which developed into the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College at Aligarh in 1877. The school became the nucleus of the formation of the Aligarh Muslim University in 1920.

- Theodore Beck was his associate and was the first Principal. Beck founded the Union Indian Patriotic Association, Aligarh.
- In 1866 he founded the Muhammadan Educational Conference as a general forum for spreading liberal ideas among the muslims.
- Unfortunately the movement in later stages became anti-congress and anti-Hindu and pro-British due to misconceived fears of Hindu domination.

Deoband Movement

- The orthodox section among the Muslim Ulema organised the Deoband movement which began after the foundation of the Dar-ul-Ulum at Deoband in 1866 by Maulana Hussain Ahmad and others with the aim of resuscitating classical Islam and improving the spiritual and moral conditions of the muslims.
- It was a revivalist movement where objectives were to propagate among the Muslims, the pure teachings of the Quran and the Hadis and to keep alive the spirit of Jihad against the foreign rulers.
- The ulema under the leadership of Mohammad Qasim Wanotavi and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi founded the school of Deoband in the Saharanpur district of UP in 1866.
- The school curriculum shut out English education.
- Deoband school welcomed the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.
- In 1888 Deoband ulema issued a religious decree against Syed Ahmad Khan's organisations.

Ahrar Movement

- It was a movement founded in 1910 under the leadership of Maulana Muhammad Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khar and Mazhar-ul-Haq in opposition to the loyalist policies of the Aligarh movement.
- Moved by modern ideas of self-government its members advocated active participation in the nationalist movement.

Ahmadiyah Movement

- Also known as the Qadiani movement, it was founded by Mirza Gulam Ahmad at Qadiani in Punjab, towards the end of the 19th century with the objective of reforming Islam and defending it against the onslaught of Christian missionaries and the Arya Samajists.
- It gave religious recognition to modern industrial and technological progress and it became the most closely knit and the best organized Muslim group in India.

Parsi Reform Movements

- In 1746 the Indian Parsis got divided into two groups, when a group of them decided to accept the Iranian calendar and came to be known as the 'Kadami' (ancient section) as opposed to the 'Shahanshahis' (royalists), who retained the calendar used in Gujarat. This major division of the community lasted into the 20th century.
- A second division was created by the movement of Parsis into Bombay where many of them became wealthy as merchants, ship builders, commercial brokers, etc. Besides the Parsi religion was frequently targeted by the Christian missionaries.
- In this background, Naroji Furdunji edited in 1840s the Fam-i-Famshid, a journal aimed at defending the cause of Zoroastrianism. He also wrote a number of pamphlets and published the book Tarika Farthest in 1850. All these events led to the formation of a socio-religious movement designed to codify the Zoroastrian religion and reshape Parsi social life.
- In 1851 a small group of educated Parsis formed the Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha (Parsi Reform Society) with funds provided by K.N. Kama. Furdunji Naoroji became its President and S.S. Bengali its secretary.
- In 1850 Bengali started publishing a monthly journal Jagat Mitra and the Jagat Premi in 1851. The sabha's journal Rast Goftar was the main voice of the movement.
- The leaders criticized elaborate ceremonies at betrothals, marriages and funerals and opposed infant marriage and the use of astrology.
- But the activities of the sabha divided the Parsis into two groups: those who advocated radical change and those who wished only limited alterations in rituals and customs, organized under the Raherastnumi Mazdayasnan in opposition to the radicals.

Sikh Reform Movements

- ♦ Nirankaris
- Baba Dayal Das (1783-1855) was the founder of this movement of purification and return. In 1840s he called for the return of Sikhism to its origin and emphasized the worship of one God and nirankar (formless).
- Such an approach meant a rejection of idolatry and also prohibition of eating meat, drinking liquor, lying, cheating, etc.

- It laid emphasis on Guru Nanak and on Sikhism before the establishment of Khalsa by Guru Gobind Singh at Anandpur and this separated them from the Namdaris.

♦ Namdhari

- Founded by Baba Ram Singh (1816-1885) in 1857, who in 1841 became a disciple of Balak Singh of the Kuka movement.
- The movement was founded on a set of rituals modeled after Guru Gobind Singh's founding of the Khalsa with the requirement of wearing the five symbols but instead of the sword the followers were supposed to carry a stick.
- The movement required the followers to abandon the worship of gods, idols, tombs, trees, snakes, etc. and abstain from drinking, stealing, falsehood, slandering, backbiting, etc.
- Further the consumption of beef was strictly forbidden as protection of cattle was important.

♦ Singh Sabhas

- Shaken by Namdhari unrest, the speeches of Shraddha Ram of Arya Samaj and by the Christian conversions a small group of prominent Sikhs decided to form the Singh Sabha of Amritsar which held its first meeting on 1st October, 1873 with Thakur Singh Sandhwawalia as its President.
- Soon it was rivaled by a new organization, the Lahore Singh Sabha which held its first meeting on 2nd November, 1879 led by Prof. Gurmukh Singh and Bhai Ditt Singh.

♦ Akali Movement

- The main aim of the Akali movement of 1920s was to purify the management of the Sikh Gurudwaras or shrines by removing the corrupt or selfish Mahants or priests.
- The movement led to the enactment of the new Sikh Gurudwara Act by the British in 1925 and removed corrupt priests through the act and also through the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabhandhak Committee (SPGC).

Other Reformers and Social workers

- In western India Prof D.K. Karve took up the cause of widow remarriage and in Madras Veerasalingam Pantulu made Herculean efforts in the same direction. Prof. Karve opened a widow's home in Poona in 1899. He crowned his work by setting up the Indian Womens University at Bombay in 1916.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

- B.M. Malbari started a crusade against child marriage and his efforts were crowned by the enactment of the age of consent Act, 1891.
 - In 1849 J.E.D. Bethune founded a girl's school in Calcutta.
 - All India women's conference was organised in 1936.
 - Radha Soami Satsang was founded by Tulsi Ram.
 - Deva Samaj was founded by Shiva Narain Agnihotri.
 - Nadwah ul ulama was founded by Maulana Shibli Numani in 1894 in Lucknow.
 - Justice movement was started in 1915-16 by C.N. Mudaliar, T.M. Nair and P. Tyagaraja Chetti in Madras. It was against the predominance of the Brahmins in education, government services and politics.
 - Self respect movement was started in 1925 by E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker popularly known as Periyar. It was against the dominance of Brahmins.
 - Periyar waged movement for forcibly temple entry, burning of Manusmriti and wedding without Brahmin priest. He started his journal Kudi Arasu in Tamil in 1929 to propagate his ideas.
 - Ezhava movement was launched by Sri Narayan Guru. He started the movement of untouchable Ezhava against the Brahmin dominance in Kerala.
- He rejected the caste system and developed the concept of one caste, one religion and one God for mankind. His disciple Ayappan made it into no religion, no caste and no God for mankind.
- In Kerala, the Nairs started movement against the dominance of Nambudiri Brahmins. C.V. Raman Pillai organised the Malyali Memorial. He wrote a novel Martanda Verma to show the military glory of the Nairs. Padmanabha Pillai founded the nair service society in 1914.
 - In 1873, Satya Sodhak movement was launched by Jyotiba Phule in Maharashtra to save the lower castes from the Brahmins. He wrote 'Gulamgiri' and 'Sarvajanik Satyadharma Pustak'. His theory of exploitation of lower castes was focused on cultural and ethnic factor rather than on political and economic one.
 - The Mahars were organised by Gopal Baba Walangkar in late 19th century against Brahmins in Maharashtra. Baba Bhim Rao Ambedkar became their leader in the 20th century. Under his leadership the Mahars started burning Manusmriti and tried to break with the Hinduism.
 - In 1932 Gandhiji founded the Harijan Sevak Sangh.
 - Ambedkar founded the Scheduled Castes Federation.

RESISTANCE TO BRITISH RULE

Early Uprisings against the British in India

NON TRIBAL

These revolts were mainly politically driven with the stakes of zamindars, Indian rulers and even their dependents.

Causes of these popular movements were the following:

1. Attempts of the British to force Indian rulers to accept their suzerainty.
2. Forceful occupation of the estate of local rulers.
3. Financial burden imposed by the British through Subsidiary Alliance System.
4. Doctrine of Lapse used by the British also resulted in resentments.
5. Frequent interference of local British residents in internal affairs of the State;
6. Resentment against British land revenue policy.
7. Seizure of Zamindari estate in case of failure of payments.

Revolt of Kattabomman

The revolt was organized in Tirunelveli in Tamil Nadu in 1792-1799 by Veerapandy, the ruler of Panchalakerich who was eventually killed in 1799.

Rebellion of Paiks

The rebellion took place in Orissa in 1804-1806 for the first time under Khurda Raja and later under Jagabandhu.

Revolt of Veluphanampi/Veluthambi

The revolt was organized in Travancore in 1808-1809 by the Diwan of Travancore as the British tried to remove him.

Revolt of Rao Bharmal

The ruler of Cutch revolted in Cutch and Kathiawar in 1811-19.

Revolt of Ramosis

The revolt took place in Poona in 1822-1829 under the leadership of Chitir Singh and Omaji when the Peshwa lands were captured by the British.

Kittur Rising

The revolt materialized under the leadership of Channamma who was the widow of Rudra Desai, the chief of Kittur and had no son and Rayappa in 1824-1829 in Karnataka.

Sambalpur Outbreak

The outbreak took place in Orissa in 1827-1840 under Surendra Sai due to interference in internal matters by the British.

Satora Disturbance

King Pratap Singh was removed which instigated a revolt in 1840-1841 in Maharashtra under Dhar Rao and Narsingh Dattatreya.

Bundela Revolt

The revolt was held in 1842 in Bundelkhand under Madhukar Shah and Jawahir Singh against the British revenue system.

Gadkari Rebellion

Organized in Kolhapur in Maharashtra in 1844-1845 in revolt against the overtake of the Kolhapur administration by the British

Satvandi Revolt

It was in Maharashtra in 1839-1845 under Phond Savant and Anna Sahib in protest against disposing the chief of the Savant region Kheen Savant.

Raju Rebellion

Occurred in Vishakhapatnam in 1827-1833 under Birbhadrappa Raju who was removed by the British.

Palakonda Outbreak

In Andhra Pradesh in 1831-1832 with no clearcut leadership as all zamindars of the area mobilized the peasantry.

Gumsur Outbreak

In Ganjam District in Andhra Pradesh in 1835-1837 under the leadership of Dhanjaya Bhauja who was a zamindar of Ganjam. He was in debt due to non-payment of revenue and his land was confiscated.

Parlakimedi Outbreak

It was organized in Orissa in 1829-1835 under Jagannath Gajapati as the British acquired the land of zamindars due to nonpayment of revenue.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

Popular Non Tribal Movements against British Rule

Revolts	Leaders	Main Causes	Consequences
Kattaboman Tirunelveli (T.N) 1792-99	Veera Pandya Kattaboman	Veera Pandya was forced to accept British Suzerainty	For seven year, Kattaboman defied the British, finally executed.
Paiks, Orissa, 1804-06	Raja of Khurda & Jagabandhu	New Land Revenue Policy	Paiks captured Puri but rebellion was Crushed
Sanyasi Rebellion Bengal, 1763-1800	Manjar Shah & Musha Shah	Restrictions on pilgrimage, famine	Seizure of Zamindars & rich people, suppressed badly
Chuar Revolt Dhalbhum, Kailapal & Manbhumi, 1766-1816	Famine & Land Revenue Policy	Ruthless repression by the British
Revolt of Vellu Thampi, Travancore, 1808-09	Vellu Thampi	Subsidiary Alliance & Financial Burden	Revolted with Nairs Vallu Thampi died in forest
Kutch Rebellion Kutch, 1816-19	Rao Bharmal	British interference in internal Affairs	Disposal of Rao Bharmal & subsidiary alliance imposed
Sambalpur, Orissa, 1827-40	Surendrasai	Doctrine of lapse & succession Issue	Widow of Maharaja Mohan Kumari became ruler
Ramosis Revolt Poona, 1822-29	Chittur Singh & Umaji	Unemployment of Ramosis people	Peaceful end, pardoned & appointed as hill police
Kittur Uprising Karnataka, 1840-41	Channamma & Rayappa	British Refusal to accept Succession	Annexation & Channamma widow of Shivalinga executed
Satara Uprising Karnataka, 1840-41	Dhar Rao Pawar & Narsing Dattatreya Petkarq	Disposal of Pratap Singh	Seizure of Badami, Narsing Petkar transported for life
Raju Rebellion Vishakhapatnam, 1827-33	Birbhadra Raju	Disposal of Raju	Birbhadra was captured by the British
Palakonda Uprising Palakonda (A.P.), 1831-32	Zamindar of Palakonda	Seizure of Zamindari against nonpayment of revenue	Seizure of estate
Gumsur Revolt Ganjam, 1835-37	Dhananjya Bhauja	Seizure of Zamindari against nonpayment of revenue	Large scale military operations
Satvandi Revolt Maharashtra, 1839-45	Phond Savant & Anna Sahib	Khen Savant was deposed	Martial Law and suppression by force
Bundela Revolt Sagar & Damoh (M.P.), 1842	Madhukar Shah Jawahar Singh	British Revenue Policy	Disruption of British machine execution of both leaders
Gadkari Rebellion Kolhapur, 1844-45	British assumption of direct	Suppression by force

Tribal Revolts

Tribal movements were basically directed to preserve the tribal identity which was thought to be in danger due to intrusion of external people affecting the social, political and geo-economical position of the tribes. These movements were mostly violent, isolated and frequent. There were about seventy tribal movements from 1778 to 1947. These movements can be broadly divided into two parts i.e., movements of the frontier tribes and movements of the non-frontier tribes depending upon the geographical area of their initiation. Both these types of revolts had different sets of causes. Movement of frontier tribes was mostly revivalist and tended to be political and secular. On the contrary, the non-frontier tribes revolted usually against the 'outsiders' and the British administration.

Responsible Factors

The factors which were responsible for the outbreak of the tribal movements are as follows:

1. Resentment of the tribes against the extension of the British rule to their areas. They also resented the introduction of general administration & laws which were considered by them as intrusions into the traditional political system of the tribal community.
2. Reaction against the penetration of tribal areas by peoples from plains in form of money lenders, traders, contractors, etc. and the protection given to these out-siders by British government.
3. The tightening of British control over their forest zones, creation of reserved forests and attempts to monopolize forest- wealth through curbs on the use of timber and grazing facilities.
4. The activities of Christian missionaries in their areas were looked upon by them as anti-religious and hence resented.
5. British attempts to suppress certain tribal traditions and practices like infanticide, human sacrifices etc hurt the tribal social beliefs.
6. The British colonialism devoid the tribal people of their traditional economic set up and hence they were forced to serve as menial labourers, coolies in plantation, mines and factories.

Chaura Rising

Organized twice between 1768 and 1832 in Naanbhumi and Bara Bhumi areas in West Bengal.

Bhil Revolt

Was in Khandesh in the Western Ghats in 1818-1848.

Hos Rising

Three revolts in 1820, 1822 and 1832 in Singhbhum and Chhota Nagpur areas.

Koli Rising

In 1824, 1828, 1839 and 1844-1848 in the areas of the Shahadari hills near Western Ghats of Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Khasi Rising

In 1829-1832 in Khasi mountain range in Assam and Meghalaya under Chief of Noumklow tribe, Tirut Singh and Barmanik, the chief of Molim tribe.

Singpo Rising

Took place in 1830-1839 in Assam where the Englishman Mr. White was murdered.

Kol Rising

Broke out under Buddho Bhagat in 1831-1832 in Chhota Nagpur area.

Khoya Revolt

Was organized in Rampa in Andhra Pradesh in 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861-1862, 1879-1880 and 1922-1924, the last one under the leadership of Alluri Sitaramraju.

Khoni Rising

The first two revolts in 1846-48 and in 1855 were under Chakra Bisaji and in 1914 in Orissa's Khondmal region.

Santhal Revolt

- Was under Sado and Kanhu in 1855-1856 in Rajmahal hills in Bihar.
- Began primarily as a reaction against their exploitation by the outsiders (especially people from the plains) and later developed into an anti-British movement.
- Fought the British to have complete control of the area between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal but were crushed.

Naikdas Revolt

Was in Panchmahal in Gujarat in 1858-1859 and 1868 under Roop Singh and Joria Bhagat respectively.

Kacha Nags Revolt

Was in 1882 in Assam under Sambhutan.

Munda Revolt

Was in Chhota Nagpur region in Ranchi Under Birsa Munda in 1899-1900.

Bhils Revolt

Under Govind Guru in Banswar and Dungapur area of South Rajasthan in 1913.

Oraon Revolt

Under Jatra Bhagat in 1914-1915 in Chhota Nagpur area.

Thadoe Kuki Revolt

Under Jadonang and Rani Gaidinliu in 1917-1919 in Manipur.

Chenchus Revolt

Under Hanumanthu in 1921-1922 in Nallamala range of Andhra Pradesh.

Rampa Revolt

Under Rajan Anatayya in 1884 and Alluri Sitaram Raju in 1922-1924 in Andhra Pradesh.

TRIBAL MOVEMENTS AGAINST RULE BRITISH RULE

Revolts	Area	Leaders	Course & Consequence
Chuars 1768 and 1832	Manbhum & Barabhum	Chuar Leaders	Defiance of authorities, suppressed by force
Pahariyas, 1778-85	Rajmahal	Pahariya Sardars	Resentment against British encroachment, crushed
Bhils, 1818-48	Khandesh	Sevaram	British occupation, mediatory & conciliatory, measures
Hos, 1820-32	Singhbhum	Ho Leaders	British occupation, military operations
Khond, 1846-1914	Orissa	Chakra Bisoyi	Forceful suppression of rebellious leaders
Khasis, 1829-32	Meghalaya	Tirut Singh & Barmanik	Forceful implementation of a linking road, Tirut captured
Kolis, 1824- 48	Syhyadri Gujarat	Koli Leaders	Repeated revolts, all leaders were captured
Singhpors, 1830-39	Assam	Singhpo Leaders	Against British encroachment, suppressed badly
Kols, 1831-32	Chota - Nagpur	Buddho Bhagat	Against land revenue, killed outsiders, ruthlessly crushed
Koyas 1840-58, 1922-24	Rampa Region	Alluri Sitaram Raju known Dara	Revenue policy & ban on forest products, Raju was killed
Santhals, 1855-56	Rajmahal Hills	Sidhu & Kanu	Resentment against outsiders, money lenders, leaders killed
Naikdas, 1858-68	Panchmahal Gujarat	Roop Singh Joria Bhagat	Peace treaty (1859), later on Roop Singh and Joria killed
Kherwar, 1870-80	Rajmahal Hills	Bhagirath	Religio-tribal resentment, Bhagirath died in jail
Bhuyan & Juang, 1867-93	Orissa	Ratna Nayak & Shami Dhar	Suppressed by local zamindars & British
Kacha Nagas, 1882	Assam	Sambhurdan	Uncertain attacks on British, suppressed ruthlessly
Mundas, 1899-1900	Chota - Nagpur	Birsa Munda	Forced-labour, outsiders Birsa Munda died in jail
Bhills, 1913	Banswara Rajasthan	Govind Guru	Religio-political, attempts to set up Bhill raj failed
Oraons, 1914-15	Chota - Nagpur	Jatra Bhagat	Monotheistic movement, adopted Gandhian styles
Chenchu, 1921-22	22 Nallamale Hills Andhra Pradesh	Hanumanth	Against forest regulation
Kukis, 1917-19	Manipur	Rani Gaidiulliu	Against forced-labour, Guerrilla warfare, suppressed

Peasant Uprisings

The economic policies of the British, such as new land revenue system, colonial administrative and judicial systems and the ruin of handicrafts resulting in the over-crowding of land, transformed the agrarian structure and thus impoverished the peasantry. The

reactions of the peasants were directed against the zamindars, money-lenders and ultimately the British rule.

Peasant movements varied in nature. Prior to the commencement of mass movements of the freedom struggle, these peasant movements were localized based on religion, caste and social consciousness. Later

VAJIRAM & RAVI

on, some secular trends were observed in these movements which became national level mass movements resulting in formation of platforms such as Kishan Sabha, Congress Socialist Party, etc.

Moplah Rebellion

- In the Malabar region due to the oppression and exploitation of the Muslim Moplah peasants of north Kerala by the Hindu zamindars (Jemmis) and the British government.
- Rifts started as early as 1836 though the main revolt was in August 1921.

Ramosi Revolt

Under Vasudeo Balwant Phadke in 1882-1889 in the Western Ghats.

Pabna Movement

In East Bengal Pabna district in 1872-1876 due to oppression of peasantry by the zamindars.

Bijolia Movement

In Rajasthan in 1905, 1913, 1916, 1927 where the movement arose due to the imposition of 86 different types of cesses on the peasants.

Indigo Revolt (1859-1860)

- In this the peasants were forced to grow indigo in their lands by the European factory owners which exploded into a revolt in Govindpur village of Nandia district in Bengal under Digamber Biswas and Vishnu Biswas.
- Others who played an important role included Harish Chandra Mukherjee (editor of the newspaper Hindu Patriot), Dinbandhu Mitra and Michael Madhusudan Dutta.
- The government appointed an Indigo Commission in 1860 and removed some of the abuses of the indigo cultivation.

PEASANTS MOVEMENTS AGAINST BRITISH RULE

Revols	Area	Leaders	Course & Consequence
Rangpur, 1783	Rangpur, Dinajpur, Bengal	Dhiraj Narayan	Against enhanced revenue, parallel govt. & attack on colonial symbols
Moplah, 1836-54	Malabar Coast	Land Revenue based on Janami system was resisted, military operations
Indigo, 1859	Bengal	Digambar Biswas Vishnu Viswes	Peaceful protest, ban on Indigo plantation in 1860
Pabna, 1873-76	Bengal	Ishanchandra Rai Sambhu Pal	Legal protest against revenue enhancement
Ducan Riots 1875	Puna, Satara, Ahmednagar	Social boycott of Mahajans, Act of 1879 passed
Bijolia 1905-13	Mewar	Sitaram Dass Bhop Singh	No Tax Movement, protest against Jagirdars
Champanar, 1917	Champanar, Bihar	Mahatma Gandhi	Successful protest against Tinkathia system
Kheda, 1918	Gujarat	Mahatma Gandhi	Against revenue collection after destruction of crops
Awadh, 1919-22	Pratap Garh, Rai Bareilly	Jhinguri Singh Baba Ram Chandra	Protest against illegal rent & land disposal Act, social boycott of Jagirdars
Eka, 1920	Barabanki, Hardoi, Sitapur, Bahraich	Madari Passi	Participation of small Zamindars, crushed
Mappila, 1921	Malabar Coast	Yukub Hassan Gopal Menon	Attack on police stations, govt. offices & Zamindars, on communal line, crushed
Bardoli, 1928	Andhra Pradesh	N.G. Ranga	Against enhanced revenue, farmers got relief
Andhra, 1923-38	Andhra Pradesh	N.G. Ranga	Against enhanced revenue, farmers got relief
Malabar, 1934-40	Malabar coast	R. Ram Chandra T. Prakasham	Relief after Malabar Tenancy Act
Kisan Sabha, 1929-39	Bihar	Swami Shajanand	Land Tenancy Act
Tebhaga, 1946	Bengal	Krishna Vinod Rai Avani Lahiri	Peaceful Movement centred on farming
Punnappa Vayalar 1946	Travancore	19 rebels were killed for an independent Travancore State

Points to Remember

- The Bengal famine of 1770 and the restrictions imposed on visiting holy places angered the Sanyasis, thus leading to revolt.
- Sanyasis were the followers of Sankaracharya.
- After prolonged military action, Warren Hastings suppressed the Sanyasi rebellion.
- Sanyasi rebellion was the theme of Bamkin's Anandmath.
- Santhals rebelled in 1855 under Sidhu and Kanhu.
- Santhal Rebellion of 1855-56 was known as 'Hul'
- The government pacified the Santhal by creating a separate district of Santhal Parganas.
- The area between Bhagalpur (Bihar) & Rajmahal (Jharkhand) was called Daman-e-koh.
- Rabindranath Tagore has respectfully portrayed the description of this rebellion.
- The Kol of Chhotanagpur revolted against the transfer of land from Mundas to outsiders.
- Munda Rebellion affected Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau and western part of Manbhum of Jharkhand.
- Kolis of Gujarat revolted in 1829, 1839 and during 1844-48.
- Chuttur Singh led the Ramosi Rebellion (1822-29).
- After Santhal Rebellion, the region witnessed Kherwar and Safahar Movement in 1870's.
- The Wahabi Movement was a revivalist movement.
- Initially the Wahabis fought against the Sikh in Panjab.
- Syed Ahmed of Rai Bareily was influenced by Shah Waliullah.
- Khasi uprising was against the East India Company's plan to link up the Brahmaputra valley with Sylhet.
- The raising of Salt Duty from 50 paise to one rupee in 1844 caused the Surat Salt Agitation.
- In 1828, the Ahoms proclaiming Gomdhar Konovar as their King revolted.
- Karam Shah founded a semi-religious sect called Pagal Panthi in North Bengal.
- His son, Tipu led the peasantry and captured Sherpur and assumed royal power in 1825.
- Khond tribes revolted against the government ban on their practice of human sacrifice-'Meriya'.
- The Faraezis were the followers of a Muslim sect founded by Haji Shariatullah of Faridpur in eastern

Bengal.

