

**Modern India**  
**2024: Handout 1**

Nikhil Sheth

**Syllabus:**

Prelims Paper I	Main Examination: General Studies I
<ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Current Affairs (Events) of national and international importance.</li><li>2. <u>History of India and Indian National Movement.</u></li><li>3. Indian and World Geography-Physical, Social, Economic Geography of India and the World.</li><li>4. Indian Polity and Governance – Constitution, Political System, Panchayati Raj, Public Policy, Rights Issues, etc.</li><li>5. Economic and Social Development – Sustainable Development, Poverty, Inclusion, Demographics, Social Sector initiatives, etc.</li><li>6. General issues on Environmental Ecology, Biodiversity and Climate Change: that do not require subject specialization.</li><li>7. General Science</li></ol>	<p>Indian Heritage and Culture, History and Geography of the World and Society:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"><li>1. Indian Culture - Salient aspects of Art Forms, Literature and Architecture from ancient to modern times.</li><li>2. <u>Modern Indian History from about the middle of the eighteenth century until the present- significant events, personalities, issues.</u></li><li>3. <u>The Freedom Struggle — its various stages and important contributors/contributions from different parts of the country.</u></li><li>4. Post-independence Consolidation and Reorganization within the country.</li><li>5. History of the World will include events from 18th century such as Industrial Revolution, world wars, Redrawal of National Boundaries, Colonization, Decolonization, political philosophies like Communism, Capitalism, Socialism etc.— their forms and effect on the society.</li></ol>

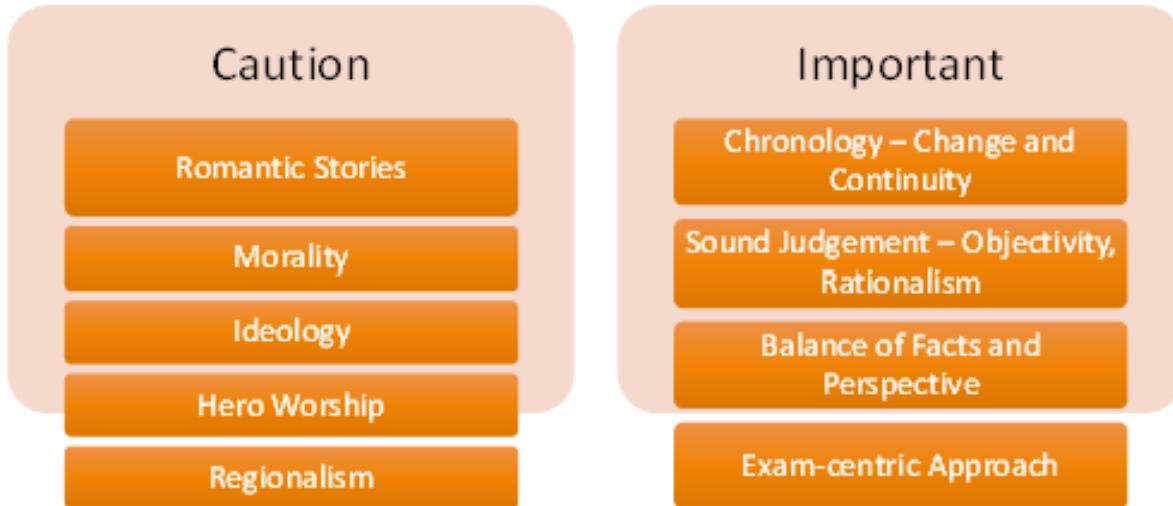
## Mains PYQs – Thematic Division

<b>18<sup>th</sup> Century India</b>	
The third battle of Panipat was fought in 1761. Why were so many empire-shaking battles fought at Panipat?	2014
Clarify how mid-eighteenth-century India was beset with the spectre of a fragmented polity.	2017
<b>Colonization</b>	
Why did the armies of the British East India Company – mostly comprising of Indian soldiers – win consistently against the more numerous and better equipped armies of the then Indian rulers? Give reasons.	2022
<b>Colonialism – British Economic and other Policies</b>	
In many ways, Lord Dalhousie was the founder of modern India. Elaborate.	2013
Examine critically the various facets of economic policies of the British in India from mid-eighteenth century till independence.	2014
Examine how the decline of traditional artisanal industry in colonial India crippled the rural economy.	2017
Why indentured labour was taken by the British from India to their colonies? Have they been able to preserve their cultural identity over there?	2018
Why was there a sudden spurt in famines in colonial India since the mid-eighteenth century? Give reasons.	2022
<b>Colonialism – Socio-Religious Reform Movements</b>	
The women's questions arose in modern India as a part of the 19th century social reform movement. What were the major issues and debates concerning women in that period?	2017
Examine the linkages between 19th centuries 'Indian Renaissance' and the emergence of national identity.	2019
Trace the rise and growth of socio-religious reform movements with special reference to Young Bengal and Brahmo Samaj.	2021
<b>Revolts and Rebellions – 1857</b>	
Explain how the Uprising of 1857 constitutes an important watershed in the evolution of British policies towards colonial India.	2016
The 1857 Uprising was the culmination the recurrent big and small local rebellions that had occurred in the preceding hundred years of British rule. Elucidate.	2019
<b>National Movement – Early Phases</b>	
Why did the 'Moderates' fail to carry conviction with the nation about their proclaimed ideology and political goals by the end of the nineteenth century?	2017
Evaluate the policies of lord Curzon and their long-term implications on the national movement.	2020
Highlight the importance of the new objectives that got added to the vision of Indian independence since twenties of the last century.	2017
Since the decade of the 1920s, the national movement acquired various ideological strands and thereby expanded its social base. Discuss.	2020
To what extent did the role of the Moderates prepare a base for the wider freedom movement? Comment.	2021

<b>National Movement – Gandhi and others</b>	
How different would have been the achievement of Indian independence without Mahatma Gandhi? Discuss.	2015
Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, despite having divergent approaches and strategies, had a common goal of amelioration of the downtrodden. Elucidate.	2015
Highlight the differences in the approach of Subhash Chandra Bose and Mahatma Gandhi in the struggle for freedom.	2016
Throw light on the significance of the thoughts of Mahatma Gandhi in the present times.	2018
Bring out the constructive programmes of Mahatma Gandhi during Non-Cooperation Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement.	2021
<b>National Movement – Sections</b>	
Several foreigners made India their homeland and participated in various movements. Analyze their role in the Indian struggle for freedom.	2013
Defying the barriers of age, gender and religion, the Indian women became the torch bearer during the struggle for freedom in India. Discuss.	2013
Discuss the role of women in the freedom struggle especially during the Gandhian phase.	2016
Many voices had strengthened and enriched the nationalist movement during the Gandhian phase.	2019
<b>National Movement – Final Phase</b>	
In what ways did the naval mutiny prove to be the last nail in the coffin of British colonial aspirations in India?	2014
Assess the role of British imperial power in complicating the process of transfer of power during the 1940s.	2019
It would have been difficult for the Constituent Assembly to complete its historic task of drafting the Constitution for Independent India in just three years but for the experience gained with the Government of India Act, 1935. Discuss.	2015

List of NCERTs

	<b>New</b>	<b>Old</b>
<b>Ancient India</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our Past I – Class 6</li> <li>• Themes in Indian History 1 – Class 12</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• RS Sharma (republished by Oxford)</li> <li>• Makkhan Lal</li> </ul>
<b>Medieval India</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our Past II – Class 7</li> <li>• Themes in Indian History 2 – Class 12</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Satish Chandra (republished by Orient Blackswan)</li> <li>• Romila Thapar</li> <li>• Meenakshi Jain</li> </ul>
<b>Art and Culture</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An Introduction to Indian Art Part I – Class 11</li> <li>• An Introduction to Indian Art Part II – Class 12</li> <li>• Living Craft Traditions of India – Class 11</li> <li>• Craft Traditions of India – Class 12</li> </ul>	
<b>Modern India</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Our Pasts III – Part 1 – Class 8</li> <li>• Our Pasts III – Part 2 – Class 8</li> <li>• Themes in Indian History 3 – Class 12</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Social Science I – Class 8 – Arjun Dev</li> <li>• Modern India – Bipin Chandra (republished by Orient Blackswan)</li> </ul>
<b>Post-Independence</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Politics in India Since Independence – Class 12</li> </ul>	
<b>World History</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contemporary World – Class 9</li> <li>• Contemporary World – Class 10</li> <li>• Contemporary World Politics – Class 12</li> <li>• India and the Contemporary World – I</li> <li>• India and the Contemporary World – II</li> <li>• Themes in World History – Class 11</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Story of Civilization Part I – Arjun Dev</li> <li>• Story of Civilization Part II – Arjun Dev</li> <li>• History of the World – Arjun Dev (republished by Orient Blackswan)</li> </ul>



### Part I – History of Early Modern Era upto 18th c

#### **(A) Early Modern Era (16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> c)**

- Europe - Political, Social, Economic
- Advent of Europeans
  - Nature of Asian Trade
  - Portuguese, Dutch, British, French - factories locations, policies
  - Carnatic Wars
- Why did mercantile companies move towards political power?

#### **(B) First half of 18th century:**

- Mughal disintegration
- Emergence of regional States: Variety of types
- Foreign invasions - Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah
- Expansion of Marathas and the Third Battle of Panipat
- Dark Age?

#### **Second half of the 18th century:**

- From Company to State - Success of British in Bengal: Plassey and Buxar
- Conquest of Mysore, Maratha, Punjab
- Nature of British Conquest

### Part II – Phases of Colonization

<b>Phase</b>	<b>Mercantile Phase (1757-1813)</b>	<b>Industrial Phase (1813-1858)</b>	<b>Financial Phase (1858-onwards)</b>
<b>Overall Objective</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monopoly Trade</li> <li>• Maximize revenue to finance Indian trade and commerce</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To convert India as a market for British manufactured goods and supplier of raw material</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To open India for British investment</li> <li>• To avert situation of great revolt of 1857</li> </ul>
<b>Political</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ring-fence policy, Subsidiary Alliance</li> <li>• Conquest of Bengal and Mysore, Two Anglo-Maratha Wars</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Annexationism: Third Anglo-Maratha War, Mysore, Punjab</li> <li>• Dalhousie: Doctrine of Lapse</li> <li>• Great Game: Frontier/Buffer states (Nepal, Burma, NE, Sindh, Afghanistan, Sikkim etc)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Company to Crown</li> <li>• No more annexationism, respecting treaties</li> <li>• Indirect expansion: Paramountcy</li> </ul>
<b>Admin</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintain old Mughal structure with modifications: Clive Dyarchy, Hastings/Cornwallis attempted some judicial reforms, civil service reforms.</li> <li>• Regulating Act (1773), Pitts India Act (1784)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Complete Overhaul</li> <li>• L&amp;O: Thugee, Pindaris</li> <li>• Europeanization <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contract Law, Penal Code, Application of British laws</li> <li>• Civil Service, Army, Judiciary etc</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Charter Acts: 1813, 1833, 1853</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Strengthen the grip without antagonizing people.</li> <li>• Administrative reform <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1861 Act - Power sharing</li> <li>• Statutory Civil Service, ICS, Police Act 1861, Military Reforms</li> <li>• Local Self Government</li> <li>• Lytton, Ripon and Curzon</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

<b>Economic</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Change in BoT: Stop Bullion Import, Revenue investment, Origin of DoW</li> <li>• Decline in Handicraft</li> <li>• Zamindari/Permanent settlement</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ryotwari, Mahalwari bypassing zamindars</li> <li>• Commercialisation of agriculture: Opium, Indigo, Cotton etc</li> <li>• Deindustrialization</li> <li>• Railways, Telegraph</li> <li>• Intensified DoW</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial investment → DoW even more intense after 1857</li> <li>• Plantation Economy</li> <li>• Railway, Telegraph, Canals</li> <li>• Long list of Famines</li> <li>• Rise of modern industries</li> </ul>
<b>Social-cultural</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-interference to avoid cost and not to antagonize people.</li> <li>• Orientalism: William Jones' Asiatic Society, Wellesley's Fort Williams College, Translations, study of History and languages, codification</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Liberalism, Utilitarianism</li> <li>• Indomania → Indophobia</li> <li>• Civilizing Mission: Social change through legislation and English education</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Non-interference as far as possible. Social reform only under popular pressure.</li> <li>• Racial discrimination</li> <li>• Communal Policies: Divide and Rule</li> </ul>

### Part III – Nationalism and Freedom Movement

- What is nationalism?
- Nature of Indian nationalism
- Proto Nationalist Resistance: initial sparkles
  - Peasants Movements + Tribal Revolts
    - Nature: Before and after 1857
    - List: Names, Leaders, Sequence
  - Great Revolt 1857
- Modern Nationalism
  - 19th c Socio-religious reform movement --> consciousness of being one nation.
  - Growing political consciousness (1885-1907)
    - History of Press and role of Literature
    - Formation of INC
    - Impact of western elements - Moderate phase of Congress -
    - Larger impact of past and culture - Extremist phase
    - Lord Curzon and Swadeshi Movement
    - Calcutta session and Surat split
  - National Movement (1907-1914)
    - Moderates lost credibility, extremists disintegrated.
    - Rise of revolutionary nationalism in India
    - Act of 1909
    - British policy of divide and rule, formation of Muslim League
  - World War I (1914-1919)
    - Home Rule
    - Revolutionary Movement outside India
    - Lucknow Unity
    - Impact of WW1
    - Act of 1919
    - Rowlatt Satyagraha (1919)
  - National Movement (1920-1929):
    - Popular Gandhian phase
    - Khilafat and NCM
    - Internal conflict within INC (split avoided)
    - Swarajist movement
    - No changers and the Village Reconstruction Program
  - Progress of Nationalism
    - Revival of Revolutionary Politics: HRA, HSRA
    - Simon Commission, Nehru Report, Lahore Session and Purna Swaraj, Karachi Session
    - Peasant Movements (Eka movement, Bardoli etc)
    - Working class movements, formation of CPI
    - Progress of communalism
      - Jinnah and Delhi Declaration (14 points)
      - Formation of Hindu Mahasabha and RSS

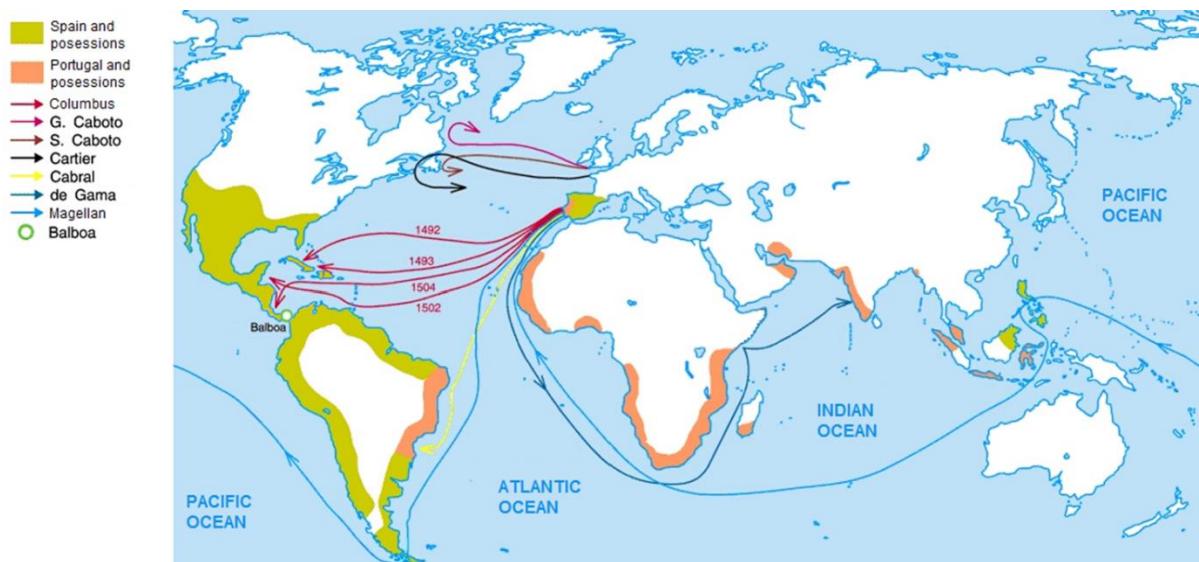
- National Movement (1929-35)
  - CDM and Round Table Conferences
  - Gandhi's Harijan program, Ambedkar, Poona Pact
  - Impact of Great Depression: Peasants, workers, capitalists
  - Rise of Socialism
- National Movement (1935-45)
  - 1935 Act
  - Election of 1937, Congress Ministries of 27 months
  - India's participation in WW2: Congress negotiation and opposition
    - Gandhi's re-entry in politics: August offer (1940), Individual Satyagraha (1940)
    - Cripps Mission (1942) and QIM (leaders, nature, parallel governments)
  - Progress of communalism
    - Closeness between Jinnah and British
    - Jinnah received veto power in return of support - used in Wavell Plan (1945)
  - INA and Subhash Chandra Bose
- Freedom with Partition (1945-47)
  - End of WW2 and decline of the British Empire
  - Change in British Policy
    - Rejection of partition and Cabinet Mission
    - Formation of Interim Government (1946)
    - Change in ML Policy, Direct Action
  - INA Movement, RIN Mutiny etc
  - Atlee Declaration, Mountbatten Plan, Radcliffe Commission, Freedom with Partition

**Modern India 2024**  
**Handout 2: Early Modern Era**  
Nikhil Sheth

The **Early Modern Period** is a historical era that spans from the late 15th century to the mid-18th century, roughly covering the **period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment**. This period is characterized by significant social, cultural, economic, and political changes that transformed Europe that laid the foundations for the modern world.

- **Era of Discovery – New World Exploration**

- The Early Modern Period saw a significant expansion in European exploration and colonization, including the voyages of Christopher Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Ferdinand Magellan. This led to the establishment of global trade networks and the colonization of the Americas, Africa, and Asia.



1488	Bartolomeu Dias		Portuguese
1492	Columbus		Genoa, funded by Portugal
1497	Vasco da Gama		Portuguese
1520s	Ferdinand Magellan		Spain
1577	Francis Drake		English
1642	Abel Tasman		Dutch
1770	Capt James Cook		English
1853	Comm Matthew Perry		American

Europeans often displayed a sense of superiority and entitlement towards native peoples, and their actions often had devastating consequences for indigenous populations.

	<p><b>Monument of the Discoveries</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Located in Lisbon along the river where ships departed to explore and trade with India.</li> <li>• It celebrates the Portuguese Age of Discovery/Exploration during the 15th and 16th centuries.</li> <li>• Main statue of <u>Henry the Navigator</u>.</li> </ul>
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Indian Ships (Medieval Era)	Chinese Ships of Zheng He	Columbus's three ships: Nina, Pinta, Santa Maria

## Colonisation

The history of colonialism begins with the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Caribbean Sea (1492) and the appearance of Vasco da Gama in the Indian Ocean (1498). The first event set in motion processes which led to the conquest of the American continent and the second resulted in the subjugation of various parts of Asia and Africa.

For nearly three centuries, from circa 1500 onwards, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands (Holland), England, and France were the main European nations engaged in colonizing non-European societies.

### (A) 16<sup>th</sup> century Empires: Spain in the West, Portuguese in the East

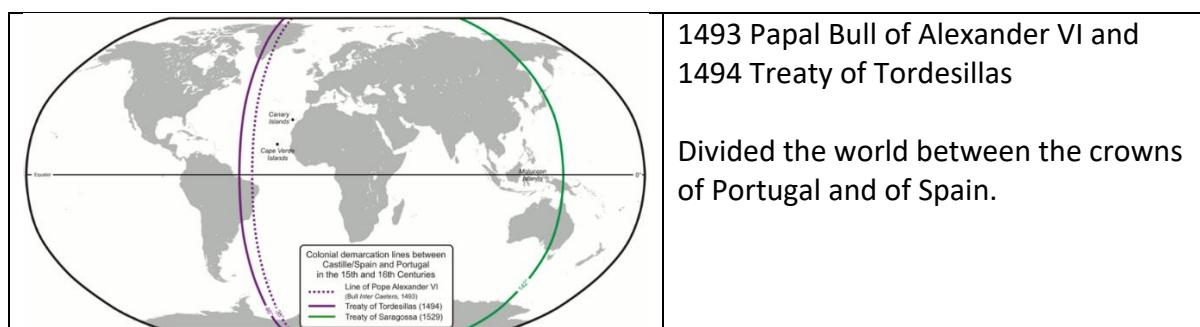
During the Early Modern Period, **Portugal and Spain were two of the major imperial powers** in the world, and their empires played a **significant role in shaping the global political and economic landscape**.

#### **Portugal**

- Established its first colony in **Brazil in 1500**, and over the next few centuries, it built a vast empire in Africa, Asia, and the Americas. Portugal also established a **trading post empire in Asia**, which included Goa, Malacca, and Macau, and it played a major role in the development of the global economy and the expansion of Western influence in the world.

#### **Spain**

- Established its first colony in the Americas with the conquest of **Mexico in 1521**, and it quickly built a **vast empire** in the New World, including most of South and Central America, as well as the **Philippines**.



### (B) 17<sup>th</sup> century: Dutch Prominence

The Dutch (i.e. the Netherlands) replaced the Portuguese as the dominant colonial power in the Indian Ocean in the **seventeenth century**.

- By the early decades of the seventeenth century the Dutch East India Company (VOC) had managed to gain control over the seaborne trade between Asia and Europe, using the Cape of Good Hope route.
- As there was hardly any demand for European commodities in Asian markets, the VOC had to pay for the goods it carried from Asia to Europe with bullion. This exchange was

useful for Asian economies since Asia was deficient in the production of silver, which in this context should be regarded as a commodity.

- As some of the **Indonesian islands** were major producers of spices, the Dutch colonized Indonesia, initially large parts of Java. From the 1650s onwards, the VOC, which had taken possession of the **Cape of Good Hope**.

### **(C) 18<sup>th</sup> century: Global Anglo-French Rivalry**

At the beginning of the **eighteenth century**, England and France emerged as major colonial powers.

- The EIC was incorporated in **1600**, and the French company in **1664**. However, it was only by the end of the seventeenth century, following the decline of the VOC, that these began to make their presence felt in the Indian Ocean.
- Southern India became a major arena of conflict between the two companies in the first half of the **18<sup>th</sup> century**. This was part of a larger struggle between England and France for colonies. Throughout the century both were engaged in a global contest for **supremacy**, culminating in the **Napoleonic Wars** (c. 1800-15).
- With the defeat of **Napoleon**, the ascendancy of England (Britain) was assured for the next hundred years.

### **(D) 19<sup>th</sup> century: British Dominance**

**From 1815, till the outbreak of World War I**, Britain dominated the international capitalist economy.

- British **naval dominance** was unchallenged for most of this period, making it possible for Britain to acquire and control a **vast empire**. However, ultimately what made **Britain** the pre-eminent colonial power in the world was its economy. The **industrialization** of England from the mid-eighteenth century onwards had made its economy the most advanced in the world.
- It is not a coincidence that the first phase of the Industrial Revolution gathered momentum (**1760-80**) just around the time that the EIC **conquered Bengal**. **It is the plunder of Bengal and Atlantic slave trade** that substantially funded the British Industrial Revolution.
- By the nineteenth century Britain also had extensive territorial possessions in the African continent. Ultimately, however, the Indian empire was perhaps the most important component of its **colonial domain**.

## Portuguese: The Maritime empire of Estado da India

For centuries, Europe had been trading in **spices, perfumes, and textiles with India**. In the ancient time, the Greeks and Romans were the main actors. During the Middle Ages, it was **Arab merchants** monopolized this highly **profitable trade**. They were in trade with the merchants of Venice which made Venetians very prosperous. Rest of the Europeans envied them for prosperity and despised them for indulging in trade with Muslims.

Fall of **Constantinople** in **1453** resulted in the **domination of Turks** over the land route connected Asia with Europe. Then Portuguese came to India with the explicit mission to seek Christians and Spices.

### **“Discovery” of India by Vasco da Gama**

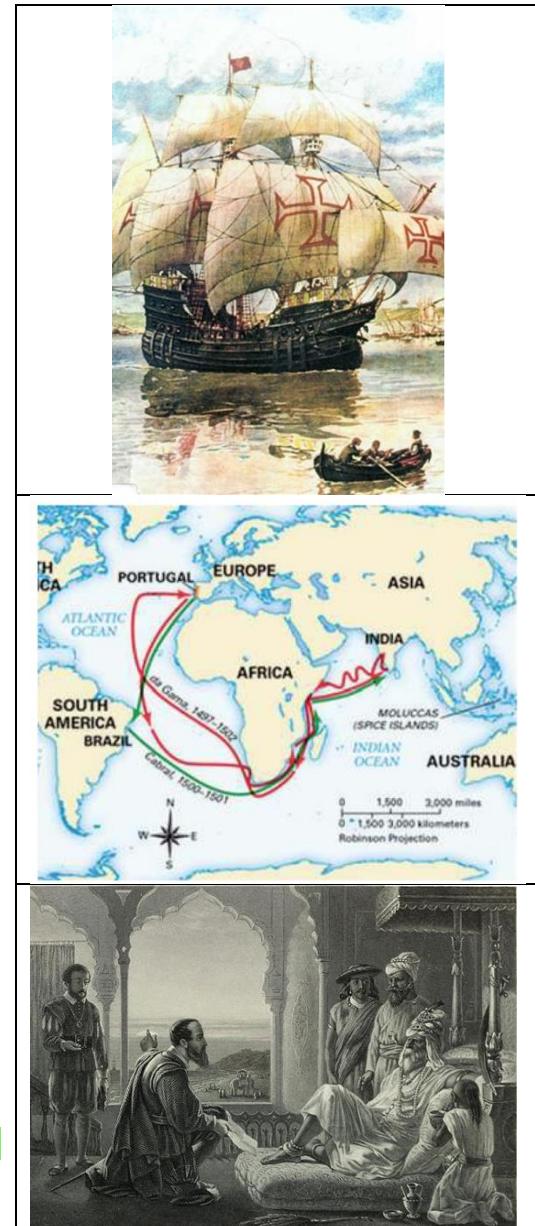
**Vasco Da Gama** set out from **Lisbon** in **1497** leading a convoy of **four** ships on a journey along the Atlantic coast of Africa, then around the Cape of Good Hope, into the Indian Ocean, finally **disembarking at Calicut** (Kozhikode) in **1498**. During his journey, he was guided by an Indian merchant **Abdul Munid Nayar Gujrati**. Calicut was a prominent centre of trade in spices, especially **pepper**. The local ruler bore the title **Zamorin** in European accounts. When da Gama returned, the cargo sold for **60 times** the cost of his **voyage**.

In 1500, a ship sailed under **Pedro Alvarez Cabral**. The Arab merchants tried to obstruct the Portuguese. **Pedro** realized he could take commercial advantage of the mutual **animosity** between the regional rulers of Kerala by using force. Later it became the typical Portuguese **modus operandi**.

**The second expedition (1502)** of Vasco Da Gama triggered an armed conflict in 1500, culminating in the bombardment of Calicut. In the **third expedition (1524)**, Da Gama ordered massive bombardment of Calicut to enforce his terms of treaty on **Samudri Raja** and a large part of Calicut was destroyed in action.

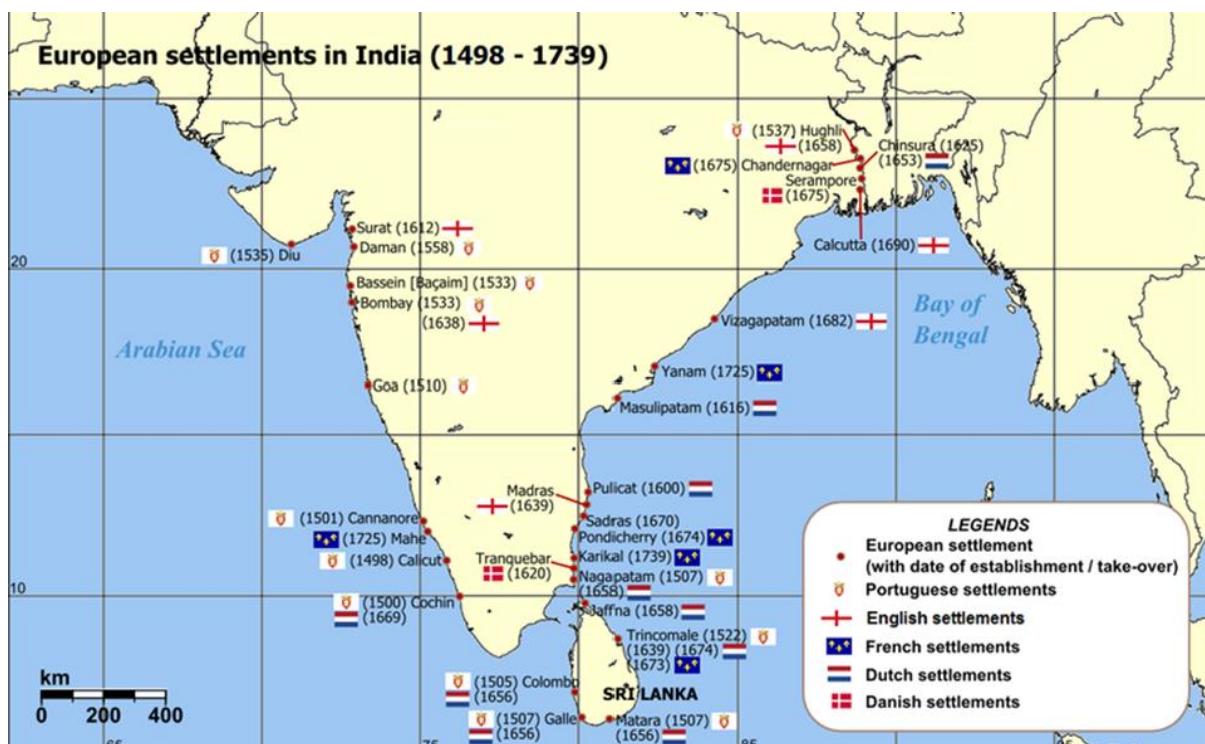
Within a few years of the voyage of da Gama, the Portuguese were travelling regularly along this all-sea route between **Lisbon** and India. In 1503, **Afonso de Albuquerque** came to India and made **Cochin as Portuguese HQ**.

Initial aim of Portuguese was to establish their **supremacy** over **spice trade** but after the expedition of Cabral, Portuguese decided to control the entire trade between Asia and



Europe. The **western coast of India** increasingly became the main zone of the Portuguese commercial activities in Asia. A series of **factories** (feitorias, trading posts) were established all the way from Khambat in north to Malabar in south:

Western Coast	East Coast
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Cochin</li> <li>Diu, Daman</li> <li>Goa</li> <li>Bombay, Bassain</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Pondicherry</li> <li>Nagapattinam</li> <li>Hooghly</li> </ul>



Portuguese soon established factories on **strategic coastal locations** in Persian Gulf, Arabian Sea and South China Sea, for procuring commodities for sale in European markets. These locations enabled them to monitor and regulate shipping in Asian waters.

- Goa, 1510
- Malacca, 1511
- Hormuz, 1515
- Colombo, 1518

The project, which was initiated by the Portuguese state and the route itself became a **crown monopoly**. The Portuguese commercial enterprise in Asia was conducted by **Casa da India**, a state organization, on behalf of the crown. Widely dispersed Portuguese colonial possessions in Asia from China and Timor came to be collectively designated as **Estado da India** (state of India) which functioned under the control of Casa da India.



this location are still strategic coastal locations.



### Reis Magos Fort, Goa

Built in 1550s, it served as a fort, a prison, a hospital, over next 400 years. Goa finally became independent in 1961.

#### Three Governors:

Francisco de Almeida (1505-1509)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>He constructed some forts – Azaniva, Bassein, Cochin.</li><li>Fought against the armies of Egypt, Turkey and Begarha.</li></ul>	
Afonso de Albuquerque (1453-1515)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>He annexed Goa from Ismail Adil Shah, the sultan of Bijapur in 1510. The Portuguese power in India came to be established with victory over Goa.</li><li>Established cordial relationship with Vijayanagara Empire.</li><li>Encouraged Portuguese to marry Indian women.</li></ul>	
Nuno da Cunha (1529-38)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Bahadur Shah of Gujarat to meet him on ship but in some scuffle, he fell off and died.</li><li>New factories came up at San Thome (Coromandal) and at Satgaon Hooghly and Chittagong (Bengal)</li><li>Goa became the Headquarter of the Portuguese in 1530. Henceforth, it became the principal official in Asia</li></ul>	

In order to exercise effective control, Portuguese evolved a notorious **Cartaz System** (*Cartaz-Armada-Kafila system*) whereby;

- Every ship had to carry a **cartaz** issued by the authority of **Estado da India**. It mentioned particulars of ship, details of **voyage and cargo**.
- Every ship was forced to play along only specified **routes**.
- It was prohibited from carrying **commodities** such as **spices** which were sought by **Portuguese**.
- A **fee** was charged for issuing a cartaz, this became an additional source of income.
- Ships were compelled to proceed via specified Portuguese settlements where they had to pay **custom duties**.
- Ships plying without a cartaz or found **contravening** its terms were captured and the crew was killed/made captive.

### Was the Monopoly really established?

- Whereas the Cape of Good Hope was monopolized by Portuguese, the traditional sea-cum-land route from West Asia continued to operate like before, despite Portuguese efforts to close it down. Their possession of Hormuz gave them control over Persian Gulf but the Red Sea remained under Ottoman control, after their failure to occupy Aden or any other strategic location.
- In the second quarter of the 16th century, there was a series of military engagements between Portuguese and Ottomans (1538-1560), spread over from Gujarat to Egypt. It subdued the Portuguese expansion in Indian Ocean.
- Nevertheless,
  - The activities of Arab and Gujarati merchants received a setback. Few Indian ships now could sail to East Africa and Arabia, as well as far East and Spice Islands.
  - By the latter half of the 16th c, over 75% of the pepper available in European markets was being supplied by Portuguese, which was primarily sourced from India.

### Limitations:

After initial success, Portuguese colonies remained stagnant for long time and then declined. When other European powers emerged on the scene, the Portuguese lost most of their gains.

#### 1. Economic Reasons:

- Portuguese commerce in Asia was partly sustained by the resources of its empire in Brazil.
- Portuguese didn't have infrastructure for building a wide distribution network in Europe.
- By the closing decade of the 16th century, Portuguese were finding it difficult to mobilize sufficient capital for investing in commercial voyages to Asia.
- Maintaining it financially afloat became extremely difficult in 1580, Phillip II of Spain usurped the throne of Portugal and then Portugal remained under Spanish control till 1640.
- Gradually, Portugal became interested in gold in Brazil, slave trade in Atlantic rather than pepper in India.

#### 2. Strategic Reasons:

- Portuguese antagonized local population and created powerful adversaries in the vicinity. It could subdue some petty powers on Malabar but further expansion in India was not possible, when at the same time mighty Mughals were rising in north India and there were strong kingdoms in Deccan as well.
- As their advance into hinterland was limited, the colonies were just fragmented pockets without any land connectivity.
- All these forced Portuguese to rely more on international trade, rather than regional trade.

#### 3. Administrative Reasons:

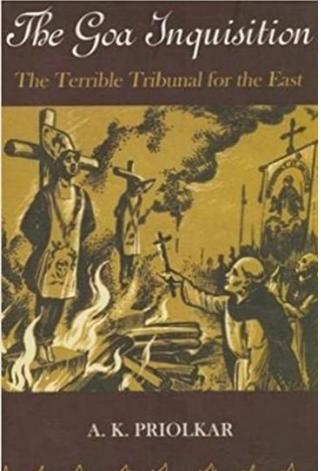
- It was a crown initiative. The king appointed courtiers and country nobles in the administration who had access to the king directly. This led to ill-development of civilian bureaucracy with single point of command, which had long term implications.
- There was no unity of command agenda since the mix of government officials, private traders, soldiers, and clergy - all had their own agenda. Due to lack of

unified command, many parallel power centers emerged with competing objectives to pursue, and they worked at cross purpose.

#### 4. Social and Religious Reasons:

- a. Religious fanaticism was a millstone around the neck of Portuguese administration.
- b. The biggest problem the missionaries created was by the religious persecution of Hindus and Muslims, the religious persecution reached the next stage when the converted Christians were tortured through Goa Inquisition if they follow any of their earlier customs.

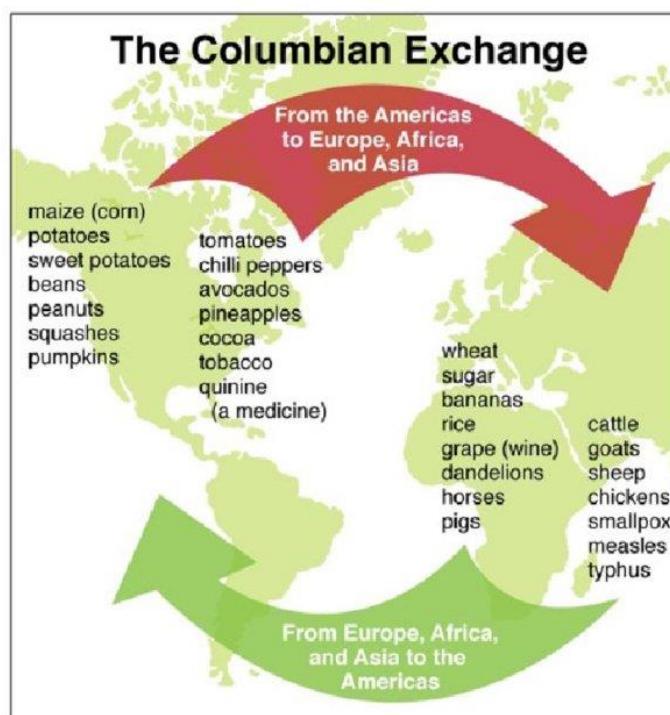
Finally, the Dutch and English exploited the situation.

	
Basilica of Bom Jesus, Goa, 1594 UNESCO World Heritage	Goa Inquisition to enforce Catholic Orthodoxy

**Comment:** |

#### Prelims related facts:

- Afonso de Albuquerque had abolished **Sati** practice in Goa.
- The **first printing press** of India was set up in 1556 at St. Paul's College, Goa. This college was founded by saint Francis Xavier in 1540s. And the first mention of the press comes from a letter to St. Ignatius of Loyola.
- **Tobacco cultivation in India** was introduced by Portuguese in 1605. Initially tobacco was grown in **Kaira and Mehsana** districts of **Gujarat** and later spread to other areas of the country.
- **Bombay** was given to British in **dowry** in 1661 when Spain ruled over **Portugal** and Spanish queen, **Catherine of Braganza** married British king.
- **Bassain** (Vasai) was conquered by **Marathas** in 1739 under the leadership of **Chimaji Appa**.



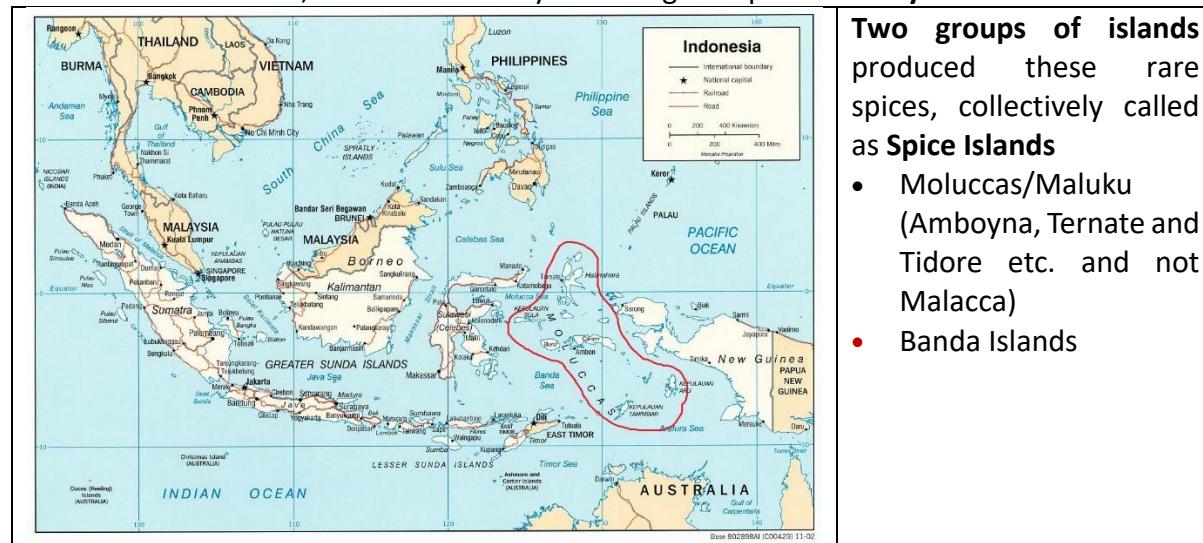
## Dutch VOC (1602-1799)

Towards the end of the 16th century, **Portuguese monopoly** on the Cape of Good Hope route began to be challenged by other European traders. The weakening of Portuguese power in the **Indian Ocean** by the end of the 16th c had created a vacuum which the **English** and the Dutch tried to fill. Soon, the **Dutch replaced the Portuguese. They were to dominate the Asia-Europe trade in the 17th c.**

**VOC** (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie = United Dutch East India Company)

- It was a **joint-stock company** formed in **1602**.
- It was given a **monopoly** over trade with the **East Indies**.
- By **1660**, it had established bases in South Africa, Indonesia, Ceylon, and India, to become the largest and the richest company in the world. Amsterdam thereby became the centre of world trade.

In the opening decades of the 17th c, the VOC was engaged in a **tussle with Portuguese**, attempting to take over some of its **strategic locations in Indian Ocean**. But the focus of VOC was **Indonesia**. Indonesia was the major producer of **spices**. Much **greater profits**, up to several hundred times, could be made by obtaining the spices **directly**.



**Two groups of islands** produced these rare spices, collectively called as **Spice Islands**

- Moluccas/Maluku (Amboyna, Ternate and Tidore etc. and not Malacca)
- Banda Islands

By 1620s, VOC conquered both these groups of Islands and made Java as the base of operations in SE Asia. The Dutch consolidated their position by taking over Malacca from Portuguese in **1641**. For the next half a century, SE Asia was the preserve of the VOC. This ensured their sole access to the supplies of spices, except pepper.

**Jakarta** became the seat of Dutch Asian empire. It was renamed **Batavia**.



**Intra-Asian trade** through multi-continental trading stations was a novel concept at that time, in which Dutch were vigorously invested.

**Indian textiles** were in great demand across SE Asia, esp. the **coarser cotton varieties** for everyday use. These could be directly or indirectly exchanged for spices. The Dutch obtained the textile from **Gujarat** and **Coromandal regions** were the two most important producers of the cotton textile varieties. **Masulipatanam** in **Coromandal** and **Surat** in **Gujarat** became the strongholds of the Dutch. The Dutch soon discovered that there was a European demand for Indian cotton textiles.

Coromandal	Gujarat	Orissa and Bengal	Malabar
<p>The first Dutch factory was established at <b>Petapoli (AP)</b>.</p> <p>1. Masulipatanam (1605) 2. Pulicut (1610) 3. Nagapattinam (1658)</p>	<p>1. Surat (1618). In <b>1618</b> that the VOC received <b>permission</b> from the <b>Jahangir</b>, the <b>Mughal Emperor</b> to do business from a trading post in Surat.</p> <p>2. Very soon, Dutch outposts emerged <b>all over Gujarat</b>, which were all subordinate to Surat.</p>	<p>The search for supplies of <b>raw silk</b> for <b>Japanese trade</b> took the VOC to Orissa and thence to Bengal during the <b>era of Shah Jahan</b>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hariharpur (Jagatsinghpur, Orissa) in 1633</li> <li>• With its growing presence in Bengal, the Dutch set up a factory in Hooghly. (1635)</li> <li>• <b>Chinsura</b> (1656) became the VOC HQ in Bengal</li> <li>• Soon, factories came up in Agra, Patna, Kasimbazar and Dhacca etc.</li> </ul>	<p>In 1663, Dutch supplanted the Portuguese from Malabar when they took over <b>Cochin</b>.</p>

In 1658, they also conquered Sri Lanka from the Portuguese.

## Anglo-Dutch Wars

- The Netherlands was a major maritime power in the 17th century and had established a dominant position in international trade. However, England was also becoming a major naval and commercial power and was keen to challenge Dutch dominance.
- Both had different economic interests and trading patterns in the region.
  - The Dutch → primarily interested in the monopoly over the spice trade in the East Indies.
  - The English → primarily interested in the textile trade (cotton, silk, muslin etc) in India.
- Despite different economic interests, they also competed for access to markets and resources. The first three wars took place from 1650s-1670s and the fourth war in 1780s. These wars were mainly fought around the world.
- Outcome
  - In Battle of Bedara (Chinsura) in 1759, Dutch were defeated by British and finally expelled from India by 1795. England now started to emerge as the dominant naval power and the Dutch Republic experienced a decline in power and influence.
  - The Fourth Anglo-Dutch war (1780s) was a financial disaster for the Dutch Republic as well as the VOC. After the French Revolution, the Dutch Republic itself was disturbed. The revolutionary committee nationalized VOC (1799).
  - In the end, Dutch continued their trade in Indonesia in spices, the English concentrated on Indian textile trade.

### Prelims related factoids:

- The Dutch were very good at mapping the coasts and sea around India and recording the change of currents and seasons because it was important for the merchants to come and go. Consequently, in the Dutch archive one can find a large number of maps of Indian territories.
- The Dutch had a distinctive way of recording daily events in the social and political life of the local community in the form of daily registers called as ‘Dagh-registers’.
- **Battle of Colachel 1741** (Marthanda Varma of Travancore vs Dutch)



Tombs in the Dutch Cemetery, Surat.

**Comment:**

**Modern India 2024**  
**Practice MCQs: Supplementary to Handout 2**  
**Early Modern Era, Portuguese, and Dutch Colonization**

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**1. Consider the following statements:**

1. The Portuguese collected Cartaz as security tax over sea-routes.
2. The British gained Diwani rights in Bengal after the battle of Buxar.

Which of the statements given above is/are correct?

- (a) 1 only
- (b) 2 only
- (c) 1 and 2 both**
- (d) None of the above.

**2. In the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the most important item exported from India was-**

- (a) Spices**
- (b) Cotton cloth
- (c) Precious Stones
- (d) Saltpeter

**3. Which one of the following crops was introduced by the Portuguese in India? NDA 2018**

- (a) Opium
- (b) Coffee
- (c) Betel leaf
- (d) Chilli**

**4. In which of the following places the Dutch established their trading centre in India? UPPCS 2017**

- (a) Nagapattinam, Chinsura, Machilipatnam
- (b) Surat, Bharuch, Agra
- (c) Cochin, Ahmedabad, Patna
- (d) All of the above**

**5. Which of the following characteristics about the state of Travancore in 18th century Kerala is/are correct? CDS (1) 2015**

- 1. Travancore was ruled by Marthanda Varma from 1729 to 1758.
- 2. Travancore built a strong army and defeated the Dutch in 1741.
- 3. Travancore was an important centre of learning

Select the correct answer using the code given below:

- (a) 1 and 2 only
- (b) 2 only
- (c) 1, 2 and 3**
- (d) 1 only

**6. Consider the following statements, regarding the Dutch in India:**

masulipatnam

1. The first Dutch factory was established at Surat in 1603.
2. In 1759, they were decisively defeated by the British in the Battle of Bedara in which the English were led by Clive.

Which of the statement(s) given above is/are correct?

- (a) 1 only
- (b) 2 only**
- (c) Both 1 and 2
- (d) Neither 1 nor 2

**7. In the context of the Indian history, Portuguese 'Cartaz' system refers to?**

- (a) A system introduced to spread Christianity in India and Asia
- (b) A system to control Naval trade.**
- (c) System introduced by the Portuguese to control trade of spices in east Asia.
- (d) Political system introduced in Portuguese colonies.

## Handout 3: Advent of British and French, Carnatic Wars

Nikhil Sheth

(A) Hon. English East India Company

Queen Elizabeth I's (r. 1558-1603) initiatives laid the groundwork for the United Kingdom's future international naval dominance. She wished for England to be formidable at sea because she was a firm believer that 'ships made history.'

So, it was under Elizabeth that the definite pattern had been set which was continued for next two centuries.

It was exactly the time when the weakening of Portuguese power in the Indian Ocean by the end of the 16th c had created a vacuum which the English and the Dutch tried to fill. Since the merchant capitalists of England were, as a class, much weaker at this stage than their Dutch counterparts, their progress was much slower in so far as their share of the Asia-Europe trade was concerned, at least till 1680s.

**Formation of the EIC - 31 Dec 1600**

English traders got alarmed that the Dutch were cornering the spice trade. Worst of all, the Dutch were buying English ships from England for this very purpose.

So, they decided to join hands and pool their resources, leading to the formation of a joint stock company in 1600. It was a private shareholders' company and the founding 101 shareholders consisted of politicians, merchants, petty investors, and speculators.

These merchants, based in London, had succeeded in persuading the authorities to grant them special privileges, through a royal charter, for participating in the seaborne trade via Cape of Good Hope.

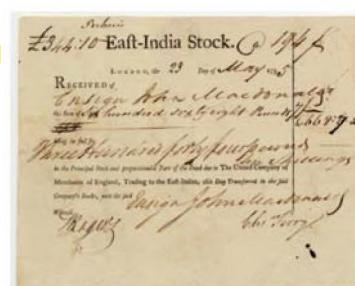
The charter was initially for 15 years, and it was later continuously renewed with changes in terms from time to time, till 1853 when it received the final charter.



Elizabeth I



Francis Drake



## EIC: 17<sup>th</sup> century in England

Even before the first charter ran its full course, a new charter was granted to the EIC by James I, who had succeeded Elizabeth in 1603.

EIC was purely a commercial enterprise, a private undertaking. It had little support from the government in the initial decades. Thus, it was imperative for it that profit making remains the top priority and only objective. Thus, the only policy was that of expediency.

The 17th century was a period of great political turmoil and social unrest in England, marked by the conflict between the monarchs and the parliament on the issues of taxation and religion.

- In 1637, Courten Association obtained a charter from Charles I (r. 1625-1649) to trade in the East. In 1657, when England was a republic briefly (1649-60), a fresh charter was granted to the EIC by Oliver Cromwell, restoring its monopoly.
- Scottish parliament authorized another company to engage in trade with East India. Eventually, the separate Scottish trading venture failed due to intense English hostility.
- After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which established supremacy of Parliament over crown, the political influence of the EIC was somewhat reduced. Parliament created a new company - now called as English Company (as against London Company for the old company). But it was soon realized that such competition was disastrous for English overseas commerce. Eventually a compromise was worked out and the two companies were merged under parliamentary and state supervision in 1709.

However, all this disorder didn't impinge much upon the functioning of the EIC - in stark contrast to its European competitors as their position depended much on the fortunes of the government of their mother country.

First Englishmen visiting India:

1579	Thomas Stephens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A Jesuit missionary</li> <li>First Englishman to reach India (Goa)</li> <li>Author of <b>Krista Purana</b> (epic poem on Christ in Konkani + Marathi)</li> </ul>
1584	Ralf Fitch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>First Englishman to travel through India.</li> <li>Came to Goa with John Newberry, John Eldred, and James Story. Except for Story, the other three visited other parts of India.</li> </ul>
1603	John <b>Mildenhall</b>	He met Emperor <b>Akbar</b> . However, his journey was not sponsored by the Company. Hence, Sir William Hawkins was sent to India to declare all his dealings <b>null and void</b> .

First Expedition/Voyage of EIC fleet to **Spice Islands** (Indonesia) under James Lancaster and Henry Middleton in 1601. India was only incidental to the plans of English and its main objective was to procure **spices** from SE Asia, but the English were driven out of SE Asia by Dutch by 1623. So, English prudently turned towards India and towards trade in textiles instead of spices.

(i) Western India: Surat and Bombay

The first mission by Captain William Hawkins (1608) to the **court of Jahangir** failed to achieve substantial result due to Portuguese opposition.

English realized that their future in India would be **uncertain** if the Portuguese continued to exert their **influence** in the Mughal court. The English consolidated their position in India by defeating Portuguese in the two naval encounters - at **Surat** (1612, English led by Capt. Thomas Best) and at Swally (1614, English led by Sir Henry Middleton). The English company was now granted the permission to **open factories** in Surat (1613), Ahmedabad and Bharuch.

In 1615, **Sir Thomas Roe**, sent by King James I, led the second mission (first royal ambassador) and spent three years hanging around the **court of Jahangir** before the Company could get the royal firman to establish factories anywhere in India. Roe also played an important role in **securing** the release of English merchants who had been held captive by the Portuguese in Goa.



Roe's mission marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the EIC in India. By 1619, the English were able to establish the factories in **Surat, Agra, Ahmedabad, and Bharuch etc.**

The hostilities between Portuguese and English ended by 1630. Consequently, the English trade started to expand at great pace and the number of English factories multiplied.

In 1665, Charles II of England got dowry of Bombay from Catherine of Braganza of Portugal in the marriage. This was a marriage of states, in which the two dynasties got into a diplomatic alliance by marrying off their royal family members, along with the exchange of gifts and privileges.

The EIC later acquired these islands from the Crown for extending loan of 50,000 pounds and nominal rent of 10 pounds/annum in 1668. The Company was keen to develop the region, with its natural harbour, into a British trading post. Soon, it became the chief trading post for the company on the western coast. Within 20 years, in 1687, the administrative HQ of the western coast was shifted to Bombay from Surat. Now Bombay was fortified, and it soon replaced Surat as the chief port but couldn't progress much due to rising Maratha power.

#### (ii) Coromandal Coast:

- Masulipatanam was the first factory of British here, established in 1611. It was the seaport of the Golconda Sultans. The activities of the EIC expanded on Coromandal in 1630s and 40s.
- Madras (1639)
  - Permission from local Raja (fortify, mint, first territory, without war).
  - Fort Saint George was built at this place in 1640. It was the time when cotton supplies to Europe were increasing due to the increasing demand. As the trade increased, so did the city of Madras, which absorbed a lot of immigrants from the nearby regions who were seeking to escape the socio-political instability, before and after the conquest of South India by the Mughals.
  - In 1652, Madras became the presidency and the entire eastern coast, including Bengal. It remained the HQ of the Company in India till 1750s.

#### (iii) East India (Bengal, Odisha):

First English company in the East was Hariharpur, Balasore in 1633. Soon, the British came to Bengal by establishing a factory at Hooghly in 1651, which later on spread to more locations like Patna, Dacca and Kasimbazar (WB).

But English were expelled from Hooghly in 1680s after Anglo-Mughal war. It was Job Charnock who received the permission to open factory in Bengal again 1690 from Aurangzeb. He bought the zamindari of three villages of Sutanati, Gobindpur and Kalikata from Bengal subedar Azim Usman in 1698 and formed a settlement and called it Calcutta.



Marriage certificate of Catherine and Charles II



Original 7 Islands of Bombay. These were joined together in the 19th c to form today's southern part of Bombay city.



St. Mary's Church, Fort St. George, Madras. Robert Clive married here, so did Elihu Yale, a president of the EIC, who became rich in India and later endowed Yale University in USA in 1701.

The English settlement soon expanded and around 1700, the Fort Williams was constructed with the permission of the Bengal Nawab. Now, Bengal became a **separate Presidency**. Of the three presidencies, it was more lucrative and less disturbed. In 18th century, 60% of British export (from entire Asia) came from Bengal.

East India Company and the foundation of three presidency towns:

Bombay	7 Islands George Fort	1668 1769	EIC leased the islands from the Crown King George III
Madras	Fort St. George	1639	St. George (military saint), patron saint of England
Calcutta	Fort Williams	1698-1702	William III, the then king of England

#### EIC: Trends in the 17<sup>th</sup> century

voyages meaning  
a long journey involving travel by sea or in space

Theme 1: For the English Company, despite some spectacular profits in its early **voyages**, it was a troubled time. Not so much because of **occasionally** adverse trading conditions, but because of **financial and political difficulties at home** - in securing sufficient capital, upholding their **monopoly rights** and suffering from political wars and religious turmoil.

Theme 2: Anglo-Dutch rivalry

- Due to the Dutch stranglehold over Southeast Asian spice supplies the EIC tried to use more of **Indian networks** (and subsequently in China for tea). Thus, there was gradual expansion of factories in India.
  - The fact was that the English could trade in India with relative freedom, esp. in Mughal territories. It didn't have to face the kind of obstacles that were placed in its way by the **Dutch in SE Asia**, presented it with a historical opportunity that it made good use of.
- The competition with Dutch also led to **confrontations**, partly as a consequence of rivalries taking place in Europe. Between 1650s and 1670s, England and Dutch fought three wars which put English company in tight spot. In order to survive and protect its interests, the Company evolved its outlook and started to use strong arm tactics.

Theme 3: The 17<sup>th</sup> c. witnessed changes in Asia-Europe trade which eventually benefitted and were accelerated by the EIC. In the second half of the 17th c, there was a steady rise of the exports of **Indian textiles**, and to some extent **Indigo**.

Theme 4: From Supplication to Aggression with State Support

From 1650 to 1690, the trade of the Company made great progress, and with it, its ambitions rose.

By **Charter of 1661**, it was authorized to raise army, make **peace and war**, and to acquire **territories** and administer **justice** in its territories. Armed with the governmental authority, some of the EIC merchants began to dream of **power and dominion**. The company henceforth began fortifying its **stations** in India and setting up small militia to protect them.

It was thus the period of active support of the government. Even while there was always a dividing line between the government and the company, the line was thin and fairly porous.

With this, after first 70 years of peace there was the Mughal-Anglo war of 1686-90.

In the 1680s, the EIC management in London, with the sanction of king James II, formally launched an offensive in India on two fronts to increase the Company's influence. It was the aggressive manner of Josiah Child, the president of the Company, which led to this mistaken belief of superiority. The company was certainly in no position to take on Mughal military might at this stage. As a result, the company was temporarily dislodged from the west coast and might have lost Bombay forever. In the end, the Company had to surrender unconditionally. Aurangzeb imposed huge indemnity as a price to allow EIC to trade.

#### Theme 5: Beginning of Anglo-French Rivalry

While the competition with the Portuguese and Dutch was eventually overcome, owing largely to the two countries' internal problems and weaknesses, the conflict with the French became particularly bitter.

French Governor Dupleix began meddling in Deccan regional conflicts, primarily with the intention of driving the British out of India.

Following in the footsteps of the French, the English company created its own armed contingents and became actively involved in neighbouring disputes. It formed shady alliances with provincial rulers and utilised its army of Indian mercenary warriors to help local rulers bolster their positions in exchange for money and land rights.

Companies approach towards war: Although the Company's success story is drenched in blood, the Englishmen never overlooked the importance of the business angle. The Company made a lot of money from trade as well as plunder, blackmail, and extortion, and hence had enough money to fight wars.

## (B) French EIC

In France, the Compagnie des Indes Orientales (East India Company) was founded under royal patronage in 1664. It was Louis XIV's PM Colbert's initiative.

### Settlements:

- Phase I: Many factories in India
  - First factory was at Surat (1668) to purchase textile.
  - Second factory was at Masulipatanam (1669)
  - In 1673, a factory was established at Chandarnagar, very close to Calcutta.
  - Then came Pondicherry (1674) and eventually it became the HQ for all French possessions in India.
- Phase II - Revival/new momentum in 1720s led to creation of new posts.
  - 1721-Occupation of Mauritius
  - 1725-Mahe
  - 1739-Karikal
- French influence on western coast is very less. It was present largely on the eastern coast.

### Changing fortunes of the French EIC:

- Given its financial weakness, the French EIC was not in a position to engage very actively in trade between Europe and Asia during the first few decades of its existence.
- At the beginning of the 18th century that the French EIC became a profitable business concern. At this juncture, it quickly emerged as the formidable trade rival to the English EIC in India. The French trade was considerably higher than EIC in this era. Yet, its focus remained on pure trade by Lenoir and Dumas (1720s-30s) and no political ambition was displayed.
- With the entrance of Dupleix, the French began to formulate imperialist plans in India. The French company's expanding political ambitions, as well as Europe's shifting political alignments, injected tension into the relationship with the English. Both were embroiled in a struggle for political and commercial dominance in India between 1740s and 1750s.

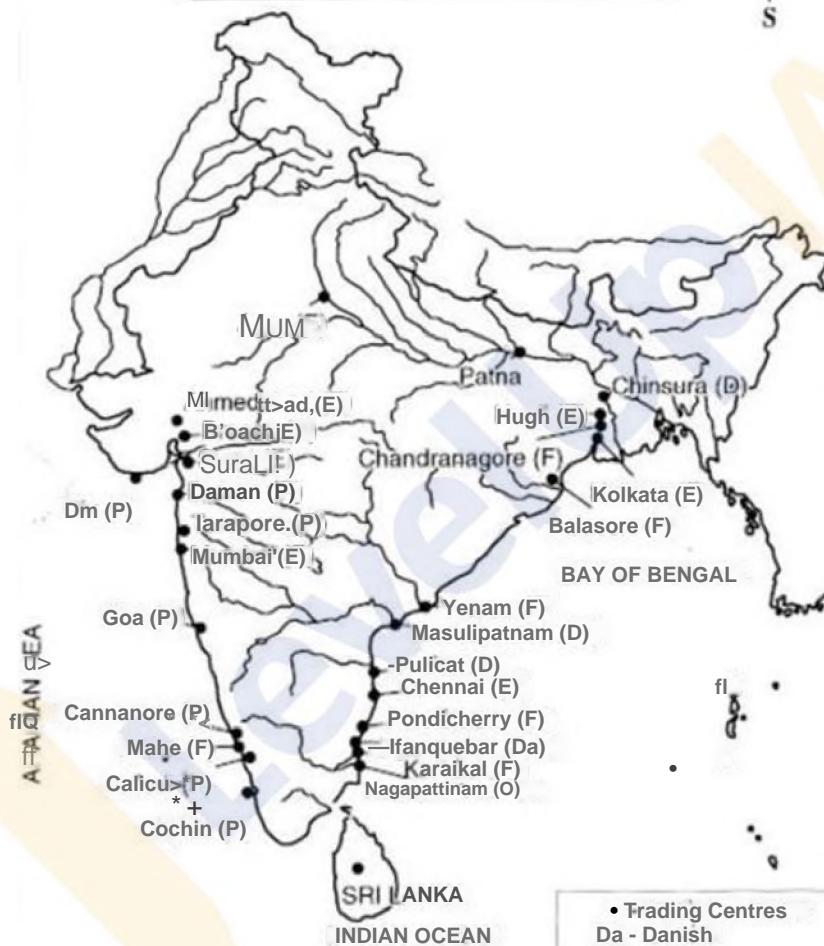
### Danish EIC

Not very significant in India

- Two Companies (combined of Denmark-Norway)
  - First Company: 1616-1650
  - Second Company: 1670-1729
  - Revived in 1730 as Danish Asia Company, functioned till 1840s.
- Not much activity in India. Then they sold their possession in India to British and left.
- Locations
  - Trancobar (TN) and Serampore (Bengal) were imp centres.
  - Serampore imp because before 1813, EIC didn't allow spread of Christianity in its area. So, Serampore was used (Danish) Europeans for evangelism.

No.	Country	Company Formation	First Factory in India
1	Portuguese	Earliest	Calicut (1500-02)
2	English	1600	Masulipatanam (1611) Surat(1613)
3	Dutch	1602	Masulipatanam (1605)
4	Dane	1616	Tranquebar (1620)
5	French	1664	Surat (1668)

**EUROPEAN TRADING CENTRES  
IN INDIA**



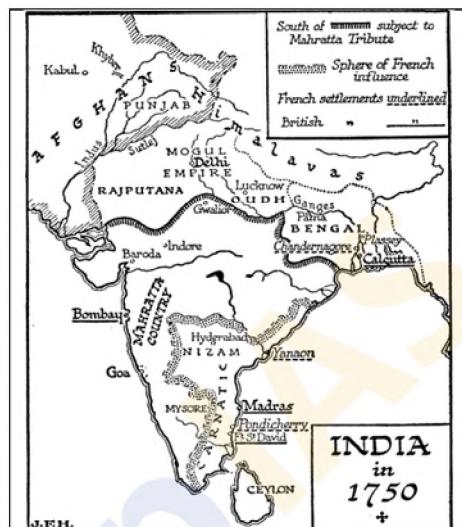
### (C) Carnatic Wars - Elimination of Rivals

(1746-63, 18 years, 3 rounds of war)

By 1700, the English were able to dash out both the Portuguese and the Dutch from the Indian scenario. Now they were left with a single competitor - France.

An ongoing international conflict between Britain and France intensified the struggle between the English and French companies in India in 1740s and 1750s. Both sought to enhance their influence in southern India by strengthening their own security, building forts and enlisting Indian soldiers in the name of self-defence.

Southern India was thrown in prolonged political turmoil when Aurangzeb launched his Deccan campaign in 1681. The situation only aggravated after his death in 1707. The balance of power was upset, Marathas were emerging as a major power and there was emergence of a lot of new states, leading to instability. The net result of all this strife was total breakdown of the administrative order. This political instability offered the two companies a golden opportunity.



Carnatic Region: Mughal possessions in South India (TN, AP, Telangana) were called as Karnataka Payanghat. They were administered from Arcot since the closing years of Aurangzeb's years.

	Causes	Main Battles	Treaty/Outcome
First (1746-48)			
Second (1751-55)			
Third (1756-63)			

## First Carnatic War (1746-48) (Outcome depended on sea power)

In 1742, Joseph Dupleix was appointed as governor of French possessions and remained till 1752. He is the most prominent figure in the history of French colonial expansion in India.

His appointment coincided with the outbreak of a series of military conflicts in Europe which are together referred to as the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48). France and England were supporting different candidates as heirs to the Hapsburg throne in the war. Thus, in India too, the two companies were arrayed against each other, leading eventually to the full-blown war.



### Course of the War:

Early French victory - Capture of Madras	Weaker French tried to avoid hostilities but British were deliberately provocative on sea and they threatened Pondicherry. In retaliation, Dupleix, with the help from La Bourdonnais, captured Madras. This placed EIC in a precarious position in Coromandel. However, the gains of this initial victory were quickly lost due to the quarrel between the two and French could not consolidate their position.
Defeat of Anwaruddin	British approached Anwaruddin, the Nawab of Carnatic for help. The Nawab agreed to intervene and sent a huge army to defeat French. But he suffered ignominious defeat by a small disciplined French army (important lesson for the first time in superior European trained army)
Stalemate	French laid a long siege (18 months) of Fort St. David (Cuddalore) which was a minor British possession, but the British were able to defend it.  On the other hand, British navy besieged Pondicherry for 40 days but it ended up in disaster and British had to retreat. The successful resistance of Pondicherry reinforced the reputation of Dupleix as an able military leader.

Meanwhile, the war ended in Europe in 1748, and with that there was a brief interval in Anglo-French conflict in India. Following the protracted negotiations, as per the Aix-la-Chappelle Treaty, English possessions in Madras was restored.

War ended but not the rivalry between the two companies. The peace was only the wait for the next round of war. Dupleix was reluctant to sign a peace treaty with the English, but he was compelled to do so under the instruction of the government of France.

### Lessons of the First Carnatic War

- Superiority of French in the first war: Capture of Madras was the salutary achievement which enhanced the power and prestige of the French as a territorial and naval power in India.
- Dupleix got opening into the domestic quarrel of Indian princes.

## Second Carnatic War (1751-55)

This time, there was no European pretext for the outbreak of hostilities. Indian rivalries provided the context. Its basis lay in the political instability in Carnatic - succession crisis for Nawab of Carnatic and Nizam of Hyderabad.

<u>Hyderabad</u>	<u>Arcot</u>
In 1720s, Nizam-ul-Mulk Chin Qilich Khan (Asaf Jah I) founded the state of Hyderabad.	Saadatulla Khan (d 1732) was the Mughal diwan of Karnataka Payanghat. His dynasty is called Navaiyat dynasty. He was the last Mughal-appointed in Carnatic. After him, Carnatic tried to be independent.
The death of Asaf Jah I (1748) created political vacuum in Hyderabad which the French and English rushed to fill in by exploiting the dispute over succession.	In 1743, Nizam of Hyderabad intervened and appointed Anwaruddin (1744-49) as Nawab who replaced the Navaiyat dynasty. So, even the Arcot principality owed its origin to Mughals, its present ruler Anwaruddin was ruling on behalf of Nizams. However, since Nizam was busy in North and with Marathas - so Carnatic became practically independent.
Nasir Jang (son of Asaf Jah I) became the next Nizam but he was challenged by Muzaffar Jang (grandson of Asaf Jah through a daughter). In it, the French offered services to Muzaffar Jang and English thus lent their support to Nasir Jang.	Marathas set Chand Sahib free after 7 years of captivity in 1748. Chanda Sahib was related to Navaiyat dynasty and aspired to supplant the incumbent ruler Anwaruddin Khan. Upon his return, with the help of French he sought to oust Anwaruddin.
However, Nasir Jang was assassinated in 1750. Dupleix then moved swiftly. Accompanied by a large contingent of troops under the command of Charles de Bussy, Muzaffar Jang was installed.	In 1749, Anwaruddin was killed in the battle of Ambur, in which was fighting against the combined forces of Muzaffar Jang, Chanda Sahib and the French.
When Muzaffar Jang was in turn assassinated (1752), de Bussy backed Salabat Jang, the younger brother of Nasir Jang as the successor, who then stayed as Nizam for a decade.	 Battle of Ambur Death of Anwaruddin 1749
In return the French company received extensive grants in Tamil Nadu and the authority to govern vast areas.  More importantly, the new Nizam ceded a few districts on coastal Andhra (Guntur, Rajamundry, Ellore)	Chanda Sahib now declared himself the ruler of Arcot. On the other hand, British were supporting the cause of Muhammad Ali (Wallajah), one of the Sons of Anwaruddin. British threw full weight behind Muhammad Ali and prepared for full-scale offensive.

etc) which were administratively designated as Northern Circars. Dupleix was handsomely rewarded for his assistance with a present of £77,500, the high Mughal rank of Mansab of 7,000 horses, the rich port of Masulipatnam and a jagir (a landed estate) worth £20,000.

Maratha, Tanjore, Mysore all were brought together to support Muhammad Ali. While the French were busier in Hyderabad, English attacked a massive offensive against Chanda Sahib. Arcot and Trichy were occupied.



Clive in the Siege of Arcot (1751)

Siege of Arcot: Robert Clive attacked Arcot as a tactical diversion. Its seizure demoralized French.

French forces were repeatedly defeated at Trichy and other places. Soon dispirited Chand Sahib also surrendered to British. He was beheaded (1752). It helped the EIC to establish its supremacy over Carnatic. Tide turned in favour of English. Muhammad Ali was declared as a nawab.

Under the circumstances, it was a kind of stalemate in India. So, the two companies arrived at a negotiated settlement. Representatives of the two companies started discussion leading to the Treaty of Pondicherry (1754)

- One outcome of these talks was the recall of Dupleix in 1754. Dupleix's career ended in 1754. He returned home after the career of 34 years in India. Charles Godeheu appointed as new GG with wide-ranging powers to sort out the problems.
- Muhammad Ali (Wallaja) became Nawab of Carnatic. Each side not to interfere in local powers.
- There was a complete reversal of Dupleix policy. His work was undone in Carnatic. Only in Hyderabad de Bussy continued influence.

Before the treaty could be ratified at home, the Seven Year war broke out. Thus, the only effect of the treaty was to give a breathing space to two sides.

### Third Carnatic War (1756-63)

It was an offshoot of the Seven Years' war in Europe, which in turn was a part of an international conflict among western powers for colonies, although it involved some specifically European political issues. The English and the French were at war wherever the two had been seeking to wrest colonial possessions from each other, especially in North America and India.

In India, there were two theatres of war.

- Bengal theatre
  - British captured Chandernagar in 1756. French could do nothing till the fleet arrived.
  - In the Battle of Plassey (1756) British managed to gain control over Bengal. This victory had remarkably boosted their morale. They also now had access to almost unlimited amount of wealth from Murshidabad to fund their war in South.
- Carnatic theatre
  - With defeat in Bengal, French sent a senior military officer de Lally as commander general of colonies in India with instruction to inflict maximum damage to the British. It was an desperate attempt to reverse the tide of their misfortune, but in vain.
  - Lally spent an year attacking Tanjore and besieging Madras without any outcome,
  - Lally lost Hyderabad.
    - Lally unwisely ordered Bussy to leave Hyderabad to render assistance in Carnatic. He had to leave the troops under incompetent commanders. English sent army, captured Northern Circars and replaced French in Hyderabad court.
  - Battle of Wandiwash (1760)
    - \* It was the most decisive battle in which the French were forced to surrender.
    - General Eyre Coote vs Lally - Coote complete defeated Lally
  - With the route of French in Wandiwash, British were able to establish their ascendancy over large parts of peninsular India. English followed up their success at Wandiwash quickly:
    - In next few months, all major possessions of French were captured.
    - \* Pondicherry surrendered - the city was completely routed and reduced to rubble by British.
    - In the final act of humiliation, Lally was captured by British and send to Europe as PoW

Two treaties:

- Treaty of Pondicherry (1761) marked the end of the French aspirations in India.
- Meanwhile, France had to face defeat in the Seven Years' War. In the Peace of Paris (1763), Peace was restored.

French factories and Pondicherry were returned but without fortifications and confined only to local trade. However, the possibility of the French Empire in India was over. Hereafter, they were to live under British protection and not allowed to fortify or garrison their towns nor permitted to interfere in political affairs of India. Thus, the French dream of creating an empire in India was shattered forever.

- By the end of the Third War, the EIC became a territorial power in South India and had established pre-eminence in Hyderabad. The most substantial gain was however in the Eastern India after the battle of Plassey. And there was near complete French expulsion from Bengal too.

#### End of the French EIC

French government went heavily into debt during the Seven Years' War. It had neither resource nor intent to salvage the company in India. The Company now completely lost the royal attention. French EIC formally ended in 1769. The French crown maintained the possessions thereafter.

#### Causes of the French Failure:

History of Modern India starts with the beginning of 18<sup>th</sup> century. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, new developments took place in India, especially in political and economic sphere. On the one hand, the Mughal Empire disintegrated with the onset of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and a kind of political vacuum developed in which many new states emerged. On the other hand, British East India Company was taking over India part by part in the latter half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

### **(A) Peeling pf the Mughal Empire**

From Akbar until Aurangzeb's reign, the Mughal Empire expanded steadily. The Mughal empire had attained its greatest geographical extent, albeit for a very brief time, in 1707, the year Aurangzeb died. Its borders stretched from Kabul to Bengal, and from the Himalayan foothills to the deep south. It was, however, in the grip of a crisis. It began to crumble in the latter half of Aurangzeb's reign and dissolved fast after his death.

#### **Aurangzeb to Azam Shah in a letter written a few days before his death.**

"Health to thee! My heart is near thee. Old age has arrived: weakness subdues me, and strength has forsaken all my members. I came stranger to this world, and a stranger I depart. I know nothing of myself, what I am, and for what I am destined. The instant which passed in power, hath left only sorrow behind it. I have not been the guardian and protector of the empire. My valuable time has been passed vainly.... I brought nothing in this world and except the infirmities of man, carry nothing out..."

### **Later Mughal Padshahs**

#### **• Bahadur Shah I (Shah Alam I)**

- Prince Muazzam defeated his two brothers Muhammad Azam and Kam Baksh and ascended the throne with the title Bahadur Shah.
- He was broad-minded person and followed policy of compromise and conciliation instead of the narrow-minded policies of Aurangzeb. He showed tolerance towards Hindu leaders and kings.
- He made peace with Guru Govind Singh (Sikhs), Chatrasal (Bundela chief), Churaman (Jats chief), released Shahu and granted sardeshmukhi but not chauth to the Marathas.
- His reign was characterised by reckless grant of promotions and jagirs and thus the state finances deteriorated immensely in his reign. Khafi Khan called him **Shah-i-Bekhabar**. Unfortunately died soon.

- **Jahandar Shah**

- After Bahadur Shah's death, Jahandar Shah, one of the less abled sons came to throne with the help of a noble Zulfiqar Khan giving opportunity to Zulfiqar Khan to gain control of Mughal affairs. Since he was a weak and degenerate king, wholly devoted to pleasure. Thus, administration went in the hands of wazir **Zulfiqar Khan**
- Zulfiqar belonged to **Irani** group. Though he was able, he was **opposed** by court politics.
- Zulfiqar Khan adopted a wholesome policy of promoting friendly relations with neighbours and strengthening his own position especially by conciliating Hindu Chieftains. There was a rapid reversal of Aurangzeb policies like **Jizyah**, which was now abolished, because there was a need of Hindu support (Rajputs, Marathas etc) in the court politics.
- Zulfiqar tried to improve state finances by checking the reckless growth of **Jagirs and offices**. An evil tendency of **Ijarah** system was encouraged under which the right to collect revenue was auctioned.
- However, the emperor Jahandar was defeated by his nephew Farrukhsiyar at Agra in 1713.

- **The rise and fall of Sayyid Brothers** (Abdulla Khan and Hussain Ali)

- These two brothers were known as the **king-makers** in Mughal history. Earlier,

**Abdulla Khan** was the governor of Allahabad and **Hussain Ali** was the governor of Patna. In this period, they gained complete control of the state. There ensued a constant and **prolonged power struggle** between emperor and Sayyid brothers.

- **Farrukhsiyar (1713-19)**

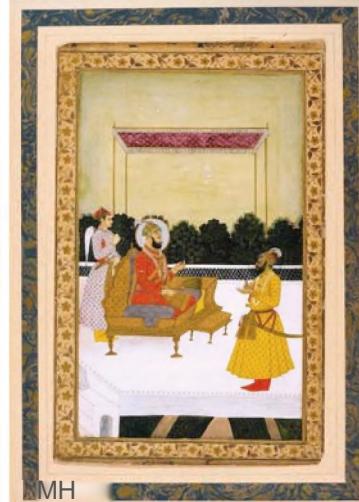
- Jahandar Shah's inglorious reign came to an early end in January 1713 when he was defeated at **Agra** by Farrukh Siyar, his nephew. Farrukh Siyar owed his victory to the Sayyid brothers. He made Abdulla Khan as **Wazir** and **Husain Ali Khan Baraha** and the **Mir Bakshi**.

He followed the policy of religious tolerance and **abolished pilgrimage tax**.

- Prolonged power struggle between the emperor and Farrukhsiyar, finally they deposed and killed the emperor.

### Later Mughal Emperors

- Bahadur Shah(1707 -1712)
- JahandarShah(1712-1713)
- Farrukhsiyar (1713 -1719)
- Rafi-ud-daulah (Shah Jahan II) (1719)
- Rafi-ud-darjat (1719)
- **Muhammad Shah - Rangeela (1719-48)**
- Ahmad Shah Bahadur (1748 - 1754)
- Alamgir II (1754-1759)
- Shahjahan III (1759)
- **Shah Alam II (1759 -1806)**
- Akbar II (1806-1837)
- Bahadur Shah (1837-1862)



Farrukhsiyar receiving  
Hussain Ali Khan

- Sayyid Brothers followed policy of Religious Tolerance (Abolition of Jizya) and focused on reconciliation with Rajputs, Jats and Marathas (granted swarajya to King Shahu; right to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi).

- Two more kings

The three successors of Farrukh Siyar were mere puppets in the hands of the Saiyids. They controlled the throne from 1713-20. They adopted the policy of religious tolerance and made efforts to create peaceful empire.