- Bhil Uprising under Govind Guru was initially a purification movement started in 1913.
- There were total 22 rebellions by the Mappillas from 1836 to 1854.
- Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh rebelled in 1921-22 under the leadership of Hanumanthu.
- Rani Gaidinliu is known as John Arch of Nagaland as she led the Kuki Revolt in 1917-19.
- The Poligars of coastal Andhra Pradesh resented against British land revenue policy in 1813-34 under Jagannath Gajapati.
- Indigo Rebellion of 1859 (Bengal) under Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas was the most widespread and popular movement of the time.
- Mundas of Chhotanagpur rebelled in 1899-1900. It was called as 'Ulgulan'.
- The collective land holding system of the Mundas was called 'Khutakatti'.
- Mundas used the word 'Diku' for the outsiders of the region.
- Birsa Munda led the rebellion, who was considered as God.
- The Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 relieved the Mundas of the region.
- Deccan anti-Sahukar riots took place in 1874-75.
- It was supported by Poona Sarvajanik Sabha.
- Relief was provided through the Deccan Agriculturist Relief Act of 1878.
- In 1918, Indra Narayan Dwivedi set up the U. P. Kisan Sabha along with Gaurishankar Mishra.
- In Rai-Bareilly Jhinguri Singh and Baba Ramchandra led the peasant movement.
- Champaran Satyagrah was caused due to 'Tinkathila' system of cultivation, 'sharah yesi' and 'Tawan'.
- Rajkumar Shukla invited Gandhiji in 1917 to lead Champaran Satyagrah.
- Shahajananda founded the Bihar provincial Kisan Sabha in 1929.
- In 1936, agitation started against Bakasht (selfcultivated land) in Bihar.
- In 1923, the Andhra Provincial Ryots Association was formed by N. G. Ranga.
- All India Kisan Sabha was formed in 1936, April 11th at Lucknow.
- The peasants of Bijolia, a jagir in Mewar organized them under Bhoop Singh and later under Manik Lal Verma.

- Borsad Satyagrah was led by Sardar Patel, which was directed against the poll tax imposed on every adult.
- Kunvarji Mehta and Kalyanji Mehta founded the Patidar Yuva Mandal in 1958.
- Maxwell-Broomfield enquiry was constituted for the Bardoli Satyagrah.
- Khera Satyagrah was led by Vittalbhai & Vallabhbhai Patel.
- The leader of Eka movement was Madari Pasi.
- South Indian Federation of Peasants and agricultural labourers were headed by N.G. Ranga and E.M.S Nambudripad.
- Congress under Jawahar Lal Nehru's presidentship at 1936 session adopted the agrarian programme.
- Tebhaga Movement was a protracted peasant struggle involving the lower stratum of tenant.
- The revolt of the Varlis, tribal people in western India was a struggle against exploitation of forest contractors, money lenders, rich farmers etc.
- Telengana uprising during 1946-51 was launched in the territory of the Nizam.
- Bhagwan Singh Longowalia, Jagir Singh Joga and Teja Singh led the peasant movement in Patiala.
- The Mappila Rebellion of 1921 of Malabar was influenced by the Khilafat movement.
- The search for arms in Tirurangadi Mosque instigated the violence in Malabar.
- Martial law turned the movement violent and communal.

All India Kisan Sabha

- Founded in April 1936 at Lucknow.
- Swami Sahajananda was the first President.
- N. G. Ranga was the first General Secretary.
- First session was addressed by Jawahar Lal Nehru.
- Other leaders were Ram Manohar Lohia, Sohan Singh, Indulal Yagnik, Jaya Prakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev, Kamal Sarkar and Bankim Mukherjee, etc.
- The All-India Kisan Sabha held its second session along with the Faizpur Congress session in 1936. It was presided by Jawahar Lal Nehru.

THE GREAT REVOLT OF 1857

The revolt of 1857 was though a regional manifestation yet the causes and the events that instigated the revolt were surely having a Pan-Indian characteristic. In fact, the revolt of 1857 was the outburst of people's feelings against, social, economic and political exploitation and hence participants from almost every field i.e. social, economical (represented by peasants) and political (deposed rulers) participated in the revolt.

Prior to this revolt also, the resentment of the Indians were expressed in both violent mutinies as well as peaceful protests. The mutiny at Vellore (1806), at Barrackpore (1824), at Ferozpur (1842), mutiny of the 7th Bengal cavalry, mutiny of 22nd N.I. in 1849, Revolt of the Santhals (1855-56), Kol uprising (1831-32) etc. were among the high degree of protests by the people that culminated in the revolt of 1857.

Causes of Revolt

Following were the causes of the great revolt of 1857:

• Political Causes:

The English Company's policy of 'effective control' and gradual extinction of the Indian Native States was facilitated by the subsidiary alliance system that culminated with the 'Doctrine of Lapse' of Dalhousie. While the Punjab, Pegu, Sikkim had been annexed by the 'Right of Conquest', Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, Udaipur, Sambhalpur, Baghat and Jaitpur were annexed by Dalhousie's doctrine of lapse policy. The pretext of 'good governance' was adopted for the annexation of Awadh.

Moreover, the announcement of the Lord Canning, that the successors of Faqir-ud-Din would have to leave and renounce regal title and ancestral Mughal Palace (Lal Quila) had grievously hurted the Muslim sentiments who thought that the English wanted to destroy the house of Timur.

The 'absentee sovereignty ship' of the British rule in India also worked against the British that disbanded the Pindaries, Thugs and irregular soldiers forming the bulk of native armies that transformed as rebels in the revolt of 1857.

• Administrative and Economic Causes:

The annexation of Indian states deprived the native aristocracy of power and position. The new administrative set-up tended to reserve all high posts, civil and military to the Europeans. The chances of promotion to the Indians appointed to these services were few.

Moreover, the administrative machinery of the English Company was inefficient and insufficient. The land revenue policy was equally unpopular. Many Taluqdars, the hereditary landlords, were deprived of their position and gains. Large estates were confiscated and sold by public auction. The Inam Commission, appointed in 1852 in Bombay, alone confiscated as many as 20,000 estates. The Taluqdars of Awadh were the hardest hit.

Peasants were forced to leave their agricultural land due to rise in revenue, the handicrafts and industry workers were forced to earn livelihood through beggary. The economic policies worked against the traditional Indian handicrafts and industry. The ruined Indian industry and trade increased the pressure on agriculture and land which lopsided development in turn resulted in the pauperization of the country in general.

• Social and Religious Causes:

The English were infected with a spirit of racialism. They described the Hindus as barbarian with hardly any trace of culture or civilization, while Muslims were dubbed as bigots, cruel and faithless.

The Religious Disability Act of 1850 modified Hindu customs; a change of religion did not debar a son from inheriting the property of his father. The rumour was that the English were conspiring to convert the Indians to Christianity. Sepoys were promised promotions if they accepted the 'true faith'.

Idolatry was renounced and Hindus were dubbed as ignorant and superstitious. The activities of Christian priests and efforts of Dalhousie and Bethune towards women education made Indians feel that through education the British were going to conquer their civilization and so these education offices were styled on 'Saitani Daftars'. Moreover, the abolition of Sati, child marriage etc. were seen as an intrusion into the age-old tradition of the land.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

• Military Causes:

The ratio of Indians in the British army was much higher than the Europeans. This disproportion took a more serious turn because of the shortage of good officers in the army; most of them were employed on administrative posts in the newly annexed states and



the frontiers.

Indian portion of the English army consisted mostly of Brahmins and Rajputs. Moreover, most of them came from Awadh and Bihar, hence the political and social developments of the region equally affected them. The extension of British dominion in India adversely affected the service conditions of the army. They were required to serve in areas far away from their homes without any extra payment or Bhatta and it was this reason that led to the refusal of Bengal regiment in 1844 to move to Sindh.

In 1856, Canning passed the General Service Enlistment Act which feared that all future recruits for the Bengal Army would have to give an undertaking to serve anywhere as desired by the government.

Also, the Post Office Act of 1854, withdrew the privilege of free postage so long enjoyed by the Sepoys. Moreover, the disaster of the British Army in Crimean War favoured the idea of a revolt which was triggered with the introduction of greased cartridge of the newly replaced Enfield rifle. The greased cartridge contained

the fat of pig and cow prepared at wool rich arsenal. This was considered by the Sepoys as a deliberate move to defame their religion.

Spread of the Revolt

On 29th March, 1857, the Brahmin sepoy, Mangal Pandey of Barrackpore refused to use the greased cartridge and fired at his adjutant. The 34 Native Infantry was disbanded and sepoys guilty of rebellion were punished. In May 1857, 85 sepoys of 3rd cavalry at Meerut rebelled but were imprisoned. Their fellow Sepoys broke out an open rebellion on 10th May and shot their officer and headed towards Delhi. General Hewitt, the commanding officer at Meerut found himself helpless to stem the rising tide. On 12 May 1857, the rebels seized Delhi and overcame Lieutenant Willoughby, the incharge of the Delhi. Bahadur Shah-II was proclaimed the Emperor of India. Very soon the rebellion spread throughout Northern and Central India at Lucknow, Allahabad, Kanpur, Bareilly, Banaras, Jhansi, parts of Bihar and other places. Unfortunately, a majority of Indian rulers remained loyal to the British and the educated Indians and merchants' class kept themselves aloof from the rebels. Revolt was confined to North India only.

Centres of the Revolt

Delhi: A rebellion was led by Bakht Khan. In September 1857, Delhi was recaptured by the English under John Nicholson. The emperor was arrested and his two sons and grandsons were publicly shot by Lieutenant Hudson himself.

Kanpur: Nana Saheb was the leader at Kanpur. General Huge Wheeler surrendered on June 27. Nana Saheb was joined by Tantia Tope. Sir Campbell occupied Kanpur on December 6th. Tantia Tope escaped and joined Rani of Jhansi.

Lucknow: Rebellion was led by Begum Hazrat Mahal and Ahmadullah. Henry Lawrence and other Europeans at the British residency were killed by the rebels. The early attempts of Havelock and Outram to recover Lucknow met with no success. It was finally rescued by Colin Campbell in March 1858.

Jhansi: Rani Lakshmi Bai led the revolt who was defeated by Huge Rose and she fled to Gwalior and captured it. She was supported by Tantia Tope. Gwalior was recaptured by the English in June 1858 and the Rani of Jhansi died on 17th June 1858. Tantia Tope escaped southward. In April, one of the Sindhia's feudatories captured him and handed to the English who hanged him.

Bareilly: Khan Bahadur Khan proclaimed himself

the Nawab Nazim of Bareilly, however, the rebellion was crushed by Colin Campbell in May 1858 and Bareilly was recaptured.

Arah: Kunwar Singh and his brother Amar Singh led the rebellion. They were defeated by William Taylor and Vincent Ayer. Kunwar Singh was killed on 8th May, 1858.

Faizabad: Maulavi Ahmedullah led the rebellion but was defeated by the English.

Allahabad & Banaras: The rebellion at Banaras and adjoining areas was mercilessly suppressed by Colonel Neill who put to death all rebels suspected and even disorderly boys.

Impact of the Revolt

The revolt of 1857 made it clear that the techniques of administering India must change in order to fully achieve the colonial goal. Hence, there were major changes in the policies of the rulers in almost every field-political, economical, social, religious and military.

Following were the impact of the revolt of 1857 on Indian polity and society:

1. By the Government of India Act 1858, the control of Indian administration was transferred to the Crown from the Company. Though the Crown had considerable influence over Company's policies through the Board of Control from 1784, the Act of 1858 ended the dualism of control and made the Crown directly responsible to Indian affairs. A Secretary of State of India was appointed who was to be assisted by an advisory council of 5 members, out of which 8 members were to be nominated by the Crown. In India, the same sort of Governor-General and the same military and civil services continued as before. No new policy was inaugurated; rather a continuation of the Company's policies was reiterated.
2. The policy of extension of territorial possession ended and it was promised "to respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as their own". As these Native Princes acted as 'breakwaters', to preserve them became of a cardinal principle of British policy. General amnesty was granted to all the offenders, except those involved in killing of English and Europeans. Taluqdars of Awadh were confirmed in their estates subject to the promise of loyalty and future good behaviour.
3. The 1858 proclamation assured the free & impartial admission to offices under Crown without any discrimination of race or creed, provided the Indians qualified for them by their education, ability &

integrity. This was manifested in the Indian Civil Service Act of 1861, which provided for an annual competitive examination to be held in London.

4. Indian-British army was thoroughly reorganised and built on the policy of division and counterpoise. The Army Amalgamation Scheme of 1861 transferred the Company's European troops to the service of the Crown. 'Linked-Battalion Scheme' was started in the army. All big posts in the army and artillery departments were reserved for the Europeans. The ratio of Indian and European soldiers in the army was increased in the favour of the latter. The policy of counterpoise of a native against native was followed.
5. It was increasingly realised that one basic cause for the revolt of 1857 was the lack of contact between the ruler and the ruled. It was believed that this would at least acquaint the rulers with the sentiments and feelings of the Indian and those provide an opportunity for evidence of misunderstandings. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 was a humble beginning in that way.
6. The English attitude towards the religious and social aspects of India changed. They now tried to follow a policy of non-interference in the religious and social sphere of Indians which had caused resentment among them.
7. The unity of Hindus and Muslims during the revolt was thought problematic to the smooth working of British policies, hence the policy of 'divide and rule' was applied. Muslims were now considered as 'friends' of the English while the Hindus were denounced.
8. Racial bitterness was aggravated. The entire structure of the Indian government was remodeled on the philosophy of white man's burden and civilizing role of English in India was applied.
9. The era of territorial aggrandizement gave place to the era of economic exploitation.

Nature of Revolt

Scholars have held divergent views about the nature of the revolt of 1857. British scholars like Kaye, Trevelyan, Lawrence in addition to many eye witnesses like Munshi Jiwan Lal, Durgadas Bandopadhyay, Syed Ahmad Khan etc. have held that it was 'a mutiny'. Other described it as a 'racial struggle'. Still others doubt it as a clash of civilization, while the nationalists call it as the first War of Indian Independence. Following are the major views of scholars.

John Lawrence and Seeley thought it to be a Sepoy's

VAJIRAM & RAVI

mutiny. John Seeley describes the revolt as a 'wholly unpatriotic and selfish Sepoy mutiny with non active leadership and no popular support'. Though it is true that it began as a military rising, yet it was not everywhere confined to the army. Even the army as a whole did not join it and a considerable section fought on the side of the government. In fact, the rebels came from almost every section of the population. In the trials of 1858-59, thousands of civilians, along with the soldiers, were held guilty of the rebellion and were punished.

The views of L.E.R. Rees that the revolt was 'a war of fanatic religionists against Christians' is also erring. During the heat of the rebellions, the ethical principles underlying the various religions had little influence on the complaints. Both sides quoted their religious scriptures to cover their cases over the other party. Though the Christians fought the war and won it, but not Christianity.

It was also not a 'war of races'. True, all the whites in India, whatever their nationality, were ranged on one side, but not all the blacks. Leaving the non-combatants out of account, there was a high proportion of Indian soldiers in the Company's army that took part in the suppression of the rebellion. To be more correct, it was a war between the black rebels on one side and the white ruler supported by blacks on the other side.

T.R. Holmes held that it was 'a conflict between civilization and barbarism'. The explanation smacks of narrow racialism. During the rebellion both the Europeans and the Indians were guilty of excess. Infact, vendettas took the better of men on both sides. No nation or individual which indulges in such horrible atrocities can claim to be civilized.

Sir James Outram and W. Tayler described the outbreak as the result of Hindu-Muslim conspiracy. Outram held that 'it was a Mohammedan conspiracy making capital of Hindu grievances'.

Early national leaders like V.D. Savarkar in his book, 'The Indian War of Independence', to arouse national consciousness, described it as 'a planned war of national independence'. Later on, national leaders further developed them to cite it as a shining example of the perfect accord and harmony between the Hindus and the Muslims.

Dr. R.C. Majumdar and Dr. S.N. Sen agree that the uprising of 1857 was not the result of a careful planning nor were there any masterminds behind it. The mere fact that Nana Saheb went to Lucknow and Ambala in March-April 1857 and the struggle started in May of the same year cannot be regarded as an evidence of planning. During the trial of Bahadur Shah,

efforts were made to prove that he was a party to a pre-planned conspiracy. Infact, the course of trial made it clear that the uprising was as much surprise to Bahadur Shah as to the British.

Also, both of them agree that the Indian nationalism in the middle of the 19th century was in an embryonic stage. India, at that time was not a nation and the leaders of the rebellion were no national leaders. Bahadur Shah was no national king. Infact, self motivation and profit worked as an energizer to the rebel leaders. Different groups participated in the revolt because of reasons. The Taluqdars of Awadh fought for their feudal privileges. Attitudes of the leaders were mutually jealous. The condition of the masses was no better. The majority of the people remained apathetic and neutral.

In his book 'the Sepoy Mutiny and the Revolt of 1857', R.C. Majumdar argued that the uprising of 1857 was not a war of independence. He maintained that the revolt took different aspects in different regions. Somewhere it was a Sepoy mutiny joined later by disgruntled elements eager to take advantage of anarchy, somewhere it was a Sepoy mutiny followed by a general revolt in which, civilians, disposed rulers, tenants and other took part. He also contends that the Sepoys were mostly inspired by the desire of material gains than any political or even religious contradiction. However, he concedes that ultimately these all gave birth to nationalism.

On the contrary, Dr. Sen believes it to be a war of independence by arguing that revolutions are mostly the work of a minority, with or without the active sympathy of the masses. He contends that when a rebellion can claim the sympathies of the substantial majority of the population, it can claim a national character.

Dr. S.B. Chaudhari, in his book 'Civil Rebellions in the Indian Mutiny 1857-1859' has confined his attention to the detailed analysis of the civil rebellions which accompanied the military insurrection of 1857. He maintains that the revolt of 1857 can be bifurcated into mutiny and rebellion and the outburst of 1857 was the coming together of two series of disturbances.

Lala Lajpat Rai in 'Young India' has described the revolt of 1857 as both political as well national. Subhash Chandra Bose also conceded that it was not merely a Sepoy mutiny but a national uprising.

Eric Stokes believes that in rural areas the revolt was essentially elitist in character. The mass of the population, appear to have played little part in the fighting or at most timely followed the local leadership. According to them, it was basically an unarmed rebellion.

The Sepoy Mutiny

- 1764 : A battalion of Munro's army at the battlefield of Buxar deserted to Mir Kasim.
- 1806 : Mutiny at Vellore in protest against interference in the social and religious practices of the sepoys. The sepoy unfurled the flag of the ruler of Mysore.
- 1824 : 47th Native infantry unit mutinied when ordered to proceed to Burma without adequate overseas allowance.
- 1825 : The Grenadier Company in Assam mutinied.
- 1838 : An Indian regiment at Sholapur mutinied for non payment of full batta.
- 1844 : 34 N.I. and 64th regiment joined by some others refused to proceed to Sindh without old pecuniary benefits.
- 1849-50 : There was mutinous spirit in the company's army during occupation in the Punjab. The regiment at Govindgarh mutinied in 1850.

Failure of the Revolt

The revolt of 1857 was regional in character and poorly organized. India south of the Narmada remained unaffected. Sindh and Rajasthan remained quiet and Nepal's help proved of great avail in suppressing the revolt.

This revolt was mainly feudal in character carrying with it some nationalistic elements. The feudal elements of Awadh, Rohilkhand and some other parts of northern India led the rebellion, other feudal princes like the Rajas of Patiala, Gwalior etc. helped in its suppression. These Indian princes were amply rewarded after the suppression of the rebellion.

The revolt was organised poorly. The leader of the rebellion though undoubtedly brave, lacked experience, organizing ability and concerted operations. There was no planning and almost all factions acted their own strategy. Surprise attacks and guerilla tactics could not get them their lost independence against the much organised European based English army.

The military resources of the British Empire were far superior to those of the rebels. Though a year earlier, the British army was busy in Crimean War and fought on other fronts in the World, but by 1857-58 most of the wars were won by the British. The Indian soldiers had very few guns and muskets and mostly fought with swords and spears. On the other hand, the English army was equipped with the latest weapons

of war like the Enfield rifle. Also, the new mode of communication like telegraph and railways played a major part in favour of the English.

The rebels had no common ideal. Bahadur Shah-II was declared the Emperor at Delhi, Nana Saheb was proclaimed as Peshwa at Kanpur and Gwalior. Hindu-Muslim differences lay dormant against the common enemy, but were not dead. The peasants and the inferior castes, apart from the educated class and traders, had no active sympathies with the rebels.

Points to Remember

- The revolt was basically anti-imperialist and both the sepoys and the civilians wanted to throw out the imperial rulers.
- In 1856 the government decided to replace the old fashioned musket 'Brown Bess' by the 'Enfield rifle'. The training of the new weapon was to be imparted at Dum Dum, Ambala and Sialkot.
- On March 29, 1857 the sepoys at Barrackpore refused to use the greased cartridge and one Brahmin sepoy, Mangal Pandey, attacked and fired at the adjutant.
- On 10th May, 1857, the sepoys of the 3rd cavalry at Meerut also refused to use the greased cartridge and broke out in open rebellion. They were immediately joined by the 11th and 20th Native infantries.
- On May 12, 1857, Delhi was seized and Mughal emperor Bahadur Shah-II was proclaimed the emperor of India. The real command was in the hands of Bakht Khan who had led the revolt at Bareilly and brought the troops to Delhi.
- In Kanpur the revolt was led by Nana Saheb, who proclaimed himself the Peshwa. He was assisted by Tantia Tope. The Rebels defeated General Windham outside Kanpur. Azimullah Khan also led at Kanpur.
- In Lucknow Begum Hazrat Mahal and Ahmadullah led the revolt. Hazrat Mahal proclaimed Brijis Kadr as the nawab of Awadh against the wishes of the British. Henry Lawrence, the British resident was killed.
- In Jhansi, Rani Laxmibai assumed the leadership of the mutiny.
- In Bareilly Khan Bahadur proclaimed himself as the Nawab and revolted there.
- In Arrah Kunwar Singh led the revolt.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

- In Faizabad Maulvi Ahmadullah led the revolt.
- Delhi was suppressed by Colonel Nicholson and Hudson.
- Kanpur was suppressed by Campbell.
- Lucknow was suppressed by Campbell.
- Jhansi was suppressed by Hugh Rose.
- Allahabad and Benaras were suppressed by Colonel Neil.
- Arrah was suppressed by William Taylor and Vincent Eyre.
- Bahadur Shah was arrested and deported to Rangoon where he died in 1862.
- Nana Saheb escaped to Nepal.
- The revolt was poorly organised, restricted in its scope and there was no unity among its leaders.
- There was no impact of rebellion beyond Narmada. Even in north Rajasthan, Punjab and Sind remained quiet.
- The Indian princes such as Scindia of Gwalior, Nizam of Hyderabad, Gulab Singh of Kashmir, prince of Rajasthan remained loyal to the British.
- The Indian intelligentsia class remained aloof.
- The control of the Indian administration was transferred from the East India Company to the crown by the government of India Act, 1858.
- The Indian Civil Services Act was passed which provided for an annual competitive examination to be held in London for recruitment to the covenanted civil services.
- The Army amalgamation scheme of 1861 transferred the company's European troops to the service of crown.
- The general formula followed was that in Bengal presidency, the proportion between the European and Indian troops should be 1:2 while for Bombay and Madras presidency it should be 1:3.

CENTRES AND LEADERS OF 1857 REVOLT

CENTRES	LEADER(S)	SUPPRESSED BY
DELHI	Bahadur Shah II	General Nicholson
KANPUR	Nana Saheb assisted by Tatia Tope and Azimullah Khan	Captured by Havelock, finally recovered by sir Campbell
LUCKNOW	Begum Hazrat Mahal	Sir Campbell
JHANSI	Rani Laxmi Bai	Huge Rose
BAREILLY	Khan Bahadur Khan	
BIHAR	Kunwar Singh	William Taylor and Eyre O' Neill

INDIAN NATIONALISM

The latter half of the 19th century witnessed the rise and growth of Indian Nationalism and from then onwards an organised national movement started in India. The year 1885 marks the beginning of a new epoch in Indian history. In that year All Indian Political Organisation was set on foot under the name of the Indian National Congress. The Indian mind became increasingly conscious of its political position. Indian masses, under the National congress fought one of the longest non-violent (to some extent violent also) struggle to get their freedom on 15th August 1947. A retrospective examination of the National movement suggests three broad stages in its development.

In the first stage of its existence (1885-1905), the vision of the Indian National Congress was dim, vague and confused. The movement was confined to a handful of the educated middle class intelligentsia who drew inspiration from western liberal and radical thought.

During the second stage (1905-1919), the Congress comes of age and its aim and scope were considerably extended. It aimed at an all round uplift of the people-social, cultural, economic and political. Swaraj or self-government was the goal on the political front. Some progressive elements within the Congress adopted western revolutionary methods to liquidate western imperialism.

The final stage (1919-47) was the Gandhian stage of freedom movement. It was dominated by the objective of Purna Swaraj or complete independence to be achieved under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi by the characteristically Indian method of non-violent non-cooperation.

There were several factors that led to the growth of Indian nationalism.

- Impact of Foreign Rule:** Traditional Indian historiography explains rise and growth of Indian Nationalism in terms of Western response to stimulus generated by British Raj through creation of new institution, new opportunities, resources etc. In other words, Indian Nationalism grew partly as a result of colonial policies and partly as a reaction to colonial policies.

The root of the Indian Nationalism lies in the clash

between the Indian interests and the British colonial interest. The English in order to guard their interest controlled tightly their Indian colony. British colonial rulers followed modern methods-political, military, and economic and intellectual-to establish and continue their strong hold over India and for further economic exploitation of India's resources. A dose of modernization was an essential concomitant of the colonial scheme of administration and this modernization-distorted though it was-generated some development and one of these was growth of Indian Nationalism. The Indian masses felt that the industrialists of Lancashire and the groups in Britain were sacrificing their needs and interest to guard their own. The economic backwardness, caused by the exploitation of the British was the major reason for underdevelopment of India economically, socially, politically, culturally and intellectually. Now the Indians greatly understood this premise.

Almost every group and community in Indian society saw that their interests are unsafe under British rule. Farmers were weary of the colonial authorities. Government took a large portion of their producer under the pretext of land revenue. Government, police and administration all sided with the landlords and landholders. They were supportive of those merchant groups who deceit the farmers and exploited them and controlled their land. Cultivator's voice against this exploitation was muted in the name of maintenance of law and order. Wearers and handicraft manufactures felt the government's authority more negatively. They were ruined by Government policies of one way free trade and its support to British and other European manufacturers.

Later with early 20th century when there was a rise in Indian capitalism and industries, the working class found the Government siding with the capitalist especially foreign capitalists despite verbal assurance of upliftment of labour class status. When ever, the working class agitated under trade unions for their causes, the Government used all its power to suppress the movement. Moreover, the working class was now becoming aware of the fact that the increasing problem of unemployment

could only be solved by an independent Indian Government and so they participated in the freedom struggle.

The educated middle class was also aware of the economic and political backwardness of the country and was using various modern means to understand the problems of British rule. Those who supported the British in the revolt of 1857 with the hope of creation of a developed and modern state of India despite foreign rule were now disheartened and dissatisfied by seeing the evil effects of foreign rule. They thought that the British capitalism would develop India as it was doing so for England but they found that the Government policies in India were guided by the British capitalist class and were surely devastating for India. The economic policies of government in all fields-agriculture, heavy industries, finance, tariffs, foreign capital investments, foreign trade, banking etc-were all geared to the preservation of the colonial economy. Inspite of the British intention to the contrary, modern capitalist enterprise made a beginning in India in the 1860's.

This development alarmed the British textile manufacturers who started clamoring for revision of Indian tariff rates to suit their sectional interest. The Pound-Rupee exchange ratios were also manipulated to the disadvantage of Indian industry and foreign trade. The entire development made it clear that whenever British economic interests clashed with Indian economic development, the latter had to be sacrificed. The Indian capitalist class thus thought that the independent development and growth of imperialism has some inner contradiction and felt the importance of a national Government which will support the growth and development of Indian industrial class.

Politically, the claim of British of introduction of self-governance in India and civilizing the people for self-government was also deceitful. Many English officials and politicians had openly declared the intention of British to remain in India. Further, the British government used its force to suppress and prohibit the freedom of speech, press and personal liberty instead of giving them freedom, which were basic criteria for introduction of self governance. English writers and scholars had already declared the inability of Indians to govern themselves. Britain took upon itself the providential mandate of civilizing the uncivilized population of the world. The 'white men's Burden' carried by English-men was a recurrent theme in the writing of British poets, scholars administrators. Culturally,

the British's were adopting negative and anti-Indian policies. They were quite negative in their approaches when it came to Indian education, literature, and modern ideas.

The only groups whose interest coincided with that of the British were, the Indian land holders, the zamindars and the princes, and therefore these groups were supportive of British rule till its final extinction. However, there were many among these groups also who participated in freedom struggle against British rule. The nationalist environment affected many and kindled the fire of nationalism in them. Moreover, the racial discrimination and the policy of racial supremacy resulted in the rise of hatred in the hearts of every self respected Indian, of whatever group he belonged, against the British rule. The very foreign nature of British rule also led to the rise of nationalism among the Indians.

In short, it was the nature and characteristic of foreign imperialism and its ill effects on the Indian masses that resulted in the rise and growth of a powerful anti-imperialistic movement in India. The movement was a nationalist movement as it was a united struggle for freedom against common enemy, British colonial rulers.

2. Establishment of Peace and Administrative Unification of India: The British sword imposed political unity in India. Common subjection, common institutions, common laws began to shape India in a common mould. Despite imperial efforts to sow communal, regional and linguistic dissension, Pan-Indianism grew. The establishment of political unity fostered the spirit of one-mindedness. After the chaotic conditions of 18th century, the British rulers established peace and orderly government in India. British scholars take pride in the fact that Pax-Britannica brought prolonged peace and order for the first time in India. The British also established a highly centralized administrative system in India. Percival Griffiths refers to the impersonality of British administration to be its most important characteristics i.e., the fundamental characters of administration did not change with the changes of top-administrators like Secretaries of State and Viceroys.

Further, administrative unification had important effects in many other fields. A highly trained professional, Indian civil service managed the district administration in all parts of India. A unified, judicial set up, codified civil and criminal law rigorously enforces throughout the length and breadth of the country imparted a new dimension of political unity to the hitherto cultural unity that

had existed in India for centuries. In the words of Edwyn Bevan, the British Raj was like a steel-frame which held the injured body of India together till the gradual process of internal growth had joined the dislocated bones, knit up the torn fibers, and enabled the patient to regain inner coherence and unity.

- 3. Introduction of Modern Education:** The introduction of modern system of education afforded opportunities for assimilation of modern western ideas, which in turn gave a new direction to Indian political thinking. The English system of education though conceived by the rulers in the interest of efficient administration opened to the easily educated Indian the floodgates of liberal European thought. The liberal and radical thought of European writers like Milton, Shelley, Bentham, Mill, Spencer, Rousseau and Voltaire inspired the Indian intelligentsia with the ideals of liberty, nationality and self government while Mazzini, Garibaldi and Irish leaders became their political inspirations and made clear to them the anachronism of British rule in India.

The newly-educated class usually adopted the profession of junior administrators, lawyers, doctors, teachers etc. Some of them visited England to receive higher education. While in England they saw with their own eyes the working of political institutions in a free country. On their return to India, these persons found the atmosphere cringing and slavish with the total denial of basic rights to citizens. These 'Vilayat-returned' Indians with the ever-expanding English educated class formed the middle class intelligentsia. This English-educated intelligentsia, somewhat conscious of political right, found that despite the promises contained in the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's proclamation of 1858 the doors of higher services closed to the Indians. Thus realization from discontent and frustration among them and the discontent proved infectious.

The spread of and popularity of the English language in all parts of India gave to the educated Indians a common language a lingua franca through the medium of which they could communicate with one another and transact their conferences and Congress. In the absence of such a lingua franca it would have been very difficult for the Indians to come on a common platform or organise a movement of all-India character.

However, we should note that the Introduction of Modern English language did not result in the rise of Indian Nationalism. It was the result of the clash of interest between the English and the

Indians. The English education only made the Indians aware of modern political ideas and systems and also made them capable of giving shape to the Indian National movement on democratic and modern lines. The reality was that the officials and staffs in the English schools usually tried to encourage pro-British attitude among the students. The nationalist ideas were not the result of English education.

There was a rise of nationalism and spread of modern ideas in China, Indonesia and other countries of Asia and Africa despite the fact that the number of modern Western type schools and colleges was limited. Initially the English language acted as lingua franca among the Indians but later its impact was seen in wider perspective educated groups. The English language separated the Indians into two different groups i.e., one English educated and the other vernacular educated groups. Most of the political leaders, understanding this fact tried to undo the impact of English education. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sayed Ahmed Khan, Ranade, Tilak, and Mahatma Gandhi, all emphasized on imparting education through vernaculars. In fact, as far as the rise & growth of nationalism among the masses is concerned, it was the result of spread of western ideas by vernacular literatures, press and propaganda.

- 4. Emergence of a Modern Press:** The emergence of the modern press- both English and vernacular was another offshoot of British rule in India. It was the Europeans who set up printing presses in India and published newspapers and other cheap Literature. Gradually, the vernacular press came into existence and developed on the Western pattern. In spite of the numerous restrictions imposed on the press by the colonial rulers from time to time Indian journalism made rapid strides. The latter half of the 19th century saw an unprecedented growth of Indian-owned English and vernacular newspapers.

In 1857 there were about 169 newspapers published in vernacular languages and their circulation reached about 100,000. The Indian press has played a notable role in mobilizing public opinion, organizing political movements, fighting out public controversy and promoting nationalism. Government policies were constantly criticized in the pages of the newspapers, Indian opinion was popularized and the idea of self-governance, democracy and Indian industrialization was propagated among the masses through these vernacular papers. Indian press was also an important medium of constant exchange of ideas and opinion among the nationalist in different parts of the country.

Newspapers, journals, pamphlets, magazines, booklets and other printed materials were used to propagate nationalism. Bamkim-Chandra Chatterjee (Bengal), Rabinder Nath Tagore (Bengal), Laxminath Bej Barua (Assam), Vishnu Sashtri Chiplankur (Maharashtra), Subramanian Bharti (Tamil Nadu), Altaf Hussain Hali (Urdu) and Bhartendu Harischandra & Premchand (Hindi) were some of the nationalist writers of the age. Newspapers like the Indian Mirror, the Bengalee, the Armit Bazzar Partrika, Bombay Chronicle, the Hindu Patriot, the Mahratta, Kesari, Andra Prakashika, the Hindu, Induprakash, Kohinur, Times of India, etc. in English and different Indian languages exposed the excesses of British Indian administration apart from popularizing among the people the ideas of representative government, liberty, democratic institutions, Home rule and Independence. It may not be an exaggeration to state that the press became the mirror of India's nationalism and the primary medium of popular public education.

5. Racism: One unfortunate legacy of the rebellion of 1857 was the feeling of racial bitterness between the rulers and the ruled. The 'punch' cartooned Indians as half-gorilla, half-Negroes. The Anglo-Indian bureaucracy developed an attitude of arrogance and contempt towards the Indians. They somehow came to the conclusion that the only argument that worked effectively with the Indians was superior force. Thus, Europeans developed their own social code of ethics and worked out the theory of a superior race. The Indians were dubbed as belonging to an inferior race and no longer worthy of any trust the Indians were frequently referred to as a nation of liars, perjurors and forgers. The Anglo-Indians lobby produced books leaf lets and pamphlets to justify the racial superiority of the European races particularly the English. This narrow approach evoked a reaction in the Indians mind and put the educated-Indians on the defensive.

6. Impact of Contemporary European Movement: Contemporary story currents of nationalist ideas, which pervaded the whole of Europe and South America, did stimulate Indian Nationalism. A number of nation-states came into existence in South America on the ruins of the Spanish and Portuguese empires. In Europe, the national liberation movements of Greece and Italy in general and of Ireland in particular deeply stirred the emotions of Indians. Educated Indians touring Europe were greatly impressed by the nationalist movements. We find Surendranath Banerji delivering lectures on Joseph Mazzini and the "Young Italy" movement organised by him. Lala

Lajpat Rai very often referred to the campaigns of Garibaldi and the activities of coronaries in his speeches and writings. Thus, European nationalist movements denied strength to the developing nationalism in India.

7. Progressive Character of socio-Religious Reforms:

In the 19th century educated Indians began to examine afresh their religious beliefs and customs and their social practices in the light of new knowledge of western science and philosophy which they had overturned. The result was various religious and social reform movements in Hindu religion like the Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission, the Theosophical society, etc. Similarly movements reformed Muslim, Sikh and Parsi societies also.

In the religious sphere the reform movements combated religious superstitions, attacked idolatry, polytheism and hereditary priest hood. In the social sphere, these movements attacked the caste system, untouchability and other social and legal inequalities. These movements were progressive in character for they sought reorganization of society on democratic lines and on the basis of ideas of individual equality, social equality, reason, enlightenment and liberalism. Most of the religious societies had also political mission, all the source, whosoever, came under their influence rapidly developed a sense of self-respect and spirit of patriotism.

8. Lord Lytton's Reactionary Policies: The shortsighted acts and policies of Lord Lytton acted like catalytic agents and accelerated the movement against foreign rule. The maximum age limit for the I.C.S. examination was reduced from 21 years to 19 years, this making it impossible for Indians to compete for it. The grand Delhi Durbar of 1877, when the country was in the severe grip of famine, solicited the remark of a Calcutta journalist that 'Nero was fiddling while Rome was burning'. Lytton put on the statute book two obnoxious measures the vernacular Press Act and Indian Arms Act (1878). Lytton's unpopular acts provoked a great storm of opposition in the country and led to the organisation of various political associations for carrying on anti-government propaganda in the country.

9. The Ilbert Bill Controversy: The Ilbert Bill controversy raised passion on both sides which did not subside early. Ripon's movement sought to abolish 'Judicial disqualification based as race distinction' and the Ilbert Bill sought to give the Indian members of the covenanted civil services the same powers and rights as the European

colleagues enjoyed. The Bill raised a storm of agitation among the members of the European community and they all stood united against the Bill. Ripon had to modify the Bill that almost defeated the original purpose. The Ilbert Bill controversy proved an eye opener to the Indian intelligentsia. It became clear to them that justice and fairplay could not be expected where the interests of the European community were involved. Further, it demonstrated to them the value of organised agitation.

After 1870's, it became clear that the Indian Nationalism had grown and had earned such strength and courage to become an important part in the Indian politics. Now, it was impossible to ignore the Indian Nationalism. In 1885, the Indian Nationalism was expressed in the form of an all-Indian organisation called the India National Congress. Before the National Congress, also there was several political organizations in India though on a lesser scale and limited to certain regions.

Pre-Congress Political Associations

The Indian sub-continent witnessed the growth of political ideas and political organizations hitherto unknown to the Indian world. And it was political association which heralded 19th century India into modern politics. After 1836, there was rise of many political associations in various parts of India. All these associations were headed by 'elites' and were regional and local. What distinguished these new political associations from earlier religions and caste associations of the country were the secular interest that bonded together the new classes. They worked for administrative reforms and demanded participation of Indians in the administration of India. Their method was, however, polite and restricted to petitions to the Government demanding reforms.

BENGAL PRESIDENCY

Raja Ram Mohan Roy was the pioneer of political movement in India. He was greatly influenced by western ideas. In 1821, the Raja celebrated in Calcutta the establishment of a constitutional government in Spain. Ram Mohan Roy was the first Indian to focus the attention of the English men on the grievances of India and to ask for remedial measures. He demanded liberty of the press, appointment of Indians in civil courts and other higher posts, codification of law, etc. It was generally believed that some of the beneficent provisions in the Charter Act of 1833 were due to his lobbying in England.

The task of organizing political association, was,

however, left to the associates of Ram Mohan Roy. The first such association called 'Bangabhasa Prakasika Sabha' was formed in 1836. The association discussed topics connected with the policy and administration of the Government and sought redress by sending petition and memorials to the Governments. In July 1838, the "Zamindari Association", more popularly known as the "Landholders Society", was formed to safeguard the interests of the landlords. Although limited in its objectives, the landholders Society marked the beginning of an organised political activities and use of methods of constitutional agitation for the redressal of grievances.

In April 1843, another political association under the name of the Bengal British India Society was founded with the object of "the collection and dissemination of information relating to the actual condition of the people of British Indian" on October 29, 1851, the two associations (Land Holders Society and British India Society) were merged into a new one referred the "British India Association". This association was dominated by members of the landed aristocracy and its primary objective was safeguarding their class interest. However, the Association struck a liberal note and when the time came for the renewal of the charter of the East India Company it sent a petition to the Parliament praying for establishment of a separate legislature of a popular character, separation of judicial and executive functions, reduction in the salaries of higher officers, abolition of salt duty, able abkari and stamp duties etc. The prayers of the Association were partially met and the Charter Act of 1853 provided for the addition of six members to the governor-general's council for legislative purpose.

In September 1875, Babu Sisir Kumar Ghose founded the Indian league with the objective of "stimulating the sense of nationalism amongst the people" and of encouraging political education. Within a year of its foundation, the Indian league was superseded by the Indian Association, founded on 26 July 1876, by Anandamohan Bose and Surendranath Banerjee. It was one of the most important pre-Congress Associations of political nature. It was founded in Calcutta. The young nationalists of Bengal were disheartened from the zamindar centric and traditional nature of the British India Association. They were in favour of a strong political struggle including important social issues. They got a good educated leader and orator in the form of Surendranath Banerjee.

Surendranath was dismissed by his higher officials from the Indian civil services in a very unrightful manner. He was against the supremacy of English authorities and Englishmen in Indian civil services and had raised voice against them. Surendranath

started his political career by talking on various political issues in 1875 amongst the students of Calcutta. The Indian Association hoped to attract not only the middle classes but also the masses and therefore kept its annual subscription of Rs 5 as opposed to the subscription of Rs 50. p. a fixed by the British Indian Association. Soon the Indian Association became the centre of the leading representatives of the educated community of Bengal.

The regulation of 1876 that reduced the maximum age for appearing in the Indian Civil Service examination from 21 to 19 years triggered on the political activity in India. The Indian Association took up this question and organized an all-India agitation against it, popularly known as the Indian civil service agitation. Surendranath Banerjee on a whirlwind tour of northern India in May 1877 visited Banaras, Allahabad, Kanpur, Lucknow, Aligarh, Delhi, Meerut, Amritsar and Lahore. At certain centers he visited, new political organizations to act in concert with the Indian Association of Calcutta were set up.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

On the lines of British India Association of Calcutta, on 26 August 1852, was founded the Bombay Association with the object of 'memorializing from time to time the government authorities in India or in England for the removal of existing evils, and for the prevention of proposed measures which may be deemed injurious or for the introduction of enactment which may tend to promote the general interest of all connected with this country'.

The Bombay Association sent a petition to the British Parliament urging the formation of new legislative council to which Indians should also represented. It also condemned the policy of exclusion of Indians from all higher services, lavish expenditure on sinecure posts given to European. However, this Association didn't survive for long. The reactionary policies of Lytton and the Ilbert Bill controversy caused political commotion in Bombay. The credit for organisation of the Bombay Presidency Association in 1885 goes to the popularly called brothers in law-Mehtas, Telang and Tyabji, representing the three chief communities of Bombay town. At Poona, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha was established in 1867 with the object of serving as a bridge between the Governments on the one hand and the people on the other.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY

A branch of the British Indian Association of Calcutta was setup at Madras under the name of the Madras Native Association. However, the Madras Native Association right from its inception was worked by some officials, possessed very little vitality, had hardly any hold upon the public mind and languished into obscurity after 1857.

The Madras Mahajan Sabha was formed in May, 1884 to co-ordinate the activities of local association and to 'provide a focus for the non-official intelligence spread up through the Presidency'. It was founded by M. V. Raghavachari, G. Subrahmanyam Aiyar, Anand Charlu and others.

Various political organizations were also formed outside India during pre-Congress period of colonial rule. In 1866, East India Association was founded by Dadabhai Naoroji in London. Its objective was to discuss the problem and questions related to India and to influence the British leaders towards the development of India. Later, Dadabhai also opened its branch in various important Indian cities. Two other Associations namely National Indian Association, founded by Mary Carpenter in 1867 and Indian society, founded by Anandmohan Bose in 1872 were also formed in London. These, however, were not so important as compared to East India Association. Its leaders, like Dadabhai Naoroji devoted all his life for Indian freedom struggle. He was also known as the Grand Old Man of India. He was the first economic thinker of India. He, in his writings proved that the only cause of poverty in India was the economic exploitation of India by British and Drain of Wealth. Dadabhai Naoroji was elected to the presidency of Indian National Congress thrice.

The political Associations and activities in pre-Congress period in India and abroad regarding the Indian freedom struggle made it mandatory to form an All-India Association that would lead the country against the foreign rulers. These early Associations had, though, important contribution i.e. of arousing the political will and demands of the Indian public, but their area and activities, all were limited. They mainly questioned local issues and their members and leaders were also limited to one or adjoining provinces. Despite good leaders like Surendranath Banerjee, Dadabhai Naoroji, Ananda Charlu and others there was a lack of national unity in case of political association that was gained by the formation of Indian National Congress.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

The credit for giving the idea concrete and final shape goes to A. O. Hume, a retired English Civil Servant. He got in touch with prominent Indian leaders and organised with their cooperation the first session of the Indian National Congress at Gokul Singh Tejpal Sanskrit School, Bombay in December 1885. It was presided over by W.C. Banerjee and attended by 72 delegates. The aims of the National Congress were declared to be the promotion of friendly relations between nationalist political workers from different parts of the country. Hence, the sessions of the Indian National Congress were rotated with the President being from a different region. In 1890, Kadambini Ganguli, the first woman graduate of Calcutta University, addressed the Congress session. The Indian National Congress was not the only channel through which the stream of nationalism flowed. Provincial conferences, provincial and local associations, and nationalist newspapers were the other prominent organs of the growing nationalist movement. The press, in particular, was a powerful factor in developing nationalist opinion and the nationalist movement. Of course, most of the newspapers of the period were not carried on as business ventures but were consciously started as organs of nationalist activity.

Phase of National Movement

A retrospective examination of the national movement suggest three broad stages in its development:

1. **1885-1905: The Moderate phase or the period of early nationalist Movement.** In this phase the vision of the Indian national Movement Congress was dim, vague and confused. The movement was confined to a handful of the educated middle class intelligentsia who drew inspiration from western liberal and radical thought.
2. **1905-1918: The Extremist phase or the period of militant nationalists.** During the second stage the Congress came of age and its aim and scope were considerably, extended. It aimed at an all round development of the people-social, cultural, economic and political 'swaraj' or government was the goal of political front. Some progressive elements within the congress adopted western revolutionary methods to liquidate western Imperialism.

3. **1919- 1947: The Gandhian phase or the Final stage:** It was dominated by the objective of 'Poorna Swaraj' or complete independence to be achieved under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi by the characteristically Indian method of non-violence and non-cooperation.

The Moderates

The National leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji, Firoz Shah Mehta, M.E. Wacha, W.C. Banerjee, S.N. Banerjee, who dominated during this period were staunch believers in liberalism and moderate polities and came to be known as moderates. The moderates believed in the constitutional agitation. They believed if public opinion was created and organised and popular demands presented to the authorities through petitions, meetings, resolutions and speeches, the authorities would concede these demands gradually and step by step. The moderates believed that the British people and Parliament wanted to be just to India but they did not know the true state of affairs there.

Agitation against Economic Policies

The early nationalists complained of India's growing poverty and economic backwardness and the failure of modern industry and agriculture to grow; and they put the blame on British economic exploitation of India. They organised a powerful agitation against nearly all important official economic policies based on this colonial structure. They took note of all the three forms of contemporary colonial economic exploitation, namely, through trade, industry and finance. They clearly grasped that the essence of British economic imperialism lay in the subordination of the Indian economy to the British economy.

They vehemently opposed the British attempt to develop in India the basic characteristics of a colonial economy namely, the transformation of India into a supplier of raw materials, a market for British manufacturers, and a field of investment for foreign capital. Dadabhai Naoroji declared as early as 1881 that the British rule was "an everlasting, increasing and everyday increasing foreign invasion" that was "utterly, though gradually, destroying the country". They popularised the idea of swadeshi or the use of Indian goods, and the boycott of British goods as a means of promoting Indian industries. Students in Poona and in

other towns of Maharashtra publicly burnt foreign clothes in 1896 as part of the larger swadeshi campaign.

Constitutional Reforms

Their immediate demands were extremely moderate. They hoped to win freedom through gradual steps. They were also extremely cautious, lest the Government suppress their activities. From 1885 to 1892 they demanded the expansion and reform of the Legislative councils.

The British Government was forced by their agitation to pass the Indian Councils Act of 1892. By this Act the number of members of the imperial Legislative Council as well as the provincial councils was increased. Some of these members could be elected indirectly by Indians, but the officials' majority remained. The nationalists were totally dissatisfied with the Act of 1892 and declared it to be a hoax.

By the beginning of the 20th century, the nationalist leaders advanced further and put forward the claim for swarajya of self-government within the British Empire on the model of self-governing colonies like Australia and Canada. This demand was made from the Congress platform by Gokhale in 1905 and by Dadabhai Naoroji in 1906.

Administrative and other Reforms

The most important administrative reform they desired was Indianisation of the higher grades of the administrative services. They put forward this demand on economic, political and moral grounds. Economically, the European monopoly of higher services was harmful on two grounds:- (1) Europeans were paid at very high rates and this made Indian administration very costly - Indians of similar qualifications could be employed on lower salaries; and (2) Europeans sent out of India a large part of their salaries and their pensions were paid in England. This added to the drain of wealth from India. Politically, the nationalists hoped that the Indianisation of these services would make the administration more responsive to Indian needs.

Defence of Civil Rights

Politically conscious India had been powerfully attracted not only to democracy but also to modern civil rights, namely, the freedom of speech, the Press, thought and association. They put up a strong defence of these civil rights whenever the Government tried to curtail them. It was during this period and as a result of nationalist political work that democratic ideas began to take root among the Indian people in general and the intelligentsia in particular. In fact, the struggle for democratic freedoms became an integral part of the nationalist struggle for freedom.

In 1897 the Bombay Government arrested B.G. Tilak and several other leaders and newspaper editors, and tried them, spreading disaffection against the Government. They were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. At the same time two Poona leaders, the Nathu brothers, were deported without trial. The entire country protested against this attack on the liberties of the people. Tilak, hitherto known largely in Maharashtra, became overnight an all-India leader.

Methods of Political work

The political methods of the Moderates can be summed up briefly as constitutional agitation within the four walls of the law, and slow, orderly political progress. Their political work had, therefore, a two pronged direction.

- Firstly, to build up a strong public opinion in India to arouse the political consciousness and national spirit of the people, and to educate and unite on the political questions.
- Secondly, the early nationalists wanted to persuade the British Government and British public opinion to introduce reforms along directions laid down by the nationalists.

Demand of the Moderates

- Expansion and power to legislative council.
- Greater opportunities for Indians in ICS exam.
- Reimposition of custom duties on cotton goods.
- Grant of self government to India within the British Empire as in the colonies of Australia and Canada.
- Freedom of speech and expression.

Weakness

The basic weakness of the Moderates lay in their narrow social base. The leaders lacked political faith in the masses as they declared that the time was not ripe for throwing out a challenge to the foreign rulers.