- Anti-Saiyid Camp

- Saiyid brothers had tried hard to conciliate all sections, yet a powerful group of nobles headed by Nizam-ul-Mulk began to conspire against them. These nobles declared that the Saiyids were following anti-Mughal and anti-Islamic policies.

- Muhammad Shah (1717-48)

- Roshan Akhtar became the emperor with the title Muhammad Shah.
- **End of Sayyid Brothers:** There was a growing anxiety and jealousy against sayyid brothers due to their power and hold over the administration. The deposition and Murder of Farukhsiyar created revulsion among public and led to branding of Sayyid brothers as "Namak Haram" (Not true to their salts). Muhammad Shah conspired against Sayyid brothers with the help of Chin Qulich Khan (Nizam-ul-Mulk). Hussain Ali was assassinated while Abdulla Khan was defeated in war. Thus ended the era of 'king maker' brothers in 1720. With this, Chin Qulich Khan was made the Wazir of the Mughal Empire.

NIZAM UL MULK FOUNDED HYDARABAD AND BURAN UL MULK FOUNDED AUDHA



Muhammad Shah Making Love, ca. 1735. British Library, London



Sadarang

- **Rangile:** Muhammad Shah had a long reign of 30 years. It could have been the last chance of Mughal revival, but he was not the man for the task. He was rather fond of easy life. He neglected affairs of the state and was under the influence of corrupt and worthless flatterers and intrigued against his own ministers.
- **Nizam-ul-Mulk** tried to reform the administration, but he was not given any importance. Disgusted with the fickle-mindedness, suspicious nature, and the constant quarrels, Nizam-ul-Mulk got frustrated and decided to leave the emperor. He marched Southwards and found a state of Hyderabad in Deccan in 1724.
- The other powerful and ambitious nobles also now began to leave. Everywhere petty zamindars, rajas and nawabs raised the banner of rebellion and

independence. Several states thus became independent during the reign of Muhammad Shah.

- One of the most important incidences during his reign was the **invasion of Nadir Shah** in 1739.

The Mughal army was defeated in the battle of Karnal. The Mughal army was commandeered by Mir Bakshi Khan-i-Daura.

- Delhi was laid waste, massacre took place. Mughal emperor was made prisoner. Nadir Shah received 70 crore rupees and a huge loot including peacock throne and Kohinoor diamond was carried away.
- Nadir Shah died in 1747 and one of his ablest generals, Ahmad Shah Abdali, succeeded him in 1748 in Afghanistan. He invaded India 7 times between 1748 and 67.



Mughals trying to negotiate with Nadir Shah's army outside Delhi

#### **The effects of Nadir Shah's campaign on Mughal Empire were:**

- Complete loss of central authority and irreplaceable loss of prestige.
- Exposed hidden weaknesses of Mughal empire to Maratha Sardars and European trading companies.
- Ruined imperial finances and affected economic life of country as impoverished nobles began to oppress peasantry even more in order to recover lost fortunes.

Loss of Kabul and Areas west to Indus opened threats for further attacks from northwest front.

Thus, there is no doubt that under a succession of weak and ineffective emperors (who were emperors only in name), Delhi lost its former grandeur. It was said at that time that the realm of the Mughal Badshah extended from **Lal Qila to Palam**.

## Mughal Decline: Factors and forces

There were many internal and external causes which were responsible for the decline of the empire. Earlier historians believed that weak successors, undisciplined nobility etc were the major causes. But later historians have given attention to the institutional drawbacks such as Jagirdari crisis, tension between Zamindars and Mughal officials, Agrarian crisis etc. further, external aggression gave pace to the process.

- **Aurangzeb's role:** Aurangzeb inherited a large empire, yet he adopted a policy of expansion which put Mughal empire in loggerheads with prominent powers in the deccan and south mainly Marathas, Bijapur and Golconda Kingdoms. Aurangzeb's basic failure lay in the realm of statesmanship as he did not want to reconcile with Marathas and Rajput. This led to a long and Protracted war against Marathas in deccan which resulted in immense loss of men and material along with a gradual degradation of Mughal administration. Aurangzeb's religious orthodoxy and his policy towards Hindu rulers also damaged stability of Mughal empire. His policy of imposing Jizya and destroying Hindu temples and putting certain restrictions on Hindus, alienated the Hindu and split the Mughal society thereby widening the gulf between hindu and muslim upper class and weakened the alliances with Hindu Rulers for example the Rajputs.
- **Defective law of succession:** The absence of the law of primogeniture among the Mughals usually meant a war of succession among the sons of dying Mughal empire in which military leaders of the time took sides. This resulted in futile conspiracies, treachery and debauchery which hampered the foundations of efficient administration of state and denigrated the authority of the Mughal state.
- **Weak Successors of Aurangzeb:** A Monarchical system of government much depends on the character and the nature of Ruling personality. Mughal empire being built on similar foundations was no less vulnerable to the vagaries caused by poor and weak ruling personalities. Unfortunately, all Mughal emperors after Aurangzeb were weaklings and therefore unable to meet the challenges of the mighty empire. Most of the emperors were consumed in the luxuries of the royalty with no imminent plan on furthering the Mughal empire.
- **Degeneration of Mughal Nobility:** Apart from the personalities of Great Mughals, the strength of Mughal empire lay in the organisation and character of its nobility. The weakness of the king could have been successfully overcome with an alert and efficient nobility. However, the quality of nobility gradually declined with most nobles living an extravagant life. They got power hungry and utilized every war of succession to their own benefits. Nobles were often poorly educated and not even skilled in the art of warfare. Nobles monopolised all offices barring entry to fresh blood. Overall, the nobility reflected general decline in morals and their devotion towards the Mughal empire.
- **Economic Bankruptcy:** What worsened the Economic and financial conditions of the Mughals in the 18<sup>th</sup> century was the long and protracted wars in Deccan against Marathas which not only drained the treasury but also ruined the Trade and Commerce. Under later Mughal emperors, the financial conditions further deteriorated. The

numerous wars of succession and political convulsions coupled with lavish lifestyle of emperors empties royal treasury to an extent that salaries of soldiers could not be paid.

- **Military Weaknesses:** The problems with the Mughal Army were both structural and Technical. The Mughal armies were organized more or less on feudal lines where soldiers owed allegiance to the mansabdar rather than the emperor. This provided an administrative disconnect between the soldier and the State. On the technical Front, Mughal army were nothing more than an armed rabble. The Mughal artillery was crude and ineffective against the guerilla tactics of marathass. There was a general lack of discipline among the soldiers as well which reduced their overall efficiency and kill power.
- **Rise of Marathas:** The most important external factor which brought about the decline of Mughal empire was the rising power of Marathas under the Peshwas. The peshwas consolidated the Maratha power in western India and channelized energies of nation in an attack on Mughal empire.
- **Failure of Jagirdari system & impoverishment of Peasantry:** As the number of Nobles Increased and Land Being fixed, there was increasing Paucity of Jagirs and the reducing income out of the Jagir. This led to intense rivalry among the nobles for possession of Jagirs. Due to the Paucity of Jagirs, Nobles tried to maximise their earnings at the cost of Peasantry. They made heavy demands on the Peasants and cruelly oppressed them, often in violation of official regulations. This led to severe Discontent among the peasantry which found their outlet in various uprisings for example the Satnamis, Jats, Sikhs etc which in turn eroded the stability of the empire.
- **Invasions by Nadir Shah and Ahmad shah Abdali:** The final blow to Mughal empire was a series of foreign invasions. Invasions by Nadir Shah and Ahmad shah Abdali which were themselves the consequences of their weakness, drained the empire of its wealth, ruined its trade and industry in north, and almost destroyed its military power.

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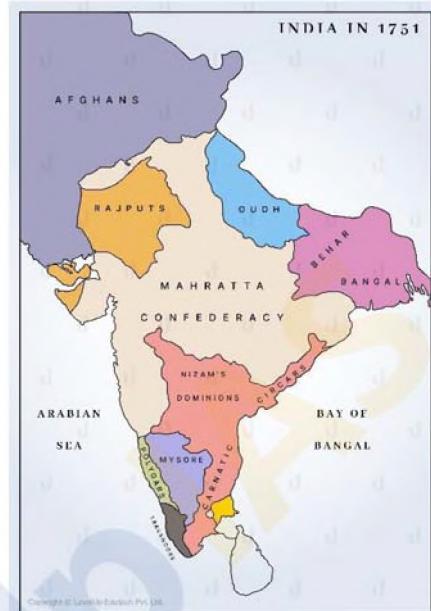


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## (B) Regional Power: Three Type: pfStates

After the decline of the Mughals, many regional powers came into existence. These regional powers can be classified into three categories:

<b>Successor States</b>	Arose as result of assertion of autonomy by Mughal governors.	bangal, auvadh, hydrabad,
<b>Rebel states</b>	Due to rebel by chieftains, zamindars, and peasants.	jatts, shikh, marathas
<b>Independent kingdoms</b>	Not much significant Mughal influence	mysore , tevsome



Recent historical writings on eighteenth century India have tended to focus on the emergence of regional political systems as a central theme, rather than highlighting the decline of the Mughal Empire as a process dominating the century. The emergence of these states represented a transformation rather than collapse of the polity. It signified a decentralisation of power and not a power vacuum or political chaos.

State	Founder
Hyderabad	Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah   (Chin Qulich Khan)
Awadh	Saadat Khan (Burhan-ul-Mulk)
Bengal	Murshid Quli Khan
Mysore	Jayachamarajendra Wodeyar woderyar dynasty and de facto hyder ali khan.
Carnatic	
Bharatpur	Churaman Jat (r. 1695-1721)
Ruhelkhand	

## The Mughal Structure:

<b>Suba</b>	Subedar (Nazim) Diwan <b>Bakshi</b> Qazi Waqai Navis	<b>System of checks and balances</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>The imperial control over the provinces was mainly through the control over appointment of the <b>Nazim and the Diwan</b>.</li><li>Many other officials like Amils, Faujdars, etc., were dependent on the emperor who appointed them.</li></ul>
<b>Sarkar</b>	Fauzdar Amalguzar	
<b>Paragana</b>	Shiqdar Fotedar	
<b>Local</b>	Zamidars Chowdhary	

## Weakening central control in the successor states:

So, the **subedars** established their own **dynastic rule** in the provinces.

Gradually the relationship of the centre with the provinces was virtually reduced to **tributary**. Soon, the **flow of tribute to** the imperial treasury became **irregular**.

- Tendency among the governors was to **appoint their own men** in the **administration**.
- Subedars obtained collaborative support of local elements like **zamindars** and **merchants/money lenders**.

Though the sovereignty of the Mughal emperor was not challenged. The establishment of practically independent and hereditary authority by the governor and subordination of all offices within the region to the governor showed the emergence of an independent states.

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- **Murshid Quli Khan** laid the foundation - Emergence of new power structure.

- He was the **Subedar** of Bengal in 1713. However, he was the effective ruler of Bengal since 1700 when he was appointed as its **Diwan** by Aurangzeb.
- He **established peace** by freeing Bengal of internal and external danger. He suppressed three major uprisings during his reign. He was a very successful governor who **reformed administration** and **increased** the collection of land **revenue**. Most importantly, he **consolidated Zaminadari** tenures by handing over the estates to his favourites.
- There was growing **importance of commercial elements** due to relentless pressure on zamindar for payments.
- Large number of **Hindu officers** were also part of his administration.

	<p><b>Murshidabad</b> on the bank of Hooghly River was named after Murshid Quli Khan. It was the capital of the prosperous subah of Bengal, which included today's Bengal, Bihar, Odisha, and Bangladesh.</p> <p>It was strategically located on the Hooghly River for transportation of goods from the countryside to cities and the seacoast. It also became a centre of high-quality silk weaving that attracted the interest of British, Dutch, and French.</p> <p>This wealth and power enabled the nobility and its trading community to invest in grand structures - the building of lavish homes, public buildings, and tombs.</p>
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- **Shuja-ud-din** (r. till 1739)

- Delhi ties and tribute continued but practically complete administrative independence achieved in his era.

- **Alivardi Khan (1740-56)**

Alivardi Khan killed Sarfaraz Khan, the son and successor to Shuja-ud-din and seized power. Thus, the family of Murshid Quli Khan was replaced by the family of Alivardi Khan in 1740.

He later obtained the imperial confirmation of the appointment. He was a key figure in the chief establishment of Bengal. His rule **ushered in an era of political stability**.

- He was backed by the Zamindars and bankers.

- **He relied heavily on bankers for revenue collection** which enabled a few financial concerns to make huge profits through what actually amounted

Nawabs of Bengal		
1	Murshid Quli Khan	1713-27
2	Shuja-ud-din	1727-39
3	Sarfaraz Khan (incapable)	
4	Alivardi Khan	1740-56
5	Siraj-ud-daulah	1756-57
6	Mir Jafar	1757-60
7	Mir Qasim	1760-63
8	Mir Jafar	1763-65
9	Najim-ud-daulah (minor)	1765-66

to usury. The most important of these ban king firms was that of the famous Jagat Seths.

- During his reign, there was **total break from the Mughals**.
  - All major appointment (of Alivardi's choice) without reference to the emperor. For the first time, all the revenue flow from Bengal to Delhi was completely stopped.
- He encouraged **trade** and **industry** by ensuring peace and order throughout his regime. He started giving **taccavi** **loansto** strengthen agriculture sector.
- Two external threats
  - **Marathas** entering from Central India and demanding Chauth. Alivardi sued for peace by agreeing to pay **Chauth** and handing over Odisha.
  - **Afghans** (Mustafa Khan) captures Patna, but Alivardi defeated him.
- After his death, **Siraj-ud-daula** became the nawab of Bengal in 1756. Suraj was his daughter's son. He came in direct face off with the British power in 1757 in the battle of Plassey.



Alivardi Khan with Hawk, in audience with nobles. (V&A Museum)



The Jagat Seth Palace, Murshidabad  
(Indian imitation of European building)

Jagat Seth was a **Jain family**, originally from **Rajasthan**. It rose to prominence and power after becoming the bankers (**seths**) and financiers of the nawabs of Murshidabad. The Jagat Seth family forged close ties with the British and conspired to overthrow **Nawab Siraj-ud-Daula**, for which they were later punished. Murshidabad lost its eminence when the treasury and banking centre was moved to **Calcutta**.

## (2) Awadh

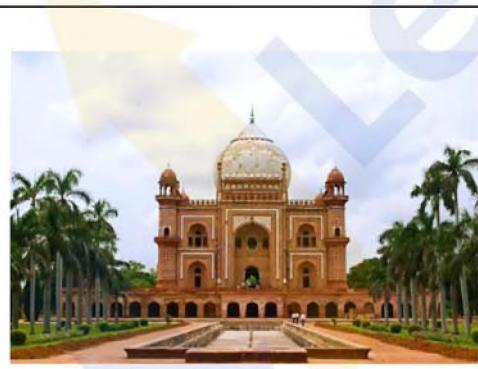
### • Saadat Khan (Burhan-ul-Mulk)

- Burhan-ul-Mulk held the combined offices of subadari, diwani and faujdari. In other words, he was responsible for managing the political, financial and military affairs of the province of Awadh. With this, he created his own authority and exercised his independent power.
- In 1722, he refused the imperial order transferring him to Malwa from Awadh and declared himself the independent ruler of Awadh, based in Lucknow.
  - Suppressed local rebellious zamindars.
  - Reduced authority of madad-i-mash grantees.
- Systematised revenue collection by introducing revenue reforms.
- Filled up all posts with his relatives.
- Saadat wanted to use Persian connection to increase role in Delhi politics, but Nadir Shah frustrated that attempt. Saadat committed suicide in 1739.



### Safdar Jang (1739-54)

- He became Wazir of the Mughal emperor in 1748 and from this time onwards, the Nawab of Awadh came to be known as Nawab-Wazir.
- Revenue to Delhi was sent irregularly.
- Office of Diwan was abolished, large number of Hindu gentry officers were absorbed.
- Last monumental tomb garden of Mughal era.



Safdar Jang's Tomb, New Delhi

He was the nephew of Saadat Khan. He lived in Delhi and served in the court of Muhammad Shah. He died in 1754 and was buried in Delhi.

The tomb is made in red sandstone, like Humayun's tomb, yet its elongated form, pointed onion-shaped dome and painted stucco decorations lack elegance of the older imperial style.

### Shuja-ud-daula (r. 1754-75)

- He didn't cut off the ties with Delhi completely, formal nominal acknowledgement continued. He re-established dominance of Awadh over Delhi and got appointed as **Wazir**.
- He took the side of Ahmad Shah Abdali to check **Maratha** threat in north India during the **Third Battle of Panipat**.
- He was in alliance against rising English power but defeated by **British in Buxar** (1764).



Bara Imambara (Lucknow) was built in 1780s as famine relief operation.



Built in 1789s, Rumi Darwaza in Lucknow is also known as Turkish gate. It is a fine example of Late Awadhi architecture.

### (3) Bharatpur State of Jats

Churaman Jat (r. 1695-1721) established the Jat state of Bharatpur in Agra-Mathura region. He had become the Jat leader after the death of Rajaram and continued with his hit-and-run raids. Under Churaman, Jats acquired control over territories situated to the west of the city of Delhi, and by the 1680s they had begun dominating the region between the two imperial cities of Delhi and Agra. For a while they became the virtual custodians of the city of Agra. Aurangzeb's successors had no option but to yield to the demands of the Jats.

Under Badan Singh (1721-56), Jats consolidated their position and built forts of Degh, Bher, Kumbher and Bharatpur. Ahmad Shah Abdali conferred him with the titles of Raja and Mahendra.

Suraj Mal Jat (r. 1756-63) succeeded him. In the Third battle of Panipat, he was the only north Indian state that helped Marathas in some capacity against the invasion of Abdali. He had taken Agra and marched onto Delhi in 1763. He was made Faujdar of Mathura by Mughals - a clear signal that the later Mughals were unable quell the Jats and were forced to recognize their power.



Lohagar Fort, Bharatpur

It was built by Suraj Mal between 1740-60. From here, Jats controlled the prosperous land between Agra and Delhi and hence were continuously attacked by Mughals.



Palace complex at Deeg

While Bharatpur fort was built in traditional style, the Deeg palace is elaborate garden palace combining styles seen at Amber and Agra, (eg Bangla dome)

#### (4) Rohilla Pathans - Rohilkhanda

Rohilla Pathan named [Ali Muhammad Khan](#) established Rohilla state at the foothills of Himalayas between Ganga and Kumaon mountains. It largely came into existence as a check to the power of Awadh during factional politics in Delhi. Its initial capital was [Aaolan](#) in Bareilly and later it moved to Rampur.

Some important personalities:

[Najib ud Daula](#) - His collaboration with Abdali during later's invasion of India made him Mir Bakshi and Delhi passed under his control. During the Third battle of Panipat, he sided with Ahmad Shah Abdali against Marathas.

- [Muhammad Khan Bangash](#) Pathan founded independent state of Farrukhabad.

This state existed from 1721 till 1774 as independent power. It was first invaded by Awadh and then it continued as the princely state of Rampur under British.

##### Rampur Raza Library:

It was built up by successive Nawabs of Rampur and is now managed by the [Government of India](#) on the name of Raza Ali Khan of Rampur. It contains very rare and valuable collection of manuscripts, historical documents, specimens of Islamic calligraphy, miniature paintings, astronomical instruments, and rare illustrated works in Arabic and Persian.

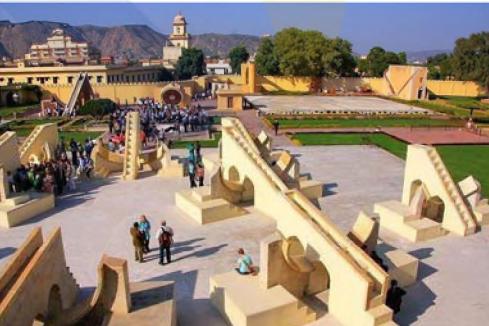


## (5) Kingdom of Amber (Dhoondhar or Jaipur State)

The most outstanding Rajput ruler of the 18<sup>th</sup> century was Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber (1681-1743). He was a distinguished statesman, law-maker, and reformer.

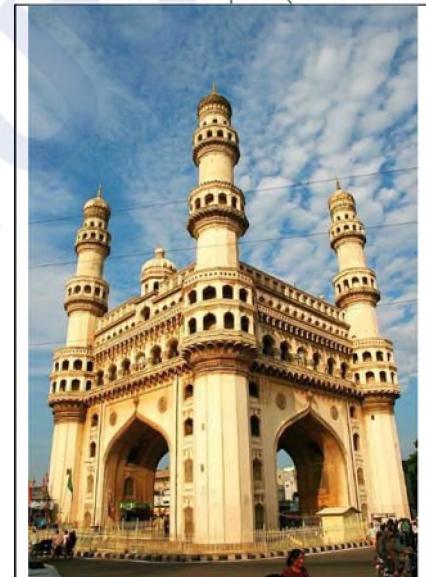
- He founded the city of Jaipur and transformed it into a great centre of science and art. Jaipur was built on strictly scientific principles and according to a regular plan.
- He also erected observatories with accurate and advanced instruments at Delhi, Jaipur, Ujjain, Varanasi and Mathura. He drew up a set of tables entitled Zij Muhammad Shai.
- He had translated Euclid's Elements of Geometry, Napier's work on construction and logarithms into Sanskrit.
- Jai Singh was also a social reformer. He tried to enforce a law to reduce the lavish expenditure which the Rajputs had to incur on their daughters' weddings.



UNESCO World Heritage Sites	
Jantar Mantar, Jaipur	Jaipur City, Rajasthan
<p>The Jantar Mantar, in Jaipur, is an astronomical observation site built in the early 18th century. It includes a set of some 20 main fixed instruments. They are monumental examples in masonry of known instruments but which in many cases have specific characteristics of their own. Designed for the observation of astronomical positions with the naked eye, they embody several architectural and instrumental innovations. This is the most significant, most comprehensive, and the best preserved of India's historic observatories. It is an expression of the astronomical skills and cosmological concepts of the court of a scholarly prince at the end of the Mughal period.</p> 	<p>The walled city of Jaipur, in India's north-western state of Rajasthan was founded in 1727 by Sawai Jai Singh II. Unlike other cities in the region located in hilly terrain, Jaipur was established on the plain and built according to a grid plan interpreted in the light of Vedic architecture. The streets feature continuous colonnaded businesses that intersect in the centre, creating large public squares called chaupars. Markets, shops, residences and temples built along the main streets have uniform facades. The city's urban planning shows an exchange of ideas from ancient Hindu and early modern Mughal as well as Western cultures. The grid plan is a model that prevails in the West, while the organization of the different city sectors (chowkris) refers to traditional Hindu concepts. Designed to be a commercial capital, the city has maintained its local commercial, artisanal and cooperative traditions to this day.</p>

## (7) Hyderabad - Asaf Jahi Family

- **Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I** (Chin Qulich Khan) (r. 1724-48)
  - Initially, he was appointed subedar in Deccan in 1713. He stayed on in Deccan and went to the Mughal court to become **Vazir** in 1721 after elimination of Sayyid brothers, but only after leaving his own appointee in charge.
  - In 1724, when he was given the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk and made the governor of Deccan, he removed the Mughal officials in Hyderabad and installed his own men. He also assumed the right to make **treaties**, wars and **grant mansabas** and **titles**. Now gradually the Mughal authority was reduced to a symbolic reading of **Khutba** etc.
  - After his death, Hyderabad became the scapegoat in the Anglo-French rivalry.
- **Nizam Ali** (1762-1803)
  - By his time, **Carnatic**, **Marathas** and **Mysore** had all settled their territorial claims and some kind of a stable political pattern emerged in Hyderabad.
  - One key feature of the administration was meticulous record-keeping and here **Hindu Kayasthas** played an important role as **scribes**.
  - In spite of external threats, the principality of Hyderabad was prosperous. But growing pressure from Maratha and Mysore made the ruler sign a treaty with the EIC in 1759 which ensured an influence British presence - Resident, troops, and concession of territory in Hyderabad. Finally, he signed subsidiary alliance with British in 1798.



Charminar, Hyderabad

This landmark gateway to the old city of Hyderabad was built by Sultan Quli Qutb Shah in 1590s to provide employment after a deadly plague.

- Peshwa-Nizam Relations:
- Battle of Palkhed (1728)
  - Battle of Bhopal (1737)
  - Battle of Udgir (1760)
  - Battle of Kharda (1795)

## (8) Marathas

TBD Later

## (9) Mysore

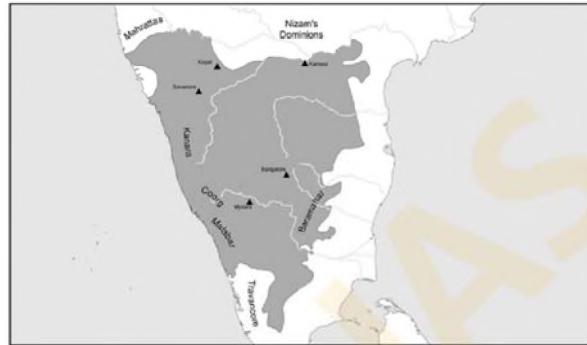
Mysore was the successor state of Vijayanagara after its decline. Wodeyar rulers transformed it from Vijayanagar viceroyalty to autonomous state.

### **Chikkadeva Raja Wodeyar (r. 1673-1704)**

- He was the most notable of the early Mysore kings who not only managed to survive but expand the territory.

Began the militarization of Mysore

state. To sustain it, he needed more revenue from state officials and exempted lands held by soldiers from revenue demands.



The political chaos which followed the decline of Mughal empire fostered the rise of a group of energetic and ambitious military adventurers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. One such successful military adventurer was Hyder Ali who laid the foundation of the autonomous Nawabi Riyasat of Mysore. Under Hyder and Tipu, Mysore not only emerged as an advanced military power but also became home to modern economic developments.

### **Hyder Ali**

- In the midst of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Haider Ali, a captain in the army, rose to prominence. His victory against the Marathas at Bangalore in 1758, resulting in the annexation of their territory, made him an iconic figure. In honour of his achievements, the king gave him the title "Nawab Haider Ali Khan Bahadur." So, starting from a low origin, Hyder gradually worked up his way through hierarchy.
- In 1761, he overthrew the authority of the king and established himself as the sultan. Within the next two decades, Mysore became the leading state of the region with an army that could effectively challenge the EIC.

Centralization of power

- Controlled independent poligars' activities.
- Introduced the system of imposing land taxes directly on the peasants.

He expanded the territories. The territories of the state now encompassed much of present-day Karnataka, large portions of Andhra, most of western Tamil Nadu barring the extreme south and northern Kerala. He also succeeded in defeating British in a number of military encounters.

### **Tipu Sultan**

- He took the reign from father in 1782. In 1787, he declared himself Badshah after repudiating the overlordship of the Mughal emperor Shah Alam.
- He played a very significant role in the modernization of Mysore. Under Tipu, the state became a critical player in various kinds of economic activities.

## development of agriculture and horticulture

Tipu played very significant role in agriculture.  
tax incentive vest line declmentation  
protecting peasant from money lender and

industry Gun factory/ foundery salt factory  
he try to devolve modern industry with French support

trade and commerce's among Indian rule he first try to run first trading company on model of Europe.  
he sends ambassador to France and try to build navy for oceanic trade.  
introduce state monopoly :  
he participated in lucrative trade sandal wood, coconut, silk rise by established trading center including Mysore.

Globale outlook : Tipu was much aware than contemporary in India in trends in polities. He attempted to forge international alliance by sending ambassadors to Turkey and France. His relationship with France became more cardinal in which his sympathy with Jacobin.

military reorganisation : they understood the rule of Mysore do well in polities only if they modern military

### Prelims Facts:

- As part of his social reform measures, Tipu tried to abolish various social abuses like alcoholism. He was the first modern Indian monarch to ban consumption of alcohol in the entire State, not on religious grounds, but on moral and health grounds.
- First to confiscate the property of upper castes, including Mutts, and distribute it among the Shudras.
- Tipu established a biodiversity garden named Lal Bagh.
- Tipu belonged to the Chisti/Bande Nawaz tradition of Sufism.
- Tipu identified himself with the American and French Revolution and Jacobinism



Daria Daulat Bagh, Tipu Sultan's Summer Palace, Srirangapatna, Mysore.

Tipu built a walled enclosure for his wooden summer palace. Its wide veranda is animated with paintings of marching, warring armies of the French and the British. There are several paintings of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan leading their men into battle.

The four states which became prominent in Kerala were Calicut, Chirakkal (Kannur), Cochin and Travancore. Among them, Calicut and Travancore were more prominent. Calicut was ruled by Zamorin.

Travancore had always maintained its independence from Mughal rule. After the decline of Vijayanagara, it was unified in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by Martanda Varma.

- (Anizham Tirunal) **Martanda Varma (r. 1729-58)**

- Started expanding his dominions with the help of his **modernized army**.
- Dutch were ousted in the **Battle of Colachel** (1741) and the **English** were made to accept his terms of trade.
- By the beginning of the 1740s, Varma had constructed a **powerful bureaucratic state**, which required control over larger resources. He resolved this problem by **proclaiming royal monopoly**, first on pepper trade and then on all trade in the prosperous Malabar coast.



- **Rama Varma (Dharma Raja) (1758-1798)**

- His period is considered a **Golden Age in the history of Travancore**.
- He not only retained the **territorial gains** of his predecessor, but also improved and encouraged **social development**. Travancore was known for its relatively **high** literacy rate and its progressive government.
- He was a **poet, scholar, musician, a renowned actor** and a man of great culture. Under his leadership, his capital became a **centre of scholarship** and art. During his reign, **Malayalam** language developed.
- Travancore withstood the shock of a **Mysorean invasion** in 1766 (Hyder Ali) and 1798 (Tipu Sultan).

- **BalaRama Varma** (1798-1810), the weakest ruler of the dynasty. A treaty brought Travancore under a **Subsidiary alliance with the East India Company** in 1795.

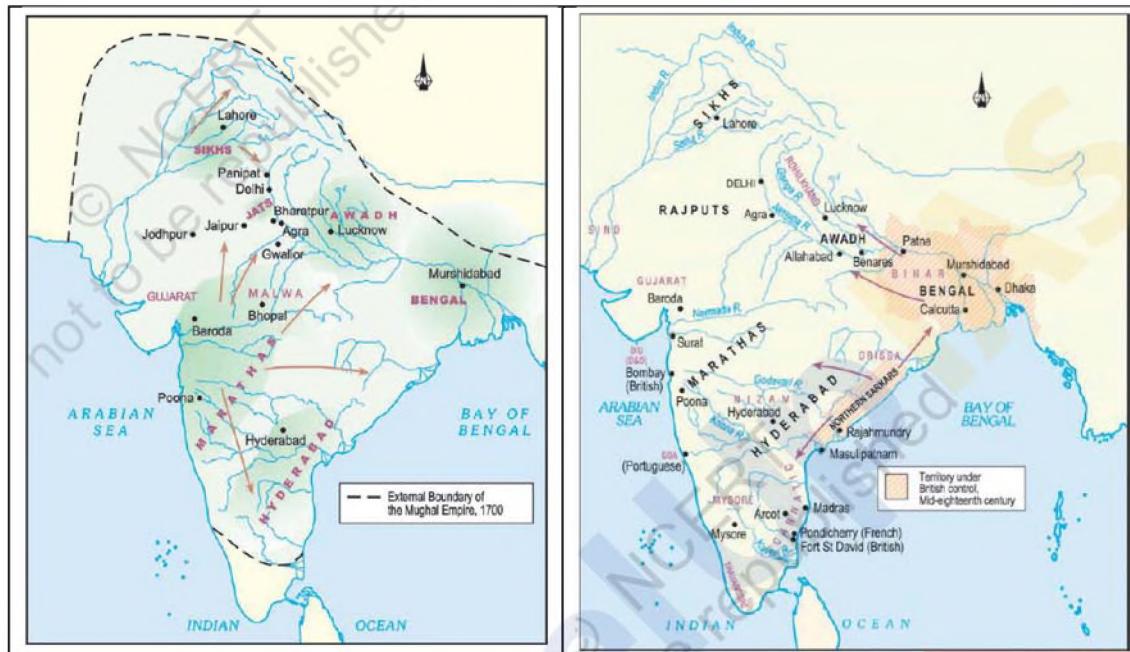
- **Velu Thampi Revolt (1809)**



Swathi Thirunal Rama Varma (1829-46) was a patron of music and arts.

### (C) 18<sup>th</sup> century Debate

Traditionally, the 18th century was divided into two parts i.e. first half and second half. Then in the course of their evaluation, both were juxtaposed with each other. The first half of the 18th century was characterized as the 'Dark age' or the age of crisis and the second half was projected as a progressive age which was associated with the Plassey Revolution. But in the light of recent scholarship, such a view has been rejected.



#### First half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c = Dark age or the Age of Crisis

Historians of the early generation saw the 18<sup>th</sup> century in Indian history as a period of decline. The contemporary British writers and later British historians described the period as one of total chaos. Rebel leaders were fighting with each other, and Maratha raids disrupted overall peace. It created overall anarchy from which India was rescued by British rule, who alone were able to establish stability.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar referred to the first half of the 18th century as a dark age for the moral decay and degeneration of the Mughal aristocracy leading to collapse of Mughal empire, and consequent political fragmentation of India. Many Indian historians believed that the 18<sup>th</sup> century represented the dark age due to Mughal decline and political fragmentation but most of them didn't buy the second half of the British -that British rescued Indian out of an abyss. For them, British only added to the chaos and confusion.

Then Marxist historians called this period the age of crises i.e., Jagirdari crisis, Agrarian crisis, etc. causing economic stagnation and leading to complete anarchy.

With the progress of historical scholarship however this view has appeared to be too simplistic. Recent scholarship on the subject has unveiled the fact that the on-ground realities

of the period were not so simple, and that the cultural and political developments of the period were more complex than they were earlier supposed to be. It appears that there were isolated pockets where cultural and economic regeneration, on a small scale, took place.

### **Why had this view been rejected?**

- 1) rise of successer state: while on one hand central power is been disintegrating other hand efficient goverment are established at reginal level bengal avadh hydrabad marathas. these goverment only impove law and order but also charish economical activity . lack of central empire is not sign of decline and present of central empire is not sign of progress.
- 2) such views of dark ages emerge delhi centric focus of study however mughal decline does not changes india . many social group outside the orbit was not affected by mughal decline
- 3) during this period two factors afffected the economical procerity activity influc of silver ,and influx of new cash crop on larger scale .hence this periods prosprouse economical puppets
- 4) above all period is mark by grate theory of abserg althogh mughal empire disintegrate there was wide culture spread in regional level paining architected etc.

enlight of above mentioned factors first half of century does not become dark age rather this period egalant with new potentialites  
establishment of new polites was doment feature rather than rise of all indian empire than another.

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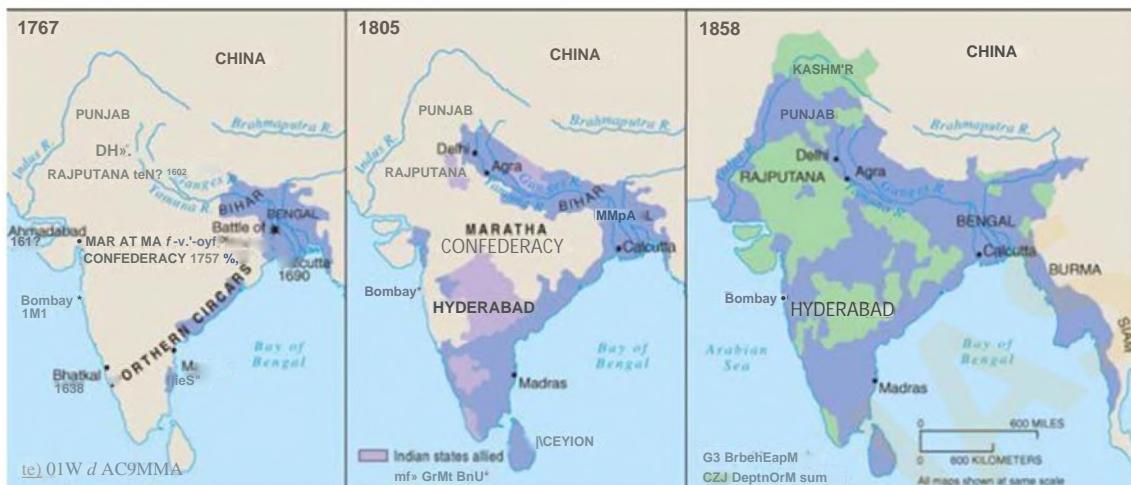
### Second half of the 18\*\*1 c = Age of Revolution

This view has been promoted by a British apologist scholar, Sir Jadunath Sarkar. He characterized the Battle of Plassey as the Plassey Revolution. He believes that the conquest at Plassey heralded the process of modernization in India. So, he declared, with the Battle of Plassey the medieval age ended, and modern age started. In fact, the British apologist scholars characterized the first half of the 18th century as dark age so that it would be easy for them to highlight the success of British rule after the Battle of Plassey.

On 23rd June 1757 the Middle Ages of India ended and her modern age began in the twenty years from Plassey... all felt the revivifying touch of the impetus from the west. - Sir Jadunath Sarkar

However, this view has totally been rejected by Indian scholars. After the Battle of Plassey, during almost whole of the 18th century the company government did not take any concrete step to modernize India. Up to the end of the 18th century, the company government maintained almost all the old Mughal structure and the government with limited modifications. During this period, their main objective in India was simply to maximize the collection of revenue.

Modern India 2024  
Handout 5: Conquest of Bengal (Plassey and Buxar)  
Nikhil Sheth



Years	Phase	Governors (General)	Major Wars and Conquests
1757-1813	Mercantile Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Robert Clive (1758-60)</li> <li>Henry Vansittart (1760-64)</li> <li>Robert Clive (1765-67)</li> <li>Warren Hastings (1772-73)</li> <li>Warren Hastings (1773-85)</li> <li>Cornwallis (1786-93)</li> <li>Richard Wellesley (1798-05)</li> <li>Lord Minto (1807-13)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Carnatic Wars</li> <li>Bengal - Plassey and Buxar</li> <li>Four Anglo-Mysore Wars</li> <li>Two Rohilla Wars</li> <li>First and Second Anglo-Maratha War</li> </ul>
1813-1858	Industrial Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lord Hastings (1813-23)</li> <li>Lord Amherst (1823-28)</li> <li>William Bentinck (1828-35)</li> <li>Lord Auckland (1836-42)</li> <li>Lord Ellenborough (1842-44)</li> <li>Henry Hardinge (1844-48)</li> <li>Dalhousie (1848-56)</li> <li>Lord Canning (1856-58)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Third Anglo-Maratha War</li> <li>Annexation of Sindh</li> <li>First Anglo-Afghan War</li> <li>Gorkha War</li> <li>Two Burmese Wars</li> <li>Gwalior War</li> <li>Two Anglo-Sikh Wars</li> <li>Annexations, Subjugation of Princely States and Doctrine of Lapse</li> </ul>
1858 onwards	Financial Phase	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lord Canning (1858-62)</li> <li>Lawrence (1864-69)</li> <li>Earl of Mayo (1869-72)</li> <li>Lord Northbrook (1872-76)</li> <li>Lytton (1876-80)</li> <li>Ripon (1880-84)</li> <li>Dufferin (1884-88)</li> <li>Lansdowne (1888-94)</li> <li>Elgin (1894-99)</li> <li>Lord Curzon (1899-1905)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bhutan War</li> <li>Second Anglo-Afghan War</li> <li>Third Burmese War</li> <li>Tibet Expedition</li> </ul>

Rich resources of Bengal were known since ancient times. Bernier (1620-88) wrote "The rich exuberance of the country has given rise to a proverb in common use among the Portuguese; English and Dutch that the kingdom of Bengal has a hundred gates open for entrance, but not one for departure."

By the 18<sup>th</sup> century,

- The Mughal province of Bengal had turned into an independent Nawabi Riyasat under Murshid Quli Khan. He combined both Diwani and Nizami into one post in 1717 and managed to carve out an independent Nawabi.
- There was fierce competition among various European companies. In the process of mercantile expansion, Bengal had become the hunting ground for Dutch, French and British companies.
- In 1717, Farrukhsiyar gave firman to the EIC which conferred on it the right to custom-free trade in Bengal at the payment of Rs. 3000/year. The firman also contained other important concessions-the rent of 38 villages adjacent to Calcutta, the permission to use the royal mint for minting coins out of its imported bullion.
  - John Surman was sent from Calcutta to negotiate with the Mughal emperor.
  - Actually, the firman confirmed the privileges granted to the Company in 1691.
  - Rs3000 = £350. At that time Company's exports from Bengal were worth more than £50,000 a year. 6% tax
  - This firman is also called as Magna Carta of the company.

As the nawabs of Bengal experienced heavy loss to the exchequer due to this, there was always pressure from the provincial administration to compel the English Company to pay more for its trade in the province.

- During the era of Murshid Quli Khan, this firman became the fountainhead of commercial abuses pursued by the English merchants. What worried him more was the duty-free private trade carried on by the servants of the Company and their rights to issue dastaks (certificates).
- EIC trade + private trade together deprived the Bengal treasury of its due revenue. It was in unscrupulous manner of swindling and defrauding. The nawab thus tried to force the English merchants to pay the same custom duty as was paid by other merchants.
- Alivardi Khan came to the throne in 1740 and tried to be relatively more assertive over trade privileges. He acted against British and other European companies and also recovered arrears. He occasionally intercepted the goods cargo of foreign merchants and forced them to pay huge sums. Alivardi also didn't allow English and French to fight in Bengal during the First Carnatic war. He opposed their fortification in Calcutta and Chandernagar and didn't allow them to consolidate their military position in Bengal.
- However, on the whole, both Murshid Quli and Alivardi avoided open conflict with the English and allowed the company to carry out duty-free export trade from Bengal, provided the goods genuinely belonged to the company and not to a private trader. Bengal nawabs so far didn't disturb the economic privileges of the Company in the hope that the English trade would bring economic prosperity in Bengal.

Siraj-ud-Daulah (1756-57) succeeded Alivardi Khan as Nawab of Bengal in 1756.

- Succession Issue
  - His succession was opposed by his aunt Ghasiti Begum, his cousin Shaukat Jang (Governor of Purnea) and a section of nobility in the court. But Siraj was quick to smell the plot and detained Ghaseti Begum at Moti Jheel palace in Murshidabad. He suspected that the English company was involved in the plot.
  - Besides this, there was internal dissension within the Nawab's court. Jagat Seth, Umichand, Raj Ballabh, Rai Durlabh, Mir Jafar and others who were also opposed to Siraj.
- Straining Siraj-Company relations
  - There was a serious threat to Nawab's position from the growing commercial activity of the English Company. On his accession, English company didn't provide customary nazrana, as all other foreign merchants did. A suspicion grew in Siraj's mind that the English were hostile to him and were supporting his rivals.
  - Siraj decided to take hard-line towards the English. Siraj was determined to stop the illegal trade and would not hesitate to use force, if necessary. However, the Company was teeming with confidence after its recent victory over the French in Carnatic and was in no mood to tolerate assertive nawab of Bengal.
  - The English were determined to continue the misuse of dastaks.
  - Company officials suspected that Siraj would cut down the privilege of the Company in alliance with the French in Bengal. Without any permission from the Nawab, English tried to expand the fortification around Calcutta, on the pretext of imminent French attack. Siraj saw it as violation of sovereignty.
  - Company gave shelter to Krishna Das (son of Raj Ballabh) who was one of the chief supporters of the plot, fled with immense wealth against Siraj's will.
  - Siraj realized that Company was running a *state within state* and it was a direct challenge to his sovereignty. Siraj thus determined to teach the English a good lesson.



Siraj-ud-Daula rides off to war.

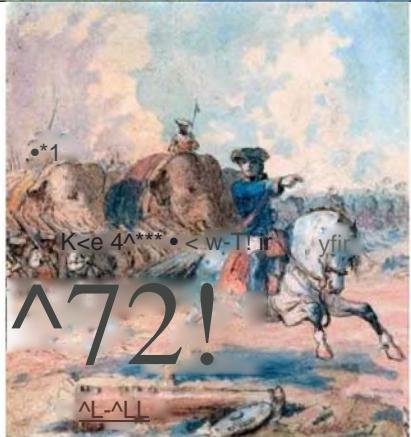
Series of events:

<p>Siraj-ud-daula's attack on the English fort at Calcutta precipitated an open conflict.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Si raj seized Kasimbazaar factory and invaded Calcutta. He captured Fort Williams. British had only 500 men there. British ran away to Fulta island under leadership of Drake. Siraj changed the name of Calcutta to Alinagar.</li> <li>Meanwhile Holwell (junior member Calcutta council) surrendered - Black Hole tragedy. Nawab captured 146 Europeans who were confined to a tiny room for the night. It was alleged that it was too small to accommodate so many people, and thus many of them perished out of suffocation.</li> </ul>
<p>Recapture of Calcutta</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Arrival of a strong English force (900 Europe, 1500 Indian) underthe command of Officer Robert Clive and Vice Admiral Charles Watson to Calcutta from Madras strengthened the British position in Bengal. He captured Calcutta.</li> <li>Meanwhile Abdali had captured Delhi. Siraj got unnerved and started to conciliate the British. Thus, Treaty of Alinagar (1757) - all company privileges were restored.</li> <li>Clive also captured and destroyed French Chandarnagar.</li> </ul>
<p>Hatching of Conspiracy</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This was a sham peace concluded with the Nawab. Meanwhile, Clive was involved in secret negotiations for removing Siraj. Clive became aware of the secret plan to dethrone Siraj (Omi Chand, Mir Jafar, Jagat Seth, Rai Durlabh, Yar Latif Khan) and supported the plot.</li> <li>Mir Jafar was offered Nawabship in return for the help. Mir Jafar promised to neutralize a section of Nawab's army during Clive's attack on Murshidabad.</li> </ul>
<p>Plassey (23 June 1757)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Clive marched against Nawab on trivial pretext. Clive now wanted respectable casus belli. He sent letter to Siraj accusing of breaking Alinagar treaty, hobnobbing with French and then without waiting for his reply, he left Calcutta with army and reach Plassey (12 miles south of Murshidabad)</li> <li>It was a minor skirmish. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>800 Europeans + 2500 Indians versus 50,000 Indians.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> <p>Due to Mir Jafar and Rai Durlabh's treachery, the army didn't fight. Only a small group of soldiers led by Mir Madan and Mohanlal fought valiantly. Siraj left the battleground on the request of his loyal associates but was captured later and put to death by Mir Jafar's son Miran.</p>





Calcutta, Plassey, Murshidabad, Munger, Buxar



Battle of Plassey looks very heroic in this painting, which was commissioned by Clive of India. *Was it so?*



Robert Clive meeting with Mir Jafar after the [Battle of Plassey](#)



[Palashi Monument](#)

Madras had been the headquarters of the Company's activities in 17<sup>th</sup> century. After the victory at the Battle of Plassey, the EIC moved its headquarters from Madras to Calcutta and Clive became Governor of Bengal in 1765.

## Significance of Plassey:

military significance : english victory in battle of plassi is confirm even before the battle is fough is not the superiority of mility power but the conspercy of nawab official that help english side.

political : significance is noting much because nawab of bangal still the soveign otherity but in the long turn plassey mount begin of the concer of india. history of bangal in 1757-65 is gradual tranfer of power from nawab to british

economil significance : immense because company found new kind of policial signifcase to establish political monopoly in the bangal. bangal emmarge as punder state after the plassey because company exploite the resources every possible way. bangal was force to pay bangal convest of india. the resouce gain by company after the plassey are used in anglo french war of carnatic.

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	<p>Siraj-ud-Daula's palanquin, taken from the battlefield of Plassey.</p>
	<p>Clive's loot and acquisitions are on display in the Clive Museum at Powis Castle. It looks very English, but it contains more Mughal loot than anywhere in India, Pakistan, Afghanistan or Bangladesh.</p>
	<p>A simple flat-roofed tomb of Siraj-ud-daula's named Khasbagh at Murshidabad.</p>
	<p>The territorial ambitions of the mercantile East India Company were viewed with distrust and doubt in England. After the Battle of Plassey, Robert Clive wrote to William Pitt, one of the Principal Secretaries of State to the English monarch, on 7 January 1759 from Calcutta: <i>But so large a sovereignty may possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile Company... I flatter myself... that there will be little or no difficulty in obtaining the absolute possession of these rich kingdoms:... Now I leave you to judge, whether an income yearly of two million sterling with the possession of three provinces... be an object deserving the public attention...</i></p>

## Mir Jafar and British (1757-60)

In accordance with the secret deal struck before Plassey, Mir Jafar was made the Nawab, but he was supposed to function merely as a puppet. Mir Jafar was made to pay a heavy price to his English friends for their favour.

- Presents and compensation.
- Zamindar of 24 Paragana
- Mint at Calcutta
- Monopoly of saltpetre in Bihar
- Freedom of trade throughout the region
- Nawab to treat all enemies of the companies as his enemies.

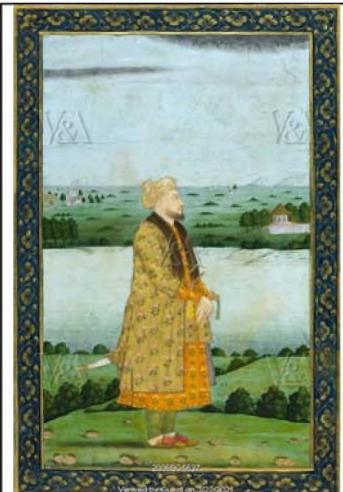
Clive estimated later that the English extracted more than 3 crore rupees from him. Servants of the company asked for more presents almost as a matter of right. But the treasury of Murshidabad did not have enough resources to satisfy the demands of Clive and his fellow countrymen. Its fabled treasure was not as rich as imagined. Thus, Mir Jafar's treasury soon got exhausted in meeting the demands of the Company servants.

EIC's incessant demands for money and territory, and constant interference in internal administration, made it impossible for Mir Jafar to run the government. He soon realized his mistake.

Finally, he tried to change one master for another and started secret talks with Dutch, but the Dutch were soon defeated in the naval battle of Chinsura/Bedara in 1759.

Mir Jafar now lost the confidence of the English. The rebellion of Mir Jafar's army for their due salary provided pretext for the British to force Mir Jafar to step down. In 1760, Mir Jafar was replaced with Mir Kasim (Mir Jafar's son-in-law) by a new Governor Henry Vansittart.

Kasim paid large amounts of money (gifts upto 30 lakhs rupees) and gave zamindari of three districts: Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong to the English Company. Henry Vansittart and his family received 2 lakh pounds. The greed and nepotism shown by Vansittart was bottomless.



Mir Jafar was an elderly Arab whose family migrated from Iraq originally.



Henry Vansittart,  
Governor of Bengal (1759-64)

## Mir Kasim and British (1760-63)

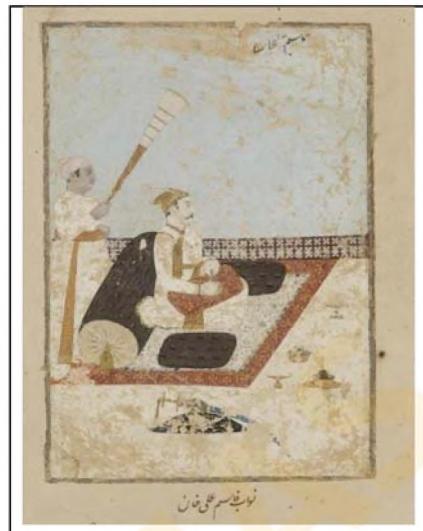
Mir Kasim had an independent personality of his own. He was an efficient, hard-working, and independent-minded person. He realized that to be independent, a full treasury and a strong army are required.

Now, Company merchants became very aggressive in their behaviour. They were almost looting and plundering the countryside. The Company didn't pay any attention to persistent complaints by Mir Kasim regarding this law-and-order situation. Finally, to restore the order, ensure revenue flow and reorganize the army, Mir Kasim initiated a few steps.

- Shifting the capital from Murshidabad to Munger (Bihar) in order to keep a safe distance from the day-to-day meddling of the Company.
  - Here, he reorganized the bureaucracy by the men of his own choice and purged the pro-EIC elements.
  - Re-modeled the army on western lines to enhance its skill and efficiency.
    - He paid the outstanding dues to soldiers.
    - Several European adventurers like Reinhard (Sumru), Marcat Gentil, Aratoon etc. were admitted to Nawab's army.
    - He set up a factory of arms and ammunition at Munger.
- The issue of misuse of dastaks remained as the bone of contention.

In 1757, Clive had secured custom duty exemption from Jafar for company's private trade. However, Indian merchants still had to pay full tax. Mir Kasim retaliated by abolishing internal duties altogether for everyone, thus creating an equal playing field. But English merchants would not have native merchants on equal footing.
- He got investiture from Shah Alam II (Mughal Padshah)
  - This was too much for the English to tolerate.

British now started searching for a suitable replacement of Mir Kasim. But Mir Kasim was not ready to surrender so easily. Therefore, an armed clash between the Nawab and the English became inevitable.



Mir Kasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafar was a second generation Persian immigrant.

## Battle of Buxar (Baksar)

In 1763, a regular campaign against Mir Kasim began. Mir Kasim initially defeated the English in battles at Giria, Udayanala etc. But then Mir Kasim had to flee and took refuge in Awadh. In Awadh, he tried to put up a united resistance against the British with the help of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II and Nawab Shuja-ud-daula of Awadh.

The allied army of the three was routed by Hector Munroe at Buxar on 22<sup>nd</sup> October 1764. He inflicted a crushing defeat in the fiercely contended battle of Buxar.

Shah Alam submitted to English.

- Shuja fled to Rohilkhand and Awadh was overrun by British.

Mir Kasim's political career ended here. He became fugitive and died in extreme poverty as homeless wanderer in Delhi in 1777.

EIC was not entirely confident that it could defeat Shuja in an extensive war. Thus, shortly after the battle, officials of the company made overtures of friendship to the emperor. Negotiations began in right earnest when Clive returned to India in May 1765 for his second term as the Governor of Bengal.



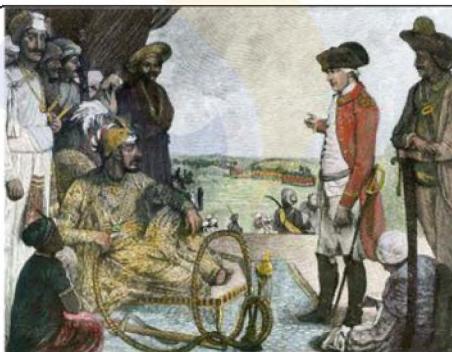
Hector Munroe

Now, Mir Jafar was brought back as the Nawab. Three districts: Midnapore, Burdwan and Chittagong were fully transferred to the English for the maintenance of their army. Also, duty free trade in Bengal {except a duty of 2% on salt) was permitted formally.

### Treaty of Allahabad and the beginning of the Dyarchy (1765)

In the summer of 1765 Clive came back as the Governor of Bengal (second term). Clive now engaged himself in completing his unfinished task, i.e., to make the British the supreme political authority in Bengal.

In August, Clive travelled to Allahabad to pay his respects to the emperor. Then, shuttling between Allahabad and Banaras (where Shuja had set up his headquarters).



Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II as the prisoner of the Company after Buxar

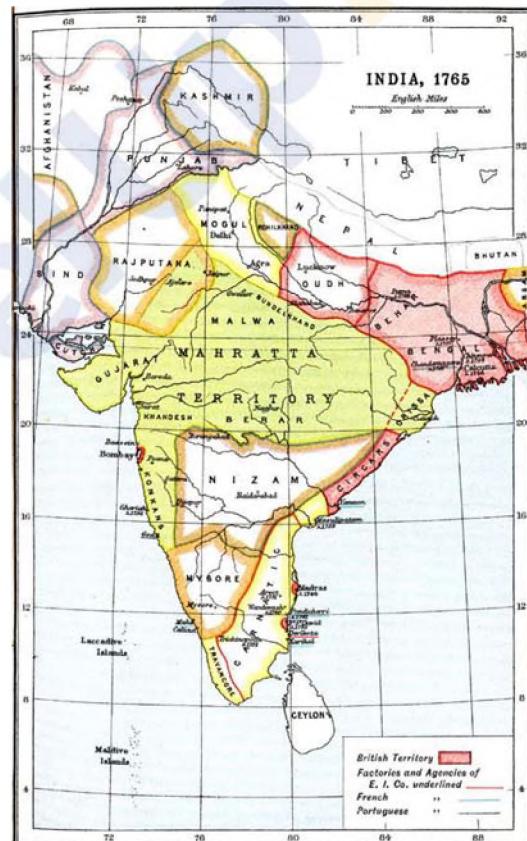


Mughal emperor Shah Alam hands a scroll to Robert Clive, the governor of Bengal.

Phase I of Treaty of Allahabad Robert Clive and Shuja-ud-daula (20 August)	Phase II of Treaty of Allahabad Robert Clive and Shah Alam II (12 August)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Shah Alam was to be given Allahabad and the adjoining territories. <u>Chunarto</u> to be retained by British.</li> <li>Zamindari of Benaras to be with the family of <u>Balwant Singh</u> under British protection, although formally under Awadh.</li> </ul> <p>Nawab to pay <u>50 lakhs</u> to the Company as war indemnity.</p> <p><u>Nawab to defray the cost of maintenance of the troops for the defence of his frontier.</u></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The emperor granted by a firman, the <u>Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa</u> to the <u>East India Company</u>. The right of Diwani authorized the Company to collect revenue of the subah of Bengal.</li> <li>Shah Alam was taken under the <u>Company's protection</u>. He was assigned <u>Kara and Allahabad region</u> ceded by Shuja-ud-daula. From now on, Shah Alam was to reside at Allahabad.</li> <li>Company to pay Rs <u>53 lakh</u> for administrative expenses and Rs <u>26 Lakhs</u> for personal expenses annually as <u>tribute to the emperor</u>.</li> </ul>

Now, while Diwani was with the Company, the Nizamat (responsibility for defence, law and order and the administration of justice) remained in the hands of the Nawabs. Thus, there was a dual government or dyarchy as it was called. Appointment of Muhammad Reza Khan as Naib Subedar marked the virtual end of the British rule in Bengal.

The system of dyarchy actually enabled the Company to establish its supreme control over both Nizamat and Diwani departments, without assuming the direct or formal control of either. The Company thus now enjoyed all the power without any responsibility and the Nawab of Bengal was reduced to a phantom, a man of straw. This arrangement continued till 1772 when Bengal was brought under direct British control.



Significance of the battle of Buxar:

the battle of buxar gave company complete policial control over the bangal thus it was more decisive than plassey

- 1) it most **decisive** battle ever fought in this battle three of most important indian power defeated simultaneously mughal empor shal alam 2 came under british protection while state of auvadha came under indirect under compony
- 2) the outcome of the battle devised by the **quality** of leader and strengths of the arms, compair to plassey which won by **traiacy** buxer was fearsly constated battle it was superior leadership of hector munuro. british demonstrated the art of order.

the victory of buxer comfirm the virdict of plassey.plassey makes puppets by british but the buxer unchallenged master of bangal

company established the commersial monopoly over the bangal  
defeat of siraj udola and the mughal empore confirm the degeneration the army was not confime to navab but the governal general of bangal.

- 4) the company emerge the real master of resources of bangal with the right of dewani





#### Additional Information

##### Internal Reforms by Clive as Governor of Bengal

1. Within the company, Clive enforced his authority by accepting some resignations and enforcing others.
2. Gifts amounting to a value of more than 4,000 rupees were forbidden, and those between that figure and 1,000 rupees were only to be received with official consent.
3. The regulation of private trade was more difficult, for the company paid virtually no salaries. Clive formed a Society of Trade, which operated the salt monopoly, to provide salaries on a graduated scale.
4. Clive dealt with overgrown military allowances with equal vigour, overcoming a white mutiny headed by a brigade commander (1766). He used a legacy from Mir Jafar to start the first pension fund for the Indian army.

Modern India 2024  
Handout 6: Anglo-Mysore Wars  
Nikhil Sheth

With the conquest of Bengal began the process of the **subjugation** of the entire Indian subcontinent, a process that continued for the next hundred years and even beyond. The Company continued to **systematically** weaken local/regional polities elsewhere by intervening in their disputes, as they had done in **Bengal**.

Apart from being engaged in devising means for the appropriation of the Bengal resources, for much of the latter half of the century, the Company concentrated its energies on establishing effective control over South India. From 1760s to 1790s, the Company's expansionist drive in south India was fiercely resisted by the state of Mysore under **Hyder Ali** and **Tipu Sultan**. The Anglo-Mysorean relations between 1760-99 must be understood in this context.

Causes for conflict:

- Pro-French policy pursued by both **Hyder** and **Tipu**
  - During the second Carnatic war, Hyder came in contact with the French through **de Bussy**'s subordinates. This tilt became more pronounced by the **1760s**. Ties between the two states acquired greater depth in later half of the century, particularly after the French **Revolution**.
- **Hostilities** between French and British at global level.
- Mutual rivalries among Indigenous powers (eg **Arcot**, **Hyderabad**, **Marathas**)
- English policy of supporting one indigenous ruler against another
- Other British interests
  - Mysore controlled part of rich Malabar coastal **trade** which was a threat to British trade in **cardamom and pepper**.
  - **Buffer** state issue: Powerful Mysore near Madras was a threat.

"...most **contemporary** Indian rulers were tyrannical usurpers of previous dynasties and rights and could therefore **dispensed** with at will so that (this ancient, and highly cultivated people) could be '**restored** to the full enjoyment of their **religious** and civil rights'." (Perception created by British to **legitimize their rule**)

## First Anglo-Mysore War (1767-69)

Lord **Verelst** (1767-69) was the governor of Bengal Presidency and Charles Bourchier was the governor of Madras Presidency (1767-70) during this phase.

- British felt threatened by the military might of Mysore and its pro-French stance.
- In late 18th c, **Mysore** assumed central importance. The Nizam of Hyderabad, Nawab of Arcot and Marathas also felt threatened. English now joined them and formed a broad-front against Mysore. (**Triple Alliance**)
- Haider rose to the occasion. He diplomatically turned the Marathas neutral and Nizam into his ally against Nawab of Arcot. He offered Marathas the regions of **Shivener** and **Gutti**, apart from war indemnity of Rs. **32 lakh**.
- After isolating British, Haidar suddenly attacked Madras. His forces reached the outskirts of **Madras**, causing complete chaos and panic. This compelled the English to **sue** for peace. Though Haider did not want stop his offensive against the English, the threat of Maratha invasion forced him to negotiate peace with the English.
- **Treaty of Madras (1769):**
  - It restored the status quo and mutual restitution of territories.
  - There was no provision for war compensation.
  - Important clause: This was a defensive alliance and both powers agreed to help each other in case of an attack by a **third party**.

This treaty was an honourable treaty for Hyder Ali. It severely damaged the **prestige** of English in India. The importance of the First Anglo-Mysore war lies in the fact the English, for the first time in India, seemed to be on backfoot. The seeds of a continuous friction between Mysore and the British power were thus **sowed**.



iramukhoty Hyder Spanks the English

To show that the English did not have sole rights on myth making, here is a cartoon by **Antoine Borel**, showing Hyder Ali of Mysore giving a British officer a thorough spanking while a French soldier **smirks** and supplies the **twigs**

The French had fought in large numbers for Hyder Ali and Tipu sultan during the 1778-1784 second Anglo-Mysore wars, and this cartoon reflects that mood in France. The French were particularly peeved with the brits for having captured their main trading post, Pondicherry, during the American Revolutionary War.

Bibliotheque National des Estampes, 1783

[View all 13 comments](#)

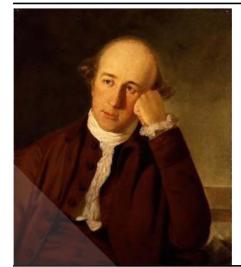
williamdalrymple Brilliant

## Second Anglo-Mysore War (1780-84)

### Warren Hastings (1772-85)

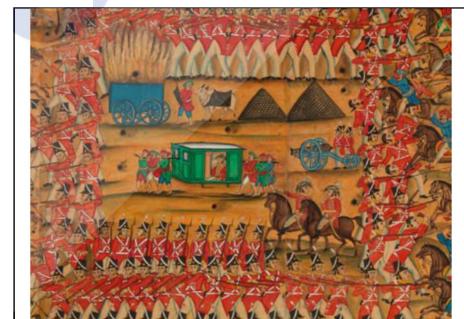
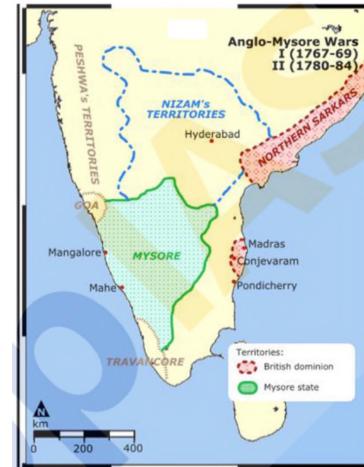
Warren Hastings and Robert Clive are credited with laying the foundation of the British Empire in India - from difficult position post-Mughal and regional rivalries.

- First Anglo-Maratha War
- Second Anglo-Mysore War



### Causes

- The second war started after about a decade since the first war.
- In 1771, Mysore was invaded by the Maratha but British didn't come to help. Despite his appeal, they preferred to remain neutral. Hyder Ali considered it a contravention to the spirit of the Treaty of Madras and accused them of breach of faith.
- Haider Ali found the French more resourceful in terms of fulfilling the army requirements of guns, saltpeter and lead. Consequently, he started importing French war materials to Mysore through Mahe, a French possession on the Malabar Coast.
- The increasing friendship between Mysore and French raised concern for the British. In 1779, the British company invaded the French region, Mahe. As Mahe fell under the jurisdiction of Mysore, Haider Ali resisted British attempt to capture it and took it as a direct challenge to his sovereign power. It provided the immediate pretext for the war.



The battle of Pollilur (near Kanchipuram, 1780) when Mysore army led by Tipu defeated the EIC forces. EIC suffered massive losses 'the severest blow that English had suffered ever in India.' The painting offers the wealth of information on battle formations, composition of armies with horses, elephants, foot soldiers, uniforms and military band that accompanied them.

### Course of the War

- It was a fiercely fought military context ranging over a vast area stretching from Mangalore on the west coast to Arcot in the east.
- Using his rare diplomatic skill, Hyder was able to win over Marathas and Nizam on his side for some time. This broad united front worked fairly well initially.
- His main strength lay in his cavalry and semi-guerrilla tactics. He was able to capture almost the whole of Carnatic.
- However, after 1781, tables started turning.
  - Battle of Porto Novo (1781): General Eyre Coote defeated Hyder Ali
  - British made peace with Marathas which enabled them to concentrate their entire military strength against Mysore.

- In 1782, Hyder Ali died when the war was in full-swing. It was Tipu Sultan who took command of the war for its remaining duration (1782-84).
  - Tipu got big military successes at many places and hence British came under the pressure. Neither side was capable of overpowering the other completely.
  - At the same time, Madras was hit by financial crunch and Lord Macartney, the Governor of Madras initiated peace talks. Tipu also needed time to consolidate his hold and strengthen administration.
  - Thus, it remained an inconclusive War.

- Treaty of Mangalore (1784)
  - Both sides restored all conquests. This treaty kept Tipu's kingdom and military intact. It was a respectable treaty for Tipu as there was no place for war compensation even in this treaty.
  - Although the British had been shown to be too weak to defeat Mysore, they had certainly proved their ability to hold their own in India.

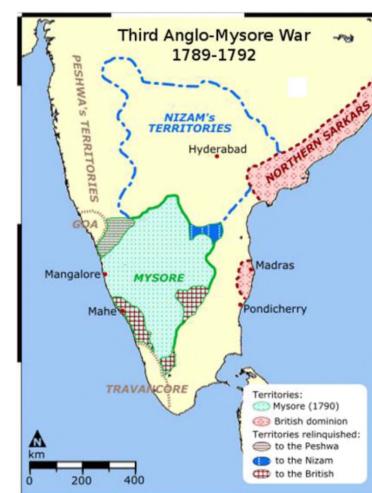
### Third Anglo-Mysore War (1790-92)

#### Cornwallis (1786-93)

- He was sent with instructions to avoid conflict.
- Known for administrative, legal and revenue reforms
- Third Anglo-Mysore War - he inflicted temporary defeat on Tipu



- The Treaty of Mangalore was not enough to resolve the conflict. It was just a temporary respite before a final showdown.
- The relationship between Tipu and Iran/France were improving, which threatened the British interests.
- "The authorities of the East India Company were acutely hostile to Tipu. They looked upon him as their most formidable rival in the south and as the chief obstacle standing between them and complete domination over South India. Tipu, on his part, thoroughly disliked the English, saw them as the chief danger to his own independence and nursed the ambition to expel them from India." - NCERT
- Causes
  - Lord Cornwallis diplomatically brought Marathas and Nizam to the British side. They were against Tipu's growing power.
  - In 1789, Tipu invaded the state of Travancore. Travancore was protected by British as per the Treaty of Mangalore (1784).
- War



- Cornwallis came out to protect Travancore and sent an expedition led by General Meadows against Tipu. However, this expedition of unsuccessful.
- Then, Cornwallis formed a Triple Alliance and succeeded in isolating Tipu diplomatically - Marathas and Nizams against Tipu along with British. The rulers of the states of Travancore, Cochin and Arcot were already hostile to Tipu.
- Tipu was compelled to fight simultaneously on several fronts which overstretched his military resources. Still, he sustained the war for one long year. Finally, Tipu was comprehensively defeated in 1792 and had to make a treaty of Srirangapatam.

- Treaty of Seringapatam (1792)

- Humiliating treaty for Tipu - he lost half of his region to the British, along with 3.3 crore rupees as war compensation.
- British shared some regions submitted by Tipu with their allies. (Kadappa and some regions near Tungabhadra to Marathas, regions near Pennar river to Nizam) but the most important regions at Cochin, Coorg and Malabar coast and places like Dindigul, Barmahal (Salem district) were brought under their own control.
- This war depleted Tipu's strength and destroyed his dominant position in the south and firmly established British supremacy there.



Mysorean Rockets

First iron case rockets



*Cornwallis receiving the sons of Tipu Sultan as hostages, painted by Daniel Orme, 1793*



Velu Nachiyar was an 18th-century queen of Sivaganga. She was one of the first queens to fight against the British rule in India.

In 1780, when the British captured Sivaganga and forced her to flee, she sought refuge in the Kingdom of Mysore. With the help of Gopala Nayaka, Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, she regained control of Sivaganga in 1780, becoming the first queen to do so in Indian history. She then ruled the kingdom with the help of Tipu Sultan until her death in 1796.

## Fourth Anglo-Mysore War (1799)

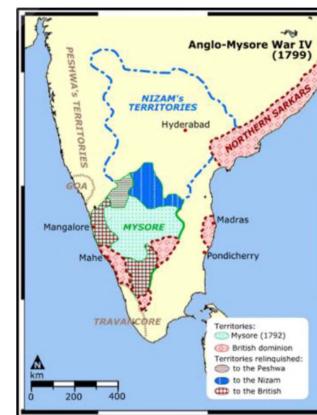
**Lord Wellesley** (1798-1805)

- French Menace

- He was sent to India during when **Napoleon** was preparing for the invasion of **Egypt** and there was a possibility of French invasion of **India** and the danger of French revival in India. **Wellesley** was expressly sent to India to check the French menace.
- Fresh **vigour** to the British expansionism (policy of annexation)
  - He tried bringing as many Indian states as possible under British control. By his arrival, the two strongest Indian powers (**Mysore**, **Marathas**), had declined in power; aggression was easy as well as **profitable**. And in that, the French menace provided good pretext.
- Wellesley adopted three different methods to achieve his goal:
  - The method of war - **4th Anglo-Mysore**, **2nd Anglo-Maratha**
  - The method of **Subsidiary Alliance**
  - The method of **Annexation** - Surat, Tanjore, Carnatic (he created the Madras Presidency by merging these areas)
- Wellesley had no doubt about its legality or morality. His only objective was **supremacy** of the British in India.



- Tipu's spirit of resistance did not **subside** even when **reduced** to half. He was in the search of alternative method to counter the British.
  - French Connection
    - Developed some military **arsenals** with French support. He developed three armouries - **Mangalore**, **Wazirabad** and **Malidabad** - with the French help.
    - He entered in negotiations for an alliance with Revolutionary France.
    - He **hoisted** French flat and **hoisted** Tree of **Liberty** in **Seringpatanam**. He subscribed himself to the **Jacobin Club** and preferred to call himself Citizen Tipu.
- British were not prepared to accept Tipu's Francophile policy.
  - Sent ambassadors to many regions including France, Mauritius, Constantinople, Afghanistan and Iran to forge an anti-British alliance. He even maintained correspondence with Napoleon.
- Under the circumstances, the destruction of Tipu's power became even more urgent from the British **viewpoint**. Tipu was accused of plotting against the British with **treasonable** intent. Lord Wellesley decided to eliminate Tipu first.



- He sent Arthur Wellesley and Major Stewart to crush the power of Tipu. British attempted to persuade Tipu to sign Subsidiary Alliance but he refused.
- British forces attacked Seringapatnam in 1799. Although by now, Tipu was no match for the British, yet he fought valiantly. The battle of Seringapatnam was brief but fierce. Tipu died valiantly fighting in 1799.

#### Outcome

- Nearly half of Tipu's kingdom was divided between Nizam and British. A small portion was restored to Wodeyars. They were made to sign the subsidiary alliance system.
- Thus ended the independent Mysore state. It had taken the English 32 years to subjugate Mysore.
- The fall of Mysore permanently brushed aside the threat of French revival in the Deccan.
- Just after it, in 1801, there was the formation of the so called 'Madras Presidency'.



British Regiment storming  
Seringapatam

the downfall of the Mysore has been attributed to the inability to handle the political situation as tactful as Hyder Ali would have done. Hyder Ali, born to create the empire and Tipu to loose one." However, the close scrutiny of the South India gives in closing decades of the 18th century much more complexity.

- 1) Political situation in India and abroad has gone transformation in the days of Hyder Ali. Hyder took advantage of the ongoing Anglo-French and Anglo-Maratha contest in the South India. Britain made the peace with the Maratha, and thus concentrated exclusively with Tipu. By the time Tipu ascended the thrown, England had outside the French from the India.
- 2) Tipu's attempt to build up an anti-British front did not succeed while he had far-sidedness to feel the necessity of other indigenous power on another page.
- 3) The British diplomatic gestures could successfully realign the Indian power to suit their interest by bringing Nizam, Tughlaq, and Maratha on the side, isolating Tipu. While the English received assistance from the indigenous power, Tipu attempted to receive help from the French, which was not successful. Tipu had to fight the British single-handedly.
- 5) The British power was high in 1790; there was now perennial supply of funds to continuous war while Hyder relied on cavalry to disclose the British infantry. Tipu depended on artillery forces directly. The English succeeded because they were better equipped.

conclusion:

finally, the sooner and later the fall of mysoor was inevitable tipu did not have the power to reverse the force of british.



Tipu's Tiger Contraption,  
Victoria and Albert Museum



Tipu Sultan's camping tent, seized after fall of  
Seringpatnam, today in Powis castle (Welsh)

GS Foundation 2024: Modern India  
Handout 7: Anglo-Maratha Wars  
Nikhil Sheth

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### Maratha Confederacy

Originally, Chhatrapati was the fountainhead of all power during the time of Shivaji. But subsequently, the Maratha political-economic system underwent a qualitative transformation. Power was no more concentrated in the hands of the Chhatrapati, or the successors of Shivaji. There set in a process of feudalization among the Marathas in which political structure became more decentralized. A loose association of confederacy of military leaders (sardars) emerged.

This process can be traced back to the days of Balaji Vishwanath, who assigned separate watans/saranjams (jagirs) to Maratha sardars for efficient collection of Chauth and sardeshmukhi. When Balaji Vishwanath returned from Delhi in 1719 with firman for Chauth and Sardeshmukhi, he made a complex division of the collection of chauth and sardeshmukh between Shahu and his sardars. It was actually a political technique devised by him to rally the Maratha sardars to his side. In the long run, this proved to be a major weakness of the Maratha empire. The office of Peshwa (one of ashta-pradhans) became hereditary and actual head of the empire while Chhatrapati remained symbolic head. After the death of Shahu of Satara (1749), Peshwa became virtually all-powerful.

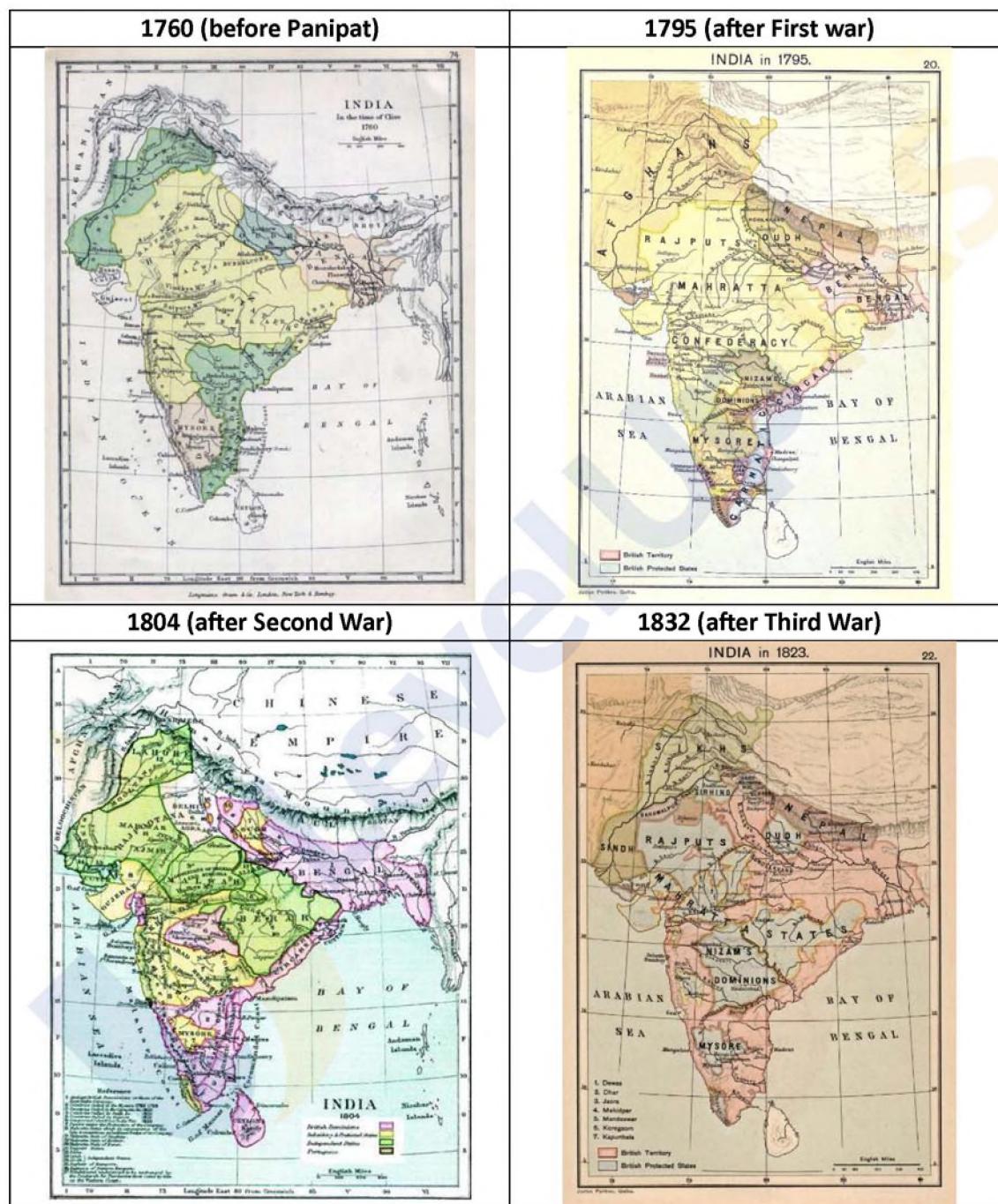


The process of economic feudalization also triggered off political feudalization. The Maratha Chiefs who were assigned the right to collect Chauth and Sardeshmukhi became the administrative heads of the respective areas. They enjoyed complete autonomy and emerged as state-within-state. As a result, political power was diffused. The Maratha state now assumed the character of a confederacy comprising a number of independent chiefs.