Government's Attitude

Regarding the attitude of the British Government towards the Moderates, it became hostile soon after the inception of INC. Dufferin, the then Governor General, had tried to divert the national movement by suggesting to Hume that the Congress should devote itself to social causes rather than political affairs. But now Congress leaders refused to do so. British officials now began to criticise Congress and other nationalist leaders as "disloyal Babus, seditious Brahmins and violent villains". Dufferin remarked on Congress as "Microscopic minority". Curzon said, "The Congress is tottering to its fall and one of my great ambitions, while in India, is to assist it to a peaceful demise". Besides the British officials relied upon

the policy of 'Divide and Rule' to weaken the nationalist movement. They encouraged Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Raja Shiv Prasad of Benaras and other pro-British Indians to start an anti-Congress movement.

Achivements

The polities of the Moderates was described as "halting and half hearted" their methods were described as those of mendicancy or beggary through prayers and petition. They failed to get anything substantial from the British through constitutional methods. But it is only the single side of the fact. Moderates succeeded in creating a wide political awakening and in arousing among the Indians the feeling that they belong to one nation. They exposed the true character of the British imperialism in India. In spite of their many failures they laid strong foundation for the national movement.

The Extremists

Causes of Growth of Extremism

A section of the Congress gradually lost faith in its moderate programme in the early 20th century and moved towards militant nationalism. It marked the growth of a radical wing in the Congress. The political events of the year 1892 to 1905 also disappointed the nationalists and made them think of more radical politics. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was a complete disappointment. On the other hand, even the existing political rights of the people were attacked.

The Nathu brothers were deported in 1897 without being tried; even the charges against them were not made public. In the same year, Lokmanya Tilak and other newspaper editors were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for arousing the people against the foreign government. The people found that, instead of giving them wider political rights, the rulers were taking away even their few existing rights.

In 1898, a law was passed making it an offence to excite 'feelings of disaffection' towards the foreign government. In 1899, the number of Indian members in the Calcutta Corporation was reduced. In 1904, the Indian Official Secrets Act was passed restricting the freedom of the Press. The Indian Universities Act of 1904 was seen by the nationalists as an attempt to bring Indian Universities under tighter official control and to check the growth of higher education. The anti-congress attitude of Lord Curzon convinced more and more people that it was useless to expect any political and economic advance as long as Britain ruled India. Even the moderate leader Gokhale complained that "the bureaucracy was growing frankly selfish and openly hostile to national aspirations".

Agenda and Methods of Extremists

Four prominent Congress leaders Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghosh and Lala Lajpat Rai were chief advocates of militant nationalism. They rejected prayer and petition method of moderates. The new leadership sought to create a passionate love for liberty, accompanied by a spirit of sacrifice and readiness to suffer for the cause of country. They advocated boycott of foreign goods, use of swadesi goods, national education and passive resistance. They had deep faith in mass and they planned to achieve swaraj through mass action.

The leaders of this wing gave up the soft approach of appeals and petitions. Instead, they made radical (fundamental) demands and adopted strong ways of political agitation. They had no faith in good intentions of the British government. The extremist aimed at achieving 'swaraj' that meant complete independence from British rule. They considered that the demand of the moderate leaders for Swaraj was for colonial self government. Tilak remarked, 'Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it'. Aurobindo Ghosh said "political freedom is the life breath of a nation".

Radical Nationalists Politics

Larger numbers of educated Indians were employed on extremely low salaries under alien rule. Many of them even faced unemployment, so they were attracted towards militant nationalism. They were fully aware of contemporary international events. The rise of modern Japan after 1868 showed that a backward Asian country could develop itself without western control. The defeat of the Italian army by the Ethiopians in 1896 and of Russia by Japan in 1905 exploded the myth of European superiority. Educated Indians were watching carefully the revolutionary movements of Russia, Egypt, Turkey, China and Ireland.

Thus there developed a school of militant nationalism side by side with the moderate politics. This school was represented by leaders like Rajnarain Bose and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal and Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar in Maharashtra. The most outstanding representative of this school was Bal Gangadhar Tilak.

Tilak helped in founding during 1880s 'the new English School' which later became the Fergusson College, and newspapers 'the Maratha' (in English) and 'the Kesari' (in Marathi). From 1889, he edited the Kesari and preached nationalism in its columns and taught people to become courageous, self-reliant and selfless fighters in the cause of India's independence.

In 1893, he started using the traditional religious Ganpati festival to propagate nationalist ideas through

VAJIRAM & RAVI

songs and speeches. In 1895 he started the Shivaji festival to simulate nationalism among young Maharashtrians by holding up the example of Shivaji for emulation.

He set a real example of boldness and sacrifice

when the authorities arrested him in 1897 on the charge of spreading hatred and disaffection against the Government. He refused to apologize to the Government and was sentenced to 18 month's rigorous imprisonment.

Congress Sessions and Presidents

Year	Name of the President	Venue	Year	Name of the President	Venue
1885	W. C. Bannerjee	Bombay	1916	Ambika Charan Majumdar	Lucknow
1886	Dadabhai Naoroji	Calcutta	1917	Mrs. Annie Besant	Calcutta
1887	Badruddin Tyabji	Madras	1918	Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya	Delhi
1888	George Yule	Allahabad	1919	Motilal Nehru	Amritsar
1889	Sir William Wedderburn	Bombay	1920	Lala Lajpat Rai (suspended)	Calcutta
1890	Ferozshah Mehta	Calcutta		C. Vijayraghavachariar (annual)	Nagpur
1891	P. Ananda Charlu	Nagpur	1921	C. R. Das	Gaya
1892	W. C. Bannerjee	Allahabad	1923	Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad (Suspended)	
1893	Dadabhai Naoroji	Lahore		Maulana Mahammad Ali Cocanda (Annual)	
1894	Alfred Webb	Madras	1924	Mahatma Gandhi	Belgaum
1895	S. N. Bannerjee	Poona	1925	Mrs. Sarojini Naidu	Cawnpore
1896	Rahimtulla M. Sayani	Calcutta	1926	S. Sarojini Lyengar	Guwahati
1897	C. Sankaran Nair	Amiravati	1927	Dr. M. A. Ansari	Madras
1898	Anand Mohan Bose	Madras	1928	Pandit Motilal Nehru	Calcutta
1899	R. C. Dutt	Lucknow	1929	Jawaharlal Nehru	Lahore
1900	N. G. Chandavarkar	Lahore	1930	(No session) but Independence Day Pledge was adopted on 26th Jan, 1930.	
1901	D. E. Wacha	Calcutta	1931	Vallabhbhai Patel	Karachi
1902	Hasan Imam S. N. Banerjee	Ahmedabad	1932	R. Amritlal (session was banned)	
1903	Lal Mohan Ghose	Madras	1933	Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta (session was banned)	
1904	Sir Henry Cotton	Bombay			Calcutta
1905	G. K. Gokhale	Benares	1934-35	Rajendra Prasad	Bombay
1906	Dadabhai Naoroji	Calcutta	1936	Jawaharlal Nehru	Lucknow
1907	Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh (Susp.)	Surat	1937	Jawaharlal Nehru	Faizpur
1908	Dr. Rash Behari Ghosh	Madras	1938	S. C. Bose	Harihpur
1909	Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya	Lahore	1939	S. C. Bose (Re elected for 1939)	Tripuri
1910	Sir William Webberburn	Allahabad	1940	Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad	Ramgarh
1911	Pandit B. N. Dhar	Calcutta	1941-45	(No session, like due to arrests and jailing owing to war situation.)	
1912	R. N. Modholkar	Bankipore	1946	Acharya J. B. Kripalani	Meerut
1913	Nawab Syed Md. Bahadur	Karachi	1947	B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya	Jaipur
1914	Bhupendranath Basu	Madras			
1915	Sir Satender Prasad Sinha	Bombay			

NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, 1905-1918: GROWTH OF MILITANT NATIONALISM

Partition of Bengal, 1905

- By Lord Curzon on 16th October, 1905, through a royal proclamation reducing the old province of Bengal in size by creating East Bengal and Assam out of rest of Bengal.
- The government said that it was done to stimulate growth in the eastern region when actually the objective was to set up a communal gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims.
- A mighty upsurge swept the country against the partition. National movement found real expression in the movement against the partition of Bengal in 1905.
- Rabindranath Tagore composed the national song 'Amar Sonar Bangla' for the occasion which was later adopted as the national anthem of Bangladesh in 1971 after liberation from Pakistan.
- The ceremony of Raksha Bandhan was observed on 16th October, 1905 where Hindus and Muslims tied rakhis to each other to show solidarity.
- The newspapers played a significant role in the movement. The main newspapers were K.K. Mitra's Sanjeevani, S.N. Banerjee's Bengali, Motilal Ghosh's Amrit Bazaar Patrika, B.B. Upadhyaya's Yugantar, Bipin Chandra Pal's New India, Aurobindo Ghosh's Bande Mataram and Ajit Singh's Bharat Mata.

Rise of Extremism

- A section of Congress lost faith in moderate programme and moved towards militant nationalism.
- The leaders of this group gave up the soft approach of appeals and petitions. Instead they made radical demands and adopted strong ways of political agitation.
- Ashwini Kumar Datt said that the Amravati session was a three day tamasha.
- Lala Lajpat Rai regarded the congress as a factitious annual festival of British educated elites.
- The extremists aimed at achieving Swaraj that meant complete independence from British rule.

- They advocated boycott of foreign goods, use of Swadeshi goods, national education and passive resistance. They had deep faith in the masses and they planned to achieve Swaraj through mass action.

Swadeshi Movement (1905)

- The movement had its origin in the anti-partition movement of Bengal. The leaders of Bengal felt that mere demonstrations, public meetings and resolutions were not enough and something more was needed; the answer was felt as Swadeshi and Boycott.
- An important aspect of the Swadeshi movement was emphasis placed on self-reliance.
- Lal, Bal and Pal and Aurobindo Ghosh played an important role.
- The INC took the Swadeshi call first at the Benaras Session, 1905 presided over by G.K. Gokhale.
- A resolution to boycott British goods was adopted on 7th August, 1905 at a meeting of the INC at Calcutta and bonfires of foreign goods at various places were organised.

Muslim League, 1906

- Setup in 1906 under the leadership of Aga Khan, Nawab Salimullah of Dhaka and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk.
- It was a loyalist, communal and conservative political organization which supported the partition of Bengal, opposed the Swadeshi movement, and demanded special safeguards of its community and a separate electorate for Muslims.

Calcutta Session of INC, 1906

Swaraj was adopted in December 1906 at the Calcutta session by the INC under Dadabhai Naoroji as the goal of Indian people.

Surat Session of INC, 1907

- The INC split into two groups - the extremists and the moderates at the Surat session in 1907. The Extremists

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were led by Bal, Pal, Lal while the moderates by G.K. Gokhale.

- A controversy arose over the elected president, Rash Bihari Ghosh, as extremists did not accept him as they wanted Lala Lajpat Rai to be chosen.
- The moderates wanted to modify the congress resolutions on Swadeshi and boycott passed in the 1906 session. The extremists wanted to intensify them.
- The moderates wanted to insert a clause in the congress constitution that Swaraj was to be achieved only through constitutional means and by reforms in Administration.
- The extremists were in favour of direct agitation through the Swadeshi and boycott movements.
- The government after this launched a massive attack on the extremists by suppressing their newspapers and arresting their leaders.

Indian Council Act/Morley-Minto Act, 1909

- The Act introduced at the time of Morley who was the Secretary of State and Minto who was the Indian Viceroy.
- Legislative Councils both at the centre and the Provinces were expanded.
- With regard to the Central Government, an Indian member was taken in the Executive Council of the Governor General.
- The size of the Provincial legislative Councils was enlarged by including elected non-official members so that the official majority was gone. Their function was also increased and now they could move resolutions on budget and some matters of public importance.
- An element of election was also introduced in the Central Legislative Council, but the official majority was maintained.
- The most notable and retrograde change introduced was that muslims were given separate representation. Thus communal representation was introduced which aimed at dividing the nationalist ranks and at rallying the Moderates and the Muslims to the Government's side.

Ghadar Party, 1913

- Formed by Lala Hardayal, Taraknath Das and Sohan Singh Bhakna the name was taken from the weekly Ghadar which had been started on 1 November, 1913 to commemorate the 1857 revolt.
- It was headquartered at San Francisco.

- The outbreak of the first World War provided the Ghadarites with an opportunity to free India from a government which was indifferent to their cause.
- And therefore they returned to India in thousands for a coordinated revolt in collaboration with the Bengal revolutionaries. Their plan was foiled at the last moment due to treachery.

Komagata Maru Incident, 1914

- Komagata Maru was the name of the ship which carried a shipload of Sikh and Muslim immigrants from Punjab to Vancouver, Canada. But the Canadian immigration authorities turned them back after months of uncertainty.
- The ship finally anchored at Calcutta on 29 September, 1914 but the inmates refused to board the Punjab bound train and there was a clash with the police in which 22 persons were killed.
- This incident fired up the revolutionary activities which sought to avenge the death of the innocents.

Home Rule Movement, 1916

- After Tilak's return having served a sentence of six years in Mandalay, Burma, he tried to secure his readmission along with other extremists in the INC. With the need being felt for popular pressure to attain concession, disillusionment with the Morley-Minto Reforms and wartime miseries, Tilak and Annie Besant readied to assume leadership.
- The movement was started by B.G. Tilak in Poona in April 1916 and Annie Besant and S. Subramania Iyer at Adyar near Madras in September 1916.
- Tilak's league was to work in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Central Province and Berar and Annie Besant's in the rest of India.
- The objective of the movement was self-government for India in the British empire.
- Tilak linked up the question of Swaraj with the demand for the formation of linguistic states and education in the vernacular languages. He gave the slogan 'Swaraj is my birthright and I shall have it'.
- The Maharatta and Kesari of Tilak and Annie Besant's New India, Commonwealth and Young India became the organs of the Home Rule movement
- The Muslim League also supported it.

Lucknow Pact, 1916

- Was signed following the war between Britain and Turkey leading to anti-British feelings among Muslims.

- Both INC and the Muslim League concluded it, the Congress accepting the separate electorates and both jointly demanding a representative government and dominion status for the country.

August Declaration, 1917

- After the Lucknow Pact, a British policy was announced which aimed at 'increasing the association of Indians in every branch of the

administration for progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British empire'. This came to be called the August Declaration.

- Was attributed to the Hindu-Muslim unity exhibited in the Lucknow Pact.
- The Montague Chelmsford reforms or the Act of 1919 was based on this declaration.

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STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ - I, 1919 - 1927

Government of India Act/Montague Chelmsford Reforms, 1919

- Dyarchy system was introduced in the provinces. It was considered to be a substantial step towards transfer of power to the Indians. The provincial subjects of the administration were to be divided into two categories: **Transferred and Reserved**. The transferred subjects were to be administered by the Governor with the aid of ministers responsible to the Legislative Council. The Governor and the Executive Council were to administer the reserved subjects without any responsibility to the legislature.
- Devolution Rules: Subjects of administration were divided into two categories - Central and Provincial. Subjects of all India importance (like railways and finance) were brought under the category of Central while matters relating to the administration of the provinces were classified as Provincial.
- The Provincial Legislature was to consist of one House only - Legislative Council.
- The number of Indians in the Governor General's Executive Council was raised to three in a council of eight. The Indian members were entrusted with departments such as Law, Education, Labour, Health and Industries.
- The Centre was now to have a bicameral legislature for the first time. It actually happened after the 1935 Act.
- Communal representation was extended to Sikhs, Christians and Anglo-Indians, etc.
- Secretary of State was to be henceforth paid salary out of the British revenue.

Rowlatt Act, 1919

- In 1917 a Rowlatt committee was formed under Justice Rowlatt. This committee was formed to curb revolutionary activities. The Rowlatt Bill sought to curtail the liberty of the people.
- It provided for speedy trial of offences by a special court of 3 High court judges. There was to be no appeal.

- The provincial government had powers to search a place and arrest a suspected person without warrant.
- This gave unbridled powers to the government to arrest and imprison suspects without trial for two years maximum. This law enabled the Government to suspend the right of Habeas Corpus, which had the foundation of civil liberties in Britain.
- It caused a wave of anger in all sections spreading a country-wide agitation by Gandhiji and marked the foundation of the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- Gandhiji organised the Satyagraha on 14th February, 1919. The government gave consent to the Act in March, 1919. On 8th April, 1919 Gandhiji was arrested.
- Earlier Gandhiji's first great experiment in Satyagraha had come in 1917 in Champaran (Bihar) where the peasants were forced by their European planters to grow indigo on at least 3/ 20 of their land and sell it at prices fixed by the planters.
- Also in 1918 he had supported the cause of the textile workers of Ahmedabad. It was here that he used the weapon of hunger strike and won for the workers a 35% increase in wages and in 1918 the Kheda peasant struggle of Gujarat (demanding suspension of revenue collection due to failure of crop) involved Gandhiji and Sardar Vallabh-bhai Patel.
- During March and April 1919, the country witnessed a remarkable political awakening in India. There were hartals, processions and demonstrations everywhere.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre, 1919

- People were agitated over the arrest of Dr. Kitchlu and Dr. Satyapal on April 10, 1919 and assembled in the Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar.
- General O' Dyer fired at the people as a result of which hundreds of people were killed and thousands injured.
- Rabindranath Tagore returned his Knighthood in protest and Sir Shankaran Nair resigned from Viceroy's Executive Council after this.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

- The Hunter Commission was appointed to enquire into the matter.
- On 13 March, 1940, Sardar Udham Singh killed O' Dyer when the latter was addressing a meeting in Caxton Hall, London.

Khilafat Movement, 1920

- The main object the Khilafat movement was to force the British government change its attitude towards Turkey and restore the Khalifa to his former position.
- Muslims were agitated by the treatment done with Turkey by the British in the Treaty that followed the First World War.
- Two brothers, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali started this movement along with Maulana Azad, Jakim Ajmal Khan and Hasrai Mohani. It was jointly led by the Khilafat leaders and the Congress.
- Gandhiji viewed the Khilafat agitation as a golden opportunity for bringing the Hindus and Muslims together.
- On 31 August, 1920, the Khilafat Committee launched a non-cooperation movement.
- Gandhiji now pressed the Congress to adopt a similar plan of action. Although it was initially opposed by C.R. Das, but was later unopposed.
- Very soon the Khilafat movement lost its relevance because Mustafa Kamal Pasha abolished Khilafat and made Turkey a secular state.

Non-Cooperation Movement, 1920

- It was the first mass-based political movement under Gandhiji.
- Congress passed the resolution in its Calcutta session in September 1920 with three main demands before the government (i) redressal of the Punjab grievances (ii) Khilafat wrongs (iii) establishment of Swaraj.
 - The movement envisaged:
 - Surrender of titles and honorary offices.
 - Resignation from nominated offices and posts in the local bodies.
 - Refusal to attend government darbars and boycott of British courts by the lawyers.
 - Refusal of general public to offer themselves for military and other government jobs and boycott of foreign goods, etc.
- C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru gave up their legal practice and Subash Chandra Bose resigned from the Civil Service.

- Tilak passed away on August 1, 1920, Tilak Swaraj funds was started to fund the Non-Cooperation Movement.
- The Prince of Wales visited India during this period but he was greeted with empty streets and downed shutters when he came on 17 November, 1921.

Chauri-Chaura Incident, 1922

- The Congress Session at Allahabad in December 1921 decided to launch the Civil Disobedience Movement. Gandhiji was appointed as its leader.
- But before it could be launched a mob of people at Chauri Chaura (near Gorakhpur) clashed with the police and burnt 22 policemen on 5th February, 1922.
- This compelled Gandhiji to withdraw the Non Cooperation Movement on 12th February, 1922

Swaraj Party, 1923

- The sudden calling off of the non-cooperation movement disappointed many congress leaders.
- Motilal Nehru, C.R. Das and N.C. Kelkar (called Pro-changers) demanded that the Nationalists should end the boycott of the legislative councils, enter them and expose them. But the No-changers like Rajendra Prasad and Rajagopalachari adhered to the Gandhian programme of Boycott of legislatures.
- The Pro-Changers formed the Swaraj party on January 1, 1923, contested the elections and embarrassed the government by opposing its measures.
- The party got a majority in the 1923 elections in Bengal and the Central Province.
- The Swarajists were split by communalism. The 'responsivist' group including Madan Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai and N.G. Kelkar offered cooperation to the government to safeguard Hindu interests.
- The Swarajists finally walked out of legislature in 1930 as a result of the Lahore congress resolution and the beginning of the civil disobedience movement.
- The two sections were reunited in 1930 after the Lahore session.

Emergence of Gandhi

The last phase of the national movement began in 1919 when the era of popular mass movements was

initiated. During this period a new leader, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi took command. The new leader made good one of the basic weaknesses of the previous leadership. Gandhiji was greatly influenced by the works of Leo Tolstoy's Civil Disobedience and Ruskin's 'unto to the last'. Tolstoy's ideal of non-possession was developed by Gandhiji in his concept of 'trusteeship'. He was also influenced by the life and teachings of Swami Vivekananda. His political Guru Gokhale and Dadabhai Naroji also influenced him. Besides he had an experience of struggle in South Africa between (1984-1914). He came to India in 1915. His non-violent satyagraha involved peaceful violation of specific laws. He resorted to mass courting arrest and occasional hartals and spectacular marches. He had readiness for negotiations and compromise. His struggle against foreign rule is popularly known as 'struggle-truce-struggle'.

1. **Champaran Satyagraha (1917):** Gandhi's first great experiment in satyagraha came in 1917 in Champaran, a district in Bihar. The peasantry on the indigo plantations in the district was excessively oppressed by the European planters. They were compelled to grow indigo on at least 3/20th of their land and so sell it at prices fixed by the planters. This system was popularly known as 'Tim-Kuthia system'. Several peasants of Champaran invited Gandhi to come and help them. Accompanied by Babu Rajendra Prasad, Mazhar-ul-Huq, J.B. Kripalani, Narhari Parekh and Mahadev Desai,

Gandhiji reached Champaran in 1917 and through his method and efforts, the disabilities from which the peasantry was suffering were reduced and Gandhiji won his first battle of civil disobedience in India.

2. **Ahmedabad Mill Strike (1918):** Gandhiji did his second experiment at Ahmedabad in 1918 when he had to intervene in a dispute between the workers and the mill-owners. He advised the workers to go on strike and to demand a 35 per cent increase in wages. But he insisted that the workers should not use violence against the employers during the strike. He undertook a fast unto death to strengthen the workers' resolve to continue the strike. This put pressure on the mill-owners who relented on the fourth day and agreed to give the workers a 35 per cent increase in wages.
3. **Kheda Satyagraha (1918):** The farmers of Kheda district in Gujarat were in distress because of the failure of crops. The government refused to remit land revenue and insisted on its full collection. As part of the experiment, Mahatma Gandhi advised the peasants to withhold payment of revenue till their demand for its remission was met. The struggle was withdrawn when it was learnt that the government had issued instructions that revenue should be recovered only from those peasants who could afford to pay. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel became the follower of Gandhiji during the Kheda movement.

STRUGGLE FOR SWARAJ - II, 1927-1947

Simon Commission, 1927

- In 1927, the British government appointed a Commission to look into the working of the Government of India Act, 1919.
- Constituted under John Simon to review the political situation in India and to introduce further reforms and extension of parliamentary democracy.
- Indian leaders opposed the Commission as there were no Indians in it and the Congress turned the boycott into a movement.
- Simon and his colleagues landed in Bombay on 3 February, 1928 and were greeted with hartals and black flag demonstrations.
- The government used brutal repression and police attacks to break the popular opposition. At Lahore, Lala Lajpat Rai was severely beaten in lathi charge and he succumbed to his injuries on 17 November, 1928.

Butler Committee, 1927

- Alongwith the Simon Commission the British Government also announced the setting up of a three-member committee consisting of Harcourt Butler, W.S. Holdsworth and S.C. Peel to inquire into the relationship between the Indian states and paramount power and to suggest ways and means for a more satisfactory adjustment of the existing economic relations between Britain and British India.
- Officially called the Indian States Committee, it visited 16 Indian states and submitted its report in 1929.

The Nehru Report, 1928

- After boycotting the Simon Commission, all political parties constituted a committee under the chairmanship of Motilal Nehru to evolve and determine the principles of a constitution for India. It remains memorable as the first major Indian effort to draft a constitutional framework for India, complete with lists of central and provincial subjects and fundamental rights. It suggested dominion status for the country.

- The committee comprised of Tej Bahadur Sapru, Ali Imam, M.S. Aney, Mangal Singh, Shoaib Querishi, G.R. Pradhan and Subash Chandra Bose.
- The report had a different chapter on minority rights apart from the Fundamental Rights.
- However when the report was placed before the All Parties Convention in Calcutta, there was a violent clash between Jinnah (representing the Muslim League) and M.R. Jayakar (who put forth the Hindu Mahasabha viewpoint) on the former's demand of one-third of the total seats in the central legislatures for Muslims.
- Consequently, Jinnah's proposed amendments were overwhelmingly outvoted and the Report proved to be a non-starter and became a mere historical document.

The Fourteen Points, 1929

- At a meeting of the Muslim League in Delhi on March 28, 1929, Jinnah announced the Fourteen Points.
- Rejecting the Nehru Report he maintained that no scheme for the future government of India would be acceptable to Muslims until and unless the fourteen points were given effect to.

Lahore Session, 1929

- On December 19, 1929, under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, the INC at its Lahore session declared Poorna Swaraj as its ultimate goal.
- On 31 December, 1929 the newly adopted tricolour flag was unfurled and 26 January, 1930 was fixed as the First Independence Day, which was to be celebrated every year.

Dandi March, 1930 and the Civil Disobedience Movement (1930-1931)

- Gandhi submitted the Eleven Point Ultimatum to the British but after no response from the latter he launched the Civil Disobedience Movement with the Dandi March also called the Salt Satyagraha.