Among all the states that emerged in this era, Marathas had the most potential, but it didn't materialize - due to its own structure.

- In the Confederacy, power was shared among the chiefs. Parts of the Maratha state had been alienated to these military commanders.

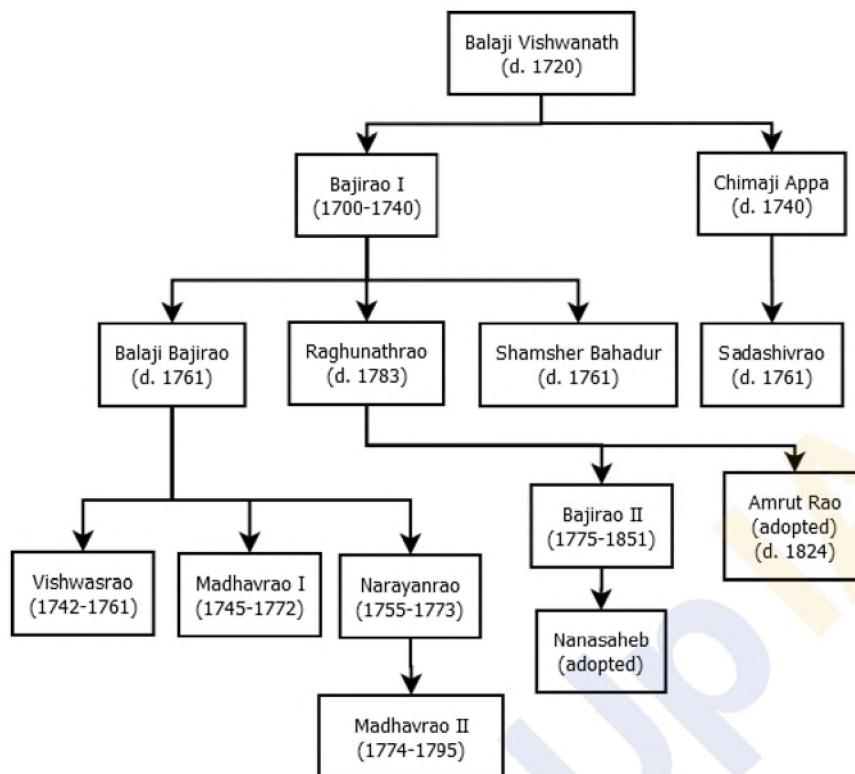
- It was difficult to control the **chiefs**, who did not always like the **peshwa** regulating their activities. Rather, their **loyalty** to **Peshwa** became increasingly nominal. Instead, they joined opposing factions at **Pune** and intrigues with the enemies of Marathas.
- There was also increasing factional rivalry among the Maratha sardars. Their mutual jealousy **crippled** the military power of Marathas **to considerable extent**.



## Overall Timeline:

Peshwas		
Balaji Vishwanath	1713-20	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Resolved the Maratha civil war.</li> <li>Assisted the Syed Brothers in deposing the emperor Farrukhsiyar in 1719.</li> </ul>
Bajirao I	1720-40	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Establishment of Hindu Pad Padshahi.</li> <li>Defeated Nizam of Hyderabad multiple times (eg Palkhed, Bhopal)</li> <li>Conquest of Malwa, Rajputana, Gujarat</li> <li>Attacked Delhi in 1737</li> <li>Created Maratha Confederacy</li> </ul>
Nanasaheb (Balaji Bajirao)	1740-61	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Extension in North, South, East - From Cuttack to Attock and Peshawar in 1758</li> <li>Third Battle of Panipat 1761</li> <li>Expansion of Pune city</li> </ul>
Madhavrao I	1761-72	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Internal crisis, yet recovered from Panipat crisis - Maratha Resurrection</li> <li>Defeated Nizam in the battle of Rakshasabhuwan.</li> </ul>
Narayanrao	1772-73	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Assassinated by Gardi guards at the behest of Raghunathrao</li> </ul>
Raghunathrao	1773-74	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Deposed by barbhai (led by Nana Phadanvis), fled for British protection. ↘</li> <li>First Anglo-Maratha War</li> </ul>
Madhavrao II	1774-96	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Appointed as infant by generals and ministers as regents.</li> <li>Era dominated by Nana Phadanvis</li> </ul>
Baji Rao II	1796-1802	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defeated by Holkar in the battle of Poona.</li> <li>Fled for British protection, provoked Second Anglo-Maratha War</li> </ul>
Amrit Rao	1802-03	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Appointed by Holkar after defeating Peshwas and Scindia.</li> </ul>
Baji Rao II	1803-18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Third Anglo-Maratha War - End of Maratha Confederacy</li> </ul>

### The Family Tree of Peshwas:



## First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82)

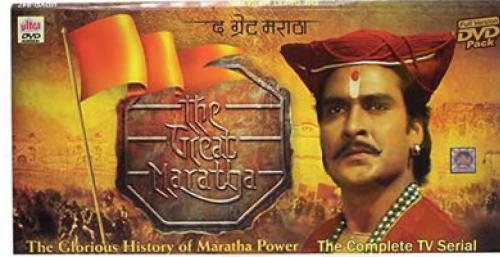
During the period of Warren Hastings (1772-85), two important wars took place - First Anglo-Maratha War and the Second Anglo-Mysore War.

### Post-Panipat Resurrection of the Maratha

Marathas were still powerful after the defeat in Third Battle of Panipat.

- Rise of Shinde in North:

- o Mughal Emperor Shah Alam (British pensioner) was recovered by Mahadji Scindia and restored in Delhi in 1771 and left a strong Maratha army in Delhi for protection. Mughal emperor was now a Maratha prisoner.
  - o The title of Wakil-e-Mudalat was given to Peshwa. Till 1803, Delhi remained majorly under Maratha control.
  - o Warren Hastings immediately stopped the pension to Shah Alam.



- Able leadership of Madhavrao Peshwa in South:

- o Maratha cavalry again started dominating the north and south under his leadership.
  - o Defeated Nizam of Hyderabad (at Rakshasbhan) and Hyder of Mysore (at Sira and Madhugiri)
  - o However, his untimely death due to TB.

Just after his death, a series of conspiracies and counter-conspiracies started in the court to control the gaddi of Peshwa.



- o Raghunathrao (brother of Nana Saheb) wanted to be Peshwa but he couldn't succeed in his designs due to the intervention of Nana Phadnavis. So, Raghoba sought British help. This conflict gave British a handle to interfere in Maratha politics.

- Treaty of Surat, 1775, with British obliged Raghunath Rao to

- o Give the regions of Salsette and Bassein to the British
  - o Give the revenue of Surat and Broach
  - o Accept to consult the British before making alliance with any other power.

### British Interest:

Expansion to cotton producing region of western India.

- Bombay was an important opium supply route.
- Bombay officers adventured - Intervention into internal matters of Poona court, into the succession rights.

In May 1775, an army contingent led by Col. Keating was dispatched to help Raghoba, thereby commencing the first Anglo-Maratha war. Warren Hastings, however, didn't like the idea and sent Col. Upton to mediate between the Marathas and the Bombay government. This culminated in the Treaty of Purandar (1776). This treaty provided:

Nana ph

- British would get Salsette, while other regions would be vacated by both the parties.
- British should not help Raghoba

england

But the Bombay officials were not satisfied with it and appealed to the Court of Directors and received a favourable ruling. Thus, the treaty of Purandar was annulled. This promoted the Bombay presidency to resume the war.

In the battle of Talegaon (1779), British were roundly defeated by the Marathas and this led to the signing of the Treaty of Wadgaon (1779). This treaty led to the status quo ante be Hum and Salsette went to Marathas again. All the benefits earned by British were lost.

1780 turned out to be a very difficult year for the British, when Nizam, Hyder, and Marathas joined hands against them due to diplomacy of Nana Phadanvis. Now, British went on offensive, and Hastings sent resources from the Bengal Presidency.

General Goddard was sent to invade Ahmedabad after crossing central India.

Col. Pofam was dispatched against Gwalior.

Sir Eyre Coote won the battle of Porto-Novo (against Mysore, 1781)

So, Hastings created severe military pressure on Marathas and forced them to come to the table. Thus, was signed the Treaty of Salbai (1782). According to this treaty:

- British got the control of Salsette, along with Elephanta Islands

The Company promised not to interfere in the internal matters of the Marathas.

Although an expansionist strategy, it was an extension of the policy of Ring-Fence. It was not an entirely novel idea, some of elements were visible earlier.

- Dupleix had a similar treaty with Hyderabad in 1740s.
- Clive concluded first such treaty with Shuja-ud-Daulah back in 1765 (Treaty of Allahabad had seeds of SA - protection to Awadh for cost/land)
- In 1787, Cornwallis signed Treaty with Carnatic - foreign policy of Carnatic was under British control.

### Evolution of Subsidiary Alliance System:

The process of evolution of Subsidiary Alliance is divided into 4 phases.

1. In the 1st stage the company assisted a friendly native ruler in his wars.
2. In 2nd stage the company started playing a bigger role in wars and battles of friendly native states. The native rulers started playing a secondary role.
3. In the 3rd stage, the company asked a friendly native state to supply money and not men. The company fought wars of such friendly native states on its own.
4. In the 4th stage, the company began to station a permanent subsidiary force in capital of friendly native state. Native ruler was asked to pay for the upkeep of this force. Smaller state was asked to pay in cash and bigger state was asked to transfer a part of its territory yielding revenue equal to the cost of upkeep of subsidiary force.

Gradually other provisions were added to it which transformed it into a system. Using the pretext of hyped French Menace to justify the aggression, the earlier practices were given a definite formal shape and theoretical framework by Wellesley in the form of Subsidiary Alliance. Before starting the final war with Mysore, Wellesley signed the first treaty with Hyderabad in 1789. It inaugurated the era of Subsidiary Alliance System.

### Order in which the Indian States entered Subsidiary Alliances

- . Hyderabad (1798,1800)
- Mysore and Tanjore (1799)
- . Awadh (1801)
- Peshwa (Marathas) (1802)
- Bhojpal and Gaekwad (Marathas) (1803)
- Scindia (Marathas) (1804)

After the capture of Mysore, political entities in India were to be offered the option of submitting peacefully by becoming the part of the subsidiary alliance system, or of a military context if they resisted colonial domination.

The nawabs of Awadh and Arcot drawn into this alliance at an early stage. Later, Wellesley increased the demand for subsidy from the Indian allies. In the case of major states like Awadh, collaboration with the British and acceptance of subsidiary alliance didn't prevent eventual outright annexation. Subsequently the treaty was forced upon the Maratha chiefs.

Wellesley thus used it to subordinate the Indian states to the paramount authority of the Company.

## Constituents of the Treaty

- Permanent Subsidiary Army
  - Stationed within the territory of the state to protect from internal disorder and external aggression.
  - Payment of a subsidy in cash (for smaller states) or ceded territory (for bigger states) to defray its expenses.
  - The state had no control over this army.
- Posting a British Resident at his court. Theoretically, the company was not allowed to interfere in the internal matters of the state but practically, this rule was almost always flaunted.
- Control over external relations
  - Not to employ any European in service without consent.
  - Not to directly negotiate with any other Indian ruler.

### Effects of the Treaty:

For the British - Extremely useful	On Indian States - Devastating
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It allowed company to gradually and silently disarm Indian native states.</li> <li>• Maintain a large army at the cost of the Indian states. Ostensibly for the protection of the state, it helped the Company in maintaining a large army using state resources.</li> <li>• This subsidiary force was stationed in capital of native states which were places of great strategic significance. The company could fight wars far away from their own territories - throw forward military and expanded political frontier. It also ensured safety of the British territory.</li> <li>• This force was led by European commanders. It was always battle ready. It could be used anywhere by the company at short notice.</li> <li>• Company now controlled the defense and foreign relations of the protected allies. The possibility of any native alliance against company was eliminated.</li> </ul> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">It eliminated French threat in India because no French men could be</p>	<p>It proved to be extremely degenerative for Indian native states because native rulers purchased security at the cost of Independence and sovereignty.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The army was allegedly for the protection but, it turned the ruler into a tributary client. Indian state virtually signed away its independence. Disbandment of the local armies led to loss of livelihood for soldiers and officers.</li> <li>• British Resident, who interfered in the day-to-day administration. It led to internal decay and rulers gradually lost all spirit and energy. The rulers of the protected states tended to neglect the interests of their people and to oppress them. As a result, a situation of extreme mal-administration developed in many native states. The admin machinery collapsed completely. And this resulted in extreme suffering for common masses, because of this impact Thomas Munro commented that it must run everywhere its full course and destroy every government which it undertakes to protect.</li> </ul>

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>recruited by a native ruler without the permission of the company.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This system allowed the company to ensure that only its favourites were sitting on throne of native state because at any time native ruler tried to threaten the interest of company he was immediately replaced. The system of Subsidiary Alliances was, in the words of a British writer, "a system of fattening allies as we fatten oxen, till they were worthy of being devoured".</li> <li>It transformed company into an arbitrator of Indian disputes because any kind of conflict involving native state was to be settled by English company. Thus, the Company could easily maintain its paramountcy over native states.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lost all vestiges of sovereignty in external matters - it became subservient in diplomatic relations, could not employ foreign experts, or settle disputes with its neighbours. It lost the right of self-defence as well.</li> <li>Extremely high cost of subsidy - leading to diversion of disproportionate share of revenue. The native rulers were regularly in debt and to overcome this debt extremely heavy burden of taxes were imposed on the common masses. It thus ruined agriculture, disrupted economy and impoverished people. Many states became bankrupt in no time.</li> </ul> |
|--|--|

The Company thus got the right both to use the Indian ruler's territory as a buffer against its own enemies and prevent a combination of Indian rulers against it. The native states were gradually brought under the sovereign control of English company because every native state accepted company as paramount power. That is why it is commented that it was a trojan horse tactics of empire building.

## Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-05)

### Causes

- By the end of 18th century, British had contained all the major powers in India.
- Almost all the important Maratha leaders had passed away by this time. Next generation leadership was not so competent, lacked **pragmatic program** and involved in **internecine conflict**.
- The internecine conflict between Shinde and Holkar made the Maratha fall almost inevitable. Shinde-Holkar were competing to get influence over Peshwa.
- Due to this, Bajirao II took refuge in the British camp. Lord Wellesley was waiting for **this opportune moment**. The price extracted by the British for extending the support to Bajirao II was a subsidiary alliance treaty which deprived him of control over military and foreign affairs. On 31st December, the Treaty of Bassain (1802) was signed which had the following important provisions:
  - British accountable for the safety and security of Peshwas from internal and external dangers.
  - British regiment stationed at Poona for payment of 26 **lakh/annum**.
  - British resident stationed at Poona and the foreign policy of Peshwas had to be conducted at the advice of **British resident**.
  - Differences between Peshwas-Nizam or Peshwas-Gaikwad to be resolved under British **mediation**.
- As per the treaty
  - British army under Arthur Wellesley restored Peshwa at Poona. British intervention into the internal matters irritated different members of the Confederacy. Peshwa started seeking the support of **Bhonsle** & **Shinde** against the British after realising problems of the **treaty**.
  - However, even in this critical situation, Marathas couldn't unite - Shinde & Bhonsle formed one front. Gaekwads supported the British while **Holkar remained separate** and was planning to wage war on his own.

Thus started the Second Anglo-Maratha War in 1803.

### Two military commands: First Phase of War



**The Battle of Assaye, 1803**



North: Lord Gerard Lake	South: Arthur Wellesley
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defeated Shinde in the battle of Aligarh, battle of Laswari in north India.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Defeated the combined Daulatrao Shinde &amp; Raghuji Bhonsle in a series of wars. The</li> </ul>

<p>He captured Delhi and Agra. Delhi was conquered by the British from the Marathas in the battle of Patparganj (1803).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Now Mughal Emperor again came under British control and remained till 1857.</li> </ul>	<p>most famous battle was the Battle of Assaye (1803)</p>
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- Subsidiary Alliance Treaties:
  - Treaty of Devgaon with Bhosle. By this, Bhosle relinquished the right over Cuttack and the adjoining areas of Odissa and Bengal.
  - Treaty of Surji-Anjangaon (1803) with Daulatrao Shinde. By this, Shinde lost control of North India, esp Delhi. Later on, treaty of Mustafapur (1805) was also foisted upon Shindes.

*"By the establishment of our subsidiary forces at Hyderabad, and Poona, with the Gaikwad, Daulat Rao Shindha... an efficient army of 22,000 men is stationed within the territories, or on the frontier of foreign states, and is paid by foreign subsidies. This force may be directed against any of the principal states of India, without the hazard of disturbing the tranquility of the company's possession, and without requiring expenses of the Government of India"* Arthur Wellesley

"Our policy and our arms have reduced all the powers of India to the state of mere cyphers." Arthur Wellesley.



Arthur Wellesley,  
1st Duke of  
Wellington

### Second Phase of War:

The war with Yashwant Rao Holkar continued till 1805. He, along with the ruler of Bharatpur, were at war with the British. Though Lord Lake invaded Bharatpur, he was not successful.

The most outstanding event of this phase was the crushing defeat inflicted by Yashwant Rao on a British force under Colonel William Monson in the battle of Mukandwara Pass near Kota in 1804. The British force lost five infantry battalions and six companies of artillery in this battle. He was later once again defeated in the battle of Farrukhabad.

In the meantime, the Court of Directors in London realized the extravagance of the war and recalled Wellesley. They sent Cornwallis again to India (1805) to curb expansionist policies of Wellesley, but he died after reaching in India. Thus, George Barlow was sent as the new Governor-General who concluded peace with Holkar in 1805 (Treaty of Rajpurghat).

So, the second Anglo-Maratha ended in stalemate. The tangible gains for the British were their ascendancy at Pune and the acquisition of some territory mainly in northern India. There was one noteworthy prize that came their way, although its significance was largely symbolic. Emperor Shah Alam was kept under Company protection and confined to the Red Fort.

## Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-18)

### **Lord Hastings (1813-23)**

- Before 1813, the EIC was not willing to increase its responsibilities. It generally avoided the policy of annexation as far as possible.
- Now, there was a new objective: India to be developed as a market for the British industrial products. Thus, from Lord Hastings to Dalhousie there was an era of unabashed "Policy of Paramountcy." *Now the Company claimed that its authority was paramount (supreme), hence its power was greater than that of Indian states. In order to protect its interests, it was justified in annexing or threatening to annex any Indian kingdom.* This view continued to guide later British policies as well.

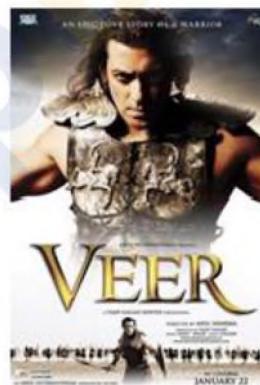


### **The events**

#### **Pindari War (1817-18)**

- The final Anglo-Maratha overlapped with a large-scale campaign against the Pindaris. In fact, the so called Pindari menace provided the pretext and justification for military mobilization against the Marathas. Pindaris created a law-and-order situation for the British.

Lord Hastings decided to eliminate them. For him, annihilation of Pindaris was a prerequisite to the destruction of the Marathas. He formed a task force for the same purpose in 1816 CE. They were surrounded by an army of about 120,000 men, which converged upon them from Bengal, the Deccan, and Gujarat under the supreme command of the Governor-General Lord Hastings (northern command) and LG T. Hislop (southern command).



The sheer military might of the Company resulted in victory. The Pindaris themselves offered little resistance. Their bands simply dissolved and there was no direct encounter. Most of the leaders surrendered (some killed, some restored).



Hastings used Pindari campaign as a pretext to attack Marathas. After finishing the Pindari campaign, Lord Hastings asked Maratha commanders to sign new treaty and when they hesitated a war was declared on them immediately. Thus, along with the Pindaris, even Marathas became the target of the same army.

### (A) Peshwa of Pune

The Company wanted to capture Poona for strategic importance. Thus, Peshwa and the confederacy were pressurized due to continuous British intervention. Their reaction led to the war.

- War

- o In 1818, Peshwa Attacked Poona Residency. He was defeated in the battle of Khadki and Pune surrendered.
- o Peshwa was again defeated in the battle of Koregaon Bhima.
- o The subjugation of Peshwa domain took several months. Several military campaigns had to be carried out to put down resistance in various parts of western

Maharashtra even as Peshwa continued to be on the move. The last major encounter was in Ashti near Pune. Bajirao nevertheless continued with his resistance for a few more months. Eventually he agreed to negotiate.

- Treaty

- o The defeat of Peshwa broke the Maratha Confederacy. Bajirao II formally abdicated his office and was sent to Bithur with an annual pension of 8 lakh. He lived there in exile till 1851. The gaddi of Peshwa was abolished and region of Maharashtra (including Pune) was completely annexed. However, to assuage the feelings of Maratha spirit, a separate state of Satara was carved out and granted to Pratap Singh, a descendant of Shivaji.



Mountstuart  
Elphinstone, LG of  
Bombay (1819-27)

### (B) Bhosle of Nagpur

Another major objective of the war was the subjugation of the Nagpur state which was ruled by Bhosle. Raghujji Bhosle died by 1817 and Company intensified its attempts to destabilize the state through the Resident.

- Raghujji Bhosle died by 1817 and Company intensified its attempts to destabilize the state. The main instrument of British interference was the resident, Richard Jenkins. Jenkins prevailed upon Appa Sahib to sign a subsidiary alliance which enabled the Company to place its troops in Nagpur. When the battle broke out, Appa Sahib aligned himself with Peshwa.

War

- o In 1818, Appa Saheb attacked British Resident at Nagpur.
- o British had a difficult time in overcoming the resistance of Nagpur. It was only with the arrival of reinforcements that British got the handle over the situation. Appa Saheb was defeated in the battle of Sitabuldi, Nagpur.

- Treaty

- o Appa Sahib also entered alliance with the British with many controls on Nagpur. Raghujji III became the new successor.

### (C) Holkars of Indore

While Tusi Bai favoured negotiations with the Company, the Holkar Army was resolved to fight the British.

- Story
- War
  - In 1818, Holkar attacked Indore Residency.
  - Holkars were defeated at Mahidpur after a fierce battle in which the casualties of British side were very high (around 800).

#### Treaty

- Treaty of Mandsore with Holkar forced them to cede areas around Narmada to British. It substantially reduced the territorial possessions of Holkars.

#### (D) Shinde of Gwalior

- Though Shinde was not involved in the war. Company, through its show of arms, ensured that Daulat Rao Shinde disengaged himself from the Pindaris.  
With respect to Shindes, a new treaty was foisted upon them in 1818.
- This paved the way for the subjugation of the Rajasthan states.
  - Charles Metcalf was sent to conclude subsidiary alliance treaties with the Rajput states of Marwar, Udaipur, Jaipur etc. Overall, 19 states signed the treaties surrendering their independence. None of them had the resources to engage in military contests to resist colonial supremacy, making the extension of colonial rule in the area a relatively smooth affair.

#### (E) Gaekwads of Baroda

- Gujarat, much of which was ruled by Gaekwads, was brought under subsidiary alliance system in 1802 already.
- In 1817, the company signed a new treaty with them on the eve of the war with Bajirao II. As per it, the strength of the subsidiary force was increased, and the city of Ahmedabad was formally ceded.

#### Consequence

The third Anglo-Maratha war finally ended the independence of the Maratha states - Nagpur, Indore, Gwalior, Baroda - and made the EIC a major territorial power in western and central India. The Peshwa's authority was terminated and his seat of authority, Pune, formally became part of the Company's territory (except for certain parts which were given to successors of Shivaji in Satara to calm the sentiment) and Bajirao II was exiled to Bithur. Although Maratha Confederacy was dissolved, the Shindes, Halkars, Gaikwads and Bhosles still retained large tracts of territory at the end of the war, being incorporated into the British India empire as princely states.

Maratha could not offer alternative to Mughal rule political vacuum left behind by the Mughal eventually fill up by the British. despite brilliant initial military success under leadership of Shivaji and first peshwas the Maratha power decline in fount of repeated British on slots. the cause of downfall of Maratha are as follows.

- 1) organizational flaw: the Maratha sardar resemble later mughal noble they remain unified as long as Shivaji system of strong system of central authority was in place following Shivaji Maratha state devolved loose constipation of autonomous states.
- 2) week revenue base and financial insolvency was perpetual problem of Maratha state the economic system of Maratha state was unpredictable. the Maratha chief had to resort to period raids plunder to run their economic. this economic insolvency also excreted evil influences in the political stability of empire. Maratha consideration big five chief who could not found abroad united front against common enemy British.
- 4) by the end of the 18 century all the talent and expired leader maharji Scindia tukoji holkar, nana Phadnavis were dead bajirao2 was selfish and inefficient and the absence of good leader led to mutual corals. the Maratha military supremacy code its origin war fair based on gorilla tactics. but the later Maratha leader opted for the Westen method of warfare and they could not integrate two.
- 5) finally maratha fail because lack ability adapt to new circumstance, they didn't have far site ness to devlope the new economy they could not relied on the import of science and technology only way by which maratha could have save the empire and combat the brish was by transforming state to modern state.

U LevelUPIAS



Four of the main leaders in 1857 were the proteges of the Bajirao II at Bithur - Lakshmibai, Nana Saheb, Tatya Tope and Raosaheb Peshwa - who actually fought from the front.

GS Foundation 2024: Modern India  
Handout 8: Mercantile Phase (1757-1813)  
(Administrative, Economic and Socio-cultural policies)

**Nikhil Sheth**

Between 1772 and 1857, changes were frequently made to the administrative structure the British East India Company had established in India. Such changes were not unnatural, given that British Indian administration was essentially a continuous process of experimentation, adjusted and readjusted either in accordance with the ideological developmentstaking place at the time in Great Britain or in accordance with the peculiar on-the-ground realities that the Company encountered in India.

#### **Limited Objective of the Mercantile Phase (1757-1813)**

##### Objective

- **Maximize revenue** to invest in trade and commerce.
- Not interested in major restructuring of the existing administrative structure.  
Preferred to maintain the existing Mughal structure with certain modifications.

##### Policies

- Creation of a political and administrative environment conducive to trade and investment.
- **Administrative Policy:**
  - Maintenance of law and order at the minimum possible cost
- **Economic Policy:** Origin of drain of wealth, Decline of handicraft industries.
- **Social Policy:** Maintain traditional social structure.
- **Cultural Policy:** Orientalism (Indians should be ruled according to their own traditions and customs)

#### **The Perspective...**

As the British conquered and annexed different parts of the country, they were faced with the difficult question of how to govern these territories. Clive didn't bother to take the administration of Bengal directly into his hands. Warren Hastings tried to plant British elements on the Mughal system, yet he wasn't ready to overhaul the whole structure. Reforms by Lord Cornwallis were guided by a sense of British egoism i.e. belief in supremacy of British institutions.

Clive	Warren Hastings	Lord Cornwallis	Lord Wellesley
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Treaty of Allahabad (1765) - Diwani Right!</li><li>• Dyarchy</li><li>• Heavy Land Revenue</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Abolition of Dyarchy</li><li>• Duties standardized</li><li>• Land Revenue experiments</li><li>• Judicial Plan of 1772, 1774</li><li>• Codification of Laws</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Lather of Civil Services</li><li>• Thana Darogha system</li><li>• Judicial Structure, Humanisation</li><li>• Permanent Settlement</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Fort Williams College</li><li>• Censorship of Press Act, 1799</li></ul>

## **(A) Administrative and Revenue Policies**

### **(1) Robert Clive's Reforms**

#### **Dual Government**

Clive chose not to usurp the **Nizami** rights directly and instead developed the **system of Dyarchy**.

- Dyarchy (direct **diwani**, indirect **nizamat**)
- EIC received Diwani of Bengal directly from the Mughal emperor.
- EIC avoided taking administration (**Nizamat**) directly. However, the Nawab had become the puppet of the Company.
- A new post of Deputy **Nawab/Nazim** was created who combined the function of both **Diwani** and **Nizami** and the actual power was **wielded** by the Company through him.

#### **Reforms in Land revenue system**

- Heavy enhancement in land revenue (almost doubled)
- Indian revenue collectors continued but under **supervision of inexperienced/untrained European authorities** -> excessive corruption.

It is here that the **dyarchy** system was far from successful. This dual type of administration led to **anarchy** in **Bengal**. The class hardest hit by the new system was the **peasantry**. Neither the Nawab nor the Company cared for their **welfare**. The result of Dual Government was the impoverishment of Bengal's economy. The **disastrous** effects of the Double Government found manifestation in the famine of **1770** which proved to be one of the worst events in the history of mankind.

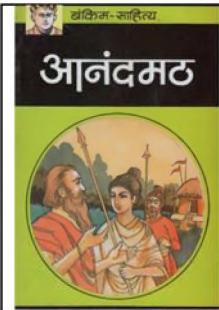
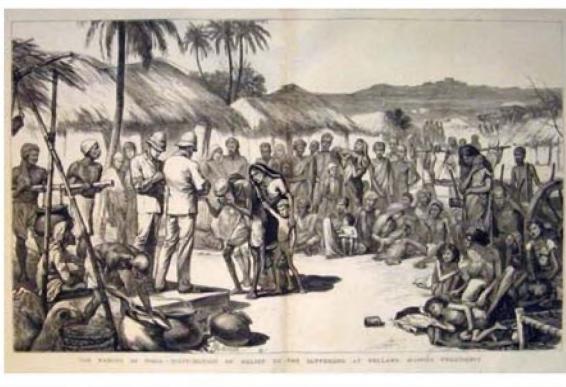
#### **• Detrimental Impact on Bengal**

- Uncontrolled power without responsibility
- Exploited peasants.
- Disorganized administration
- Gomasta grain trade monopoly
- Crop failure, smallpox

why English does not go for whole control:  
1) cost of admin  
2) manpower trained.  
3) if all the power united against.  
4) focus on trade  
5) status other european company.

**Great Bengal Famine (1770):** one-third of Bengal's population perished (**70 lakh to 1 crore**)

- The famine hastened the end of dual governance in Bengal, the Company becoming the **sole** administrator soon after.



Anandmath (1880s) by Bankim -> Sannyasi Rebellion in 1770 Bengal in the aftermath of the Great Famine

### The Regulating Act 1773

As the British East India Company emerged as a territorial power in India, an intense struggle broke out in Britain as to whose interest the newly acquired empire would serve. This was a time when imperial policies began to be seriously questioned against the backdrop of problems that Britain was facing in keeping its American colonies under control. It became necessary to determine the framework of Company's Government in India and to exert some control on it.

The acquisition of political power by the Company also had an adverse reaction in Great Britain. There grew the fear that the newly rich nabob class might be able to influence British Parliamentary politics by dint of their economic power and thereby disturb the balance of British democracy.

Although the Company had emerged as an important political power in India but at the same time company was losing badly as a commercial entity. Spending on wars, corruption in private trade and famines had led to huge losses, thus, the Company was in dire need of credit just when its activities began to be scrutinized in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and had applied to the government for a large loan. This made it difficult for it to resist demands for some kind of parliamentary control over its functioning. In other words, the Regulating Act was linked to the British Parliament's sanction for the loan.

The Regulating Act was passed by the British Parliament in 1773. By this legislation the parliament sought to regulate the Company to a limited extent.

- The Directors of the Company were duty-bound to **submit before the British Government all correspondence** relating to civil, military and revenue affairs in India to enable it to monitor the management of the empire.
- The **Company's organizational structure** was streamlined under this Act by restricting the voting rights of shareholders.
  - o This was done firstly by limiting the vote to those who held minimum £1,000 worth of stock. Besides, the shareholder had to be in possession of the stock for at least one year in order to qualify for voting.
  - o Members of the **court of directors** were to be elected for a period of four years. One fourth of the members were to retire every year, and stay out of office for a minimum duration of one year before they could seek re-election.
- The Act laid down that the Government of Bengal would be headed by the **Governor General and a Council comprising four members**. All civil and military authority was vested in the governor general and his council.
  - o Hereafter, the Governor of Bengal came to be known as the 'Governor-General of Bengal.' Hastings was the first Governor-General of Bengal.
  - o The Governor-General was required to run the Government of Bengal according to the decisions taken in the council by a majority vote. The Governor-General

vote in case the house was divided equally on a given issue. Each had a five-year term.

- It recognized the **precedence of the Bengal Presidency** ('Presidency of Fort William in Bengal') over the two other presidencies. The presidencies of **Madras** and **Bombay** were placed under the overall **supervision** of Fort William. Now, the British authorities at Bombay or Madras had no power to strike alliance with or declare war against any other power.
- The Act also provided for the **establishment of a Supreme Court in Calcutta** to administer justice to the Europeans and their employees.
  - In tune with this provision, the first Supreme Court was established in Calcutta in 1774. **Sir Elijah Impey** became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

The attempt of the British Parliament to develop a **remote-control** mechanism to regulate the Company ended in a **failure**. The Regulating Act did not give the British Government effective control over the Company. The Act had certain inherent **loopholes** which created problems in the running of **administration**.

- Under the provisions of the Act, it was not possible for the Governor-General to act independently. The numerical composition of the council (**four members** in addition to the governor general) constituted under the 1773 Act rendered the governor general vulnerable in case **three** of the members combined to oppose him.
- Though the Act created the **Supreme Court**, it did not **clearly** indicate the specific power of the said court **vis a vis the Governor-General-in-Council**.
- The Regulating Act intended to make the **Governments of the Madras and Bombay Presidencies** subordinate to the Governor-General of Bengal. But, in reality, the control of the Governor General **over the other two Presidencies** was **inadequate**.
- The Regulating Act failed to resolve the friction between the Company and **its rival groups in England**. The opponents of the Company continued to exert pressure on the Parliament to discipline the Company.

Thus, the **1773** Act had several anomalies which were sought to be rectified through a subsequent legislative measure, enacted in **1784** (Pitt's India Act).

## (2) Warren Hastings (1772-1785)

- Reforms of Clive -> fiasco.
  - Ruin of agriculture ruined company finances and exports.
  - Thus, both revenue and trade were adversely affected.
- **Abolition of Dual Government**
  - The Diarchy was abolished and the Company in 1772 assumed the **direct responsibility of the revenue administration of Bengal**.
  - The direct management of the revenue administration had other implications too. It meant that the Company, hereafter, would also be in charge of the **judicial administration** as well. Thus, the Company had to shake off its **commercial** nature to some extent. It now began to assert the authority of a state. Thus started the initial shape to the British admin **stricture in Bengal for future, (trendsetter)**

### **Warren Hastings - Revenue Reforms**

- Transferred the **royal treasury** from **Murshidabad** to **Calcutta**.
- **Toll Tax Reform:** **Standardization** of collection of duties (to **incentivize trade**)
- Land Revenue Reforms - **Farming System** (for maximization of **revenue**)
  - It was the phase of **trial** and **error**. Experiments followed in quick succession.
  - Initially it was only for a **five-year scheme** (1772-76). The **auctioning** system was carried out under supervision of **diwans** and European collectors. It didn't make **revenue** stable, and adversely affected **agriculture**.
  - To gather systematic information about the different aspects of the Indian agrarian structure he appointed the Amini Commission in **1776**.
  - After five years, in **Y1T1**, the five-year settlement was abolished. A new **one-year scheme with role for zamindars**.
  - Thus, in the actual control of the revenue management, Hastings was not satisfied, achieving a little more than a series of unsuccessful experiments.

### **Warren Hastings: Judicial Plans of 1772,1774**

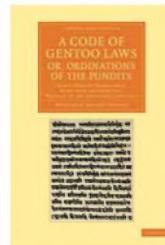
India's modern judicial system was **laid down** by the British. **Rule of law was** the basic feature of these reforms.

- Reasons
  - Closely connected to Land Reform
  - No uniform system before the EIC.
  - Issue of Corruption
- Hastings established a **hierarchy** of civil and criminal courts (Development of The Adalat System). **Civil** district courts under Indian officials were setup. **Qazis** and **Muftis** were appointed for **criminal** cases. To make **adalats accessible**, he divided Calcutta, Orissa and Bihar into **six divisions with several districts each**.

## Codification of Laws

According to the orientalist influence, Indians were supposed to be governed as per Indian custom. However, to bring efficiency, uniformity and consistency, some amount of codification was required.

- Hastings appointed Hindu Pandits & Muslim Ulemas for codification of laws. Thus, under Warren Hastings a series of law codes such as 'Code of Gentoo laws', 'Colebrook's Digest' etc. came into existence.

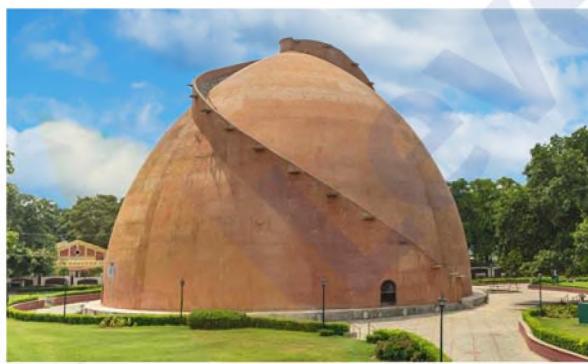


Trial of Warren Hastings (1732-1818) in the British House of Commons.

In 1785, Hastings was accused of abuse of office and blackmail by the Whig politicians Sir Philip Francis (1740-1818) and Edmund Burke (1729-1797). The impeachment trial went for about a decade from 1774 to 1784. Finally, he was acquitted.



Edmund Burke



**Golghar, Patna (1786)**

Constructed by John Garstin of Bengal Engineers. It was designed to store grain and worked like a silo. On the side of the building is a carved inscription that states that the granary was ordered by the governor general in 1784 for the 'Perpetual Prevention of Famine in these Provinces.' Unfortunately, the building never served its purpose.

"Hastings provided a coherent shape to a state of which Clive had only sketched an outline, and he successfully defended that state almost singlehanded with hardly any help from home against a concerted Indian attack." - Percival Spear

## Pitt's India Act 1784

The various limitations of the Regulating Act and the increasing pressure of the rival groups on the East India Company in England encouraged the Government of Britain to pass the Pitt's India Act in 1784. The Act came to be known so as William Pitt was then the Prime Minister of England. By this Act, The British Government was finally able to tighten up its grip over the Indian administration. According to the provisions of this Act

- The most important feature of the 1784 Act was the introduction of a permanent mechanism for monitoring, on behalf of parliament, the administration of the Indian empire. A Board of Control comprising six commissioners was created. The Board of Control was to work in a supervisory capacity. However, it was the court of directors that actually governed the Indian empire. Normally, instructions would be sent out to India by or via the court of directors, but the 1784 Act contained provisions for conveying orders of the board, whenever necessary, directly to Fort William through a 'secret committee' bypassing the court of directors.
  - o Thus, Pitt's India Act thus established a system of dual control on the Indian affairs. This became the main instrument till 1858 for parliamentary supervision over the Indian empire.
- The Pitt's India Act elevated the status of the Governor-General to a very extent and in this sense, it was an improvement upon the Regulating Act.
  - o The governor general's council was reconstituted by reducing its strength from four to three. More powers were concentrated in the hands of the governor general so that his authority might not be constrained by the council.
  - o The Bombay and Madras Presidencies were subordinated to Bengal in all matters relating to war, diplomacy and revenues in unambiguous terms.
  - o Thus, Pitt's India Act made the governor general a very powerful colonial official and centralized the Company's colonial government, though centralization was not always possible in practice.