VAJIRAM & RAVI

- Along with 78 followers, Gandhiji started his march from Sabarmati Ashram on March 12, 1930 from the small village Dandi to break the salt law. He reached the sea shore on 6 April, 1930, picked up a handful of salt and inaugurated the Civil Disobedience Movement.
- The salt satyagraha movement was taken up by C. Rajagopalachari in Tamil Nadu and the Vaikom Satyagraha by K. Kalappan in Malabar.
- The salt satyagraha sparked off other forms of defiance. In the north east, the Pathans under Khan Abdul Gafar Khan, popularly known as Frontier Gandhi, organized the society of 'Khudai Khidmatgars' which was also known as Red Shirts. This movement even sparked off patriotism among the Indian soldiers in the British army. The Gharwal soldiers refused to fire on the people at Peshawar.
- In Bengal, the Chittagong army raid was carried out in April 1930.
- In Bihar there was a protest against Chowkidari tax in Saran, Bhagalpur and Monghyr.

First Round Table Conference, 1930

- It was the first conference arranged between the British and the Indians as equals. It was held on 12 November, 1930 in London to discuss the Simon Commission recommendations.
- The conference was boycotted by the INC, but the Muslim League, Hindu Mahasabha, Liberals and other groups were present.
- The first round table conference was attended by Tej Bahadur Sapru, B.R. Ambedkar, Md. Shafi, M.A. Jannah, Fazlul Haq, Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Sir Mirza Ismail, Sir Akbar Hydari, Maharaja of Bikaner, Raja Rajendra Nath and others.
- The conference was postponed to 2 January, 1931 in the absence of any major political party.

Gandhi-Irwin Pact, 1931

- The moderate statesmen Sapru, Jaikar and Srinivas Shastri initiated efforts to break the ice between Gandhiji and the government.
- The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed on 5 March, 1931.
- In this the INC called off the Civil Disobedience Movement and agreed to join the second Round Table Conference.
- The government on its part released political prisoners and conceded the right to make salt for consumption for villages along the coast.

- The Karachi session of 1931 endorsed the Pact and is also memorable for its resolution on Fundamental Rights and the National Economic Programme.

Second Round Table Conference, 1931

- Gandhiji represented the INC and went to London to meet the British PM Ramsay Macdonald.
- In the conference Gandhi demanded immediate establishment of a full responsible government at the Centre as well as in the provinces with complete control over defense, external affairs and finance.
- However, the session was soon deadlocked on the minorities issue and this time separate electorates were demanded not only by the Muslims but also by the depressed classes, Indian Christians and Anglo-Indians.
- MacDonald ended the session with an address announcing the creation of two new Muslim majority provinces, North West Frontier Province and Sindh, set up a committee on franchise, finance and states and held out the humiliating and dangerous prospect of a unilateral British Communal Award.
- In second round table conference the people who took part were Ambedkar, Sapru, Jayakar, Sarojini Naidu, Malaviya, etc.
- On Gandhiji's arrival in Bombay, the Congress Working Committee decided to resume the Civil Disobedience Movement. In 1932, INC was declared an illegal organization and all its leaders arrested. Gandhiji was sent to the Yeravada jail in Poona.
- The Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn in 1934, as after that Gandhiji decided to make Harijan work the central plank of his new rural constructive program.

The Communal Award, 1932

- Announced by Ramsay MacDonald it showcased the Divide and Rule policy of the British by envisaging representation of Muslims, Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, women and backward classes.
- Gandhiji who was in Yeravada jail in Poona at the time started a fast unto death against it.

Poona Pact, 1932

- After the announcement of the communal award and the subsequent fast of Gandhiji, mass meetings took place everywhere.

- Political leaders like Madan Mohan Malviya, B.R. Ambedkar and M.C. Rajah became active.
- Eventually the Poona Pact was reached and Gandhiji broke his fast on the sixth day, 25 September, 1932.
- In this the idea of separate electorate for the depressed classes was abandoned, but seats reserved to them in the provincial legislatures were increased. Seats reserved for depressed classes increased from 71 to 147 in provincial legislative council and in central legislative council 18% of the seats increased.
- Thus the Poona Pact agreed upon a joint electorate for the upper and the lower classes.
- Harijan upliftment now became the principal concern of Gandhiji. An All India Anti-Untouchability League was started in September 1932 and the weekly 'Harijan' in 1933. On May 8, 1933 Gandhiji decided to begin a 21 day fast for the purification of himself and his associates for the Harijan cause.
- He started the Individual Civil Disobedience on 1 August, 1933.

Revolutionary Movements

- Chapekar brothers (Damodar and Balkrishna) murdered the unpopular Mr. Rand and Lt. Amherst in 1897 at Pune.
- Unsuccessful attempts of murder of Lt. Governor of East Bengal by Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Bhupendra Nath Dutt in 1906 in Bengal.
- Murder of Kennedy brothers and two English women by Khudiram Bose and Praful Chaki in 1908 at Muzaffarpur (Bihar). The main target, unpopular judge, Kinsford escaped unhurt.
- Attempt of murder of Lord Hardinge by throwing crude bomb in 1912 by Rash Bihari Bose and Sachindra Nath Sanyal. Lord Hardinge escaped unhurt.
- Madan Lal Dhingra shot dead Curzon Wyllie, an officer of India Office in London in 1909.
- Assistant Superintendent of Police, Saunders was shot dead by Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad and Rajguru in 1928. They were convicted in the Lahore Conspiracy case.
- Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw bombs in the Central Legislative Assembly in April 1929 during session.
- Unsuccessful attempts of blowing up the train baggage of Lord Irwin were made by some members

of Hindustan Socialist Republican Association in December 1929.

- Two schoolgirls, Shanti and Suniti Chaudhuri shot dead the Magistrate of Tipperra, Mr. Steven in December 1932 in Bengal.
- Attempt of blowing up train and occupation of Fort William under the leadership of Jatin Mukherjee of Bengal (Known also as Bagha Jatin). The attempt failed due to the death of Jatin Mukherjee in Police encounter in Balasore in Orissa in September 1915.
- An organised attempt of revolt by Rash Bihari Bose, Sachindra Nath Sanyal and other revolutionaries on the lines of revolt of Ferozpur, Lahore and Rawalpindi on 21st February 1915, was failed due to treachery on the part of some revolutionaries. After the failure, Rash Bihari Bose escaped to Japan and Sachindra Sanyal was given life imprisonment and deportation for life.
- Formation of 'Indian Independence Committee' by Virrendra Nath Chattopadhyay, Bhupendra Nath Dutt, Hardayal and others in 1915 with the assistance of German foreign Ministry under the "Zimmerman Plan".
- An Internal Government of free India was established in 1915 by Raja Mahendra Pratap, Barkatullah, Obaidullah Sindhi (A Deoband Mullah) and others in Kabul.
- Suryasen declared independence at Chittagong in 1930 and formed "Indian Republican Army."
- The Komagata Maru was a Japanese steamer, commissioned by Gurdit Singh, to transport Indian immigrants to Canada.
- Martyrdom of Jatin Das who died in jail on the 64th day of a hunger strike in 1929 for improvement in the status of political prisoners.
- Execution of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru by the British on March 23, 1931 in Lahore conspiracy case.
- Surya Sen was arrested in 1933 and was tried and hanged.

The Left Movement

- Shripad Amrit Dange published a pamphlet entitled 'Gandhi and Lenin' in Bombay and also published the first socialist weekly 'The Socialist' from Bombay.
- Muzaffer Ahmad started publishing 'Navyug' in Bengal and founded 'Langal' with the assistance of Qazi Nazrul Islam.

- Ghulam Husain started publishing 'Inquilab' in Punjab.
- M. Sringarvelu founded the 'Labour Kishan Gazette' in Madras.
- Peshawar Case (1922-23) was the conspiracy against communists coming to India from abroad.
- Under Kanpur Conspiracy Case (1924-25) S.A. Dange, Muzaffer Ahmed, Nalini Gupta and Shaukat Usmani were convicted.
- Meerut Conspiracy Case (1929-33) was the longest conspiracy trial. Seventeen people were convicted.
- Three British Communists-Phillip Spratt, Ben Bradely and Lester Hutchinson were convicted in Meerut conspiracy case. Jawahar Lal Nehru, M. A. Ansari & M.C. Chagla were the Defense Counsel in favour of convicts.
- Three main socialists in the working committee of Jawahar Lal Nehru were-Jayaprakash Narayan, Acharya Narendra Dev and Achutya Patwardhan.
- The Newspaper 'Kranti' was published by S. S. Mirajkar.
- In 1926, Trade Union Act was passed. The Act made provisions for voluntary registration and gave certain rights and privileges to registered trade unions in return for certain obligations.
- In 1926, 'Bombay Cotton Textile Workers Union' was formed which was the first registered Trade union under the Trade Union Act of 1926. Its President was N. M. Joshi.
- The Moderates under the leadership of N. M. Joshi walked out of the A.I.T.U.C. and formed the All India Trade Union Federation (A.I.T.U.F.) in 1929.
- The Royal Commission on labour was set up in 1929 under the chairmanship of John Henry Whitley.
- Trade Disputes Amendment Act was passed in 1938.
- In 1931, another division in A.I.T.U.C. was made. The communists formed the 'Red Trade Union Congress'.
- Through the Meerut Conspiracy Trials (1929-31) the trade union movement was suppressed.
- M. N. Roy formed a pro-Government Trade Union called 'Indian Federation of Labour'.
- Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel formed the Indian National Trade Union Congress in 1944.

The Working Class Movement

- S. S. Bengalee proposed a Bill in favour of the workers in Bombay Legislative Assembly in 1878. His initiative however failed.
- Sasipada Banerjee established a working men's club in Bengal in 1870 and published a monthly journal 'Bharat Sramjeevi' in 1874.
- First Factory Act was passed in 1881 and was mainly related with the child workers, working hours and defining a factory.
- Second Factory Act was passed in 1891. It was related mainly with working hours of female workers.
- N. M. Lokhanday formed the 'Bombay Millhands Association' in 1884. He also published a journal named 'Din Bandhu.'
- The strike of the Signalers of the Great Indian peninsular Railway in 1899 was the first organised worker's strike.
- B.P. Wadia, a close associate of Annie Besant formed the 'Madras Labour Union' in 1918. It was the first trade union of India.
- In 1920, the All India Trade Union Congress (A.I.T.U.C.) was organised at Bombay by N. M. Joshi and others. The first session (1920) was presided over by the then Congress president, Lala Lajpat Rai.

Third Round Table Conference, 1932

- The session was held without Congress representation as they were all imprisoned and was attended by an even smaller number of representatives who agreed on almost all the issues.
- The British Government on the basis of the discussions of the three sessions drafted its proposals for the reform of the Indian Constitution which was embodied in the White Paper published in March 1933.
- The White Paper was examined and approved by a joint committee of the British Parliament in October 1934 and a bill, based on the report of the committee was introduced and passed in the British Parliament as the Government of India Act of 1935.

The Government of India Act, 1935 (details covered earlier)

- The Congress rejected the Act and demanded the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise to frame a Constitution for an Independent India.

- The INC fought the elections in 1937 when the Constitution was introduced and formed ministries in seven out of eleven provinces. Later Congress formed coalition governments in two others. Only Punjab was under the Unionist Party and Bengal under the Krishak Praja-Muslim League coalition.

World War II and the National Movement

- The Congress ministries coming to power did wonders to the morale of the people. They continued to function till the Second World War in 1939. When the war broke out, Lord Linlithgow declared India to be at war without the prior assent of the central legislatures.
- The Congress agreed to support Britain only in return of independence being granted. The Viceroy could promise that only after the war. In October-November 1939, the Congress ministries resigned in protest. The Muslim League observed this as the Deliverance Day (22 December, 1939) as a mark of relief that the Congress had atlast ceased to function.
- INC was willing to help the forces of democracy in their struggle against fascist powers but asked how it was possible for an enslaved nation to help others in their fight for democracy. They declared that India must be declared free or at least effective power should be put in Indian hands before it could actively participate in the war.
- The Viceroy refused to accept preconditions set by the Congress i.e. a Constituent Assembly for the establishment of genuine responsible government at the centre. Eventually, the British government was eager for the INC to support their war efforts. Subsequently it tried to pacify the Congress and the Indian leaders by a series of offers through the Cripps Mission and the August Offer.

August Offer, 1940

- The August Offer of 8 August, 1940 offered:
 - Dominoin Status in the unspecified future.
 - A post-war body to enact the Constitution.
 - To expand the Governor General's Executive Council to give full weightage to minority opinion.
- It was rejected by the INC because there was no suggestion of the national government and because the demand for the dominion status was already discarded in favour of Poorna Swaraj.
- It was accepted by the Muslim League.

The Cripps Mission, 1942

- In December 1941 Japan entered the World War II and advanced towards Indian borders. By March 7, 1942, Rangoon fell and Japan occupied the entire South East Asia.
- The British government with a view to get the cooperation from Indians sent Sir Stanford Cripps, leader of the House of Commons to settle terms with the Indian leaders.
- He offered a draft which contained the following proposal:
 - Dominion status to be granted after the war.
 - Setting up a Constitution making body for India after the war whose members would be elected by the Provincial assemblies and nominated by the rulers in case of the Princely States.
- The British government undertook to accept and implement the Constitution so framed subject to two conditions:
 - Any province not willing to accept the new Constitution could form a separate union and a separate Constitution.
 - The new Constitution-making body and the British government would negotiate a treaty to sort out matters arising out of transfer of powers to Indian hands.
- The proposals were rejected by the Congress as it did not want to rely upon future promises.
- Gandhiji termed it as a 'post-dated cheque in a crashing bank'.

The Revolt of 1942 and the Quit India Movement

- Also called the Vardha Proposal and the Leaderless Revolt as all the Congress leaders were in jail.
- The resolution for the movement was passed on 8 August, 1942 at Bombay. Gandhiji gave the slogan 'Do or Die'.
- On 9 August the Congress was banned and its important leaders arrested. Gandhiji was kept at the Aga Khan Palace, Pune.
- The arrests provoked indignation among the masses and there being no program of action, the movement became spontaneous and violent as violence spread throughout the country. Several government offices were destroyed, telegraph wires cut and communication paralysed.
- The trend of underground revolutionary activities also started during this phase. J.P. Narayan, R.M.

Lohia and Aruna Asaf Alistarted consolidating underground networks.

- The most daring act of the underground movement was the establishment of the Congress Radio with Usha Mehta as its announcer.
- Parallel governments were set up at various places such as the one in Ballia in eastern U.P. under the leadership of Chittu Pande. Others were in Satara, Talcher, parts of Eastern U.P. and Bihar.
- The Muslim League kept aloof and the Hindu Mahasabha condemned the movement. The Communist Party of India also didn't support the movement.
- The movement was however crushed.

INA, 1942

- The idea of the Indian National Army (INA) to liberate India was originally conceived by Rasbehari Bose who had fled to Japan in 1915 and had become a Japanese citizen, with the help of Mohan Singh, an Indian officer of the British Indian Army in Malaya.
- Subash Chandra Bose secretly escaped from India in January, 1941 and reached Berlin. In July 1943 he joined the INA at Singapore. There Rashbehari Bose handed over the leadership to him.
- The soldiers were mostly raised from the Indian soldiers of the British army who had been taken prisoner by the Japanese after they conquered South-east Asia.
- Two INA headquarters were Rangoon and Singapore.
- INA had three fighting brigades named after Gandhi, Azad and Nehru. The Rani of Jhansi Brigade was an exclusive women force.
- The INA launched an attack on India and penetrated into Indian territory. It annexed Andaman and Nicobar islands with Japanese help and named them 'Shaheed' and 'Swaraj'.
- S.C.Bose gave the call 'Dilli Chalo'.
- But it couldn't match the British army and surrendered.
- INA trials were held at Red Fort, Delhi. P.K.Sehgal, Shah Nawaz (Commander of the INA battalion that had reached the Indo-Burma front) and gurbaksh Singh Dhillon were put on trial.
- The Congress took up their defence with Bhulabhai Desai, Tejbahadur Sapru, Jawaharlal Nehru, K.N. Katju and Asif Ali defending them. Muslim League also joined in for the country-wide protest.

- INA Day was celebrated on 12 November, 1945.

Hindus-Muslims over the Years

- The British rule had acted on the tested and tried Roman maxim of 'Divide and Rule' in India.
- In the early 19th Century, British historian, James Mill, described the ancient period of Indian history as the Hindu period and the medieval period as the Muslim period.
- Both the Hindus and the Muslims participated equally in the revolt of 1857. The British adopted the policy of favouring the Hindus and suppressing the Muslims after the revolt of 1857.
- In August 1888, Syed Ahmed Khan set up the "United Indian Patriotic Association" with the avowed objective of countering the Congress propaganda and policy in England.
- A few years later he formed the "Muhammadan Anglo Oriental Defence Association" of Upper India to keep the Muslims aloof from political agitation and to strengthen the British rule in India.
- The Aligarh College was founded by Syed Ahmed. The three Principles of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh, W.A.J. Archbold, Theodore Beck and Theodore Morrison gave the pro-British and anti-Hindu bias to the Aligarh movement.
- Inspired by W. A. J. Archbold, Aga Khan waited in a deputation on Lord Minto at Simla on 10th October 1906.
- The Deputation demanded reservation of seats for the Muslims and the Morley-Minto reforms of 1909, accepted the Muslim demand for separate communal electorate.
- The All-India Muslim League was formerly inaugurated on 30th December 1906 by Aga Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and others.
- The militantly nationalist Ahrar movement was founded by Maulana Mohammed Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Hasan Imam, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, and Mazhar-ul-Haq.
- In 1916, both the Muslim League and the Congress held their sessions at Lucknow. An agreement was signed between them. It is known as the 'Lucknow Pact'.
- During the Khilafat movement, a staunch Arya Samajist, Swami Shraddhanand gave a speech from the pulpit of the Jama Masjid at Delhi, while Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlu was given the keys of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

- The Hindu organisation started 'Suddhi Movement' while the Muslims started 'Tanjim' and 'Tablig', the objectives of these being communal.
- According to the Simon Commission's Report, nearly 112 major communal riots occurred between 1922 and 1927.
- Anti-cow slaughter movement was started during the 1890's.
- Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded in 1909 by U.N. Mukherjee and Lal Chand and others. Lal Chand clearly described Congress as 'Self-inflicted misfortune of Hindus' and said that "a Hindu is a Hindu first and an Indian after". Its Headquarter was at Haridwar.
- The first session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was held in April 1915 under the President of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazaar.
- V.D. Savarkar became the President of Hindu Mahasabha in 1938 and was re-elected again and again. It was he who gave the slogan of 'Hindu Nation'. After the death of Savarkar, Shyama Prasad Mukherjee became the President of Hindu Mahasabha.
- When the Nehru Report could not be approved unanimously at the Calcutta Convention, then M.A. Jinnah, declaring the Nehru Report representing Hindu interests, placed his demands called the 'Fourteen Points'.
- In the elections held in 1937, the Muslim League won only 109 out of 482 seats allotted to Muslims, under separate electorates securing only 4.8 percent of the total Muslim votes.
- The League observed a "Day of Deliverance" when the Congress ministries resigned in 1939.
- The League observed on March 23, 1943 the 'Pakistan Day'.
- In March 1944, Mr. C. Rajgopalachari evolved a formula for Congress-League cooperation. It was a tacit acceptance of the League's demand for Pakistan. The terms of the "C. R. formula" was to be binding only in case of transfer of full powers by England. Jinnah rejected the formula on the grounds of common centre and also wanted only the Muslims to vote in the plebiscite instead of entire population.
- The "Desai Liaqat Pact (1945)" proposed for the formation of an interim government at the centre consisting of (i) equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and League in the central legislature (ii) representatives of minorities. However, it could not bring a settlement between the League and the Congress.

Hindu Mahasabha

- The Punjab Hindu Sabha was founded in 1909. Its leader U.N. Mukherjee and Lal Chand laid down the foundations of Hindu first and a Hindustani later.
- The leading Hindus of Allahabad set up "All India Hindu Mahasabha" in 1915 under the presidency of the Maharaja of Kasim Bazar. The Mahasabha revived in 1923 and openly began to cater to anti-Muslim sentiments.
- Lala Lajpat Rai, Madan Mohan Malviya and N.C. Kelkar joined Hindu Mahasabha and urged for Hindu communal solidarity.
- Under the leadership of V.D. Savarkar, who became the president in 1938 and was re-elected again, the mahasabha developed a political programme. Savarkar popularised the concept a Hindu Rashtra.
- After the death of Savarkar, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee became the leader of the Hindu Mahasabha and imparted a more nationalist outlook.
- The "Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSSS)" was founded by Dr. Hedgewar in 1925 and became the chief ideology and propagator of extreme communalism. M.S. Golwalkar codified the RSS doctrine in his booklet called 'we'.

Growth of Communalism

Muslim League

- The unity between the Congress and the Muslim League was brought about by the signing of the "Lucknow Pact (1916)" and both put forward common political demands before the government. The pact accepted separate electorates and the system of weightage and reservation of seats for the minorities in the legislature.
- From 1920 to 1923 the activities of the League remained suspended. However, the appointment of the Simon Commission and the Round Table Conference that followed again brought the League into activity.
- By 1934, Jinnah became undisputed leader of the League.

Naval Mutiny, 1945

- A revolt took place in HMS Talwar on February 18, 1945 in Bombay due to racial discrimination, unpalatable food and abuse after arrest of B.C. Dutta who had written 'British Quit India' on the wall.
- Next day, HMS Hindustan in Karachi also revolted.
- Soon the revolt spread to other places also. In Bombay the mutineers hoisted the tricolor on their ship masts together with a portrait of S.C. Bose and shouted Jai Hind in the barracks.
- Their demand included release of all political prisoners including those belonging to the INA.
- The mutiny was suppressed after persuasion by the Indian leaders.

Rajagopalachari Formula, 1945

- He proposed that plebiscite should be held in contiguous districts of North West and East where Muslims were in absolute majority.
- If the majority decides in favour of forming a separate sovereign state, such decision could be accepted.
- Jinnah objected to the proposal as he wanted only Muslims of North West and East of India to vote in the plebiscite.

Partition, 1947

- The Cabinet Mission reached Delhi on 24th March

1946. Its members were-Lord Pethick Lawrence, Stafford Cripps (President of the Board of trade) and Mr. A.V. Alexendar (the first Lord of the Admiralty).

- In the elections to the Constituent Assembly that took place in July 1946, the Congress captured 205 seats out of 214 seats and the league got 73 out of 78 Muslim seats.
- The Constituent Assembly was constituted in November 1946 through indirect election of its members by Provincial Legislatures under Cabinet Mission.
- The first meeting of the Constituent Assembly was held on December 9, 1946 which was boycotted by Muslim League
- Mr. Atlee made his declaration on 20th February, 1947 in which he said that "His majesty's Government wish to make it clear that it is their definite intention to take necessary steps to effect the transference of power, to responsible hands by June, 1948".
- On 3rd June 1947, the Mountbatten plan was announced. It was essentially plan for the partition of India. The Congress and the Muslim League both accepted the plan of 3rd June.
- The Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the British Parliament on 4th July 1947. It was passed as the Indian Independence Act on 18th July 1947.
- On 15 August, 1947, the Partition of India took place.

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CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

Clive established dual government in Bengal which continued from 1765 to 1772. As per the dual government, two *diwans* were appointed by the Company: Mohammad Raza Khan for Bengal and Raju Shitab Ray for Bihar.

Regulating Act, 1773

A Bill regarding the Regulating Act was placed in British Parliament by Lord North. The Regulating Act 1773 was the first important Parliamentary Act regarding the Company's affairs and entailed:

- The subjugation of the company's actions to the supervision of the British Government.
- End of Dual Government.
- Governor General in Council was to superintend and control Presidencies of Madras and Bombay and was to be the Governor-General of the British territories of India.
- Governor General was under direct control of Court of Directors.
- Establishment of a Supreme Court in Calcutta for justice of Europeans, their employees and citizens of Calcutta. The Supreme Court was constituted in 1774 with Sir Elijah Empey as Chief Justice and Chambers, Lemaster and Hyde as puisine judges.
- Servants of the Company were forbidden to engage in private trade, accept presents or bribes, etc.

Pitts India Act, 1784

- The commercial and political activities of the Company were now separated. Pitts India Act of 1784 established a Board of Control of six members (including two Cabinet Ministers) to control civil, military and revenue affairs of the Company in India.
- Provincial Governor in Councils strength reduced from four to three and the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were subordinated to the Governor-General and Council of Bengal in all matters of diplomacy, revenue and war.
- A secret committee of three Directors was to look

into political and military affairs (The Governor-General and the Council were forbidden to declare war and make treaties without the sanction of the secret committee).

- To investigate into matters impending against Company officials a Court was set up at London.
- This act gave the British government a measure of control over the Company's affairs; making the Company a subordinate department of the State.

The Act of 1786

- Governor-General was given powers to override his council. Governor-General was made commander in chief.
- Declaratory Act of 1786 gave full power and supremacy to the Board of Control; as step towards transfer of power of Company to the Crown.

Charter Act of 1793

- Company's commercial privileges were extended for another 20 years.
- Power specially given to Cornwallis to override council was extended to all future Governor-Generals.
- A Regular code of all regulations prepared for administration of British territory of Bengal, and bound the court to regulate their decisions by rules and regulations contained therein. Therefore it laid the foundation of the government by written laws, interpreted by courts.
- All laws were to be translated into Indian languages.
- Expenses and salaries of the Board of Control to be charged on Indian revenue.

Charter Act of 1813

- The Company was deprived of its monopoly trade with India but still enjoyed its monopoly of trade with China and trade in tea.
- Constitutional position of British territories in India was thus explicitly defined for first time.