The significance of the Pitt's India Act lies in the fact, that, hereafter, the East India Company became an organ of the broader British national interest. India was to play a subservient role in the interest of the British ruling class.

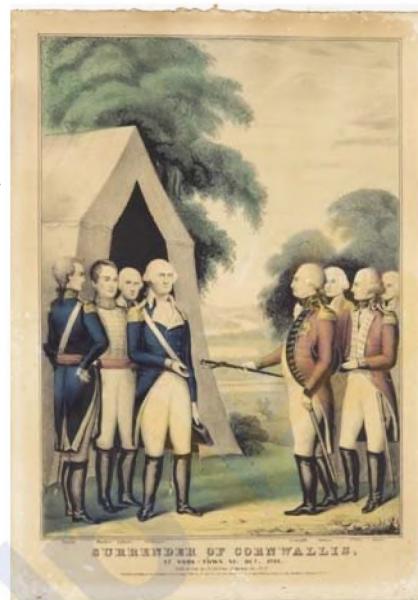
The general framework of the Government of India, laid down by the Pitt's India Act remained unaltered till 1858, though certain minor changes were implemented from time to time.

### (3) Lord Cornwallis

The appointment of Cornwallis as Governor-General in 1786 was the direct result of the controversies aroused by the acts of Clive and the rule of Hastings. Certain broad principles of the relationship of India with Britain were worked out.

- British had already lost America -> So, they tried to strengthen its rule in India through various reforms of Cornwallis.
- Cornwallis was guided by a sense of racial superiority of the British.

He gave social and political stability to Bengal at the price of neglecting the rights of the lesser landholders and undertenants and of excluding Indians from any responsible share in the administration.



#### Cornwallis Code (1793)

Cornwallis was the real architect of the modern Indian judicial system. The general regulations for the administration of justice by Warren Hastings had marked the beginning of a system, peculiarly English. This early stage of Company's law making came to a climax with the Cornwallis-Code (1793) which was to provide a new legal framework conducive to trade and investment. It contained a series of Regulations regarding governing, policing, judiciary and civil administration that remained in force till 1833.

**(A)** The code of written law prepared by Cornwallis signalled the coming of Rule of Law into India.

- The Rule of Law was to ensure a uniform system of justice based on the principle of equality before law.
- By introducing codified law, Cornwallis ended the experimentation of the first phase of British Government in India. The law administered was Hindu and Muslim personal law and a modified Muslim criminal code. He took some prevailing Muslim criminal laws as barbarous and so he tried to make them a bit humane. It was clearly laid down that in all district courts were to administer fixed forms of law. The procedure in these courts was to follow roughly the existing procedure in the British courts.
  - o Now, the witness could be from any caste.
  - o Intention, rather than type of weapon, was more emphasized.
  - o Open trials were to be conducted.
- Separation of powers: executive power (revenue collection) and judicial power (civil justice) of district collectors.
  - o Civil justice -> district judge
  - o District collector -> revenue collection

- It was expected that the new system would stabilise landed relations, provide security for property, and make people right explicit.

### (B) Father of Civil Service

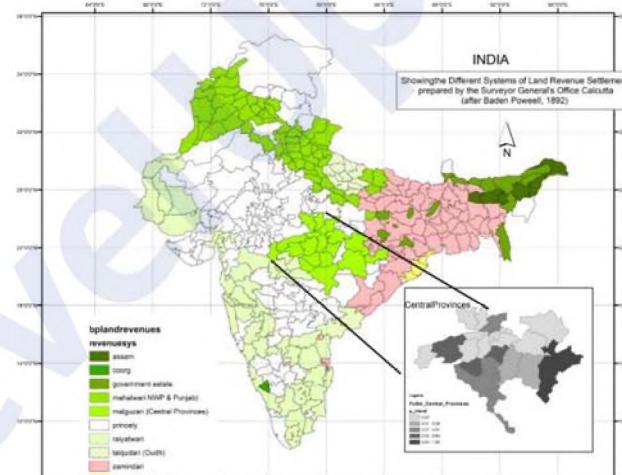
- Tradition of "law-abiding, incorruptible" British rule in India. **Steel-frame of the civil service** started to emerge in this era, and it was Europeanized.
- Personnel is divided into **three branches: revenue, judicial, and commercial.**
    - Collector's fixed salary Rs. 1500/- pm + 1% share of revenue, (highly paid)
  - Foundation of **Thana/Police station system.**
    - The modern Indian police dates back to the days of Lord Cornwallis. The **police** establishments were redesigned throughout Bengal by the **police-regulation** passed by the Governor-General-in-Council in 1792.

### Permanent / Zamindari Settlement

- During Mughal period, individual private ownership was not fully established. Different contenders claimed different parts of production.  
This system confused Cornwallis who was in search of a viable system A sharp debate over the finer points of the **arrangement preceded the settlement.**

### Features of the Zamindari System

- Region:** Bengal, Bihar, Orissa (and also in **Banaras** division of UP and North **Karnataka**) constituting total of around **19%** of British India.
- Duration:** How long should the settlement be done? **10 years** or permanent
  - In **1790** for 10 years; but it was made permanent in **1793**.
- With whom:** **Zamindars** (earlier neglected by Hastings) or the company itself?
  - The **zamindars** were required to collect land **revenue** from the **ryots** as agents of the Company.
- Land Ownership?**
  - Zamindars are declared as the hereditary **owners** of the land (highest bidder). Thus, free peasants were converted into **tenants** at will. Therefore, the traditional rights of the ryots on land were abolished. **Community land** was also **placed** under **zamindari** control. (**Barren land, irrigation, pasture, forest land etc.**)
  - Land was now made a private property and a transferable commodity. Land now became a transferable commodity, and the landlords now came to enjoy the right to sell it if necessary.
  - Sunset Law (1793)** mandated that if a zamindar failed to pay the stipulated amount by sunset of the due date, his land was seized, and zamindari was auctioned.



**Rate of Revenue:** Tax fixed based on taxes collected in 1790-92 as the base year. (Which was equal to Rs. 2.68 crore)

- o 10/11 part to the Company, 1/11 share to the Zamindars.
- o Govt share was fixed permanently. All future increase in total income (either through extension or through revenue increase) would go to the zamindar.

**The expectation** was that the security of property and unchanging land revenue demand would transform a zamindar into improving **landlord** similar to those in England of the **same period**.

#### **The outcome:**

- Absolute land property created a land market in Bengal. The new class of landlords, which emerged because of the Permanent Settlement, had **commercial interests**.
- Many of them were **residents of Calcutta** who decided to invest their capital in the purchase of land in the countryside.
- As the landlords were contract-bound to remit the **revenue** within a short time, they raised rent to an **unprecedented degree**.
- There developed a complex rent collecting structure with various grades of **intermediary** tenure-holders.
- As a result of the **ruthless appropriation** of the rural **surplus**, the peasants were adversely affected.
- As taxes had then to be paid in **cash**, the peasants were **compelled** to have **recourse** to **moneylenders** or **mahajans**.
- In the process, a class of landless **sharecroppers** and **agricultural labourers** emerged in Bengal.
- The condition of the peasant became even more **miserable** as the Permanent Settlement, the new rule of property was backed up by a '**Rule of Law**' or the new **judiciary** and the **police** introduced by Lord **Cornwallis**. The **police** and the **judiciary** responded to the interest of the wealthier **classes** alone. The peasants were invariably **denied justice**.

Thus, the introduction of the Permanent Settlement led to the evolution of a new set of **agrarian** relations that was extremely **regressive**. The misery inflicted by the British on the Indians was of a different kind which they had never experienced before. It reduced the peasants to extreme **poverty** and ushered in a period of **chronic famine**, **starvation** and **hunger**.

By the 1820s, it was clear that the permanent settlement had **failed** to meet its original expectations.

## (B) Economic Policies

### Drain of Wealth (DoW)

- Meaning
  - In 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> c Europe, DoW meant negative BoT and outflow of precious metal (bullionism)
  - In colonized India, it meant excess export, unilateral transfer of surplus from India to Britain.
- Context - "investment"
  - EIC was struggling to finance one-sided Indian trade, compelled to bring precious metal from Britain.
  - After Diwani of Bengal, it invested the plunder and revenue, and profit gained from inter-regional trade into trading activities. Indian goods were now purchased through Indian money while company curtailed the import of silver from Britain - unilateral transfer of surplus.



### Decline of Handicraft

- Earlier
  - Various European companies purchased Indian handicraft products.
  - Dadni system (putting-out system) for clothes.
- Under British: Dadni system -> Agency System (complete control over artisans and production)
  - British eliminated other rivals from this race. Once that was achieved, British put severe pressure on the artisans of Bengal.
  - Dual pressure by Gumastas (agents):
    - Company developed monopoly over the raw material supplies and started to provide it to the artisans at higher cost.
    - Simultaneously, the Company compelled the artisans to sell the product cheap (with legal backing)

#### Worst exploitation of artisans in Bengal

- Murshidabad & Dhaka became desolate. Dhaka (Lancashire of India), a great supplier of cotton and Muslin (Malmal) now lost its position.
- Unemployed artisans moved to already crowded agriculture: impoverishment.

Weavers also, upon their inability to perform such agreements as have been forced from them by the Company's agents... have had their goods seized, and sold on the spot, to make good the deficiency: and the winders of raw silk, called Nagaads, have been treated also with such injustice, that instances have been known of their cutting off their thumbs, to prevent their being forced to wind silk. - William Bolts (1772)

The bones of the cotton weavers are bleaching the plains of India - William Bentick (1834)

## Indian Opium - Chinese Tea Triangular trade

In 1773, the then British Governor-General, Lord Warren Hastings brought the whole of the opium trade under the control of the Government.



Brunswick Dockyard in London - the busiest one, built specially for East Indian trade

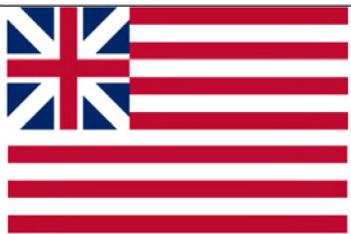


Total of around 400 such clippers were built every year to move tea and opium around the globe at the East India Brunswick dockyard in London.

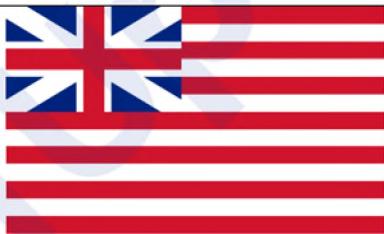
### Fun Fact:

Boston Tea Party (1773) happened with tea bags purchased from China with Indian opium.

American Flag is based on the Flag of the East India Company



American Flag in 1770s



Flag of East India Company

## (C) Social Policies

Limited objective

- o Focus on trade - maximize revenue to finance Indian trade.

No inclination for social reforms - better to maintain traditional structure.

- o To avoid responsibilities and expenditure
- o Not to antagonise the popular consciousness in Bengal
- o Not economically beneficial for the company

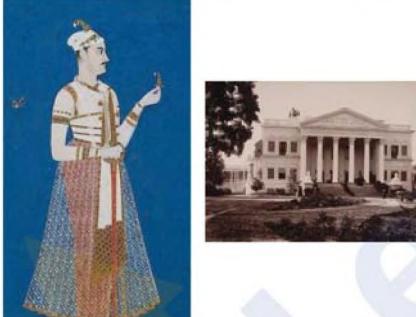


The first formal British ban on Sati was imposed in 1798, in the city of Calcutta only. The practice continued in surrounding regions.

## (D) Cultural Policy: Orientalism

### **White Mughals**

By the time Company starts colonizing India, many of the Company people start getting colonized by India because of its attractive culture and lifestyle.

	<p><b>David Ochterlony</b> smoking Hookah. He was a military officer of the EIC and a British resident at Delhi in 1805. He adopted and thoroughly embraced Indo-Persian culture of Mughals.</p>
	<p><b>William Fraser</b>, British civil servant.  In 1805, having just passed out of Fort William College. He topped his class in Persian, Hindustani &amp; Bengali. He still has his Scottish hat on but is already wearing Mughal dress and holding Persian calligraphy pens.</p>
	<p><b>James Achilles Kirkpatrick</b>, English Resident at Hyderabad in 1790s.</p>
	<p><b>Captain James Tod</b> riding an elephant (by Chokhla, Mewar, 1817)</p>

British had decided not to interfere in the history and culture of people they had conquered. However, under the leadership of Warren Hastings and his friends, they embarked on an intellectual project to learn more about the country they were ruling. This project was in consonance with the needs of governance.

In Hastings' own words, "Every accumulation of knowledge and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion founded on the right of conquest is useful to the state... it attracts and conciliates distant affections; it lessens the weight of the chain by which the native are held in subjection and it imprints on the hearts of our countrymen the sense and obligations of benevolence."

This ideology which prevailed at this time is called **Orientalism**. This intellectual project was institutionalized by the establishment of **Asiatic Society of Bengal** in 1784 CE by **William Jones**. Here, many scholars took specific interest in exploring Indian past and culture. This society became the centre of learning of Indian culture (**oriental learning**). Most of the British officers posted in India during this time were guided by this approach.

- **Meaning:**

- Sensitive and sympathetic approach towards Indian past and culture.
- Though Indian culture is different from European, it is not inferior to it.
- Orientalists appreciated the rich heritage of Indian past.

- **Examples:**

- Many Sanskrit texts were **translated**.
  - William Jones - Shakuntala, Geet Govindam, Manusmriti
  - Henry Colebrooke - Sanskrit Grammar, Samkhya Karika, Essay on Vedas (1805)
  - Charles Wilkins - Bhagvad Geeta, Hitopadesha, Sanskrit Grammar
  - William Carey - Ramayana

- **Codification** of Indian laws

- Henry Colebrooke - Digest of Hindu Laws (unfinished by William Jones), Law of Inheritance (both Mitakshara and Dayabhaga)
- Nathaniel Brassey Halhed - Code of Gentoo Laws
- Emphasis on indigenous **education system**
  - **Calcutta Madrasa** by Warren Hastings



Asiatic Society, Bengal  
(1784)



Fort William College,  
Calcutta (1800)



Sanskrit College,  
Banaras (1791)



Calcutta Madrasa  
(1781)



Indian Museum,  
Calcutta (1814)



Asiatic Society,  
Bombay (1804) by Sir  
James Mackintosh

- **Sanskrit College** at Benares by Jonathan Duncan (Resident)

- o Training of **Civil Servants**

- Most of the **British officers** stationed in India were guided by Orientalism when they were trained in the **Fort William College** founded by Lord Wellesley.

- o Antiquarianism

- **Indian Museum** in Calcutta (1814)

These establishments between 1780-1800 completed the early phase of Kolkata's emergence as an intellectual centre.

	
Sir William Jones sitting under a banana tree taking notes from Hindu pundits explicating ancient texts.	Warren Hastings with Mullah and a Brahman (Victoria Memorial)

Interest in understanding India's past, her mineral and natural wealth began at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century for the purpose of trade and commerce. Later on, it became more serious research and the documentation of India's history, the study of birds, animals, trees and plants.

### Fort William College, Calcutta (1800)

Initial attempt by Lord Wellesley to give professional training to the European Civil Servants so that they can perform their administrative functions efficiently. He designed a three-year course of study for fresh recruits (between 16-18 years old upon arrival in India)

- **The idea:** To teach the British rookies understand the Oriental Culture, tradition, law and administration.
  - Teaching of Asian languages: Arabic, Urdu, Persian, Sanskrit, Bengali. Later, Marathi and even Chinese.
  - Islamic and Hindu Law
- **Notable scholars associated:**
  - European
    - John Gilchrist-scholar of Hindustani languages
    - William Carrey
      - Henry Colebrooke
      - John Baillie
  - The college employed a large number of Indians (munshis, pandits, maulvis) who were experts in their respective languages and had mastery over legal and/or sacred texts.
    - La Hu Lal - author of Prem Sagar, first modern work in Hindi
    - Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar - head Pundit of Fort William College
  - Thousands of books translated from Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Bengali, Hindi, and Urdu into English. The college was instrumental in publishing dictionaries, grammar textbooks, and translations.



Ex-Libris from the Fort William College Library

### Trajectory

- Since Wellesley had not obtained proper authorization of the court of directors for setting up the institution, it was not accorded official recognition as a centre for training probationers. Also, CoD were never in favour of a training college in Calcutta -> lack of funds for running the college.
- East India Company College at Haileybury (England), was established in 1807. Yet, Fort William College continued to be a center of learning languages.
- Bentinck's educational policy of public instruction in English in 1835 clipped the wings of Fort William College. Dalhousie administration formally dissolved the institution in 1854.)

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 9: Afghanistan, Sindh, Punjab**  
**Nikhil Sheth**

### Industrial Capitalism (1813-58)

- **Objective:** To convert India as a market for British manufactured goods and the supplier of raw materials
- **Political Policy** – bring maximum number of states under direct control. (Paramountcy and Annexationism)
- **Administrative Policy** – Substantial changes in the administrative structure
- **Economic Policy** – Commercialization of Agri, Deindustrialization, Free Trade, Drain of Wealth
- **Social Policy** – Reforms through English Education and Law (civilizing mission)
- **Cultural Policy** – Liberals, Utilitarians, Evangelism spreading of Christian religion



There was a significant change in the nature of British imperialism in the early part of the 19th century. The British became more aggressive particularly after the Marathas were vานquished in 1818. At one level they became more interfering, at another level aggressive.

- One can trace the beginning from the time of **Wellesley**, but he was discouraged by the authorities in London.
- However, from 1820s onwards, we can also see a change in the policy of the British authorities in London. They were now becoming more supportive and in 1813 came governor-general **Hastings of Moira** (1813-23) who spelt it out with a certain notion of paramountcy.
  - It aimed to assert British supremacy over all Indian native states. The policy asserted the Governor General's right to intervene in the internal affairs of the Indian princely states, and to supersede their authority if necessary. This was in contrast to the previous policy of non-interference. The policy of paramountcy was justified because the Indian princely states were not capable of governing themselves effectively, and that British intervention was necessary to maintain order and stability.
- This trend climaxed in the 1840s. During 1848 when governor-general **Dalhousie** embarked on a systematic policy of annexation of the territories of many of the more prominent princely states including **Awadh** (annexed in 1856). So, the annexation of Punjab forms a very important chapter in this history of a new kind of imperialism that began to surface its head from the early part of the 19th century.

Afghan Wars, Annexation of Sindh and Punjab, Conquest of Burma, defeat of Nepal etc must be located has to be situated in this larger historical backdrop of a new kind of imperialism which was becoming more aggressive, more interfering, more conscious about the security of the empire.

### **Political Policy: Conquests and Annexations**

- Lord Hastings (1813-23): Anglo-Nepal War, Third Anglo Maratha War
- Lord Amherst (1823-28): Assam, First Anglo-Burmese War
- Lord William Bentick (1828-35): Policy of annexation – regions of Mysore, Central/Northern Cachar and Jaintia etc
- Lord Auckland (1836-42): First Anglo-Afghan War
- Lord Ellenborough (1842-44): Annexation of Sindh
- Lord Hardinge (1844-48): First Anglo-Sikh War
- Lord Dalhousie (1848-56): Second Anglo-Sikh War, Doctrine of Lapse, Misgovernance

## Great Game

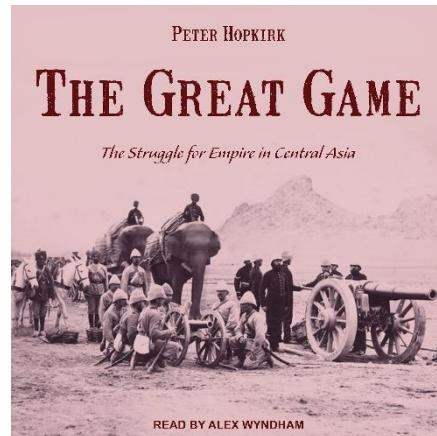
- The Great Game was a rivalry between the 19th century British and Russian Empires over influence in Asia, primarily in Afghanistan, Persia, and later Tibet.
- Britain feared Russia's southward expansion would threaten India, while Russia feared the expansion of British interests into Central Asia. As a result, Britain made it a high priority to protect all approaches to India, while Russia continued its military conquest of Central Asia.
- To protect India, Britain aimed to create a protectorate in Afghanistan, and support the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Khiva, and Bukhara as buffer states against Russian expansion. This would protect India and key British sea trade routes by blocking Russia from gaining a port on the Persian Gulf or the Indian Ocean.

### North-western Policy:

As part of its long-term objective of bringing under imperial control the north-western Indian subcontinent, the East India Company tried to extend its empire to Afghanistan by launching a war against the kingdom in 1839. This **First Afghan War** was in fact a much larger affair; it encompassed **Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan** as well, culminating in the subjugation of all these regions by the end of the 1840s.

### Indian context:

- First Anglo-Afghan War of 1838
- Annexation of Sindh in 1843
- First Anglo-Sikh War of 1845
- Second Anglo-Sikh War of 1848
- Second Anglo-Afghan War of 1878



## Afghanistan

### The Graveyard of Imperial powers

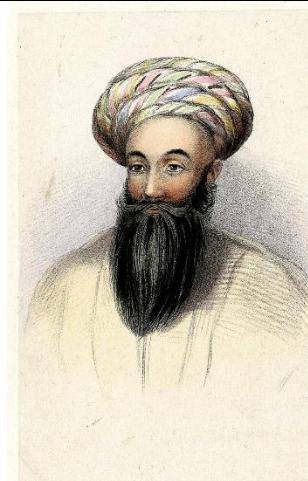
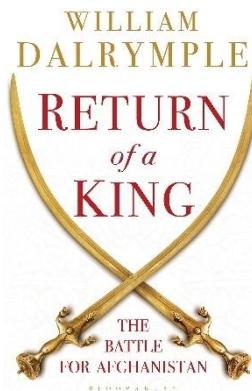
- Causes
  - To check Russian expansionist policy.
  - Trade route – economic importance.

- Dost Muhammad vs Shah Shuja:

- Dost Mohammad came to power in **1826**.
- Shah Shuja mobilized support for a campaign to dislodge Dost Mohammad and regain power. In **1833**, he launched an **invasion** of Afghanistan. He was supported by **Ranjit Singh** and had obtained the 'best wishes' of the **British**. However, in the middle of 1834 **Shuja was defeated** by Dost Mohammad at Kandahar.

- Auckland's Afghanistan Policy

- There was **sustained propaganda** in India and Britain suggesting that **Russia**, which was then penetrating Central Asia, might become a threat to the British Indian empire. This policy was vigorously pursued by **George Eden**, also known as the **Earl of Auckland** (governor general, 1836-42).
- A servant of the Company named **Alexander Burnes**, was **deputed to Kabul in 1837** on a so-called commercial mission. Burnes was unsuccessful in diplomatic negotiations with Dost Mohammad relating to Peshawar.
- It was now decided that **Shah Shuja be actively helped to overthrow Dost Mohammad**. Over the next few years, he committed themselves more seriously to the cause of Shah Shuja, making him an instrument of their policy of expansion in Afghanistan. As a prelude to the implementation of this scheme a treaty was signed between **Shah Shuja, Ranjit Singh, and the British (Tripartite Treaty of 1838)**.
- According to the original plan, Ranjit Singh was to render military support to Shah Shuja to enable him to acquire control over Afghanistan. In return, Shuja was to renounce claims over those territories of Afghanistan which had been acquired by the Punjab kingdom, particularly Peshawar.
- In December 1838, Ranjit Singh fell seriously ill, and never fully recovered. He passed away on 27 June 1839. The removal of Ranjit Singh from the scene, and the uncertainties of succession in the Punjab kingdom, made Shuja even more dependent on the British. Eventually, it was decided that British troops would accompany Shuja on his march to Kabul.



Shah Shuja Mulk



Dost Muhammad

## The First Anglo-Afghan War (1839-42)

- The Punjab army was to march from Peshawar to Kabul via the Khyber Pass. But it couldn't move beyond Peshawar.
- The Company's contingents, which now constituted the main force – **Army of the Indus** – was to take a southerly route through Sind and Baluchistan and proceed to Kabul through the Bolan Pass in 1839.
- **Initial British Victory (1839)**
  - The Army of the Indus was able to occupy Kandahar and Ghazni on its way to Kabul.
  - Dost Mohammad retreated from Kabul as the British army approached Kabul; and Shah Shuja was proclaimed as the ruler.
  - Soon, they became complacent without noticing Afghan discontent.

- **British stuck in Kabul**

- It soon became apparent that the new ruler could not maintain his position without continuing British presence. Thus, it was decided that the British force would stay on for some time.
- Two worries:
  - It was clear that a large armed force stationed at a considerable distance from the borders of the Indian empire was an **expensive proposition**.
  - Another cause of worry was that **Punjab was unwilling to allow the British army to march** through its territory.

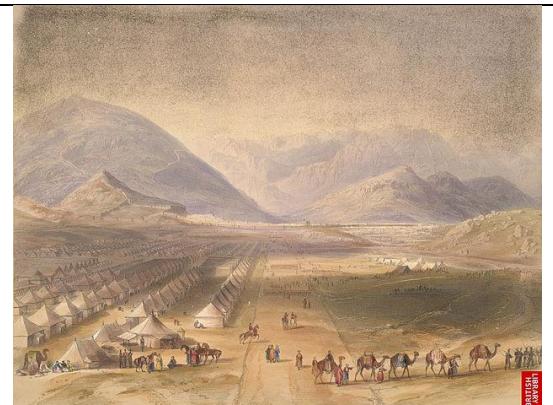
- **Dost Mohammad decided to negotiate with them since his forces were too small for a sustained offensive.**

- The British authorities agreed to his **voluntary exile in India**. He was placed under virtual house arrest in **Mussoorie**. He was to return a few years later as ruler of Afghanistan.

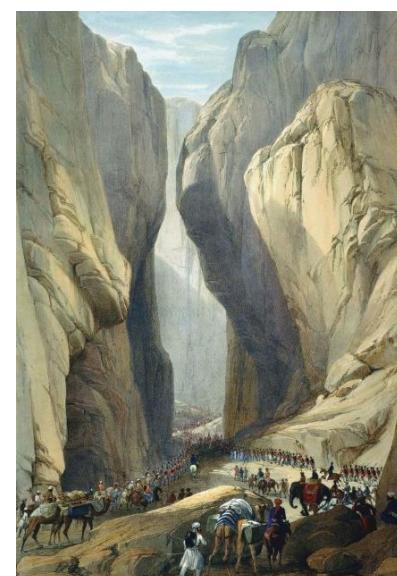
- The situation continued to deteriorate despite the exile of Dost Mohammad.

- **Retreat of the British Army (1842)**

- **The Army of the Indus commenced its retreat** in January 1842.
- It met with **stiff opposition from local tribal communities** on the route linking Kabul with Jalalabad.



Kabul during the First Anglo-Afghan War



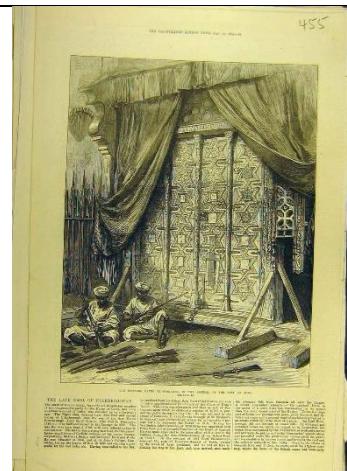
- Almost the entire British force (which consisted of a large number of Indian sipahis fighting a colonial war), of nearly 16,000 men, was wiped out much before Jalalabad.
- The First Afghan War was the **most comprehensive defeat the British faced** in their colonial wars during the nineteenth century, and one in which they suffered huge losses. British prestige was heavily damaged.
- **Auckland → Ellenborough**
  - In February 1842, Auckland had been succeeded by **Lord Ellenborough as governor general** (1842-44).
  - Shah Shuja → Dost Muhammad
    - The **final catastrophe** for the British cause was the **assassination of Shah Shuja** in April 1842, it was decided that Dost Mohammad be released so that he could return to power in Afghanistan. Upon his return to Kabul, Dost Mohammad once again became the ruler of Afghanistan and reigned till his death in 1863.
  - Army of Retribution
    - In order to salvage British prestige, and avenge the humiliation of the Afghan debacle, Ellenborough formed a so-called **Army of Retribution**, which indulged in senseless violence in Afghanistan and then returned to India. This allowed Ellenborough to claim that the British army was victorious and therefore invincible!



**Lord Auckland**  
**(1836-42)**



**Lord Ellenborough**  
**(1842-44)**



**The supposed Gates of Somnath**

## Sindh

The Afghan War had created conditions for the conquest of Sind. The process which finally led to the annexation of the region was set in motion just as British forces retreated from Afghanistan.

### Causes behind Sindh's annexation:

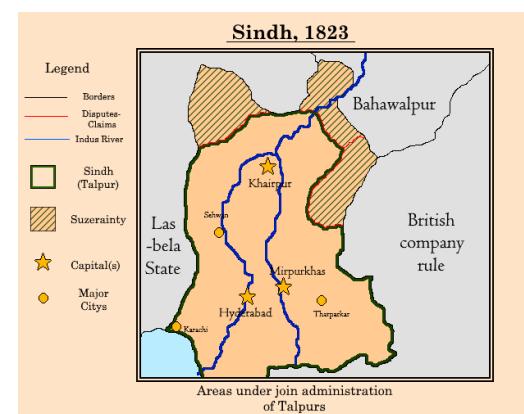
- Russophobia:
  - To counter Russian expansion in NW of India
  - Sind was passing through a phase of internal crisis it could have easily target for Russians.
- Tail of Afghan War:
  - After the defeat in the First Afghan War, the Company lost influence in Afghanistan. It was thus necessary for the company to strengthen its defence on Afghanistan-Sind border by annexing Sind.
  - Afghan expedition was a blow to British prestige. They wanted to restore it by annexing Sindh.

### Evolution of Sindh Policy:

In the early nineteenth century Sind was ruled by **chiefs/amirs of the Talpur clan**.

### The colonial penetration of Sind:

Sind was an independent state and the John Company had friendly relations with Sind. The Company repeatedly promised to protect unity and integrity of Sindh.



- For the 1st time the English company came into contact with Sind in 1775 when it set up 1st factory at Thatta. This factory was abandoned in 1792 due to commercial reasons.
- **French Menace and Early Treaties**
  - During the Napoleonic Wars, a **treaty (1809)** was signed with the amirs under which they agreed not to allow the French into the region.
  - This was followed up by another **treaty in 1820** intended to exclude all Europeans (and Americans) from Sind.
- **Commercial Explorations and Treaty of 1832**
  - Alexander Burnes's brother James visited Hyderabad in the late 1820s and published an account of his stay at the court of Hyderabad.
  - It was in the early 1830s that the British began to systematically gather information about Sind. **Alexander Burnes**'s espionage mission of 1831 was the first major attempt to explore the lower Indus.

- Treaty of 1832 – A more substantial treaty was concluded in 1832 which compelled the amirs to open their territories, the river Indus particularly, to commerce. This marked the beginning of regular British intervention in the affairs of the Sind.

- **Punjab politics and a Treaty of 1832**

- The southward expansion of the Ranjit Singh in the direction of Shikarpur in northern Sind lent urgency to British manoeuvres.
- At this point, the British intervened and offered their 'protection' to the amirs, forcing another treaty (1838) on them.
  - It was this treaty that led to the appointment of a resident at Hyderabad. Henry Pottinger played a prominent role in the 1830s in undermining the authority of the Sind amirs.



Alexander Burns

He traveled in 1831 up the Indus River from Sind, delivering gifts to the local rulers, exploring the regions he visited, and eventually reaching Lahore.

- **Afghan Expedition and Treaty of 1839**

- During Kabul expedition, Karachi was occupied in 1839, following which another treaty was signed with the amirs under which they were forced to accept a subsidiary force and pay Rs 3 lakhs per annum towards its expenses.

- **Ellenborough sends Charles Napier → another treaty and interference.**

- Shortly after Ellenborough took over as governor general, Charles Napier, a senior British military officer, was appointed the Company's supreme military commander and Resident in Sind and given wide-ranging political authority.
- Premeditated Plan
  - *"We have no right to seize Sindh, yet we shall do so and a very advantageous, useful and inhumane piece of rascality, it will be."* – Charles Napier.
- **False allegations**
  - He alleged that during the Afghan War the amirs had conspired against the British. This became the pretext for imposing a new treaty on them. The conditions were so unreasonable that the amirs were unwilling to comply. The terms included virtual surrender of sovereignty, demands for territory, resources, and money.
- **Interference in Khairpur Factionalism**
  - At the same time the British made use of a factional tussle at Khairpur, where they assisted Amir Rustam Ali's half-brother Ali Murad, in dislodging him. Then British promptly accorded recognition to Ali Murad.



- The course of war
  - As news of what had happened at Khairpur spread, there was a spontaneous mobilization for resistance against the British. A major objective of this mobilization was the reinstatement of Rustam Ali.
  - Troops loyal to the amirs gathered at Hyderabad. On 17 February 1843, a battle took place between the two armies at Miani, on the outskirts of Hyderabad, and the **Sind forces were defeated**. The chief of Mirpur still held out. He finally retreated to Afghanistan where he lived in voluntary exile until his death.
- Outcome
  - Ali Murad was rewarded for his support by being acknowledged ruler of the principality of Khairpur.
  - The rest of Sind was annexed by the British. Napier was made governor of the province, a position he held till 1847.

#### Foreign Affairs.

It is a common idea that the most laconic military despatch ever issued was that sent by CÆSAR to the Horse-Guards at Rome, containing the three memorable words "*Veni, vidi, vici*," and, perhaps, until our own day, no like instance of brevity has been found. The despatch of Sir CHARLES NAPIER, after the capture of Scinde, to LORD ELLENBOROUGH, both for brevity and truth, is, however, far beyond it. The despatch consisted of one emphatic word—" *Peccavi*," "I have Scinde," (*sinned*).

Aggressive policy of paramountcy, and Russophobia as security challenge to the British Empire came face to face with a situation in Punjab after the collapse of Ranjit Singh's Kingdom. British intervention in this region in 1840s, was provoked by the fear of a troubled frontier.

## Punjab in the 18<sup>th</sup> century

- Sikh movement was basically a bhakti movement with agrarian base. It spread among the Jats and other castes of the Punjab. Originally, it was a peaceful religious sect, but it soon was militarized due to the prolonged wars with the Mughals. Sikhs soon emerged as a martial community and became well known for their fighting spirit by the reign of Aurangzeb.

- **Banda Singh Bahadur (r. 1708-16)**

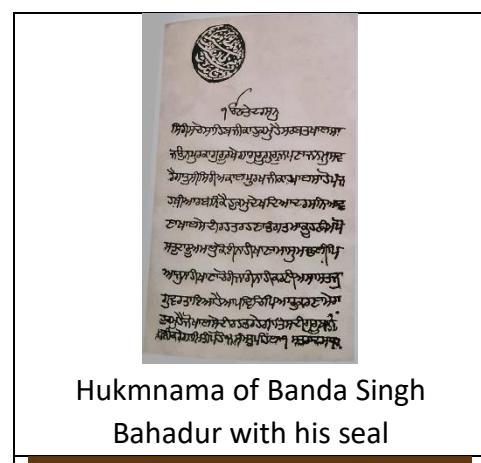
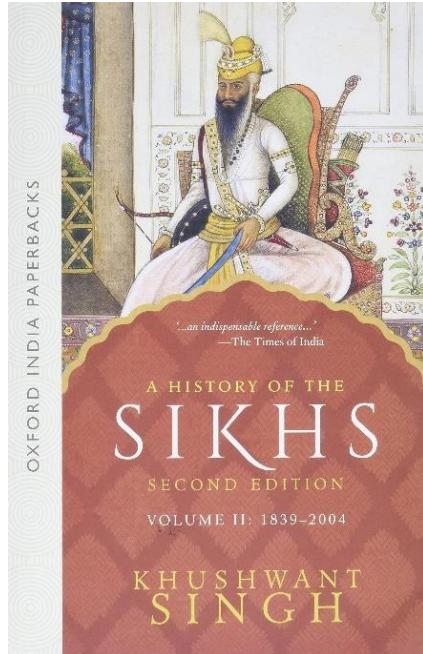
- Short lived Sikh rule in Punjab with social and economic reforms.
- He carried the Sikhs revolt against the Mughals, but a Mughal noble, Hussain Ali, defeated and killed Banda Bahadur at the fort of Lohagarh. Hence this rebellion subsided for some time.

- **Era of foreign invasions:**

- There were frequent invasions from the northwest. Nadir Shah came to India via that route. Later, Ahmad Shah Abdali, who was firmly anchored in Afghanistan in Kabul, made Punjab his target and certain regions of Punjab were occupied by Abdali.

- **Formation of Sikh Confederacy**

- In this situation, many of these Sikh leaders managed to establish their little kingdoms in the latter half of the 18th century to create a kind of a centrifugal Sikh polity. These kingdoms came up in the region of Doabs.
- Here various locally powerful sardars created certain institutions like Rakhi, whereby they promised protection for a certain amount of resource that the peasants were obliged to pay.

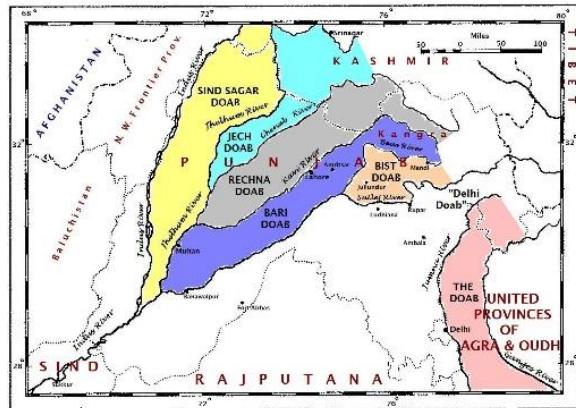


Hukmnama of Banda Singh Bahadur with his seal



First Sikh Coins – Banda Singh Bahadur (1712)

- Those who are capable of offering such protection were able to create **misl**, local military communities. (eg Bhangi, Sukerchakia, Ahluwalia etc)
- These misls together tried to create the kind of **Sikh polity** based on **Dal Khalsa** (military wing) on the one hand and **Gurmat** on the other.



## Sikhism Mislas and Their Founders

S. No.	Sikhism Mislas	Founders
1.	Faizalpuria Misla (Singhpuria Misla)	Nawab Kapoor Singh
2.	Ahluvalia Misla	Jassa Singh Ahluvalia
3.	Bhangi Misla	Sardar Hari Singh
4.	Ramgarhia Misla	Jassa Singh Ichchhagilia
5.	Kanhiyan Misla	Jai Singh
6.	Sukar Chakia Misla	Charata Singh
7.	Fulkiya Misla	Chaudhary Phool
8.	Dallevasia Misla	Gulab Singh
9.	Nishanvalia Misla	Sangat Singh, Mahar Singh
10.	Karorsindhia or Panchagarhia Misla	Baghel Singh
11.	Saheed Misla or Nihang Misla	Baba Deep Singh
12.	Nakkai Misla	Sardar Hira Singh

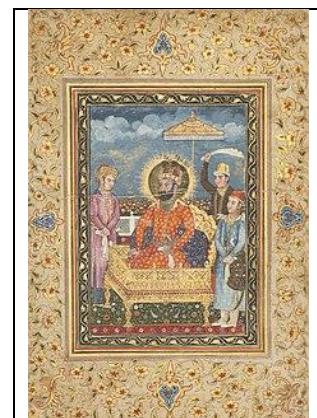
### 19<sup>th</sup> century: Rise of Ranjit Singh (Punjab Kesari)

This Sikh polity had the memory of anti-Mughal resistance as in ideology and faced the military compulsion of containing the Afghans. This demanded the emergence of a more organized and more powerful leadership.

It was Ranjit Singh of the **Sukarchakia** misl, who, by dint of his leadership, competency and muscle power, fused the various Sikh misls into a powerful state.

Born in 1780, assumed the leadership of the **sukarchakia** misl at the age of 12 after the premature death of his father.

- His main source of strength for was his **army**. He modelled it on European style, on East India Company's army. It became the second largest army in Asia.



Zaman Shah Durrani

- He also introduced the **system of vassalage** – all these great Sikh sardars in other places were enticed to be his vassals. But this vassalage was only a step towards final subjugation of these Sikh leaders by Ranjit Singh.

There was a period of **expansion**.

- Initially, Ranjit Singh was firmly established in **Lahore in 1799** then **Amritsar** came under his control in **1805**. The control over the holy city of Amritsar gave him a certain advantage. Thus, both the political and religious capital of Sikhism was under him.
- Shortly thereafter, he forced **all the Sikh chiefs west of the river Sutlej** to acknowledge him as the King of Punjab and thus **created a unified state**.
- With his control established in the doab, he began to move further **westwards and northwards**, bringing under his control the **hill chiefs in Jammu, Kashmir and Kangra (1819)**, and containing the **Afghans**. The Afghan strongholds at **Multan (1818)** and **Peshawar (1834)** fell one after another.



This powerful Kingdom was capable of generating a measure of **prosperity** as well.

- It was natural for Ranjit Singh to look after **irrigation** facilities for the peasants because ultimately rural peasantry (esp. Jat Sikhs) was the main support base.
- At the same time, Ranjit Singh brought **order and security** to the region which was beleaguered by invasions and instability for a long time. There began the **trade revival** which brought more prosperity, greater income and propelled the **artisanal industry**.

So, this is how the basis of a **powerful kingdom** was created. It was not just a kind of a **military state**. It could draw on **huge economic resources** (agriculture, trade revival, handicraft revival) which gave Ranjit Singh the kind of power that he was able to exert over the entire region.

### **Treaty of Amritsar (1809)**

- When Ranjit Singh tried to capture **cis-Sutlej**, the states here appalled British for help.
- The English, who had been so far watching Ranjit Singh's expansionist policy with a deep sense of concern, **responded instantly**. They now found a pretext to poke their nose into the Punjab. The Punjab had become particularly important from the British point of view as at that time they **apprehended Napoleonic invasion** into India through Afghanistan.
  - British officer at Ludhiana, **David Ochterlony**, declared the states under British **patronage** and provided **protection**. It was an open warning to Ranjit Singh to control his ambition by threat with open conflict.
- Ranjit Singh finally entered into the **Treaty of Amritsar with EIC not to invade the cis-Sutlej region**. By this treaty:
  - Ranjit Singh was forced to give up all his claims on the Cis-Sutlej states which were to be henceforth under the protection of the British. (British sphere of influence)

- In return, the British too, acknowledged Ranjit Singh's sovereign authority on the western side of Sutlej.

### **Causes of the Anglo-Sikh war: Both Strategic and Economic**

Though Ranjit Singh could not permanently eradicate the possibility of foreign aggression, he could give a stable and strong administration to the people of the Punjab. So far as Ranjit Singh was alive, he checked the ambitions of local nobles and controlled the army. Once he was dead, **internal turmoil and conspiracies** started in the Court. Thus, Ranjit Singh's death in 1839 was followed by a **period of political uncertainty, family rivalry and factionalism**.

- A series of **weak rulers** sat on throne one after another.
- Sikh court was divided into **two factions** – who wanted to be kingmakers.
- Maharaja Ranjit Singh had created 2nd biggest **army** in entire Asia but after his death in 1839, a situation of internal **disorder** developed. There was also a division between **civil authority and military authority**.

The internal political turmoil was watched by the British. In fact, they had been throwing their greedy glances on the western bank of Sutlej since the days of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The time was now ripe for them. This situation of relative instability made for an important change in British policy. This was a departure from the position that the British had taken in 1809 in the Treaty of Amritsar.

- British were still **apprehensive of a Russian invasion**.
- First half of the 19th c **neo-Victorian Imperialism under the influence of Industrial Revolution**: Objective to exploit the resources of the colonies.

After 1839, it was very troublesome time for Punjab.

Sikh Emperors		
Till1839	Maharaja Ranjit Singh	
1839	Kharak Singh (eldest son)	He one of Ranajit Singh's sons and became the ruler as per the desire of Ranajit Singh himself. However, Kharak Singh didn't have a long life.
1839–1840	Nau Nihal Singh	Kharak Singh died on 5 November 1840; Nau Nihal Singh (his own son) died on the same day when a gateway, likely accidentally, fell on him.
1841–1843	Sher Singh	Sher Singh became the new ruler in 1841 with the support of Dhyan Singh. He in turn was assassinated in 1843, and Dhyan Singh too was killed.
1843–1849	Duleep Singh (youngest son)	The army now supported the claim of Dalip Singh the youngest son of Ranjit Singh, to be the maharaja. Dalip Singh was a minor, barely five years old at this time. <b>Rani Jindan</b> became regent for the minor maharaja. The strong support of the army ensured the ascendancy

		of Rani Jindan in the years between the accession of Dalip Singh and the First Punjab War.
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### **The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-1846) – Lord Hardinge (1844-1848)**

Certain factors made the military friction between the English and the Sikhs inevitable.

- Major Broadfoot, was appointed as the British agent in 1844. He provoked the Khalsa army by repeatedly insulting and alienating the Sikh sardars and army officials.
- This was a premeditated war. The British mobilized their army on the other side of Sutlej. Sikhs too started preparations to counter a possible British attack. By this time, the Khalsa/Sikh army became somewhat independent of the control of the palace or of the control of the rulers.
- Rani Jindan, under the influence of a section of the Sikh chiefs ordered the army to strike at the British. The governor general, Henry Hardinge, who had succeeded Ellenborough in 1844, declared war on 13 December 1845. Sikh Army crossed the river, and the wars were fought. The First Punjab War dragged on for nearly two months. Eventually the Sikh Army lost out.
- Then in **1846**, the Sikh court had to sign the Treaty of Lahore.
  - Subsidiary Alliance Treaty
  - The size of the Khalsa army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry
  - The British Army was stationed at Lahore for some time.
  - A British resident was appointed in the Sikh court.
  - British were to be indemnified with Rs 1.5 crores for the expenses of the war
  - British took possession of the fertile Jullundhar Doab (between Sutlej and Beas)
  - Sikhs had to lose a large area including Kashmir. Kashmir was sold to a Dogra Sardar Gulab Singh for 50 Lakh rupees.

Tensions soon surfaced between the resident at Lahore, Henry Lawrence, and the regent, Rani Jindan. A new treaty was signed in December 1846 to strengthen the position of the resident and simultaneously marginalize Rani Jindan.

- A council of regency was constituted, comprising eight Punjab chiefs. The council was to function under the supervision of the resident.
- British troops were to remain in Punjab, for whose maintenance Rs 22 lakhs had to be paid annually.
- This arrangement would continue till 1854 when Dalip Singh came of age.

Rani Jindan, as might have been expected, continued to be very hostile to the Company's officials. In August 1847, Rani Jindan was compelled to leave Lahore so as to curtail her influence.

Thus, the British control over domestic policy and foreign policy was established in a Sikh state. Sikhs lost their autonomy. Virtually, the British control was established by 1847. **British resident** was practically running the Sikh state after the first war. Duleep Singh was just a nominal ruler. Still, the Punjab was a kind of a princely state with a British resident. Between 1846 Treaty and annexation in 1849, it was a small step.

## The Second Anglo-Sikh War (1849) – Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)

The Treaty of Lahore could not satisfy the British imperialist appetite. On the other hand, the freedom loving Sikhs were not happy with the Treaty of Lahore. What really worried the Sikhs was the presence of the British army in the Punjab. The British army which had penetrated the Punjab was never withdrawn by the British. The Punjab army had not yet reconciled to British presence in the kingdom. So, another conflict was inevitable.

Dalhousie came to India in 1848 and started his aggressive imperial policy. He undertook the annexation of Punjab in 1849.

Such a prominent presence of the British the resident trying to control the government, to undermine the Council of Regency, to pension of Rani Jindan; all this created a certain kind of grievance in the Punjab and there was resistance against it. It led to the Sikh revolt in 1848. There ensued a series of rebellions in Multan and Lahore led by Mulraj and Chattar Singh respectively. Once the preparations for the invasion were completed, British forces under Gough crossed into Punjab in November 1848. This marked the beginning of the war, even though no formal declaration of war was made.

The decisive war: battle of Gujarat (battle of guns). Sikhs were finally defeated and Dalhousie annexed Punjab in 1849. The Khalsa militia was disbanded. British forced Dileep Singh, the infant ruler, to sign the document of annexation. Dileep was sent out to England, and he lived the rest of his life in England as an exile. Thus, the last major autonomous Indian state became a part of the British Indian Empire.



#AmritMahotsav

### *Battle of Chillianwala*

13<sup>th</sup> January, 1849

Remembering the historic day in the fight for Indian Independence.

Battle of Chillianwala was fought during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Anglo-Sikh war and the sikh army was led by Sher Singh while the British army was led by Commander in Chief, Hugh Gough.

[MIB\\_India](#) [MIB\\_Hindi](#) [CCO/News/MIB](#) [mib.gov.in](#) [mib\\_ministry](#) [mib\\_india](#) [mib\\_jrds](#)

Both armies held their positions at the end of the battle and both sides claimed victory. The battle was a strategic check to immediate British ambitions in India and a shock to British military prestige. It dealt a blow to British morale and is testament to the tenacity and martial skill of the Sikh army.

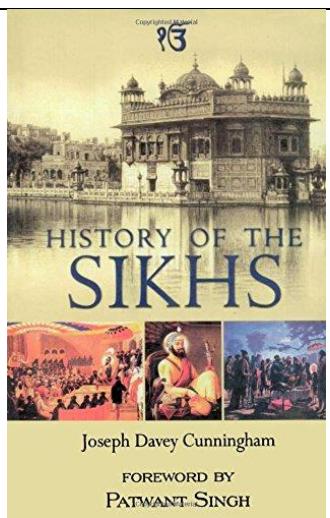
the roots of collapse of shikh state can been seen in reign of ranjeet singh

1) despite its big size and military strength shikh state was in medieval in nature it did not evolve its own modern institutions. even Thoe Ranjeet singh united shikh under the banner of national monarchy he actively aided the process of feudalities as he did not have enough resources to pay Hugh army, he started Distributing jagir in leave of salary it created class of feudal military aristocrats how are tight to land and not to the state.

2) so long as there existed powerful monarch like Ranjeet singh ,shikh against the common enemy British however the under the week successor of ranjeet singh there was mutual rivalry in the family and shikh court to factualism fail pray factionalism

3) the jagir system also weekend the army and contributed to undiscipline character ranjeets singh turn the khalsa army to heroic fighting force but British were superior in army and ammunition and resources.

4) ranjeet singh was powerless to Havert future brish dangerous he protected the panjab from british expansion temporally but effectively he pass the matter onto his successor



**Joseph Cunningham**, brother of Alexander Cunningham, was a soldier-scholar in the Company army. He wrote the History of the Sikhs in 1849.

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 10: Doctrine of Lapse**  
**Nikhil Sheth**

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**The Expansionist Policy of Lord Dalhousie (1848-56)**  
**Greatest Imperialist of the Victorian Era**

In 1848, Dalhousie arrived in India as the Governor-General. He followed a policy of expansion with great vigour. The annexation of the Punjab in 1849 was one of the first acts of Governor-General Lord Dalhousie (1848–56), and it was a portent. Over the next seven years Dalhousie enormously increased the area of British India and, with the exception of the Second Burma War in 1852, he did it with paperwork, as part of the relentless logic of paramountcy. As a result, the British imperialistic design reached its zenith and the British Indian Empire reached its greatest extent within a short span of time.

- Industrial capitalism
- Neo-Victorian imperialism
- Utilitarian ideas – better and efficient government

Lord Dalhousie was greatest imperialist in the history of British India and he used every method and opportunity to carry out the territorial expansion of British East India possessions.

**Three-fold Policy of Dalhousie:**

- Continued the British **policy of conquest** – Vast Territorial Expansion
  - Second Anglo-Sikh War (1849) – Annexation of Punjab
  - Sikkim fell into the clutches of Dalhousie's imperialist policy (1850)
  - Second Burmese war (1852) – pushed the eastern frontier to the Salween river.
  - Snatched Berar from the Nizam (1853)
- Dalhousie invented the policy of **Doctrine of Lapse**
  - This doctrine was enunciated with the objective of justifying the formal annexation of the territories of several princely states in the late 1840s and early 1850s. It was earlier vaguely used by Auckland in the past, but Dalhousie gave it a concrete shape.
  - Under this, the British claimed that they had the prerogative of taking over a state in the event of an unsatisfactory succession. If the ruler did not have a natural heir, his kingdom could be annexed by the British authorities (unless the adopted son was specifically approved by the British earlier). Thus, no succession was considered valid without the recognition of the Company.

Type of State	Doctrine of Lapse	
Independent and Friendly States	Not Applicable	Free to choose successors without any British intervention
States earlier subordinated by Mughals or Marathas	Not Applicable	In the matter of succession, these states had to seek British approval, which was easily granted

States created by the Company	Applicable	If there was <u>no legal heir</u> to the throne, the ruler was not permitted to adopt for <u>succession</u> purpose. As per the British, it <u>amounted to the delegated power</u> .
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- The Doctrine paid rich dividends to the Company. On this basis, Dalhousie annexed **seven states**: Satara (1848), Jaitpur and Sambhalpur (1849), Baghat (1850), Udaipur (1852), Jhansi (1853) and Nagpur (1854)
- This infamous doctrine is often considered to be one of the major factors responsible for the revolt of 1857.

- **Doctrine of Mis-governance**

- **Awadh** had a great economic and strategic importance, but the doctrine of lapse was not applicable to it. So, Dalhousie invented another doctrine of mis-governance in context of Awadh – Company could annex any state based on mis-governance caused by an incompetent ruler. Thus, Nawab Wajid Ali of Awadh was removed from power on this pretext and Awadh was annexed in 1856 CE.
- It is interesting however, that the British actually bred political uncertainty in the native states with their intervention.

Within 8 years of his tenure, Dalhousie increased the territories of British India by almost 50%. Since most of his annexation were carried out through peaceful methods in a very swift manner, it is said that the territorial expansion of Dalhousie could have not been matched by a military campaign.

The policies pursued from the late 1840s till the outbreak of the revolt had to be urgently reconsidered in 1858.

- Considering that a large number of princely rulers had actively assisted the British in the suppression of the revolt, it was felt that their support was vital for stabilizing the Indian empire on a long- term basis.
- Moreover, given that that most of the princely rulers and the ruling classes of princely states were politically and socially conservative, they were unlikely to encourage elements that might disturb the status quo. They would therefore be useful in keeping discontent in check.

For this reason, when the crown directly assumed control over the Indian empire in 1858, Queen Victoria issued a Proclamation (1 November 1858) guaranteeing to the princely rulers their autonomy and assuring them that they would not be divested of their territories. This amounted to **publicly disowning the policy of annexation** which had been so vigorously implemented during Dalhousie's term as governor general.

Balaghat and Udaipur were returned by Canning to the Indian rulers.

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 11: Industrial Phase: Charter Acts**  
Nikhil Sheth

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As the Company's domains expanded and its responsibilities diversified, a series of new questions had to be faced. What type of government should be set up in the new territories? What kind of political institutions would fit most suitably with Indian social structures? And what of the 'pacified' Indians? Should they be educated, or even converted to more acceptable forms of religion? Was the EIC really a fit organ of government? Should its monopoly be maintained? Distinct approaches to these questions emerged, each with its partisan advocates.

### Industrial Capitalism

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the EIC faced domestic opposition due to the fears of pernicious influence of corrupt nabobs on English society and politic leading to the Acts of 1773, 1784 and attempts at professionalization of its bureaucracy. Still, the EIC remained powerful and entrenched in parliamentary politics and never lost its trade monopoly. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, however, the scale of opposition to it changed after industrial capitalists became powerful.

#### **Growing Opposition to the Company in London**

- Conflict between the old mercantile interests and the new industrial interests
  - By the late 18th century, there was growing opposition to the East India Company's (EIC) monopoly over commerce with India and China. Private traders wanted to share in the profits. With 'free trade' becoming the dominant economic doctrine in Britain, it was difficult for the government to resist demands for the termination of the Company's monopoly.
  - **Industrial capitalists** wanted open overseas Indian market for industrial products of Lancashire and Manchester and procure raw materials from India (indigo, opium, long staple cotton). The EIC's interests conflicted with those of the manufacturers since the Company mainly imported Asian commodities into Britain, rather than selling British manufactured products in Asia.
- The East India Company's expanded activities, including political, administrative, military, commercial, and technical pursuits, required the cooperation of various groups in British society. By the early 19th century, the Company's Indian empire was no longer solely the concern of a small number of merchant capitalists.

Thus, a loose free trade pressure group had been operating in British politics for some time and had tried, unsuccessfully, to have the Company's monopoly withdrawn in 1793. With renewal of the charter due in 1813, this alliance of manufacturers and exporters reinvigorated its efforts. These industrial capitalists successfully bribed/pressurized the government to abolish trade monopoly by Charter Act of 1813 partially and 1833 fully.

### The Charter of 1793

- The Charter Act of 1793 **renewed the charter** of the Company for **twenty years**, giving it possession of all territories in India during that period.
- Only a **modest concession to the free-traders** in face of resistance from the London merchants
  - The Company was empowered to give **licences to individuals** as well as the Company's employees to trade in India. These licences, known as 'privilege' or 'country trade', paved the way for shipments of opium to China. It allowed for a part of the Company's fleet to be used by the private merchants. Private merchants complained of high freight rates and didn't want to be tied to the Company's warehouses.
- The **Home Government** members were to be **paid out of Indian revenues** which continued up to 1919.
- The **royal approval was mandated for the appointment** of the governor-general, the governors, and the commander-in-chief.
- In Indian administration, the **governor general's power** over the council was extended and the Governors of Bombay and Madras were brought more decisively under his control.
- It introduced in India the **concept of a civil law**, enacted by a secular human agency, and applied universally.
  - The regulation applied to all rights, person and property of the Indian people and it bound the courts to regulate their decisions by the rules and directives contained therein. All laws were to be printed with translations in Indian languages, so that people could know of their rights, privileges, and immunities.

### The Charter Act of 1813

The Company fiercely contested the proposal to abolish its Indian monopoly when its charter came up for renewal in 1813. Parliament was, on the other hand, unconvinced of the Company's arguments and the Charter Act of 1813 put an end to its monopoly over India.

#### **Provisions:**

- Renewal of charter for 20 years.
- Partial abolition of trade monopoly: Except for trade in tea and trade with China.
  - While abolishing the Company's monopoly of trade, it **imposed restrictions on long-term residence** by private British individuals (private merchants, free traders) in India. A licence had to be obtained from the Company for residing in India.
- The act also allowed Christian missionaries to enter India and propagate their religion.
- Rs. 1 lakh per annum for promotion of Indian languages, literature, and scientific education in India.

The Charter Act of 1813 was thus an important benchmark in the **push towards westernisation** of India. At pace with the altered conditions, Company rule in India now had to act as an accessory, an instrument to ensure 'the necessary conditions of law and order' to make the vast Indian market captive for British goods.

### The Charter Act of 1833

When the time came to renew the Charter in 1833, there was **increased pressure** in Britain for the government to take over the Indian administration directly and abolish the Company. **The Reform Act of 1832** had recently been passed, which fuelled a general desire for reform in Britain. A parliamentary inquiry was conducted, and the resulting Act of 1833 became a significant moment in the constitutional history of India.

This Act became a landmark in the constitutional history of India and had a larger significance. Most of its provisions pertained to arrangements for governing the Indian empire. The framework evolved in 1833 was to continue almost unchanged down to 1858, and some elements were retained in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

#### **Provisions:**

- The charter gave to the Company the authority to govern the Indian empire for **another twenty years, till 1854**, when the charter was to come up for renewal (the 1833 Act came in force in 1834).
  - All its business activities were wound up. Henceforth, it was to be **only a political-administrative body**. And here too the Indian possessions of the Company were to be held in trust for the British Crown.
  - This did not amount to a loss for its shareholders who were guaranteed an annual dividend of 10.5 per cent by the British government.
- The Charter Act of 1833 further **strengthened the authority of the board of control** and gave more powers to the president of the board of control.
  - The President of the Board of Control now became the **Minister for Indian Affairs**, while the board was empowered to superintend all administrative affairs in India.
- The governor general was henceforth to be known as the '**governor general of India**'. (Lord Bentinck). He would, in consultation with his council, control all civil, military and revenue matters in the whole of India.
- The Act **removed licensing restrictions on British settlement** in India. Also, British settlers could henceforth acquire land in India.
- The Charter Act of 1833 also introduced some **administrative changes**.
  - Formation of a fourth presidency (**Agra Presidency**) by splitting the Bengal Presidency into two.
  - **Indians to be recruited** in jobs and no discrimination based on race.
    - The Company's services in India were thrown open to the natives; but there was no provision for their being nominated to the covenanted services.
    - Although the reality was different, this declaration formed the sheet-anchor of political agitation in India.
  - It enjoined the Company's government **to abolish slavery** in India. (Slavery was finally abolished in 1843.)
- Some crucial changes were made in the composition and functioning of the governor general's council. It made a distinction between the executive and legislative duties of the

Governor-General and provided for the election of a fourth member who could participate only when legislation was being decided.

- With the extension of territories and influx of British settlers into India, there was need for uniform laws. The governor general in council was, therefore, **empowered to legislate** for the **whole of British territories in India** and these laws were to be applicable to **all persons, British or Indian**. The Act **centralized the process** of framing laws, giving to the laws and regulations framed by the governor general's council the **force of statutes**.
  - The council thus became the main legislative body in India. Presidency governments could submit drafts of legislation to the council for consideration.
- Since the making of laws required legal expertise, a provision was made for adding a 'law member' to the council.
  - The law member became the fourth member and his presence was supposed to be essential when the council was deliberating upon any legislation. This **two-fold function of the council, executive and legislative**, had significant implications for subsequent constitutional developments.
  - **Thomas Macaulay** was the first law member to be appointed to the governor general's council. Macaulay had played an important role in drafting the 1833 charter.
- In order to do away with the multiplicity of laws, the process of **codification** and **systemization** of law was initiated by the Act. A **law commission** was set up for the purpose; the four-member commission was **headed by Macaulay**.

### The Charter Act of 1853

In 1853, during the renewal of the Company's charter, the parliament asserted its right to decide how India was to be governed more strongly than before. The free traders' demand to end the Company's mechanism of governing India, which had already won a significant victory with the **repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846**, could not be ignored much longer. Yet the Company could still muster sufficient political support to be able to continue with its hold over the Indian empire, even though this hold was considerably weakened by the 1853 Act.

#### **Provisions:**

- The Charter Act of 1853 subjected the EIC's empire in India to much **tighter control** by the British government. A decisive measure was the provision for **reconstituting the court of directors**.
  - The strength of the court of directors was brought down from the existing twenty-four to eighteen: six members of the court were henceforth to be nominees of the government.
- The charter of 1833 was renewed in 1853, but this time not for another twenty- years. It did not specify the duration for which it would be valid.
  - The Company was allowed to retain the Indian possessions "in trust for Her Majesty, her heirs and successors until Parliament shall otherwise provide", thus keeping the door ajar for a future takeover.
- The **selection of covenanted civil servants** was now to be on the basis of an **open competition**.
  - After 1833, competitive examinations were introduced, though directors' nominees could still be recruited on a nod and a wink. After 1853, selection was entirely examination-based, and thrown open to all white Britons. Members of the court of directors were deprived of the privilege of nominating candidates for appointment to superior posts in the civil service.
  - A committee was constituted by the board of control to work out the modalities of the competition. **Public examinations commenced in 1855**.
- It substantially modified the composition of the governor general's council when it met for **legislative purposes**.
  - The 1833 Act had, it was felt, led to excessive legislative centralization. The provinces no longer had any authority to enact laws or regulations. To have adequate inputs from the several presidencies and provinces, as well as from the judiciary, **six more members were added to the council when it met to deliberate upon legislative matters**.
    - These additional members were the chief justice and a judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta; and one member each from the three presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, and from the North-Western Provinces.
  - The **law member** (added in 1833) was now made a **full member** of the council.
    - Earlier he could only attend meetings of the council when legislative matters were on the agenda.

- The **idea of a distinct 'legislative council'**, which was already conceptually present in the Charter Act of 1833, was now developed further. This was now a body of **twelve members** comprising the
  - Governor general
  - Four 'ordinary members' (including the law member)
  - The commander-in-chief
  - Six 'additional members'. (Did not sit when the council met to discuss executive matters)
- The Act also provided for the appointment of a **separate governor** for the **Bengal Presidency**.
  - In 1854, a lieutenant governor was appointed for Bengal, instead of a full-fledged governor.

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**Handout 12: Industrial Phase: Administrative Policies**  
Nikhil Sheth

*The robber-ruler synthesis eventually gave way to what would become classical colonialism, with the recognition of the need for law and order and a modicum of reasonable governance.* – Amartya Sen

**Major overhauling of administrative structure:**

Factors	Features
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• <u>Material Compulsion</u>: Need of Industrial Capitalism of London</li><li>• <u>Ideological Factor</u>: Liberalism and Utilitarianism advocating administrative reforms to pull out of <u>backwardness</u> and <u>stagnation</u>.</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Better law and order</li><li>• <u>Judicial reforms, Contract Law</u></li><li>• New land revenue settlements</li><li>• Reforms in <u>civil service, police, and army</u></li></ul>

**(1) Law and Order**

Improvement in the law-and-order condition was essential if India had to develop as a market for the British manufactured goods. That's why during this phase, several Governor Generals took steps for improvement in the law-and-order situation.

**Suppression of Pindaris and Pathans**

- Pindaris plunderers created law and order problems in parts of India. Earlier they were auxiliary forces to the Maratha army. But when Maratha declined, they turned into freelance marauders, involved in loot and plunder.
- GG Hastings decided to suppress the Pindari menace. He dispatched a big army under the command of General Thomas Hislop. Hislop started to encircle Pindaris from three sides. Most important Pindari leaders like Heeru, Buran and Wasir Md. Chitu were killed. Only Karim Khan surrendered before the army. He was offered a Jagir near Jaipur after he promised to lead a peaceful life.



Villagers burning themselves after a Pindari raid.

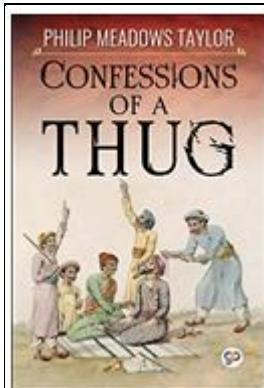


Thugs stabbing the eyes of murdered traveler before throwing the body into a well.

- **Pathans** were also a threat to law and order. Hasting started a military offence against the Pathans. Pathan leader Aamir Khan surrendered and promised to lead a peaceful life. He was afforded Jagir of Gauspur.

### **Suppression of Thugee**

- Thugs were the criminals, who were mainly linked with road robbery, ritualized murder and mutilation on highways. Poverty and unemployment created by British rule that gave a new fodder to this profession.
- Bentinck decided to suppress Thugee.
  - Thuggee and Dacoity Department 1830.
  - Colonel William Sleeman headed it from 1835-39 to eliminate the problem. Sleeman developed elaborate profiling and intelligence techniques that pre-dated similar methods in Europe and the US by decades.



Sensational Ethno-graphic Thriller (1839) and bestseller in 19th century Victorian England. It was the most influential novel about India prior to Rudyard Kipling's Kim (1901). Its popularity established the word "thug" in the English language.

### **(2) Judicial Reforms**

During this period, the judicial reforms were being implemented under the influence of utilitarian ideas. Utilitarian ideas were deeply associated with the rise of industrial capitalism in Britain. Jeremy Bentham was a critic of the Indian Judicial system, and he underlined following weaknesses in it.

- The absence of Habeas Corpus
- Lack of codification and uniformity in legal system
- Some Indian laws were cruel and inhuman.

Therefore, under Benthamite influence, following steps were undertaken:



Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) - first person to be an aggressive advocate for the codification of all the common law into a coherent set of statutes, first to use 'codify' as a verb.

<b>Codification of Laws</b>	<b>Uniformity of Laws</b>
<u>Charter Act of 1833</u> provided for a law member in the Governor General's council. <u>Lord Macaulay</u> was appointed as the first law member to start codification and a Law Commission was established.	Earlier, a <u>duality</u> existed in the <u>Indian Judicial System</u> . On the one hand, the courts like <u>Sadar Diwani Adalat</u> and <u>Sadar Nizamat Adalat</u> existed in Calcutta, in which Indian laws were prevailing. On the other hand, there was a <u>Supreme Court in Calcutta</u> , where English laws were invoked. This <u>duality</u> was

Later, it became the basis for IPC 1860, CrPC 1872, CPC 1908 etc.

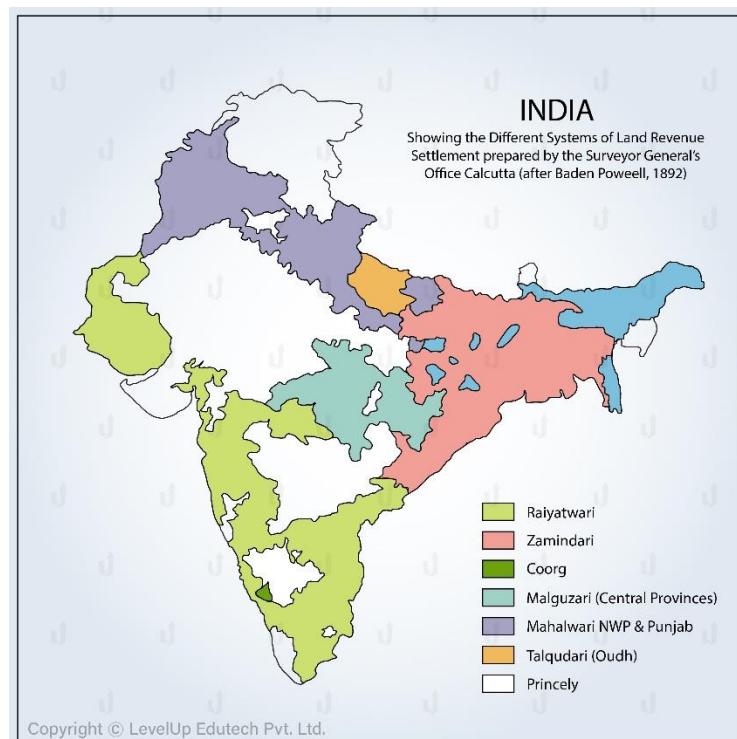
abolished. The Sadar Diwani Adalat, Sadar Nizamat Adalat and the Supreme Court were abolished, and the High Courts were established at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay on the basis of High Court Act of 1861.

In the era of William Bentinck, English and regional languages replaced Persian as the court language (1835).

### **(3) Revenue Reforms**

Earlier, the Permanent Settlement was guided by mercantilist interest. But, in the early decades of the 19th century, India was being developed as a British commodity market. While on the one hand, British capitalists wanted to reduce land revenue to increase purchasing power of peasants, there was increasing cost due to infrastructure development (roadways, canals and rail), and imperial military cost of expansion which put the company in financial stress. So, the company was not ready to reduce the amount of land revenue. As a solution, finally, intermediaries/zamindars were targeted and deprived of agricultural surpluses.

Thus, new revenue arrangements viz. Ryotwari and Mahalwari systems were developed during this period to suit the changed requirements of the British government. Permanent settlement was not expanded to other areas. The nature of land revenue settlements in these parts of India varied. The British adjusted their revenue-strategy according to the special characteristics of the agrarian structure in each region. The fixing-up of the revenue arrangements depended, to a very great extent, on their understanding of the agrarian system which appeared to be strange and complex from the point of view of the British.



#### **(A) Ryotwari System**

The Europeans thought that in south and south-western India there were no zamindars holding big estates with whom revenue settlement could be struck. It was also felt that the super-imposition of the zamindari settlement would completely disrupt the existing order there. Many English civilians like Reed and Munro, who had first hand knowledge about the region recommended that the arrangement should be made directly with the actual cultivators or the ryots.

### **Ryotwari System: Madras Presidency**

- Ryotwari was first implemented in Barahmahal region by Colonel Alexander Reed in 1792 when the region was taken from Tipu Sultan. Soon, Thomas Munro elaborated and implemented it in some districts (combined several villages as revenue unit and collected revenue directly) in 1810, in the areas of Malabar, Canara, Coimbatore, Dindigul.
- In Madras province, there was usually no purchase of land by moneylenders from the peasants till 1854, because even moneylenders were afraid to invest money due to high revenue rate. However a Ryotwari Commission setup in 1854 introduced certain reforms, and non-agricultural classes like moneylenders started to purchase lands from peasants.

### **Ryotwari System: Bombay Presidency**

The British took away the land of western India from the Marathas and there needed the management of land revenue. Elphinstone, a disciple of Munro, attempted to implement the Ryotwari system in Bombay but the land revenue was too high upto 1836. In 1836, certain reforms were brought in after the survey conducted by Wingate and Goldsmith, and based on this land revenue rate was reduced.

### **Ryotwari: Characteristics**

- Unlike the Zamindari system, every registered raiyat was considered as the owner of the land, and the agreement of land revenue was made with him.
- The land was made salable. The ryots were given right of transaction of land.
- The land revenue was temporarily fixed for 30-40 years. Thus, a temporary agreement (not permanent) was done with the ryots and the revenue could be increased periodically.
- Land revenue to be paid was very high, sometimes even 50-55% of the total produce.
- Community land was owned by the government.

This system was introduced in Madras Presidency, Bombay Presidency, Assam and some other portions covering 51% area of British India.

### **Ryotwari: Evaluation**

The Ryotwari system had two objectives: to Increase in state income (success); and to protect tenants (not successful)

- In reality, under the Ryotwari Settlement the state became the virtual zamindar.
- Not only the revenue rate was very high, the peasants were also not allowed any exemption in case of bad harvests or natural calamities.
- No uniformity in the determination of land revenue. Privileged farmers had to pay relatively less revenue.
- Gradually, due to over-assessment, the land shifted from the poor peasants to rich peasants. Therefore, a landlord class established (like zamindar), which began crop-sharing.
- It encouraged the Money-lending later, thus rural-indebtedness became a big problem in the Ryotwari region.

## **(B) Mahalwari System**

Here, the revenue settlement was made mahal-wise or estate-wise. The name mahalwari has been derived from the word mahal or village. Here the deal was struck with the village headman or with the leading families of the village collectively.

It was implemented by Holt McKenzie first time in 1822. He is regarded as the father of Mahalwari settlement. Later, in the era of Bentinck, Thomson and Martin Bird played a role in its evolution.

During the era of William Bentinck and Dalhousie, this system was introduced over a large area of North India. First it came into force in North (central region of the Mughal Empire – UP, Punjab, MP), and later implemented in NW, Awadh etc. In these regions, stretching from Punjab to Awadh and CP, panchayat system was quite active.

### **Mahalwari features**

- Community Ownership
  - In this system, a village or mahal as a whole, was held responsible for realizing revenue and members of the Mahal paid their revenues collectively. Thus, the concept of community ownership on the land was accepted. Land revenue would be collected through the head of the village (Muqaddam)
  - However, the private responsibility of the farmers remained. The community had to pay the revenue on behalf of the members who failed to pay the land revenue, but the community would acquire the property of that farmer and distribute it among other co-sharers.
- Rate and duration
  - Very exorbitant rate. (Normally 65%, going up to 95% of surplus)
  - Unlike zamindari, it was fixed temporarily.

### **Mahalwari Impact**

- In this arrangement too, the oppression of the cultivators by the leaders of the village was inevitable. The headmen of the village misused their power and swindled the poor peasants.
- In the Mahalwari assessment area, especially in Awadh, the taluqdars (big landlords) were uprooted who opposed Mahalwari.
- Exorbitant rates of the land revenue put tremendous pressure. Thus, in Mahalwari region, there was intense peasant rebellion in 1857.

<b>Zamindari</b>	<b>Ryotwari</b>	<b>Mahalwari</b>

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**Handout 13: Industrial Phase: Colonial Economy**  
**Nikhil Sheth**

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**Commercialization of Agriculture**

It means cultivation of cash crops in place of food crops. The food crops like wheat, barley and rice were replaced with cash crops like tea, indigo, sugarcane, tobacco, opium and coffee etc. this change in the character of Indian agriculture was the outcome of circumstances created by British colonial rule.

**Objective:**

1. To make the collection of the increased land revenue easier.
2. To secure raw-material for the British industries
3. To facilitate export of food grains from India to Britain
4. To maintain balance of trade globally (Tea-Opium Triangle)

Introduction of contract system in agriculture facilitated commercialization. The Charter Act 1833 allowed European to purchase immovable property in India. As a result of this tea plantation, coffee, and jute plantation emerged contract farming was practiced by European in plantations.

- Cotton – Encouraged in western India
- Indigo – For dying of clothes in north and east India
- Opium – Warren Hastings made opium production a company monopoly first in 1773. It was exported to China.
- Tea – encouraged in northeast, mainly based on British capital. It gave rise to the problem of indentured labour.
- Coffee – encouraged in south India
- Jute – encouraged in eastern India
- Sugarcane – it was encouraged after 1830s in various parts, especially in north India.

**Pattern:**

- It was a forced process for the majority of peasants. It was not adopted by them under free will.
- Only those crops which were required by British industries or were having market in Europe were cultivated such as indigo, cotton and sugarcane.
- It was carried out by using the traditional old tools and no modern technology was introduced.
- The use of small farms for cultivation of cash crops was another typical feature.
- Different kinds of practices were used by Europeans to cultivate cash crops in India.
  - Teenkathiya (3/20) used in Champaran district of Bengal for Indigo cultivation.

- It was exploitative in nature. The peasants suffered immensely due to cultivation of cash crops.

**Effects:**

- 1) it facilitated the drain of wealth from the Indian because Commerical easy sold in the European market it beneficiated only European it failed to benefit Indian peasant in any significant manner cultivation of cash crop another instrument used by British to exploited Indian resources.
- 2) the easier self-sufficient economy was now connected to world the peasant force crop which are greater dement in global market.
- 3) it helps in the emergent subservient economy in Indian because Indian economic fulfil British economy.
- 4) it led to monetization of agriculture.
- 5) it led to village in datedness
- 6) it resulted in rural instability because prices of commercial crop fluted accordance to ability in international market. this instability trigger crises in decan rights.
- 7)in 1870 cultivation of the cash crop reduce the production of food grain. as result of this hunger and famine become regulator phenomenon in Indian economy.
- 8) cultivation of cash crop adverse affected the soil fertility biodiversity and overall economy which in the long run ruined the agriculture.



## Deindustrialization

### **Decline of Handicraft (de-industrialization)**

In overall economy, if there is increase in the contribution of primary sector and decrease in that of secondary sector, it is called as de-industrialization.

India held the title of the world's largest manufacturing nation until the mid-18th century. European countries, in particular, had a high demand for Indian products. The British during colonial rule systematically dismantled India's handicraft industry, and by the mid-19th century, it was almost decimated.