- First constitutional measure for propagation of Christianity in India adopted as officials were appointed for propagations of Christianity in India.
- A sum of Rs 1 lakh earmarked annually for the education of Indians.

Charter Act of 1833

- Company lost its monopoly of tea and China trade, and was also asked to close its commercial business.
- All restrictions of European immigration into India and acquisition of land and property in India by the Company was removed, legalizing European colonization of India.
- Governor-General of Bengal became Governor-General of India and took all Governor-Generals of Madras, Bombay etc. under his control. All powers administrative and financial were centralized in the hands of the governor-General-in-Council.
- President of Board of Control became the Minister for Indian Affairs.
- A law commission was constituted for codification of laws. A law member (without the power to vote) was added to the Executive Council of the Governor General and Macaulay was the first law member of Governor General's council. This increased the Council's strength to four and with it began the first Indian Legislature.
- All vacancies in India were to be filled by competitive examinations. Thus throwing open to all the services irrespective of religion, place of birth, descent and colour.
- By Act of 1833 slavery was abolished.

Charter Act of 1853

- The Act renewed the powers of the company and allowed it to retain the possession of Indian territories in trust for the British crown but not for any specified period.
- The number of members of the Court of Directors was reduced from 24 to 18 of which were to be nominated by the Crown.
- The law member was made full member of the Governor General's Executive Council.
- Legislative functions were for the first time treated separate from Executive functions.
- Questions could be asked and the policy of the Executive Council could be discussed, though the

- Executive Council could veto a bill of the Legislative Council.
- Act appointed a Law commission in England to examine reports and draft of Indian Law Commission.
- Recruitment to the Civil Services was based on open annual competition examination (excluding Indians).

Government of India Act, 1858

- Authority transferred from Company to the Crown. The system of Dual Government ended and the Court of Directors and Board of control was abolished. India was to be governed in name of sovereign through a Secretary of State for India assisted by the Indian Council of 15 members.
- The Governor-General received title of Viceroy, who became direct representative of the Secretary of State and the Crown.
- Secretary of State for India was established as a Corporate Body.
- Thus a highly centralized administrative structure was created.
- Appointment to the coveted Civil Services to be made by open competition under the rules laid down by Secretary of state with help of Civil Service Commission.

Indian Council Act, 1861

- A fifth member, who was a jurist to be added to the Viceroy's Executive Council
- 6-12 additional members to be added to the Executive Council for legislation purpose. This implied that Viceroy's Executive council which was so long composed of officials would now include certain additional non-official members. Some of the non-official seats were offered to natives of higher ranks. Thus a minute element of popular participation was introduced in the legislative process. The additional members though had little powers.
- The Executive Council was now to be called Central Legislative Council.
- Viceroy could issue ordinances in case of emergency.

Indian Council Act, 1892

- Two improvements in both the Central and the Provincial Legislative councils were suggested:
- Though the majority of the official members were

retained, the non-official members were to be nominated by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and Provincial Legislative Councils. (The non-official members of the Provincial Councils were to be nominated by certain local bodies such as universities, district boards and municipalities.) Indian leaders like G.K. Gokhale, Ashutosh Mukherjee, S.N. Banerjee found their way in the Legislative Council.

- The councils were to have the power to discuss the annual statement of revenue and expenditure and of addressing questions to the Executive. They could also put questions with certain limitations to the Government on matters of public interest after giving six days notice.

Indian Council Act/Morley-Minto Act, 1909

- The act introduced at the time of Morley who was the Secretary of State and Minto who was the Indian Viceroy.
- Legislative Councils both at the centre and the Provinces were expanded.
- With regard to the Central Government, an Indian member was taken in the Executive Council of the Governor General.
- The size of the Provincial legislative Councils was enlarged by including elected non-official members so that the official majority was gone. Their functions were also increased and now they could move resolutions on budget and some matters of public importance.
- An element of election was also introduced in the Central Legislative Council, but the official majority was maintained.
- The most notable and retrograde change introduced was that muslims were given separate representation. Thus communal representation was introduced.

Government of India Act/Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919

- Dyarchy system was introduced in the provinces. It was considered to be a substantial step towards transfer of power to the Indians. The provincial subjects of the administration were to be divided into two categories: Transferred and Reserved. The transferred subjects were to be administered by the Governor with the aid of ministers responsible to the Legislative Council. The Governor and the

Executive Council were to administer the reserved subjects without any responsibility to the legislature.

- Devolution Rules: Subjects of administration were divided into two categories - Central and Provincial. Subjects of all India importance (like railways and finance) were brought under the category of Central while matters relating to the administration of the provinces were classified as Provincial.
- The Provincial Legislature was to consist of one House only - Legislative Council.
- The number of Indians in the Governor General's Executive Council was raised to three in a council of eight. The Indian members were entrusted with departments such as Law, Education, Labour, Health and Industries.
- The Centre was now to have a bicameral legislature for the first time. It actually happened after the 1935 Act.
- Communal representation was extended to Sikhs, Christians and Anglo-Indians, etc.
- Secretary of State was to be henceforth paid salary out of the British revenue.

Government of India Act, 1935

- Provided for the establishment of the All India Federation consisting of the British Provinces and the Princely States. The joining of the Princely States was voluntary and as a result the federation did not come into existence.
- Dyarchy was introduced at the Centre (e.g. Department of Foreign Affairs and Defence were reserved for the Governor General). The other federal subjects were to be administered by the Governor General with the assistance and advice of a council of Ministers to be chosen by him (but to include representatives of Princely states and minorities, and to be responsible to the Central Legislature). Residuary powers were to be with the Governor General only.
- The Federal Legislature i.e. the Central Legislature was to have two chambers (bicameral): the Council of State and the Federal Assembly. The Council of State was to be a permanent body with one-third of its membership being vacated and renewed triennially. The Federal Assembly's duration was fixed for five years.
- It made a three-fold division of power: Federal (Central) Legislative List, Provincial Legislative List and the Concurrent Legislative List. Residuary legislative powers were subject to the discretion of

the Governor General. Even if a bill was passed by the Federal Legislature, the Governor General could veto it, while even Acts assented by the Governor General could be disallowed by the King-in-Council.

- Provincial autonomy replaced Dyarchy in Provinces i.e. the distinction between Reserved and Transferred subjects was abolished and full responsible government was established, subject to certain safeguards. They were granted separate legal identity.
- The Governor was the head of the Provincial Executive and was expected to be guided by the advice of the popular ministries. However the Act gave arbitrary powers to the Governors to act in

their 'discretions' in certain matters.

- The Act also provided for a Federal Court (which was established in 1935), which original and appellate powers to interpret the Constitution. A Federal Bank (the reserve bank of India) was also established. The Indian council of Secretary of State was abolished.
- Principle of separate electorate was extended to include Anglo-Indians, Indian-Christians and Europeans.
- Burma (now Myanmar) and Aden were separated from India and two new provinces, Orissa and Sind were created.

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BRITISH EDUCATION POLICY AND GROWTH OF MODERN EDUCATION

First Phase (1758-1812)

The British East India Company showed very little interest in the education of its subjects during this period, the few exceptions being:

- The Calcutta Madrasa set up by Warren Hastings in 1781 for the study and teaching of Muslim law and Persian and Arabic subjects.
- Jonathan Duncan started a Sanskrit College at Varanasi where he was resident for study of Hindu law and Philosophy.
- Both were designed to provide a regular supply of qualified Indians to help in the administration of law in the courts of the Company.
- The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded by William Jones in Calcutta in 1784.

Second Phase (1813-1853)

- Due to the strong pressure exerted on the Company by the Christian missionaries and many humanitarians, including some Indians to encourage and promote modern education in India, the Charter Act of 1813 required the Company to spend Rs. 1 lakh annually for encouraging learned Indians and promoting the knowledge of modern sciences in India.
- A ten member committee on Public Instruction was set up in 1823 when Horace Haymon as the first President for the development of education.
- Two controversies about the nature of education arose during this phase:
 1. Whether to lay emphasis on the promotion of modern western education or on the expansion of traditional Indian learning and
 2. Whether to adopt Indian languages or English as the medium of instruction in modern schools and colleges to spread western education.
- Macaulay wrote the famous Minute on Educational policy dated 2 February 1835 which outlined that western education through English as a medium of instruction was a great necessity of western education.
- Lord William Bentinck in the Resolution of 7th March, 1835 accepted Macaulay's viewpoint which led to the promotion of European science and literature. Thus settling the controversy.

- In 1844, Lord Hardinge decided to give government employment to Indians educated in English schools. This ensured the spread of English education. It made good progress in the three residencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras where the number of schools and colleges increased.
- Other developments include a great upsurge in the activities of the missionaries who pioneered modern education, establishment of medical, engineering and law colleges which marked a beginning in professional education and according official sanction to the education of girls - Lord Dalhousie offered open support of the government in this case.
- However the government policy of opening a few English schools and colleges instead of a large number of elementary schools led to the neglect of the education of the masses.
- To cover up this defect in policy the British took recourse in the so-called 'downward filtration theory' which meant that education and modern ideas were meant to filter or radiate downwards from the upper classes. This policy continued till the very end of the British rule although it was officially abandoned in 1854.

James Thomson Plan (1843-53)

- In Northwest provinces, he tried to develop a comprehensive system of village education through the vernaculars.
- A Department of Education was set up for inspection and improvement of indigenous schools, with aim to train personnel for employment in the revenue, public works department and the judiciary.

Third Phase (1854-1900)

Sir Charles Wood Dispatch, 1854

- The Education Dispatch of 1854 was also called the Wood's Dispatch (after Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control, who became the first Secretary of State of India).
- Considered the Magna Carta of English education in India it entailed:
 - Promotion of Western Education, art, science, philosophy and literature of Europe.

- o English language to be medium for higher education while vernaculars to be used for primary education.
- o Three Education Departments were set up in provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras, Northwest Provinces and Punjab in 1855; organization of Indian Education Services in 1897 to cover the senior most posts.
- o Establishment of Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857, in Punjab in 1882 and Allahabad in 1887.
- o First chancellor of Calcutta University was Lord Canning and the first vice chancellor William Colvite.

The Hunter Commission (1882-1883)

Lord Ripon appointed Hunter Commission under Sir W.W. Hunter to review the progress which recommended:

- Local bodies (district boards and municipalities) should be entrusted with the management of primary education.
- It also said that the government should maintain only a few schools and colleges, others to be left to private hands.

Fourth Phase (1901-1920)

- Lord Curzon appointed a Universities Commission under Sir Thomas Raleigh (Law member of the Viceroy's Executive Council) in 1902, and based on his recommendations the Indian Universities Act of 1904 was passed.
- It enabled the Universities to assume teaching functions (hitherto they were mainly examining bodies), periodic inspection of institutions, speedier transaction of business, strict conditions for affiliation, etc.
- However it was criticized by nationalists and in 1910 a separate Department of Education was established at the Centre.
- The Sadler Commission was appointed in 1917 by Lord Chelmsford to review the working of Calcutta University with two Indian members: Ashutosh Mukherjee and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmed. The main recommendations were:
 - o Secondary education by a Board of Secondary Education and duration of the degree course to be three years.
 - o 7 new universities were opened: Benaras, Mysore, Patna, Aligarh, Osmania, Lucknow and Dhaka.

- Kashi Vidyapeeth and Jamia Millia Islamia were established.
- University courses were divided into Pass course and Honors course.

Fifth Phase (1921-1947)

- Education came under Indian control officially as it became a Provincial subject administered by Provincial legislatures.
- There was an increase in the number of universities (20 in 1947); improvement in the quality of higher education (on the recommendation of the Sadler Commission); establishment of an Inter-University Board (1924) and the beginning of inter-collegiate and inter-university activities.
- Considerable achievements in women's education and the education of backward classes.

Hartog Committee, 1929

The committee made a number of recommendations including:

- The policy of consolidation and improvement of primary education.
- A selective system of admission to universities and diversification of courses leading to industrial and commercial careers.
- The universities should be improved.

The Wardha Scheme of Basic Education, 1937

- Worked out by Zakir Hussain Committee after Mahatma Gandhi published a series of articles in the Harijan.
- Scheme centered on manual productive work/vocational courses which would cover remuneration of the teachers.
- It envisaged a seven years course through the mother tongue of the students.

Sergeant Plan of Education, 1944

- Envisaged establishment of elementary schools and high school and introduction of universal and free compulsory education.
- School course of six years was to be provided for children between ages eleven and seventeen.

INDIAN PRESS UNDER THE BRITISH RULE

The Portuguese were the first Europeans who brought a printing press to India. In 1684 the East India Company set up a printing press in Bombay. The first paper was started in India by James Augustus Hickey and was called the Bengal Gazette (1780), also known as the Calcutta General Advertiser. However all their printing material was seized and they were asked to leave India in 1782. The other papers of the time included the Calcutta Gazette, 1784; Bengal Journals, 1785; Oriental Magazine of Calcutta/ Calcutta Amusement, 1785; Calcutta Chronicle, 1786; Madras Couriers, 1788; Bombay Herald, 1789. These papers didn't criticize the government and therefore the British adopted a soft policy towards them.

Censorship of Press Act, 1799

- Imposed by Lord Wellesley due to threat of French invasion in India.
- It placed restrictions such that newspapers had to mention the name of the printer, editor and proprietor in every issue and the publisher had to submit all material for pre-censorship to the Secretary to government.
- In 1802, the Act was extended to all magazines, pamphlets, journals, books, etc.
- Lord Hastings relaxed some of the restrictions in 1818 and the pre-censorship provision was abolished.

Licensing Regulating Act, 1823

- Imposed by John Adams the acting Governor General.
- It provided that every printer and publisher had to obtain a licence for starting a press or for using it and a penalty of Rs. 400 for each publication without permission, with a rigorous punishment on default.
- Magistrates were authorized to seal the press and the Governor General could revoke the licence too.
- Raja Ram Mohan Roy had to stop his paper Mirat-ul-Akhbaar.

Licensing Act of 1857

- Also called the XV Act of 1857.

- Three clauses of the 1823 Act were restored that had been abolished by Metcalfe.
- Later in 1870 the Indian Penal Code was amended and it was written that any violation of Press Regulations would be dealt under Section 124 of the IPC.

Vernacular Press Act of 1878

- Also called the 'Gagging Act' as it was only for local/ vernacular papers and not English papers.
- Passed by Lord Lytton.
- Its provisions included:
 - District Magistrate with the previous permission of local government to ask printer and publisher of any vernacular paper to enter into an undertaking not to publish anything likely to excite dissatisfaction against the government.
 - Publisher was now required to deposit security.
 - No appeal against this action.
 - No exemption for any vernacular paper.
- Ishwar Chandra Sagar's 'Som Prakash' stopped by this act.
- Later Cranbrook, Secretary of State was hostile to the idea of pre-censorship and in 1878 it was done away with and a Press Commissioner was appointed and the entire Act repealed by Lord Rippon in 1882.

Newspapers Incitement to Offences Act, 1908

- It was passed due to the dissatisfaction caused by the unpopular acts of Lord Curzon and the resultant growth of Extremism in India.
- It provided:
 - Magistrates were empowered to confiscate printing presses and the property connected to these if anything objectionable was printed.
 - Local government was empowered to take away with any declaration made by the printer and publisher of an offending paper.
 - The newspaper's editor could appeal to the High Court against any action of the government but within 15 days.

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Indian Press Act, 1910

- It revived the Lytton's Press Act of 1878.
- A new provision was added wherein the security deposit was increased from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2000.

Press Committee, 1921

- Under the chairmanship of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru (law member in Viceroy's Executive Council).
- It recommended the abolition of the Act of 1908 and 1910.

The Indian Press Emergency Act, 1931

- The main feature of the Act was that if any publication directly or indirectly admired any offence of any person, real or fictitious, the government could seize the press.

Press Inquiry Committee, 1947

- The committee abolished the Emergency Act of 1931.

Important Newspapers Before 1947

Year	Newspaper/Magazine	Founder	Place	Language
1780	Bangal Gazette	James Augustus Hickey	Calcutta	English
1784	Calcutta Gazette	Company's Business Newspaper	Calcutta	English
1785	Bengal Journal	Thomas Jones	Calcutta	English
1785	Madras Courier	Richer Johnson	Madras	English
1790	Bombay Courier	Luke Ashburner	Bombay	English
1795	Bengal Harkaru	William Hunter	Calcutta	English
1795	Madras Gazette	R. William	Madras/ Bombay	English
1795	Indian Herald	Humphreys	Madras	English
1795	Indian World	-	Calcutta	English
1796	The Telegraph	Hot Mckenly	-	English
1798	Calcutta Morning Post	Archibald	Calcutta	Englsih
1801	Missionery Herald	T. Armstrong	Calcutta	English
1812	The Samachar Press	Fardoonejee Marzban	-	Gujarati
1818	Digdarshan	J. C. Marshman	Calcutta	Bengali
1818	Friend Of India	J. C. Marshman	Serampore	English
1821	John Bull In The East	Syndicate Of European Officials	Calcutta	English
1838	The Times Of India	Times of India Press	Bombay/ Delhi	English
1841	New India	Annie Bezant	Madras	English
1849	Lahore Chronicle	Munshi Mohammad Azim	Lahore	English
1860	National Reformer	Joseph Banker, Konoclasi	London	English
1862	Bangalee	S. N. Banarjee	Calcutta	Bengali
1863	Gujarat Mitra	Pravikant Reshwala	Surat	Gujarati
1865	Pioneer	S. N. Ghosh	Lucknow	English
1867	Mail	T. A. Subramaniam	Madras	English
1868	Amirt Bazaar Patrika	Tulsi Kant Ghosh	Calcutta	English
1874	Behar Herald	-	Bankipore	English
1875	Statesman	K. Rangachari	Calcutta	English
1877	Hindi Pradeep	Balkrishana Bhatta	-	Hindi

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1877	Oudh Panch	Mohammad Sajjad Hussain	Lucknow	Urdu
1878	Statesman	Ribert Knight	Calcutta	English
1878	Hindi	V. Raghavachari	Madras	English
1879	Bengali	S. N. Bennerjee	Calcutta	English
1881	Bangvasi	Jogindra Nath Bose	Calcutta	English
1881	Maratha	Agarkar	Bombay	English
1881	Kesari	Kelkar	Bombay	Marathi
1890	India	Dadabhai Naoroji	Bombay	English
1899	Hindustan Standard	Sacchidanand Sinha	Delhi	English
1900	Indian Review	G. A. Nateshan	Madras	English
1903	Indian Opinion	Mahatma Gandhi	S. Africa	English
1905	Indian Sociologists	Shyamji Krishan Verma	London	English
1906	Yugantar	Barindra Ghosh, Bhupendra Dutta	Calcutta	Bengali
1907	Modern Review	Ramanand Chatterjee	Calcutta	English
1909	Bandematram	Hardyal, Shyamji Verma	Paris	English
1910	Pratap	Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi	Kanpur	Hindi
1912	Al Hilal	Abdul Kalam Azad	Calcutta	Urdu
1913	Bombay Chronicle	Ferozshah Mehta	Bombay	English
1913	Gadar	Lala Hardyal	San-Francisco	English
1914	Commonweal	Annie Besant	Bombay	English
1914	New India	Annie Besant	Bombay	English
1918	Servants Of India	Sri Niwas Shastri	Madras	English
1919	Independant	Moti Lal Nehru	Allahabad	English
1919	Navjivan	Mahatma Gandhi	Ahmedabad	Gujarati
1919	Young India	Mahatma Gandhi	Ahmedabad	English
1922	Hindustan Times	K. M. Pannichar	Bombay	English
1933	Harijan	Mahatma Gandhi	Pune	Hindi
1934	Nava-Bharat	Ramgopal Maheshwari	Nagpur	Hindi
1934	The India Pen	Sophia Wadia	Bombay	English
1935	Sahyadri	J. S. Tilak	Pune	Marathi
1936	Swaraj	N. B. Parulekar	Pune	Gujarati
1936	Awaz	-	New Delhi	Urdu
1937	Hindustan Standard	Sudhanshu Kumar Basu	Calcutta	English
1937	Biswin Sadi	-	Delhi	Urdu
1937	The Star Of India	Pothan Joseph	-	English
1937	Khatoon Mashriq	Tofiq Ansari	Delhi	Urdu
1937	Inquilab	Khalid Ansari	Bombay	Urdu
1938	Deccan Chronicle	-	Secundrabad	English
1938	National Herald	M. Chalapathi Rau	Lucknow	English
1941	Kalki	K. Rajendran	Madras	Tamil

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Hindi News Papers During British Regime

Year	Newspaper/Magazine	Founder	Place Language
1826	Udat Martand	Jugal Kishore Shukla	Calcutta
1829	Bang Doot	Raja Rammohan Ray	Calcutta
1849	Malwa Akhbar	-	Indore
1854	Samachar Sudhavarshan	Shyam Sunder Sena	Calcutta
1866	Gyan Pradyini	Navin Chandra Rai	Lahore
1867	Kavivachan Sudha	Bhartendu Harischandra	Varanasi
1872	Dipti Prakash	-	Calcutta
1873	Hindi Kesari	Madhav Rao Sapre	Nagpur
1877	Hindi Pradeep	Pt. Balkrishna Bhatt	Varanasi
1878	Bharat Mitra	Chhotelal, Durga Prasad Mishra	Calcutta
1879	Sarsudha Nidhi	Durga Prasad Mishra	Calcutta
1885	Dainik Hindothana	Raja Rampal Singh	Kala Kankar
1907	Abhyudya	Madan Mohan Malaviya	Allahabad
1908	Karmyogi	Pt. Suderlal	Allahabad
1913	Pratap	Ganesh Shankar Vidhyarthi	Kanpur
1914	Hindi Kesari	Ganga Prasad Gupta	Kashi
1919	Bhavishya	Pt. Sunder Lal	Allahabad
1920	Aaj	Shiv Prasad Gupta	Varanasi
1930	Lokmat	Seth Govind Das	Jabalpur

GOVERNOR-GENERALS OF INDIA

Governors of Calcutta - Fort William

Roger Drake (1756 - 58)

- During his governorship, Calcutta was captured by Siraj-ul-Daula in the third Carnatic War.
- The Black Hole tragedy on 20th June, 1756 in which 123 Englishmen died and which was one of the causes of the Battle of Plassey of 1757 took place.
- Calcutta was recaptured by Clive.

Robert Clive (1758 - 60)

- Battle of Bedara in 1759, Dutch were defeated by the East India Company.
- During this Governorship Clive did not do anything significant apart from collecting wealth from the victorious wars.

Henry Vansittart (1760 - 65)

- Mir Jafar was replaced by Mir Qasim as the Nawab of Bengal in 1760.
- However, Mir Jafar was again reinstated.
- The Battle of Buxar was fought in 1764.
- Death of Mir Jafar and succession of his son Najm-ud-daula.
- The Treaty of Allahabad was concluded on 20 February, 1765 according to which the administration was left in the hands of a deputy Subedar who was to be a British nominee.

Robert Clive (1765 - 67) second term

- The Company got Diwani rights in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- Started Dual Government in Bengal in 1765.
- He forbade the servants of the company from indulging in private trade and made payment of internal duties obligatory.
- Established Society of Trade in 1765 with monopoly of trade in salt, betelnut and tobacco. This was abolished in 1767.

Harry Verclst, 1767-69 and John Cartier (1769-72)

Had uneventful tenures as Governors of Calcutta with nothing much of grave historical significance occurring during their time.

Warren Hastings (1772 - 73)

- Put an end to the Dual System of government in 1772 which was started by Clive
- He signed the treaty of Benaras in 1773 with Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh. Nawab was returned Allahabad and Kara in lieu of 50 lakhs rupees.
- Quinquennial settlement of land revenue in 1772 farming out lands to the highest bidder which was later reversed.

Governor-Generals of Bengal

Warren Hastings (1773 - 85)

- Quinquennial settlement of land revenue in 1772 farming out lands to the highest bidder, later on he reversed to Annual Settlement (1777) on the basis of open auction to the highest bidder.
- Treasury was transferred from Murshidabad to Calcutta, misuse of Dastak was checked.
- Dismissed Deputy Diwans - Muhammad Reza Khan (Bengal) and Raja Shitab Rai (Bihar).
- Appointed Munni Begum as regent of minor Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daula of Bengal.
- Signed treaty of Faizabad (1775) with Asaf-ud-Daula of Awadh.
- The Rohilla War was fought in 1774 and Rohilkhand was captured by the Nawab of Awadh with the help of the British.
- The First Maratha War (1775-82) was concluded with the Treaty of Salbai.
- The Second Mysore War (1780-84) was concluded with the Treaty of Mangalore.
- Stopped annual allowance of Rs 20 lakh to Shah Alam II on charges of seeking protection from the Marathas.

- Took away Allahabad and Kara from Mughal Emperor and sold it to Nawab of Awadh for Rs. 50 Lakh.
- Codified Hindu and Muslim laws.
- Trial of Nand Kumar and his judicial murder in 1775.
- Foundation of Asiatic Society of Bengal with the help of Sir William Jones in 1784.
- Associated with the Chait Singh (Banaras Raj) affair (1778) wherein the Raja of Benaras was executed without any crime.
- After his return to England in 1785, impeachment proceedings were initiated against him in the House of Lords but after a long trial of 7 years he was eventually acquitted.
- Associated with the Begums of Oudh Affair (1782) wherein the Begums were thrown out of the palace to place a puppet king.
- In 1776 Manu's Law was translated into English as the Code of Gentoo Laws.
- *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* was also translated.
- Three important Acts introduced during his time that defined the early constitutional development in India:
 1. The Regulating Act of 1773
 2. The Act of 1781 and
 3. The Pitts India Act of 1784

Lord Cornwallis (1786 - 93)

- Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92) was concluded with the Treaty of Seringapatnam (1792).
- Set up courts at different levels and separation of revenue administration from judicial administration in order to reform the judiciary.
- Introduction of the civil Services in India.
- Introduced Cornwallis Code based on the principle of separation of powers in 1793.
- Superintendent of Police was made the head of district police and became the incharge of an area of 1000 sq. km.
- Besides the English magistrates were given police powers. And the Zamindars were divested of all police powers.
- Introduction of the Permanent Settlement in Bihar and Bengal (1793) which was also called as the Zamindari System.
- A ten-year settlement was concluded with the Zamindars in 1790 which was made permanent in 1793.

- Raised salaries of the officials. Collectors were to get 1% of the revenue collection in addition to their salary of Rs. 1500.
- This administrative system remained in force till 1858.

Sir John Shore (1793 - 98)

- He was the main person instrumental in designing the Permanent Settlement under Lord Cornwallis and was the President of the Board of Revenue under Cornwallis.
- First Charter Act of 1793 was passed.
- Played an important role in the introduction of the Kharda which took place between the Nizam and the Marathas which resulted in the defeat of the Nizam.
- Famous for his policy of non-intervention.
- Ahmad Shah Abdali's grandson named Zaman Shah attacked India in this period.

Lord Wellesley (1798 - 1805)

- Described himself as Bengal Tiger.
- Created Madras Presidency after the annexation of the Kingdoms of Tanjore and Carnatic.
- Introduced the system of Subsidiary Alliance in 1798.
- Signed Treaty of Bassein (1802) with the Peshawa and fought Second Anglo-Maratha War during 1803-05.
- The Fourth Mysore War (1799) concluded with the death of Tipu Sultan and Mysore as a state was finished.
- Lord Lake captured Delhi and Agra in 1803 and the Mughal Emperor was put under Company's protection.

Sir George Burrow (1805 - 07)

- Followed a policy of non-intervention.
- Sepoy Mutiny at Vellore in 1806 when William Bentinck was Governor of Madras Presidency.
- Third to restore peace between Scindia and Holkar.
- Holkar accepted Subsidiary Alliance by Treaty of Rajpurghat in 1805.
- End of Second Anglo-Maratha War.

Lord Minto I (1807 - 13)

- Signed Treaty of Amritsar in 1809 between Ranjit Singh and English.

- Sent in 1808 Mission of Malcolm to Persia and that of Elphinstone to Kabul.
- The Charter Act of 1813 was introduced.

Lord Hastings (1813 - 23)

- Adopted the policy of intervention and war.
- Success in the Gorkha war of the Anglo-Nepalese War (1813-1823). Signed Treaty of Sogauli after defeating the Gorkha leader Amar Singh.
- Hastings was awarded the title of 'Marquis of Hastings' in 1816.
- Abolished Peshwaship and annexed all his territories and created the Bombay Presidency after the Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-1818).
- Pindari War fought (1817-1818).
- Appointed Darugas in districts after forcing zamindars to surrender their police force.
- The Company signed separate treaty with Raja of Sikkim in 1817 by which the Company handed over the territory between Hechi and Tista rivers.
- Introduction of Ryotwari Settlement in Madras Presidency by Governor, Thomas Munro (1820).
- Mahalwari (village community) system of land revenue was made in North-West Province by James Thomson.

Lord Amherst (1823 - 28)

- Received by Emperor Akbar II on terms of equality in 1827.
- Signed Treaty of Yandaboo in 1826 with lower Burma or Pegu by which British merchants were allowed to settle on southern coast of Burma and Rangoon.
- The First Burmese War was fought (1824-26).
- Acquisition of territories in Malay Peninsula.
- Capture of Bharatpur (1826).

Lord William Bentinck (1828 - 33)

- He was the last Governor General of Bengal.
- Known as the Benevolent Governor-General.
- Introduced a number of social reforms. Banned the practice of Sati in 1829 (pioneering efforts made in this connection by Raja Ram Mohan Roy), suppressed Thugi in 1830 (Military operation led by William Sleeman).
- Annexed Mysore (1830), Kachar (1832), Jaintia (1832) and Coorg (1834).
- The raja of Mysore was deposed (1831).

- Concluded a treaty of perpetual friendship.
- The Regulation of 1833 on land revenue settlement by Mertins Bird (called father of land-revenue settlement in the North). Use of field maps and filed registers were prescribed for the first time.

Governor Generals of India

Lord William Bentinck (1833 - 35)

- The Charter Act of 1833.
- Defined the aims and objectives of the educational policy of the British Government, appointed Lord Macaulay, the President of the Committee of Public Instruction which recommended English as the medium of instruction and introduction of English language literature, Social and Natural Sciences in the curriculum in 1835.
- Raja ram Mohan Roy visited England and died in Bristol in 1833
- Created Province of Agra in 1834.
- English was to be court language at higher courts but Persian continued in lower courts.
- Abolished Provincial Courts of appeal and appointed commissioners instead.

Sir Metcalfe (1835)

- Abolished restriction on press.
- Called "Liberator of press."

Lord Auckland (1835 - 42)

- First Afghan War (1836-42) gave a great blow to the prestige of British in India and Auckland was immediately called back during the war.
- Tripatriate Treaty was signed between the Company, Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja by which Ranjit Singh accepted Company's mediation in disputes of the Amirs of Sind.
- Maharaja Ranjit Singh died in 1839.
- Shah Shuja conceded his sovereign right to the Company over Sind on condition of receiving the arrears of the tribute, the amount of which was to be determined by the Company.
- Mandavi State was annexed in 1839.

Lord Ellenborough (1842 - 44)

- Termination of the first Afghan War in 1842.
- Annexation of Sindh (1843) by Sir Charles Napier.
- War with Gwalior 1843.

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Lord Hardinge I (1844 - 48)

- Fought the First Sikh War (1845-46) which ended with the Treaty of Lahore 1846.
- Prohibited female infanticide.
- Suppressed the practice of human sacrifice among the Gond tribe of Central India.
- Preference to English educated in employment.

Lord Dalhousie (1848 - 56)

- Second Sikh War (1848-49) and annexed Punjab.
- Second Burmese War (1852) and annexation of Lower Burma (Pegu).
- The Indian States annexed by the application of Doctrine of Lapse and Law of Escheat were Satara (1848), Jaitpur and Sambalpur (1849), Bhaghat (1850), Udaipur, Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854).
- Boosted up the development of railways-laid the first railway line 1853 from Bombay to Thane and second from Calcutta to Raniganj.
- Gave a great impetus to post and telegraph. Telegraph lines were laid, (First line from Calcutta to Agra).
- Organised a separate Public Works Department in every province by divesting the Military Board of this power.
- Shimla was made summer capital and army headquarter.
- Hindu Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1856.
- Annexed Awadh in 1856 on excuse of maladministration when Nawab Wajid Ali Shah refused to abdicate. Every house in Oudh had a son in the British army, thus sowed the seeds for the revolt of 1857.
- Annexed Berar in 1853 from Nizam on account of arrears for auxiliary.
- Darjeeling and its outlying districts annexed.
- Stopped and abolished pensions and titles of various states. For e.g. stopped annual payment of Nana Sahib, adopted son of Peshwa Baji Rao II after his death.
- Planned to stop pensions and remove legal titles of the Mughal Emperor after death of Bahadur Shah II, but this was rejected by the Court of Directors.
- The Woods Dispatch of 1854 according to which the British took the responsibility for mass education.

- The Santhal uprising (1855-57)

Lord Canning (1856 - 57)

- Foundation of the universities at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras in 1857.
- Revolt of 1857.

Viceroy of India

Lord Canning (1856 - 57)

- Queen Victoria's Proclamation and passing of the Indian Act of 1858.
- Doctrine of Lapse started by Lord Dalhousie was officially withdrawn in 1859.
- The Indian Penal Code, the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Indian High Court Act, passed in 1858, and 1861 respectively.
- India Council's Act of 1861.
- Indigo Revolt in Bengal in 1859-60.
- Rajput states of Baghat and Udaipur were returned to their respective rulers.
- Bahadur Shah was sent to Rangoon (Burma).
- Penal Code of 1860 declared slave trade in India illegal.
- White Mutiny by the European troops of the East India Company in 1859.
- Bahadur Shah was sent to Rangoon (Burma).

Lord Elgin I (1862)

- Suppressed the Wahabi movement.
- His sudden death in 1862; administration carried on by Napier and Dennison from 1862 to 1864.

Lord John Lawrence (1864 - 69)

- Followed a policy of rigid non-interference in Afghanistan called Policy of Masterly Inactivity.
- Telegraphic Communication opened with Europe (1869-70).
- Set up High Courts at Calcutta, Bombay & Madras (1865).
- War with Bhutan in 1865.

Lord Mayo (1869 - 72)

- Started the process of decentralization of finance in India in 1870.
- First time in India Census was held in 1871.

- Established two colleges for the education and political training of the Indian princes-the Royal College in Kathiawar and Mayo College Ajmer in Rajasthan.
- Organisation of Statistical Survey in India.
- Establishment of Department of Agriculture and Commerce.
- Beginning of system of state Railway.
- The only Viceroy to be murdered in office by an Afghan convict in the Andaman in 1872.

Lord Northbrook (1872 - 76)

- Visit of Prince of Wales Edward VII.
- Trial of Gaekawad of Baroda in 1875.
- Kuka Movement in Punjab in 1872.
- Bihar famine in 1874.
- He resigned over the Afgahan issue.

Lord Lytton (1876 - 80)

- Passing of the Royal Title Act of 1876 and the assumption of the title Empress of India (Kaiser-i-Hind) by Queen Victoria.
- Holding of Delhi Durbar in 1877.
- Passing of Vernacular Press Act of 1878.
- Passing of Arms Act of 1878 which empowered a magistrate to call upon the printer and publisher of any vernacular newspaper to enter into an undertaking not to publish any news which would create antipathy against the government.
- Lowering of the maximum age from 21 yrs. to 19 yrs. for the Civil Services Examination-an attempt to prevent Indians from entering Civil Services.
- Appointment of the first Famine Commission under Sir Richard Strachey.
- Second Afghan War (1878-80).
- Policy of Masterly Inactivity towards Afghanistan was replaced by Forward Policy.

Lord Rippon (1880 - 84)

- Passing of First Factory Act in 1881 for welfare of child labour.
- Repeal of Vernacular Press Act in 1882.
- Foundation of local Self-Government (1882); passing of local self Government Acts in various provinces during the period 1883-85.
- Holding of first decennial and regular census in

- 1881 which put the total population at 254 millions.
- Appointment of an Education Commission under Sir William Hunter in 1882.
- Division of finances of the Centre (1882).
- The Famines Court (1883).
- The Ilbert Bill controversy, 1883-84 relating to passing of a bill, framed by the law member of the Viceroy's Council Sir C.P. Ilbert which abolished judicial disqualification based on race.
- He usually said "Judge me by my works and not by my words."

Lord Dufferin (1884 - 88)

- Foundation of the INC in 1885
- Commented on the Congress being a microscopic minority.
- Third Burmese War and finally annexed Burma (1885-86).
- Delimitation of Afghan northern boundary.

Lord Lansdowne (1888 - 94)

- Passed the Age of Consent Act in 1891 which forbade marriage of girl below 12.
- Second factory Act of 1891.
- Division of the Civil services into Imperial, Provincial and the Subordinate.
- Indian Councils Act of 1892.
- Demarcation of Afghan boundary (Durand Line) by Durand Commission.

Lord Elgin II (1894 - 98)

- Famine in part of Rajasthan - Lyall Commission appointed to look into the cause of famines.
- Chapekar brothers of Una assassinated two British officers in 1897, one of them was a senior Plague Commissioner, Rand.

Lord Curzon (1899 - 1905)

- Creation of new province called the North West Frontier Province.
- Appointment of Sir Thomas Raleigh Commission in 1902 to suggest reforms regarding universities, and the passing of Indian Universities Act of 1904 as the basis of its recommendations.
- Creation of a new Department of Commerce and Industry.

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- Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904.
- Establishment of an Agricultural Research Institute of Pusa in Delhi.
- Passing of Calcutta Corporation Act in 1899 which provided for reduction of elected members.
- Partition of Bengal in 1905.
- Beginning of Swadeshi Movement in order to protest against the partition of Bengal.
- Appointment of Police Commission under the presidentship of Sir Andrew Frazer to inquire into police administration.
- Colonel Young Husband's expedition to Tibet in 1904.
- Set up Irrigation Commission of 1901 and the works on Jhelum canal was completed.
- Pusa Agricultural Institute was established in 1903.
- Adopted MacDonell Commission on Famine in 1900.
- Appointed Moncrieff Commission on irrigation in 1902.
- Official Secrets Act was passed in 1904 which extended the scope of sedition.
- Passed Indian Coinage and Paper Currency Act and put India on gold standard.
- He built a greater mileage of railway line than any other viceroy and was responsible for setting up Railway Board.
- Resigned from his office, because of his controversy with Kitchner (August 1905).
- Ronaldshay wrote his biography, The Life of Lord Curzon.
- Rabindranath Tagore said, "He was untouched by hand, i.e. the human element was missing."
- It is said about him that "Like James-II of England, Curzon knew the art of making enemies."

Lord Minto II (1905 - 10)

- Swadeshi Movement was launched.
- Surat Session and split in the Congress (1907).
- Minto-Morley Reforms or the Indian Council Act of 1909.
- Foundation of Muslim League by Aga Khan, the Nawab of Dacca in 1906.
- Partition of Bengal came into force in October 1905.
- Khudiram Bose was hanged on April 30, 1908.
- Newspapers Act, 1908.

- Formal adoption of divide and rule policy in 1909 by British-Reservation of seats for Muslim in 1909 reforms.
- Tilak was sentenced to six years rigorous imprisonment and sent to Mandalay jail.

Lord Hardinge II (1910 - 1916)

- Anulment of partition of Bengal and creation of a Governorship for Bengal like Bombay and Madras in 1911. (Lieutenant Governorship of Bihar and Orissa and Chief Commissionership for Assam).
- Announcement of transfer of imperial capital from Calcutta to Delhi (1911).
- A separate state of Bihar and Orissa was created in 1911.
- Coronation Durbar of King George V and Queen Mary at Delhi (December 1911).
- Ghadar Movement started in 1915 in San Francisco.
- Bomb thrown on his carriage at Chandni Chowk in Delhi in 1912 while he was entering the capital by Rash Behari Bose.
- Hindu Maha Sabha in 1915 by Madan Mohan Malaviya and some Punjabi leaders.
- Defence of India Act, 1915.
- G. K. Gokhale and Pheroz Shah Mehta died in 1915.
- Return of Gandhi to India, 1915.

Lord Chelmsford (1916 - 21)

- Foundation of two Home Rule Leagues - one by Tilak in April 1916 and another by Annie Besant in September 1916.
- Lucknow Session and the reunion of the Congress (1916), Annie Besant played important role in it.
- Lucknow Pact between Congress and Muslim League in 1916, Tilak played important role.
- Setting up of Sabarmati Ashram by Gandhi in 1916.
- Champaran Satyagraha - 1st time Gandhi experimented his new technique in India (1917), Satyagraha at Ahmedabad (1918) and Kheda Satyagraha (1918).
- August Declaration (1917) by Montague, the Secretary of State.
- Resignation of some veteran leaders led by S.N. Banerjee from Congress and founded Indian Liberal Federation (1918).

- Government of India Act of 1919.
- Rowlatt Act (March 1919) and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre (13 April 1919).
- Death of Tilak on 1st April, 1920.
- Launching of Khilafat Movement (1919-20).
- Launching of Non-co-operation movement (1920-22).
- Nagpur Session of the Congress (December 1920) changes in constitution of Congress.
- Foundation of women university of Poona (1916).
- Foundation of Benaras Hindu University at Benaras in 1916.
- Aligarh Muslim University was founded.
- Communist activities began.
- Moplah uprising in 1921.
- Prince of Wales visited India. Sir Sinha was the first Indian to become a Governor and second Indian to become a member of British Parliament, the first being Dadabhai Naoroji.

Lord Reading (1921 - 26)

- Chauri Chaura incident (February 5, 1922) and the withdrawal of Non-cooperation movement by Gandhi.
- Foundation of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh (RSS) by Hedgewar at Nagpur in 1925.
- Foundation of Swaraj Party by C.R. Das (Deshbandhu) and Motilal Nehru in December 1922.
- Repeal of Press Act of 1910 and Rowlatt Act of 1919.
- Foundation of Communist Party of India, 1925.
- Inter University Board was passed.
- Holding of simultaneous examination for the ICS in England and India with effect from 1923.
- Royal Commission on agriculture was established.
- Railway Budget separated from general budget in 1925.
- Skeen Committee on Army reforms was appointed in 1925. It submitted its Report in 1926.
- Lee Commission on public service in 1924, Report submitted in 1924.
- Young Hilton Committee on currency (1926).
- Beginning of Indian mission of officer cadre of Indian army.

Lord Irwin (1926 - 31)

- Popularly known as Christian Viceroy.
- Appointment of Simon Commission (Nov. 1927) and its boycott by Congress.
- Appointment of the Indian States Commission under Harcourt Butler (1927) to recommend measures for the establishment of better relation between Indian states and the central Government and covering of all India States People's Conferencing in December 1927 by states people in response.
- Meeting of first All India Youth Congress in 1928.
- Convening of All Parties Conference and its appointment of a committee under Motilal Nehru to prepare a constitution for India; committee submitted its report known as Nehru Report in August 1928, rejected by Muslim League and Hindu Mahasabha.
- Deepavali Declaration (1929) that India would be granted Dominion status in due course.
- Lahore Session of the Congress (Dec 1929) and Poorna Swaraj Resolution; fixing 26th January as the first Independence Day.
- Civil Disobedience Movement was launched with Dandi March of Gandhi in 12 March 1930.
- 1930, First Round Table Conference, Congress boycotted.
- March 1931, Gandhi-Irwin Pact.
- Murder of superintendent of police, Saunders.
- Bomb thrown in Central Legislative Assembly, Delhi.
- In 1929 Jatin Das died after 64 days fast.
- Imperial Council of Agricultural Research was founded.
- Royal Commission on Indian Labour was appointed (1929), Report (1931).
- Simon Commission submitted its report in May 1930.
- Sarda Act was passed in 1929, Marriages of girls below 14 years boys below 18 years of age was prohibited.
- Jawaharlal Nehru hoisted tricolour of Indian Independence (Dec 31, 1930).

Lord Wellington (1931 - 36)

- Participation of Gandhi in the Second Round Table Conference (Sept. 1931) and failure of conference, Gandhi imprisoned, suspension of movement in May 1934.

- Third Round Table Conference in London (1932) without the representation of Congress.
- Announcement of Communal Award by Ramsay MacDonald, British P.M. (1932), Gandhi fast unto death in the Yervada prison and Poona pact between Gandhi and Ambedkar (September 1932).
- Government of India Act of 1935.
- Foundation of Congress Socialist Party by Acharya Narendra Dev and Jai Prakash Narayan (1934).
- Foundation of All India Kisan Sabha (1936).
- Individual Civil Disobedience Movement in January 1933.
- Civil Disobedience Movement withdrawn in 1934 from Patna.
- Indian Military Academy was set up at Dehradun in 1932.
- White Paper on political reforms in India was published (1933).
- Burma and Aden were separated from British Empire (1935).
- Orissa, Bihar and Sind were made new states (1935).
- Lee Moody Pact (October 1933) by Bombay textile group.
- Muslim Conference was founded in Kashmir (1931) and renamed National Conference in 1938. Important leaders were Sheikh Abdullah and P.N. Bajaj.
- At its Haripura Session (Feb 1939) the Congress declared Poorna Swaraj ideal to cover native states and British India.
- Muslim League at its Lahore Session (1940) passed Pakistan Resolution.
- August Offer by Linlithgow (1940), its rejection by the Congress and the starting of individual satyagraha by Gandhi.
- Cripps Mission came to India 1942 offering Dominion status and its rejection by Congress.
- Passing of Quit India Resolution also called August Revolution, by Congress (8 Aug 1942) in the Bombay session.

Lord Wavell (1943 - 47)

- C.R. Formula evolved by C. Rajagopalachari in 1949 and Gandhi Jinnah talks based on it, failure of the talk.
- Wavell Plan and Simla Conference (1945),
- INA Trials and Naval Mutiny (1946).
- Cabinet Mission (Three members: Lawrence, Cripps and Alexander) and acceptance of the plan by both Congress and Muslim League.
- RIN Mutiny (1946).
- Launch of Direct Action Day by the League on 16 August 1946.
- General Election in 1945-46.
- Interim Government formed (September 2, 1946).

Lord Linlithgow (1936 - 43)

- Congress Ministries in majority of the provinces (1937).
- Celebration of Congress Ministries' resignation (after outbreak of World War-II) as Deliverence Day (22 Dec 1939) by Muslim League.
- Resignation of Subhash Chandra Bose from the presidency of the Congress as well as from its membership in 1939, formation of Forward Bloc by Bose and his followers (1939).

Lord Mountbatten, March 1947 -August, 1947 (British India) and August 1947 - 48 (Independent India)

- First Governor General of free India.
- On 3 June 1947 plan to partition was announced.
- On 7 June 1947, Jinnah left for Karachi.
- On August 15, 1947 India was declared independent, but on the communal principle of divide.

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INDIAN PRINCELY STATES

The Great Mughal Empire disintegrated in the eighteenth century. Many Indian states as independent or semi-independent principalities came into existence in the later Mughal period. These small and weak states made the Indian conquest of the East India Company quite easy. Many states like Hyderabad, Oudh and Rajput states were not annexed by the Company but accepted its supremacy. Some states which had for centuries resisted the Mughals and later the Marathas were saved from extinction by British intervention. Some states were created by the British in the process of the overthrow of the Maratha confederacy. The Indian states numbered no fewer than 562 and covered a total area of 712,508 square miles. A retrospective examination of the relations between the British and the Indian states suggests the following broad stages:

1. East India Company's struggle for equality with Indian states, 1740-65.
2. Policy of Ring Fence, 1765-1813.
3. The policy of Subordinate isolation, 1813-57.
4. The policy of Subordinate Union, 1857-1935.
5. The policy of Equal Federation, 1935-47.

1. STRUGGLE FOR EQUALITY

The English East India Company was established primarily as a commercial body. In order to enhance its commercial interests in India, the Company established political links and relationship with the Mughals and by their orders and under their authority opened its commercial and trading centres in various parts of the Mughal Empire. But, the East India Company had to face commercial competition from other European Companies operating in India viz. the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French. The unstable political condition of the country during the 18th century and the stiff competition from the other European Companies forced the English Company to think of a policy of political control and authority in order to save and expand its economic programmes in India. This resulted in the transformation of a purely commercial trading company into a politically ambitious one having the aim of establishing its authority through territorial expansion.

It was Dupleix, the French Governor-General, who started the political programme of a European trading company in India in the 1740's. The English followed the example of Dupleix and signalled their political identity by the capture of Arcot in 1751. In 1757 the English won the battle of Plassey and became the political force behind the Nawabs of Bengal. The Company became a ruling power after the Emperor Shah Alam II granted it the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. Till 1765 the Company stood in relation to the Indian states in a position of subordination and was striving for a status of equality with them.

2. RING FENCE

The Policy of Ring Fence (1765-1813) also known as the Policy of Buffer state. Broadly speaking, it was the policy of defence of their neighbours' frontiers for safeguarding their own territories. The chief danger to the Company's territories was from the Afghan invaders and the Marathas. The defence of Oudh constituted the defence of Bengal at that time.

With the arrival of Wellesley, the Company's relations with the Indian states underwent a change. Wellesley sought to reduce the Indian states to a position of dependence on the Company even if not declaredly so. The rulers of Hyderabad, Mysore, Oudh and the other lesser states accepted the Subsidiary Alliance system. The defeat of the Marathas in 1803 and Holkar in 1805 virtually established the supremacy of British power. The Subsidiary system was the Trojan-horse tactics in Empire-building.

3. SUBORDINATE ISOLATION

The Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings opened a new stage (1813-57) in the relations of the English and the Indian Princely states. The Imperial idea grew and the theory of paramountcy began to develop. The treaties that he concluded with the Indian states were not on the basis of reciprocity and mutual amity, but imposed the obligation on the part of the Indian states to act in subordinate cooperation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy. Thus, the Indian states surrendered all forms of external sovereignty to the East India Company.

The states, however, retained full sovereignty in internal administration. The decades following the retirement of Lord Hastings saw the rapid increase of the influence of the Company in the internal administration of the states. The British Residents were usually the organs of communication between the Government of India and the rulers of Indian states. Gradually their influence and power increased with the assertion of the Company's paramountcy and adoption of the policy of 'subordinate cooperation' under Lord Hastings down to 1857. "The Resident ministers of the Company at Indian courts were slowly but effectively transformed from diplomatic agents representing a foreign power into executive and controlling officers of a superior Government". Raja Chandu Lal during his administration in Hyderabad took his orders from the Resident, Colonel Low. Colonel Walker acted as an administrator-Resident when he helped the Gaekwar to collect revenue from the feudal chiefs. The same situation was in Mysore, Travancore and other states.

The Charter Act of 1833 metamorphosed the character of the Company. The Company was asked to wind up its commercial business. It assumed political functions in fact and name. A radical change followed in the policy towards the Indian states. The policy of annexation of states whenever and wherever possible was laid down by the Court of Directors in 1834. The policy was reiterated with emphasis in 1841 when the Court of Directors issued a directive to the Governor-General to persevere in the one clear and direct course of abandoning no just and honourable accession of territory or revenue".

The Governor-Generals of this period were frankly annexationists. Annexations were made to acquire new territories and new source of revenue in the plea of failure of natural heirs or misgovernment. The Company as the supreme power had the right to withhold sanctions for 'adoption' of heirs and the states in such cases 'lapsed back' to the supreme power. It was Lord Dalhousie's great political programme. Prior to him, Lord William Bentinck annexed Mysore (1831), Cachar (1832), Coorg (1834) and Jaintia (1835). Auckland annexed Karnul, Mandavi (1839), Kolaba and Jalaun (1840). Dalhousie annexed about a half dozen Indian states including big states.

Sometimes a Governor-General followed earlier precedents, at other times created new precedents. Where a good number of Indian states were annexed, some states like Khairpur in 1832, Bahawalpur in 1833, Kashmir in 1846 were assured of the Company's policy of non-intervention into the internal affairs of their states. Thus, these policies together constituted the Company as paramountcy-undefined, undefinable, but always

tending to expand under the strong pressure of political circumstances.

4. SUBORDINATE UNION

The years following the proclamation of 1858 marked a vital transformation in the relations between the Indian states and Government of India. The policy of Subordinate Union (1857-1935) was adopted in this phase. Now the Empire of India passed over to the crown. The Queen's Proclamation announced the abandonment of the policy of annexation. The 'Doctrine of Lapse' was abandoned. The change in the policy was due to the loyal attitude of the ruling Princes during the Revolt of 1857-58 which had amply demonstrated that the Princes could be used as breakwaters to future possible storms in India.

Lord Canning gave practical shape to the new trend by granting 140 Sanads or 'instruments or grants of adoption' to Hindu and Muslim Princes. Lord Lansdowne issued 17 more Sanads. The new policy was to punish the ruler for misgovernment and if necessary to depose him but not to annex the state. This change in policy was welcomed by the Princes. This immunity from the policy of annexation was obtained, however, at great cost and lowering of the status of the Indian Princes. Under the East India Company the sanction of the Governor-General was necessary only in case of failure of 'natural heirs'. After 1858, the fiction of the authority of the Mughal Emperor came to an end and the Crown stood forth as the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in India. As such, all successions had to regularly seek the sanction of the Crown. Normally every ruler was formally installed on the Gaddi by the British Agent.

Further, the fiction of the Indian Princes standing on a status of equality with the Crown as sovereign independent states finally came to an end. Canning referred to the rulers of Indian states as 'feudatories and Vassals' and to the Crown as 'the unquestioned ruler and paramount power in India'. Paramountcy was not only a historical fact but a legal principle capable of interpretation and expansion. The Royal Titles Act of 1876 put the final seal on the new relationship by proclaiming the Queen as Kaiser-i-Hind, Queen Emperor of India. A Government notification dated 21st August, 1891 declared: "The Paramount supremacy of the former (the Crown) presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter (Indian Princes)".

The Government of India exercised complete and undisputed control over the external and international affairs of the Indian States. The Government of India could declare war, neutrality or peace for the Indian states. The period also saw the growth of 'political

practice' and 'usage' which further circumscribed the rights of Indian Princes. Under the impress of changing circumstances, the Crown exercised powers which exceeded the most liberal interpretation of treaties. Lord Curzon stretched the interpretation of old treaties to mean that the Indian Princes in their capacity as servants of the people should work side by side with the Governor-General in the scheme of Indian Government. He adopted the policy of patronage and 'intrusive surveillance'. The new trend seemed to reduce all the Indian states to conform to a single type, whether they were treaty states or enjoying varying degrees of authority.

From 1905 onwards the Government of India followed a policy of cordial co-operation towards the Indian states. The growth of political unrest in British India put the Government of India on the defensive and the Government thought it expedient and prudent to utilize the support of Indian Princes to counter progressive and revolutionary developments. The Government of India and the Indian Princes formed "Common front to preserve their positions and privileges". Thus, the policy of subordinate isolation gave place to the policy of subordinate union. The authors of Montague-Chelmsford Reforms favoured the formation of a Council of Princes and made definite suggestions in the matter. These recommendations formed the nucleus for the formation of the Chamber of Princes, formally inaugurated in February 1921. For the purposes of representation in the Chamber of Princes, the Indian states were divided into three categories:

- (a) 109 states which enjoyed full legislative and jurisdictional powers were represented directly.
- (b) 127 states which enjoyed limited legislative and jurisdictional powers were represented by 12 members chosen from among themselves.
- (c) Remaining 326 states which could be better classified as jagirs or estates or feudal holdings.

The Chamber of Princes was merely an advisory and consultative body. It had no concern with the internal affairs of individual states nor could it discuss matters concerning the existing rights of states or their freedom of action. The Indian Princes thus became the favourite children of British Imperialism and in fact were "collectively recognized as an independent constituent of the Empire". On the request of the Princes a codification committee was appointed as early as September 1919 to codify 'political practice' and define limits of the concept of Paramountcy. In 1927 the Government appointed the Indian states committee, popularly known as the Butler committee under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler to investigate the

relationship between the paramount power and the Indian states. The Indian Princes engaged a distinguished lawyer, Sir Leslie Scott, to present their view point before the committee. Scott pleaded that residuary powers rested with the Indian states.

The Butler committee made the following recommendations:

1. On the question of paramountcy and development of political practice, the committee reported: paramountcy must remain paramount, it must fulfill its obligations, by defining and adopting itself according to the shifting necessities, of the time and the progressive development of states" and further that "usage of lights up the dark corners of treaties".
2. The states were bound by treaties with the Crown and the states should not be handed over without the ruler's prior consent to an Indian Government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature.
3. The Viceroy, not the Governor-General-in-Council, was to be the crown agent in dealing with the states.

The Indian Princes were surprised at the concept of Paramountcy being left undefined. Nevertheless the hydra-headed creature was fed on usage and Crown prerogative and 'the implied consent' of the Princes.

5. EQUAL FEDERATION

This was the phase of the Policy of Equal Federation (1935-47). The Indian Princes were invited at the Round Table conference during 1930-32. In the Federal structure proposed for the whole of India by the Government of India Act 1935, the Indian states were to be allotted 125 out of 375 seats in the Federal Assembly and 104 out of 200 seats in the Council of States.

The Federation of India was to come into existence only when the rulers of states representing not less than one-half of the total population of the states and entitled to not less than half of the seats (i.e. 52) allotted to the states in the upper house of the federal legislature agreed to join the Federation. The Federation never came into existence for the requisite number of states did not agree to join it. The Congress successes in the elections of 1937 had repercussions on the states where agitation started for civil liberties and responsible Government.

In December 3, 1938 Mahatma Gandhi declared that the awakening in the states was due to the 'time spirit' and that there could be no half way house between total extinction of the states and full responsible Government. The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 finally shelved the scheme of Federation.

Movement In Various States

Hyderabad: In the biggest princely state of all, Hyderabad, a small Muslim elite held 90% of government jobs and Urdu was maintained as the sole official language and medium of instruction where more than half of the population was Telugu speaking, 25% Marathi and 11% Kannada speaking. There was a total absence of elementary civil and political rights and extremely crude forms of feudal exploitation, like Vetti, or forced Labour and compulsory payments in kind. Popular awakening initially took the form of middle class language based associations like Andra Mahasabha. The Arya Samaj and the Hindu Mahasabha campaigned against the tyranny of the Nizam and the 'Ittahad ul-Mussalman'. The Aga leader Pandit Narendraji started a purely Hindu Satyagraha in Hyderabad city and the Marathwada region in October 1938, with the demand for more jobs for Hindus. At about the same time, a state Congress had been founded on a secular basis by Swami Rama Nanda Tirtha and Govindas Shroff from Marathwada, Ravi Narayan Reddi and a few Muslims like Sirajul Hasan Tirmizi from Hyderabad city. A powerful 'Vande Mataram' movement developed among Osmania students, who left the University when the Nizam banned the singing of that patriotic hymn. The Congress movement, however, was called off at Gandhi's insistence in December 1938. Soon under Ravi Narayan Reddi, a Nizam State committee of the C. P. J. was established secretly in 1939. Using the broad front of the Andhra Mahasabha, the communists helped with arms of fight against the Nizam's suppression and built the base of greatest peasant guerrilla war in Telengana.

Travancore, Cochin: In Travancore and Cochin, as in the adjoining Malayalee districts of Malabar, the National movement was built up very largely under the Leftist leadership and guidance. In the mid and late 1930's activists like Krishna Pillai, E. M. S. Namboodripad, and A. K. Gopalan founded the Congress Socialist party, converted the Congress for the first time into a real mass organisation, and simultaneously moved towards Communism. In August 1938, the Travancore state Congress started a powerful agitation against the autocracy of Diwan C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Despite brutal repression, students joined the satyagraha in large numbers and jathas marched into Travancore from many parts of Kerala. Particularly impressive was the role of working class. Alleppey coir workers led by Krishna Pillai went on strike on October 1938, demanding not only wage-increase and union recognition but release of political prisoners and responsible Government based on

universal franchise. The Dewan was forced to call off repressive measures against the Congress Satyagraha in order to isolate Alleppey workers.

Mysore: There was a rapid growth of people's movements in Mysore. The Gandhian controls remained fairly firm in Mysore, where K. T. Bhashyam's state Congress, initially based on Brahman urban professional groups, extended its support through merger in October 1937 with the People's Federation of Non-Brahman Rural Landholders led by K. C. Reddy and H. C. Desappa. A first round of agitation from October 1937 for legalization of the Congress and responsible government culminated on 11th April 1938 in a blood-bath at Viduraswatha village in Kolar district where 30 were killed by firing on a crowd of 10,000.

In the following month Sardar Patel concluded a truce with Dewan Mirza Ismail which legalized the Congress, but failure to implement promises of significant constitutional reforms led to another round of civil disobedience from September 1939. Effective Congress leadership of controlled mass movements built up strength for the party in the region and for the development of Mysore and final merger in the Indian union.

Jaipur: Like other states in Rajasthan, Jaipur also witnessed people's movement for civil liberties, responsible Government and social and other reforms. It was more aggressive in 1939. Gandhiji decided to try out his specific techniques of controlled mass struggle for the first time in a native state. He allowed his close adjutant, the business magnate Jamnalal Bajaj, to lead a satyagraha in Jaipur. The Government imposed a ban on Bajaj's entry in Jaipur. On violating the ban, Jamnalal Bajaj was arrested. This resulted in wide scale satyagraha. Ultimately the government had to release Jamnalal Bajaj.

Rajkot: Gandhiji and Vallabhbhai Patel, began a personal intervention in the movement in Rajkot which had been started by the local Praja Parishad under U. N. Dhebar. Virawala, the very unpopular Diwan of Rajkot, had imposed numerous monopolies disliked by local traders and stopped summoning an advisory elected council set up earlier, while nearly half the revenues of the state were swallowed up by the privy purse of its ruler. The choice of Rajkot by Gandhiji is very significant; a tiny state surrounded by the firm Gandhian base of Gujarat, almost half its population lived in the Capital and so there was little danger of agrarian radicalism swamping strictly non-violent satyagraha. Kasturba Gandhi and Manibehn Patel courted arrest in February 1939, and Gandhiji himself went to Rajkot and started a fast on 3rd March-just on the eve of the Tripuri Congress. The Rajkot intervention,

however, proved to be one of Gandhiji's failures, for the British political department instigated Virawala to withdraw the concessions he had offered at one stage, as well as to skillfully encourage Muslim and untouchable demands for more seats in the Proposed Reforms Committee. Gandhiji, bowed himself out of the Rajkot affair in May 1939.

Orissa: In the much more backward interior state of Orissa, issues like forced labour, taxes on forest produce, extortion of 'gifts' on festive occasions or tenancy rights inevitably were as much if not more important than demand for political reform. The Congress socialist party leader Naba Krushna Chaudhari led a satyagraha in Dhenkanal in December 1938, powerful movements developed in Nilgiri, Nayagarh, Talcher and Ranpur, and there were numerous violent incidents. On 5th January 1939, the British political agent in Ranpur, Major Barzellette was stoned to death. Gandhiji did his best to get the Orissan movements called off in return for some token political reforms in Dhenkanal and Talcher.

Kashmir: In Kashmir the 'National Conference' started the movement demanding various reforms. It was led by Sheik Abdullah. The ruler of Kashmir used various measures to suppress the movement. Sheikh Abdullah along with other leaders was arrested. National Congress provided support to the movement of Sheikh Abdullah but this movement failed to yield any fruitful results.

Integration & Merger of States

During the Second World War, India witnessed hectic political activity. The British Government made various efforts to break the deadlock-Cripps's proposal (1942), Wavell's plan (1945), the Cabinet mission plan (1946) and finally Atlee's announcement (20th February 1947). The future of the Indian states figured in all constitutional discussions. Cripps mission declared that the British Government did not contemplate transferring the paramountcy of the Crown to any other party in India. The Princes worked on various schemes to form a Union of their own with full sovereign status-a third force in the Indian political setup. The Cabinet Mission Plan proposed Federation of India which would include the Indian States. The Federation was to make law on defence and communication and foreign affairs while the residuary powers would be vested in the Indian states. The rulers of the states accepted the proposals of the Cabinet mission plan. But after the declaration of partition proposal, Travancore and Hyderabad proposed for an

independent state by rejecting the cabinet mission plan. Atlee's announcement of 20 February 1947 and Mountbatten's plan of 3rd June 1947, however, emphasized that with the lapse of paramountcy, Indian states would be free to join any Dominion they liked, India or Pakistan. Lord Mountbatten refused to recognize any state or combination of states as separate Dominions.

In the National Provisional Government, Sardar Patel headed the states ministry and appealed to the sense of patriotism of Indian princes and urged them to join the Indian Union on the basis of the surrender of three subjects of Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. He was assisted by V.P. Menon in this work of unification by 15th August 1947 as many as 136 jurisdictional states acceded to the India Union. Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession on 26th October 1947, Junagadh and Hyderabad in 1948. Many small states which were too small for a modern system of administration were merged with the adjoining provinces i.e. 39 states of Orissa and Chattisgarh became part of either Orissa or Central provinces; Gujarat states were merged with the Bombay province. A second form of the integration of states was the formation of units into centrally administered areas. In this category came the states of Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Tripura, Manipur, Bhopal, Bilaspur and Kutch.

A third form of the integration of states was the formation of state unions. Thus came into existence the United States of Kathiawad, United States of Matsya, the Union of Vindhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, the Patiala and East Punjab state Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan and United States of Cochin-Travancore. Later, the State Reorganisation Acts 1956 was passed by the Union Parliament that provided for the setting up of 14 states and 6 Union territories. Today Indian union has 28 states and 7 Union territories.

1. Andhra Pradesh was created On 1 November 1956 by the States Reorganization Act by merging Telugu-speaking areas of Hyderabad State (Telangana) and the already existing Andhra State.
2. The State of Bombay was divided into two States i.e. Maharashtra and Gujarat by the Bombay (Reorganization) Act 1960. The first capital of Gujarat was Ahmedabad; the capital was moved to Gandhinagar in 1970.
3. The Marathi-speaking areas of Bombay state, Deccan states and Vidarbha (which was part of Central Provinces and Berar) united under the agreement, known as Nagpur Pact, to form the Maharashtra state.

4. Kerala was created by the State Reorganization Act, 1956. It comprised of Travancore and Cochin.
 5. Karnataka was created on 1 November 1956. Originally known as the State of Mysore, it was renamed Karnataka in 1973.
 6. Punjab was divided along linguistic lines in 1966; the Hindi-speaking southern half of Punjab became a separate state 'Haryana' and Pahari speaking hilly areas in north east formed "Himachal Pradesh". The rest remained as Punjab. Chandigarh was on the border of Punjab and Haryana and became a separate union territory but serves as the capital of both Punjab and Haryana.
 7. Meghalaya was first carved out as a sub-state within the State of Assam by 23rd Constitutional Amendment Act, 1969. Later in 1971, it received the status of a full-fledged State by the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganization) Act 1971.
 8. Sikkim was first given the Status of Associate State by the 35th Constitutional Amendment Act 1974. It got the status of a full State in 1975 by the 36th Amendment Act, 1975.
 9. Goa was separated from the Union-Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu and was made a full-fledged state in 1987. But Daman and Diu remained as Union Territory.
 10. Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand formed as full fledge states by the Constitutional Amendment Act, 2000.
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- The states annexed through the Dalhousie's 'Doctrine of Lapse' were Satara (1848), Jaitpur and Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854).
 - The Court of Directors did not order the annexation of the state of Karoli and the state of Baghat and Udaipur were returned to respective rulers by Lord Canning.
 - Oudh was annexed by the Britishers in 1856 on the charge of maladministration in the state.
 - Lord William Bentinck annexed Mysore (1831), Kachhar (1832), Coorg (1834), Jaintiya (1835), Lord Auckland annexed Kurnool and Mandavi (1839) and Kolaba and Jalgaon (1840) to the British Indian Empire.
 - The states of Khairpur, Bhawalpur and Kashmir were not annexed to the British Empire.
 - The 'Doctrine of Lapse' of Dalhousie was ended in 1858.
 - The Empress of Britain, Queen Victoria was proclaimed as 'Kaiser-i-Hind' i.e. Queen Emperor of India by the Royal Titles Act, 1876.
 - Lord Rippon restored the state of Mysore to the local wodeyar dynasty in 1881.
 - Examples of British interference in internal administration of Indian states are Tonk, Gaikwad (Baroda), Kashmir and Manipur.
 - Indian states Committee or Butler Committee (led by Harcourt Butler) was appointed in 1927 and the Committee gave its report in 1929.
 - The Government of India Act, 1935 proposed a Federal structure and the Indian states were to be a part of it. The Federation of India did not come into existence.
 - The proposals for the formation of a Chamber of Princes were made in the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919. The Chamber of Princes was formed in 1921.
 - The instrument of accession was signed by Kashmir on 26th October 1947 and by Junagadh and Hyderabad in 1948.
 - The number of Indian Princely states on the eve of independence was 562 and constituted about 45 percent of the total area.
 - The largest Princely state was Hyderabad, while the smallest one was the Bilbari state.
 - Most of the Princely states were run as unmitigated autocracies, with absolute power concentrated in the hands of the ruler or his favourites.

Points to Remember

- The period of the Company's struggle of equality with the Indian states is from 1740 to 1765.
- In this period the English Company won two major battles-Plassey (1757) and Buxar (1764).
- The period of the Policy of Ring Fence or Buffer state is from 1765 to 1813.
- Lord Wellesley established the military supremacy of the Company in India.
- Lord Hastings established the political supremacy of the Company in India.
- The policy of Subordinate isolation (1813-57) started from the governorship of Lord Hastings.
- The states accepting the subsidiary alliance of Wellesley were-Hyderabad (1798 and 1800), Mysore (1799), Tanjore (1799), Oudh (1801), Peshawar (1801), Bhonsles (1803), Scindhias (1804) Jodhpur, Jaipur, Macheri, Bundi and Bharatpur.

- The burden of land tax was usually heavier than in British India.
- In the first and second decades of the 20th Century, runaway terrorists from British India seeking shelter in the states became agents of politicisation.
- Some of the states where Prajamandal or states people's conference were organised were Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, the Kathiawad state, the Deccan state, Jamnagar, Indore, and Nawangarh.
- In December 1927, All India State's People's Conference (AISPC) was convened. The organisers were Balwantrai Mehta, Maniklal Kothari and G. R. Abhayankar.
- The All-India State's people's conference was denied representation in the Round Table Conference.
- During the Quit India movement, the National Congress made no distinction between British India and Indian states.
- In 1939, All-India States' people's conference elected Jawaharlal Nehru as its president for the Ludhiana session.
- Also, under the Presidentship of Jawaharlal Nehru, the eighth session of the AISPC was held in 1946 in Udaipur.
- It was the first session of AISPC which was held in an Indian state and the state providing the infrastructure to it.
- In August 1938, the Travancore state Congress started a powerful agitation against the autocracy of the Diwan C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.
- Alleppy coir workers also participated in this agitation.
- Gandhiji allowed his close adjutant, the business magnate, Jamnalal Bajaj to lead a Satyagraha in Jaipur.
- Nabkrishna Chaudhari led the struggle in the Orissa state.
- In Kashmir, National Conference led by Sheikh Abdullah started the movement for responsible Government.

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CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS

1707	: Death of Aurangzeb at the age of 89.	1814-16	: The Anglo-Nepal War.
1708	: Shahu becomes the Chhatrapati of the Marathas (ruled, 1708-49).	1824-26	: The First Anglo-Burmese War.
1717	: Farrukhsiyar grants a firman to the English Company exempting their trade in Bengal.	1829	: Sati declared illegal.
1739	: Nadir Shah's invasion of Delhi.	1833	: The Charter Act of 1833 passed; Abolition of the Company's trading rights in India.
1744-48	: First Anglo-French Carnatic War.	1834	: Lord Bentinck annexes Coorg (Southern Malabar Coast).
1748	: Treaty of Aix-La-Chapelle and restoration of Madras to the English Company.	1835	: English adopted as the official language.
1749	: Death of Shahu and accession of Raja Ram as Chhatrapati.	1839	: Death of Ranjit Singh.
1751	: Clive's capture of Arcot and its successful defence against Chanda Sahib.	1843	: British annexation of Sind announced.
1757-63	: Third Anglo-French Carnatic War.	1853	: First Railway line between Bombay and Thana opened.
1757	: Battle of Plassey.	1855	: The Santhal Insurrection.
1760	: The English wins the battle of Wandiwash.	1856	: The annexation of Oudh.
1761	: The Third Battle of Panipat.	1857	: Establishment of universities at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras; Revolt of 1857.
1764	: Battle of Buxar.	1858	: Queen Victoria's Proclamation.
1765	: Clive's Second Governorship of Bengal.	1865	: Telegraphic communication with Europe opened.
1767-69	: The First Anglo-Mysore War.	1872	: The Kuka Revolt in Punjab.
1773	: The Regulating Act passed by the British Parliament.	1875	: The Prince of Wales visits India.
1774	: The Supreme Court established at Calcutta.	1876	: The Royal Titles Act made Queen Victoria Kaiser-i-Hind.
1775-82	: The First Anglo-Maratha War.	1876-77	: The Delhi Durbar organised by Lytton.
1780-84	: The Second Anglo-Mysore War.	1878	: Vernacular Press Act passed.
1784	: Pitt's India Act passed.	1881	: First Factory Act passed.
1790-92	: The Third Anglo-Mysore War.	1883	: The Ilbert Bill Controversy.
1793	: Permanent Settlement of Bengal announced.	1885	: Foundation of Indian National Congress.
1799	: The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War.	1893	: Organisation of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association of Upper India, Tilak celebrates the Ganapati festival.
1801	: Wellesley annexes Carnatic.	1895	: Tilak organises the Shivaji festival.
1803-05	: The Second Anglo-Maratha War.	1897	: Murder of Rand and Ayerst at Poona.
1806	: Vellore Mutiny.	1904	: Indian Universities Act passed; Young Husband Mission to Lhasa.
1809	: Treaty of Amritsar between Ranjit Singh and the Company.	1905	: Foundation of the 'Servants of India society'.
		1906	: Partition of Bengal comes into force, Minto

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	receives the Aga Khan Muslim Deputation at Simla; Muslim League formed at Dacca (30th December).	1929	: Meerut Conspiracy Case against the Communists; Sarda Act passed; Lord Irwin's announcement of Dominion status granting as the goal of British; Adoption of complete Independence as goal by Congress.
1907	: Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh departed to Mandalay.	1930	: Gandhiji's Dandi March, Rebellion in Burma, Round Table Conference (1st session), January 26, Independence pledge.
1908	: Execution of Khudiram Bose; Tilak sentenced to six years transportation.	1931	: Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed, Round Table conference (2nd session), publication of the Royal Labour Commission's Report.
1909	: Morley-Minto reforms of 1909; Murder of Curzon Wyllie in London by Dhingra; S. P. Sinha appointed as Law member of Viceroy's Executive Council.	1932	: Announcement of Communal Award; Poona pact signed; Round Table Conference (3rd session), Second Civil Disobedience Movement.
1911	: Coronation Durbar at Delhi.	1934	: Civil Disobedience Movement called off.
1912	: Delhi becomes new capital of India; Bomb thrown at Lord Hardinge at Delhi.	1935	: Indo-British Trade agreement signed.
1913	: Gandhi starts his Satyagraha in South Africa against Asiatic Law Amendment Act; Ghadar Party formed at San Francisco.	1937	: Congress Ministries formed in provinces.
1915	: Formation of Home Rule League by Annie Besant.	1939	: Subhash Bose resigned from the Presidentship of Congress; Congress Ministries resign in provinces, Muslim League celebrates Deliverance Day.
1916	: Foundation of Banaras Hindu University; Tilak organises Home Rule League at Poona.	1940	: Muslim League adopts the Pakistan resolution; launched Individual Satyagraha; August Offer of the Viceroy.
1917	: Gandhi launches the Champaran Satyagraha.	1942	: Cripps Mission visits India; Quit India Movement.
1918	: All India Depressed Classes League formed.	1943	: Bose announces the formation of Provisional Government of Free India.
1919	: Call for All-India hartal against Rowlatt Bills; Jallianwala Bagh tragedy.	1946	: Naval Mutiny at Bombay; Cabinet Mission, elections for the Constituent Assembly, Jawahar Lal Nehru heads the interim Government, Indian Constituent Assembly meets at New Delhi.
1920	: All India Trade Union Congress formed; Foundation of Aligarh Muslim University; Non-Cooperation Movement launched.	1947	: Atlee's announcement of British decision to transfer power before June 1948; 3rd June plan of Mountbatten; Indian Independence Act passed.
1921	: M. N. Roy organised Communist Party at Tashkent.	1948	: Death of Mahatma Gandhi.
1922	: Chauri-Chaura incident; Calling off of the Non-Cooperation Movement.	1949	: Adoption of the new Indian Constitution.
1924	: Formation of the Communist Party of India at Kanpur.	1951	: First general elections.
1927	: Appointment of Simon Commission.		
1928	: Nehru Report recommends principles for the new Constitution of India.		