#### **Causes for the decline of urban industry:**

- Indian handicrafts industries were dragged into an uneven competition.
  - British capitalist class pressurized from the very beginning to open the Indian markets for British finished goods. The Company was forced to import British finished goods worth the value of 3.8 lakh pounds in 1769 to India.
  - A condition was imposed upon EIC whereby it was mandatory to carry British goods of around 3000 tons free of cost to India in 1793.
  - The monopoly of the EIC for trade with India was abolished by the Charter Act of 1813 which opened India completely for the British goods.
- Market abroad lost
  - British market was closed for India products. Heavy duties were imposed on the Indian handicraft products in Britain.
    - Import duty of 67.5% on Indian cotton clothe and 37.5% on Indian muslin in 1824.
    - For Indian sugar, the import duty was 3 times the cost of production.
    - On some Indian goods, the duty went upto 400%.
- Indian handicraft industries lost the home market also.
  - Loss of patronage: British annexed Indian states which were a big purchaser of handicraft products.
  - Through railways even remote areas of India were penetrated with British industrial goods.
  - British cultural policy encouraged the sale of British products in India. (English education produced a class)

#### **Causes for the decline of village handicraft industry:**

- The exploitative policy of the Company after 1757.
- Appointment of intermediaries for exploitation of artisans
- Competition with the finished goods from British factories
- Decline of village economy
- Introduction of railways

#### **Destruction of Cotton Textile Industry**

- Extremely important role in the Indian economy as well as culture. Throughout the history, Alexander's fellow historians, Chinese traveler, Marco polo, all referred to it.
- India's cotton textiles and muslin were unparalleled in the world.
  - Taken by Arab merchants to Basra (Iraq) where Europeans became familiar with it and named it Muslin (Malmal). Portuguese named it Calico (brought from Calicut).
  - Important centres: Dhaka, Qasim Bazar, Murshidabad
  - Western India important for cotton goods production
- The traditional Indian cotton industry had a pre-modern technology. Indian cotton piecegoods were manufactured by the handicraftsmen. It was, indeed a rural craft. In pre-colonial times there was a perfect union between agriculture and domestic industry in the countryside. The cotton industry had been an integral part of India's village economy. Millions of cotton weavers and spinners had been engaged in this rural craft since time immemorial.

#### **Causes:**

*The oppression practised by the merchants of the English East India Company during the second half of the eighteenth century broke the backbone of this great industry initially. Later on, the fatal blow came from the Lancashire manufacturers after the advent of free trade capitalism.*

- Initial oppression by the Company
  - Exploitation of artisans and craftsmen played an important role in the decline of Indian handicrafts.
  - The weavers were forced to accept dadan or advance from the English merchants. They were subject to a penalty of 35% on the advance if they defaulted together with repayment of the advance received.
  - The East India Company's policy as reflected in its regulations in the last quarter of the eighteenth century had made the weavers sink into the position of indentured workers. Indian craftsmen were made to work for company at a very low wage and at times without any wage at all. These craftsmen were forced to sell their goods to company at cheap rate and by company's raw material from company's merchants at high prices. Many of craftsmen cut their thumb to escape this exploitation.
- Industrial development – The foreign machine-made products were superior in quality and cheaper in price. The primitive technology of Indian handicrafts could not compete with the modern technology of an industrial economy.
- Lancashire and Manchester exports flooded Indian markets
- The fate of the Indian cotton industry was sealed with the arrival of railroad.
- Export of raw materials made them dear for Indian artisans and made their products uncompetitive.
- Indian cotton products were banned in Britain (protectionism)

- The policy of one-way free trade of British ruined Indian handicraft high tariff barrier were enacted to prohibit the entry of Indian goods in Britain and duty free goods were allowed in India. This was an unnatural competition.
- British also ousted Indian products from other markets (West Asia, Africa etc)
- Diminishing local markets
  - With the gradual decline of the Indian states and their courts, who were the chief patrons of Indian weavers and spinners, there was no chance for the Indian cotton industry to survive.
  - Policy of westernization changed demand by Indian middle class too.

Thus, Indian cotton industry went down in the face of foreign competition. India had been an exporter of cotton textiles to the international market in the past. But, now, India was transformed into a market for the cotton goods produced in England. In the interest of British economy, she was now converted into a supplier of raw materials.

#### **Destruction of other Industries**

- Jute Industry (handicraft in Bengal): Collapsed due to the competition with the products of modern factory system at Dundee (Scotland).
- Silk Industry: Indian silk industry flourished in various regions. In Kashmir, it employed nearly 45,000 workers. Competition from industrial silk products of Paisley (Scotland) decimated it.
- Iron Industry (world famous wootz): Indian industries could not produce low quality steel, thereby eliminating a huge chunk of market from them.
- Ship building industries at Surat, Malabar and Bengal were crushed. In 1814, another law was passed under which Indian built ships were refused to be considered 'British-registered vessels' which could trade with America and the European continent.

#### **Impact of De-industrialization:**

1) it ruin Indian prosperity resulted in wild spread impoverishments it led to exclusive unemployment for ex weaver cotton groover, thinner dresser emborders. it has been extradited that around 10 lack people thought a out of employment instantly the disaster heighted by the fact that declined by the fact that by the rise of modern industries in India

3) deurbanization the destruction of Indian cotton industry mirror in the decline of town which were famous for there manufacturing city like Dhaka ,Murshad Surat become depopulated the connection between the agriculture and industry was snap.

increase burdened in agriculture. The weaver are over thrown no over option to turn to agriculture for survival.

thousands of them become sharecropper for agriculture labors they added to general pressure on the land and feather contributed general empowerment of agriculture.

fragmentation of land holding converts many of them to land less labors.

4 ) reduction in the per capita income increase in the rural poverty and hunger.

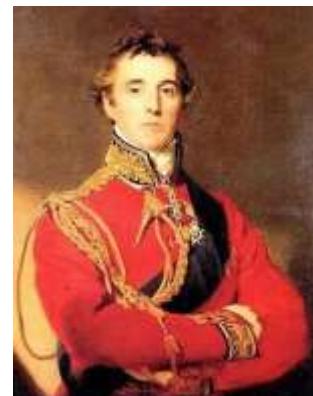
Charles Elliot, a member of the Council wrote, "I do not hesitate to say that half the agricultural population do not know from one year's end to another what it is to have a full meal."



**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 14: Industrial and Financial Phase: Economic Policy**  
**(Dalhousie, Railways, Famine, Drain of Wealth)**  
Nikhil Sheth

**Dalhousie's Reform and modernization: (1848-1856)**  
**(Modern Transportation and Communication System)**

Efficient transportation and communication required to develop India as a market for the British manufactured goods and as a supplier of raw materials,



• **Roads, Bridges and Canals:**

- Separated public works from military department and establishment of **Public Works Department (PWD)** for construction of roads, canals, bridges, and government buildings. The chief Engineer and other highly trained engineers were brought from England to supervise the work of construction. Irrigational works were undertaken on an extensive scale.
- Calcutta-Peshawar **GT Road** was renovated.
- Construction of **Ganga canal** and Bari doab canals in Punjab
- Started engineering colleges to assist in construction work:
- **Light houses** were developed in the harbours of Calcutta, Bombay and Karachi to increase the foreign trade from the ports. Soon, the sea-trade was captured by English traders.

• **Postal Department:**

- Dalhousie established the postal department by passing a separate Post Office Act in 1854 which started the modern correspondence system. A new post of DG (Post) was created.
- The postage stamps were issued, and the letter could be sent to any region of India by posting a ½, 1, 2, 4 anna stamps.
- As a result of these reforms the post offices became the sources of revenue of the government. The people benefited from the modern postal system.

• **Telegraph Department:**

- A separate department was created.
- William O'Shaughnessy was the chairman of the department.
- The first electric telegraph line was established between Calcutta and Agra in 1852. By 1856, it was extended to Lahore and Peshawar.

• **Construction of Railways:**

- In 1831, the idea of railways first came in Madras. In 1834, the Court of Directors decided to introduce the steam engine.
- In 1853, the first railway line was established between Mumbai and Thane. In 1854, the second line between Calcutta and Raniganj was operated.

## Trivia



The Ganga canal was the brainchild of Sir Proby Cautley; construction began in 1840, and it was inaugurated by Governor-General Lord Dalhousie in 1854.



### Sir Arthur Cotton

He constructed works on the Kaveri (Cauvery), Kollidam (Coleroon), and Godavari rivers. His dams on the Kollidam (1836) and the Godavari (1847–52) rivers irrigated wide areas. Cotton worked on the Kaveri River to and made these areas prosperous part of Madras state.



Trigonometric Survey of India (1802-52) - Surveyor **Radhanath Sikdar** measured **Mount Everest** in 1852 and named after Sir George Everest who was the Surveyor General of India from 1830-43.

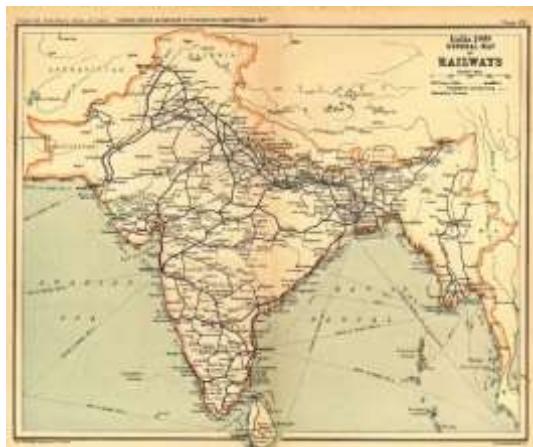
## Other significant works of Dalhousie

- **Charter on Indian Forests, 1855**
  - Beginning of systematic forest policy in India
  - He reversed previous laissez-faire policy to establish the India Forest Department and annex large areas of sparsely populated lands.
  - He suggested that teak timber should be retained as state property and its trade strictly regulated.
- **Education**
  - Dalhousie oversaw the **implementation of Wood's Dispatch**. He established the **Department of Public Instruction** to implement the recommendations of the Dispatch, and he encouraged the establishment of schools and colleges across India.
  - In 1857, the first three modern **universities** – Calcutta, Bombay and Madras – were established.
  - **Colleges**
    - St. Xavier's College, Calcutta – It was founded in 1860, but it was Lord Dalhousie who gave permission to the Jesuits.
    - Elphinstone College, Bombay – It was founded in 1856, during Lord Dalhousie's tenure.

## Railways Construction

British claimed that they made railway for the benefits of Indian empire in India, but this notion is debunked by nationalist historians. The motives of the British behind railway construction were not benign.

- Lord Hardinge in 1843 memo – “Railways would be beneficial for the commerce, government and military control of the country.”
- Lord Dalhousie in 1853 – “The important role that India could play as a market for British goods and as a source for agricultural raw materials for Britain would be facilitated by the railways.”



From the very top and from the very beginning, it was clear that the British wanted to build the railways for their purposes.

### **Objectives**

- Economic
  - To carry the British manufactured goods from the port to the interior region.
  - To carry the Indian raw material from the interior region to the ports.
  - To provide a better market for the British iron and steel companies.
  - To create an outlet for investment of the British capital.
- Strategic
  - The Railways could provide an added mobility to the British army. (Proved useful in sending troops during 1857 to quell popular unrest)
  - Construction of ‘frontier lines’ to meet army movement.

### **Construction cost:**

Shashi Tharoor in the Era of Darkness called building of the Railways as “gigantic colonial scam.” The railways were built by the British at the expense of Indians. Indian taxpayers paid for the entire construction of the Indian Railways, but the profits were all made by the English. And even the construction costs were extortionist.

- Minimum guaranteed 5% profits on investment in East Indian Railway Company and Great India Peninsular Company.
- 99 years lease
- Wasteful expenditure:
  - Railways didn't try hard to earn profits.
  - One mile of railway in India cost 18,000 pounds (US: 2,000 pounds)

Private profit at public risk: the private profit was made by the Englishmen who were investing the public risk was borne by the Indians. MG Ranade pointed out that Railway construction was an important part of Drain of Wealth and refused to believe that it brought any

development in India. (In 1901-2, one-third or more of the annual Home Charges. (Fiscal burden)

### Consequences:

<u>Long term unintended Positive Contribution</u>	<u>Negative Impact</u>
Geographical integration of India (rise of modern nationalism)	Proved useful in controlling India, e.g. in 1857
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>In the long run, it prepared the way for the rise of modern factory system in future.</li> </ul>	Unlike the west, industrialization (iron, steel, transport, mining, engineering etc) didn't follow the construction of railways in India. Till 1910, all rail-tracks and till 1940, all railway engines were imported from England. There was no technology transfer.
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Indian market was integrated.</li> <li>This also resulted in uniformity in the price of goods and controlled inflation.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Instead of connecting Indian centres to each other, the lines connected ports to hinterland for import of British goods and mineral areas and agrarian hinterland with export centres.</li> <li>British traders paid one of the lowest freight rates in the world.</li> <li>Led to the destruction of traditional Indian industries. (deindustrialization)</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Also helped in the reduction of famines. (eg famine lines)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Rather than transporting grain surplus to grain scarce area as a purported solution to famine, it exported grains from India to Britain even during the time of scarcity. It rather encouraged commercialization of agriculture and intensified the conditions of famine and hunger.</li> <li>Due to excessive focus on railway, other sectors like irrigation were starved of capital and neglected. Till 1902-03, only 75 crore rupees were spent on irrigation while about 359 crore on railway construction.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Promoted social mobility through weakening the social evils like untouchability.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Racism in Railway operation. Right upto the first world war, British insisted on hiring white people for all jobs except menial jobs.</li> <li>Third-class travellers paid among the highest passenger fares in the world travelling in sub-human conditions.</li> </ul>

**Marx**

- “The railway-system will therefore become, in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry.” (1853). Initially, Karl Marx was enthusiastic about the positive impact of railways on India. He made a prophecy that the railways would industrialize and modernize India.
- Just before his death in 1883, Marx was frustrated with the performance of Indian railways and declared that the railways were ‘useless to Hindus’.

**Identify the iconic still:**



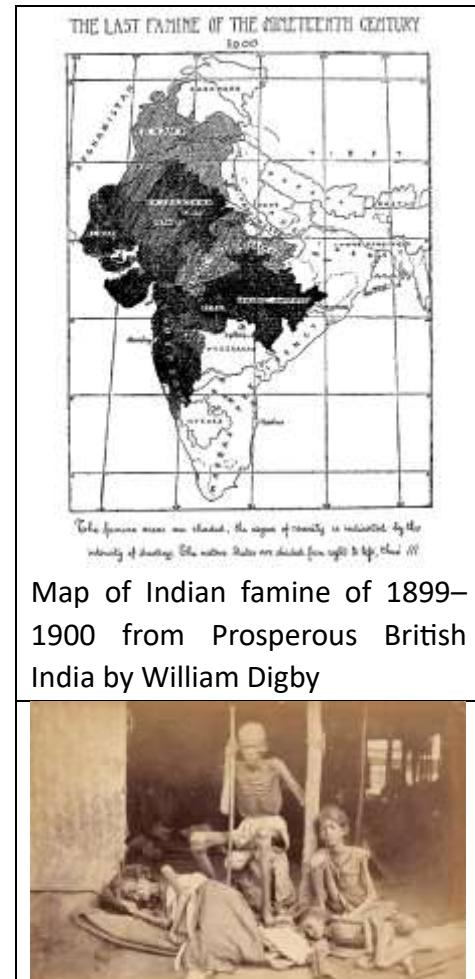
## Famine (1770 to 1943)

### The impact of British economic policy on rural life

- Incident of famines exposed the true character of British rule in India. The incidents of famine were not new in Indian history, but under the British rule the incidents of famine multiplied in number.
  - 12 major famines in India under the Company's rule.
  - 10 severe famines under the rule of the British crown.
- Where climatic and environmental factors were responsible in most of the earlier incidents, but under British rule British policy was responsible to a large extent.

#### **Causes of Famine**

- The famines were a product both of uneven rainfall and British economic and administrative policies.
- FAD (food availability decline)
  - Monsoon failure, draught, epidemic etc
  - Land revenue settlements destroyed agriculture.
  - Commercialisation of agriculture → Decline in production of coarse grains
  - Railway construction → Easier to transport grains to port
  - Export of grains to Britain in large quantities even during shortage
  - Black marketing and hoarding
- FEE (failure of exchange entitlements)
  - Heavy land revenue + collapse of handicraft → Drain of wealth → Decline in purchasing power
- The main cause that worsened the famine conditions was the lack of ameliorative measures to be taken by the colonial government as was customary.





### Examples of Famines:

Year	Region	Death Toll
1769	Bengal	1/3rd population died
1833	Guntur famine	40% population wiped out
1866-67	Odisha	13 lakh people died
1876-77	Madras	50 lakh people died
1896-97	Deccan, All India	50 lakh people died
1899-1900	All India	10 lakh people died
1943	Bengal	15 lakh people died

### Famine Relief Steps

During the period of the Company's rule, no effort was ever made to understand the causes of famine and to help the people. Indians continued to die without any help of government.

However, factors such as growing awareness of the scale of the problem, public awareness and pressure, Indian activism, humanitarian concerns, economic considerations, and technological advances led to a change in approach, with the British government eventually recognizing their responsibility to provide relief to those affected by famine and establishing a framework for government intervention. Still, the efforts largely remained theoretical till the end.

Famine	Commission and Steps
Delhi and Agra (1860-61)	Inquiry commission under Colonel Smith for the first time. But despite some inquiry there was no significant outcome.
Orissa famine (1865-66)	George Campbell committee for famine relief. It recommended that government should undertake relief measure to help famine affected people, steps must also be taken for employment generation. This commission blamed the official system for reoccurring famines.
Central India and Deccan (1877-78)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Studied opposition by Justice Ranade.</li> <li>Thus, Strachey Commission considered the causes of famine. It suggested irrigation development, revenue remission, relief operations, and creation of famine fund, apart from Famine Code formulation.</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Famine Code (1883):</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• If 75% crop destroyed due to famine, waive-off the land revenue.</li> <li>• The establishment of a system for the continuous flow of information from every local area to the provincial Government.</li> <li>• Nature of the relief works to be constructed on famine/scarcity.</li> <li>• The classification of relief labour and the scale of wages to be paid.</li> <li>• The organisation of free relief and the establishment of a system of village inspection.</li> <li>• Suspension of land revenue</li> <li>• Grants of Taccavi loans.</li> <li>• Relaxation in forest laws for the duration of famine</li> <li>• Protection of cattle.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
Deccan famine (1898-99)	In 1897, James Lyall committee was appointed but before it could recommend anything another famine struck India in 1899–1900.
1900 famine	<p><b>McDonald Committee by Curzon</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Acknowledge moral responsibility, launch relief measures</li> <li>• Appoint Famine Relief Commissioner</li> <li>• Revise famine code</li> <li>• No delay in providing food grains and other assistance</li> <li>• Develop Irrigation facilities</li> <li>• Agriculture bank to be established</li> <li>• Develop transport facilities</li> <li>• Advance for purchase of seeds and other material.</li> </ul>
1943 Bengal famine	<p><b>Woodhead Commission</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The Department of food and agriculture should be merged.</li> <li>• All India food council should be established.</li> <li>• Steps should be taken for the production of food grains.</li> </ul>

The British Indian government's famine policies and relief initiatives failed to help Indians significantly. Sufferings of Indians persisted as millions continued to die.

### **Florence Nightingale (1820-1910)**

- Considered as the founder of modern nursing, she made efforts to educate British subjects about India's famines through her writing.
- She identified two types of famine: grain famine and a "money famine". She pointed out that the famines in British India were not caused by the lack of food in a particular geographical area. They were instead caused by inadequate transportation of food, which in turn was caused due to the absence of a political and social structure.



## Drain of wealth

The term Drain of Wealth refers to unilateral outflow of a part of Indian resources to Britain for which Indian received nothing in return. Drain of Wealth was carried out by British by misusing their political authority. Every section of Indian population was exploited to drain out maximum possible amount of wealth from India.

### **Changing nature of Drain of Wealth:**

**In the mercantile phase**, apart from loot and plunder, it was the Indian handicraft products were exported to Britain after being purchased through Indian revenues. (Investment, after Diwani rights)

**In the industrial phase**, raw materials and agricultural products were exported from India to Britain while British industrial goods were sold in India.

The Charter of 1813 abolished the trade monopoly with India. The Charter of 1833 finally abolished Chinese trade and tea monopoly. Thus, in order to continue earning profit:

- More commodities: Certain items including agrarian products as well as exclusive items like indigo, cotton and opium continued to be exported from India. Then other items were also added to the list of exportable items, such as tea, coffee, cereals, sugar, etc.
- Coercion: As the products were procured through coercive means, India could not get any return against these products.
- Triangular Trade: The company had already controlled the production of opium, now it started exporting opium to China massively and in return, silk and tea were purchased from China and exported to Britain. Thus developed a triangular trading system.

**In the financial phase**, a substantial amount from India was regularly transferred to Britain in the form of home charges.

### **Home charge**

- The term home charges refer to expenditure carried out by company (upto 1858) and by British Indian government (after 1858) in London on behalf of India. It was the amount that the British Indian government was liable to pay to the British government and the private British capitalist.
- It consisted of many items such as the
  - Dividend: paid by the company to the shareholders (before 1858)
  - Administrative expenditure:
    - Salary of the official working in London for India (eg Secretary of Office charges)
    - Excessive employment of European was another cause of drain because their salary and other allowances were very high when compared with Indians.
    - Pension to the retired British officers etc.

- **Investment:** paid on loans raised abroad. E.g. Guaranteed profit of railways (major one), shipping, plantations etc.
- **Loan:** Interest on government loans
- Military expenditure
  - Amount which was spent in Britain for **military purchase** for the Indian army and its use outside India. Indian army working for British colonial interests outside India but was paid by India. eg Persian Gulf Aden Port, in Africa Zanzibar – two important naval bases both paid by India
  - The wars and battles fought by Indian soldiers for the benefit of Britain also incurred huge expenditure. Afghan wars, Burma wars and WW1 and 2 fought by Indian soldiers were financial out of Indian revenue.
- The home charge constituted about 13% of total Indian revenue upto 1857 and increased upto 24% during 1897-1907 (Data calculated by R C Dutt). By 1927, it became 40%. In 1901-02, almost 40% of the total home charges was the only guaranteed interest on the railways.

### **European finance capital**

- As the result of industrial revolution there was huge accumulation of **capital in Britain**.
- The Charter Act of 1833 paved the way for the entry of European **capital in India**. It also allowed to Europeans to purchase movable as well immovable properties in India. Thus, there was a huge influx of the foreign capital in India.
- European capital was invested in the development of **infrastructure, shipping, mining, insurance, and plantation industries**.
- The investors had shares in multiple businesses and all of these were used to ensure the **maximum possible profit for European investors**.
- All these business ventures were controlled by Europeans by interlocking **managing agencies**. Indian businessmen were kept out of business activities involving Europeans. The European banks, shipping and ports etc denied services to Indians to keep them out and provided services to Europeans.

### Effects of the Drain

economical wealth: drain of wealth of India economical hollowness because substantial portion of resources is not available to Indian for consumption.

data bai Naoroji concede drain of wealth is real cause of Indian poverty all other causes are secondary to this cause.

3) another nationalist leader also argued the drain was not only wealth but also capital. drain cause loss employment and income. had it been it spend here instated of in England it would have generated income here too. drain was responsible for slow growth modern industry in India. Indian had limited capital to invest on the contrary the accumulated thanks to drain from India help in the rapid industrialization there.

4) It played important role decline handicraft in Indian the raw material exported from indian led to rise input cost for handicraft there was no captical to upgrade the technology british industrial good now readily to ruin indian industries. thus drain of wealth also deindustrialization of india

5) It affected pleasant directly the high land revaue rate due to drain. the frequent occurrences of famine and food shorttes was also because of drain.

6) it resulted in the greater british economical control over indian economic because wealth thus drain out of indian return as european capital later. which was used for railway construction and other bussiness activity.

political effects:

- 1) the early nationalist like dada bai naoroji , RC dutt, mg randande. put forward analysis of the drain their critics expose the true colonial test of British rule
- 2) the nationalist leader through paper books newspapers highlighted the drain theory and clarified in the simple terms for common people to grasp. drain theory thus created awareness amongst common people anti British discontent.
- 3) though drain theory the nationalist leader brought the inherent pollical conflict between Indian and England to the surface they high listed that economical remedies would resolve other economic problem the drain requires the pollical solution.

when the congress party adopted the resolution of swaraj in 1905 at Calcutta presided by the dada bai Naoroji. It was long term outcome of drain theory.



**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 15: Industrial Phase: Socio-Cultural Policy**  
Nikhil Sheth

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**Official Social Reform Measures (1828-57)**

Many officials of the East India Company wanted to remove various social evils present in the Indian society but were forced to maintain an indifferent attitude. This was due to two reasons.

- Firstly, till about 1813, the East India Company was mainly interested in its trading activities and the profit from the revenue administration.
- Secondly, the Company also did not want to disturb the strong religious base of the Indian Society.

The ruling Conservative Party in England, therefore, wanted to leave things as they were. They were supported by Warren Hastings, the Governor-General in India (1773-85), and some orientalists like H.H. Wilson.

Although Jonathan Duncan, a Resident of Benaras, attempted to stop female infanticide and some of Wellesley's officers tried to stop the practice of sati, these were mere exceptions and did not change the larger picture for the better. India continued to practise these social evils.

The new liberal generation in 1820s thought they knew better than their elders, and better than Indians too. The reformers threw aside the caution of the respecters of Indian tradition. The Evangelicals, the Radicals and the Utilitarians criticised the policy of the earlier generation.

- The Evangelicals believed that it was their moral duty to preach the Gospel, to show the people the right path of humanity, to oppose idol worship, superstitious and cruel beliefs.
- The Utilitarians believed in Bentham's theory, that enforcing just laws could reform a society. James Mills, the author of History of India (1818) was one of them who influenced the British Government to change its mind.

Lord William Bentinck was the first Governor-General who initiated, directed, and implemented the policy of reform in India.

When the liberals and utilitarians were dominating in India, the same group also dominated the British Parliament. Many progressive Indians, too, supported the liberal group. Raja Ram Mohan Roy organised his volunteers, and like-minded people, and petitioned before the Government to pass legislation for social reform.

- Lord William Bentinck's Government passed a Resolution in 1829 (Resolution No. XVII) that declared Sati as 'culpable homicide' or 'suicide' (if the woman died). Punishment would be given to those who attempted Sati and to those who instigated it. Those people who helped women in committing Sati would be charged for murder case. The same law was implemented in Bombay and Chennai in 1830.
- William Bentinck's Government was responsible for ending thugi and female infanticide.



Memorial in Calcutta

To  
William Cavendish Bentinck  
who during seven years ruled India with eminent prudence,  
integrity, and benevolence;  
who, placed at the head of a great empire, never laid aside the  
simplicity and moderation of  
a private citizen; who infused into oriental despotism the spirit  
of  
British freedom;  
who never forgot that the end of government  
is the welfare of the governed;  
who abolished cruel rites;  
who effaced humiliating distinctions;  
who allowed liberty to the expression of public opinion  
whose constant study it was to elevate  
the moral and intellectual character of the nation  
committed to his charge.  
This monument was erected  
by men  
who differing from each other  
in race, in manners, in language, and in religion  
cherish with equal veneration and gratitude  
the memory of his wise, upright, and paternal administration.  
Calcutta 4<sup>th</sup> February 13 [35?]

- **Slavery abolition**
  - William Bentick was instrumental in creating the ground for abolition of slavery. He banned slave trade within the EIC territory and prohibited the export of the slaves in 1833 after the recommendation in the Charter Act of 1833
  - Finally, it was legally abolished altogether in 1843, during the tenure of Lord Ellenborough.
- Later in the reign of **Lord Harding I (1844-48)**, **human sacrifice** was banned, which was mostly common among Gonds, India's largest tribe.
- **Lord Dalhousie's** Government was responsible for passing two important Acts related to social reform.
  - **Religious Disability Act** allowed a person could inherit the property from his father even after religious conversion. **Lex loci Act**
  - **Widow Remarriage Act (1856)** permitted a Hindu widow to re-marry.

**Limitations:** British were cautious not to antagonize upper caste Hindus with radical policy. Thus, there was no law to eliminate caste-oppression nor untouchability.

## British Education Policy

In ancient and medieval times, India made progress in natural and social sciences, but experimental studies and empirical sciences lagged behind. Traditional knowledge was taught in Sanskrit and mostly to Brahmin and upper-caste children in Pathshalas attached to temples. Muslims had broader curriculums in their Maktab and Madarsa schools, but made no progress in natural sciences, history, or geography. By the 18th century, India experienced political chaos and intellectual decline, leading to a lack of progress in all fields.

When the English company emerged as an important political power in India after winning the Battle of Buxar and by signing the treaty of Allahabad but for almost 50 years, company did not pay much attention to the educational advancement of India. It remained busy in exploiting Indian resources while development of India was not its concern.

### **Stages:**

- The East India Company operated in the subcontinent with interpreters, fluent employees, and conversant Indians but dealt with a limited circle of Indian traders and officials.
- The Company's control over Bengal in 1765 expanded local interaction and British officers needed to learn Indian languages and customs. **Warren Hastings** also posted British officers as collectors and magistrates in each district. Thus, he initiated Oriental education among the officers. At this stage, some officials of the company established educational institutions in their private capacity.
  - **Calcutta Madrasa** was established by Warren Hastings in 1781 (to promote Arabic and Persian learning)
  - **Sir William Jones** founded **Asiatic Society of Bengal** (1784) at Calcutta with a view to doing more research in the history and antiquities, the natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia.
  - **Sanskrit College** by Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benaras in 1791.
- After **Cornwallis Anglicised** the Company's services and increased territory under Wellesley, British officials became 'Residents' in Indian kingdoms.
  - To train officers, Wellesley established **Fort William College** in Calcutta in 1800, teaching Indian languages, customs, laws, and religions for efficient administration.
  - In 1806 the East India Company College-later **Haileybury College**-was founded in England for the specific purpose of training the British young men for the civil services of the Company in India, where they were taught Indian languages.
  - For training of officers of the Company's army the East India Company **Military Seminary** was opened at Addiscombe, England, in 1809 where the cadets were taught Indian languages, mainly Hindustani.

At this stage, the Company government did not make any effort to educate Indians in English in a big way. Since there was no centralised policy on the subject, progression of education went in a rather hotchpotch manner where the Company governments were opening vernacular medium schools and Indians were opening English medium colleges.

The **Charter Act of 1813** had three major changes with respect to Education.

1. Opened India for the traders and other British people.
2. Lifting prohibition on missionary activity

### 3. Responsibility of public education

- a. English company to keep aside a sum of Rs. 1 lakh/per annum for educational advancement of India. Company would undertake educational responsibility and duty of the Indian people.

“.....A sum of not less than one lac of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the **revival and improvement** of literate and the **encouragement of the learned natives** of India and for the **introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences** among the inhabitants of the British territories in India”. **Clause 43 (1813)**

However, this money was not spent for a decade because of lack of unanimity about the syllabus and medium of instruction. Education at lower levels was very much a private function in India, and decisions about what to teach, to whom and how left Hastings of Moira (1813-23) stymied. Munro and Elphinstone both set their minds to the same problem, but neither came out with anything like a coherent or large-scale scheme. Problems of funding, curriculum, and a lack of teachers remained serious obstacles. Thus, this section remained inoperative till 1823. The Company was reluctant initially to spend the money as it had no definite policy and agency.

Meanwhile, Calcutta experienced significant growth and development in the early 19th century, with a large and increasingly wealthy population engaged in commercial activities. English-language education also saw a rapid growth in demand, supplied by Fort William College and the Protestant mission in Serampore. To cater to this demand, the independent Hindu College was established in 1817, offering modern subjects in English to Hindu boys eager to absorb Western education as a qualification for employment. The Company had declined to involve itself in the founding of the Hindu College.

#### **Anglicist-Orientalist Controversy**

In 1823, the Governor General in Council appointed a **General Committee on Public Instruction** for the Presidency of Bengal with members like H.T. Prinsep and H.H. Wilson.

For one decade, between 1823-33, this committee performed various functions:

- It reorganized the Calcutta Madrasah & the Banaras Sanskrit College
- It set up a Sanskrit College in Calcutta in 1824, established two more colleges at Agra and Delhi
- It introduced English classes in some oriental colleges.
- It undertook the printing and publication of Sanskrit and Arabic books on a large scale.
- It employed Oriental scholars to translate English books into the Oriental languages.

Thus, the activities of the Committee for the decade from 1823 clearly indicate - its inclination towards **Orientalism**.

But the opinion was rapidly growing in favour of English education because missionaries had started to popularize English education; Anglicization of bureaucracy and legal system was taking place, and English education was regarded as a panacea for all social ills.

Thus, some young members in the Committee started to oppose Oriental approach. In 1832 the sharp division of opinion in the Committee led to the rise of two distinct and hostile parties of equal number – the Orientalists (classicists) and Occidentalists (Anglicists).

	Oriental Party	Anglicist/Occidental Party
Leaders	H.T Princep	Charles Trevelyan
Objective	Imparting education to the traditional upper castes	Educating the upper and middle strata of the society to produce native Government employees.
Content	Literature = Sanskrit and Arabic. Revival and Improvement = Translation, Printing, Publication of classical works	Literature = English literature. Revival and Improvement = printing and publication of books on western learning.
Medium of Instruction	An imposition of English language upon the people would provoke their resentment.	Western content can be delivered only in English language.

Due to equal division in the Committee, it was very difficult to transact any business and no decision could be reached. The issue became so serious that it brought all educational activities of the General Committee to a standstill for some years. Both the parties keenly wanted to solve this vexed problem and that is why they decided to submit their dispute to the Governor-General-in-Council for final decision.

Meanwhile, in 1833, a new Charter Act was passed which had certain provisions related to education:

- India was fully opened to the missionaries of all nations.
- Indians knowing English became entitled to get high posts under the Government.
- There was administrative centralization of India which raised the question of language of government transaction.
- Enhanced administrative power of Bengal – it was now empowered to control the administration including education of all provinces.
- It increased the original educational grant of Rs. 1 lakh to 10 lakh
  - It created more problems, as the amount was big and each group was determined to have their way.
- It added a fourth member (Law Member) to the Governor-General's Council.

Accordingly, Lord Macaulay came to India in 1834. Lord Macaulay was then appointed as the chairman of the committee in 1835, and he supported Anglicist group. The issue could be resolved only with his appointment.

As he was a law member, he wrote his famous minute on February 2, 1835 in favour of English education. The Orientalists objected, but William Bentinck passed a resolution on March 7, 1835 and gave his verdict in favour of the Anglicists. Bentinck already supported English education and believed it would improve Indian society. Macaulay's Minute motivated him to quickly implement this educational policy.

Thus, in 1835, the GG-in-Council adopted the famous education resolution. It proclaimed that 'the objective of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone'.

Thus,

- An immediate impact of this Resolution was that it immediately stopped the stipend that was being given to students who had joined Oriental schools or colleges.
- It also discontinued the expenditure on printing of all oriental works.
- The Resolution paved the way for English to become medium of education in the country.
- Promotion of western education in vernacular medium at first level and in English medium at higher level shall be the education policy of government in India.

The decision of Bentinck is the result of historical consequences. The decision no doubt ushered a new era in the field of modern Indian education with far-reaching effects.

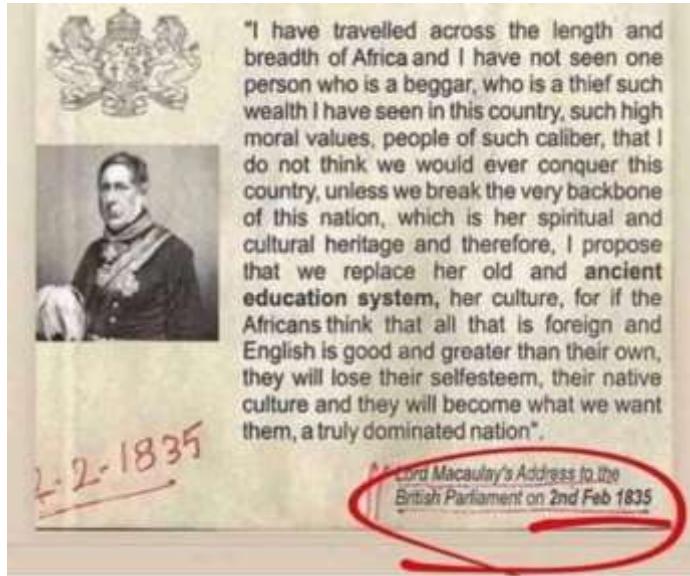
1837 persian replaced by english as court language  
1844 lord harding for all government post clear preference given to who read and write in english.

## Aims and objectives behind British education policy:

British educational policy in India was guided by British colonial interest. They wanted to create a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but British in taste opinion morals and intellect. This class was supposed to:

1. Consume British industrial goods: Westernization of India so that market of British goods could be expanded and Indian could be habituated in western way of life.
2. Cheaper clerks: The western education was propagated in India to train Indians for lower administrative positions. It was practically not possible to appoint Europeans everywhere European were too costly as well.
3. Develop fellow-feeling and loyalty towards British empire. According to Macaulay, the westernization in India would keep the British interest safe for a long time even if British rule comes to an end.
4. English education was regarded as a panacea for all social ills.
5. De-culturize Indians to spread Christianity.
  - a. Western education was also expected to pave the way for Christianization of India because western Christian ideas could be easily propagated through western education system.
6. Implied ambition of the Empire to make English the global language by making a populous country like India speak English.
  - a. "It is likely to become the language of commerce throughout the seas of the East. It is the language of two great European communities which are rising, the one in the south of Africa, the other in Australia, -communities which are every year becoming more important and more closely connected with our Indian empire... of all foreign tongues, the English tongue is that which would be the most useful to our native subjects." – Macaulay

## Fake News



## Not Fake News

### To Zachary Macaulay, 12 October 1836

My dear Father,

....In a few months, I hope indeed in a few weeks, we shall send up the penal code to government. We have got rid of the punishment of death except in cases of aggravated treason and wilful murder. We shall also get rid indirectly of everything that can properly be called slavery in India. There will remain civil claims on particular people for particular services, which claims may be enforced by civil action. But no person will be entitled, on the plea of being the master of another, to do anything to that other which it would be an offence to do to a freeman.

Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully. We find it difficult, indeed at some places impossible, to provide instruction for all who want it. At the single town of Hoogley fourteen hundred boys are learning English. The effect of this education on the Hindoos is prodigious. No Hindoo who has received an English education ever continues to be sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy. But many profess themselves pure Deists, and some embrace Christianity. The case with Mahometans is very different. The best-educated Mahometan often continues to be a Mahometan still. The reason is plain. The Hindoo religion is so extravagantly absurd that it is impossible to teach a boy astronomy, geography, natural history, without completely destroying the hold which that religion has on his mind. But the Mahometan religion belongs to a better family. It has very much in common with Christianity; and even where it is most absurd, it is reasonable when compared with Hindooism. It is my firm belief that, if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolater among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytise, without the smallest interference with religious liberty, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and refection. I heartily rejoice in this prospect....

intro ) the English intension where more shellfish than noble although country moved towards modernization. this was more of side effect than intended efforts of the British.

- 1) decline well-functioning of Patashala report adamps report it had detrimental effect on mass education. when indian become independent-1947 literacy rate 16 % and literacy rate 8 %. Mahatma Gandi says Indian is more illiterate today than 50 or 100 years ago.
- 2) it led to cultural colonization intellectual subservience to mother country and inferiority complex. the original ideas were generated in Britian while just supposed to translate and imitate.
- 3) It did not create opportunities for Indian by the middle of 1880 the student of English were number 98 thousand merely it did not lead to modernization of economy either even after introducing English the neglect of modern science blight the hope of scientific revolution in Indian it created internal cultural division between Indian and Bharat.

unintended positive consequences:

- 1) English education was perhaps biggest boon to Indians not only because they access to western knowledge's but also got the language to communicate with each other while was to unite the Indian as one administrative nation it was also Indian as one people.
- 2) as small group of elite Indians inspirited by western liberal ideas provided the social basis for modern nationalism.
- 3) it led to modernization of the Indian script's languages literature.
- 4) English was also to continues benefits Indians long after British departed it invitingly played imported role in future of India  
thus, English languages education acted as liberating colonization port its effects can been seen today.





## Further Development in Education

An important defect in Macaulay's Minute and William Bentinck's Resolution was that it **neglected mass education**. This education policy was based on downward filtration approach. The government decided to impart learning to a small section of population living at the top of pyramid. This knowledge was expected to move downwards gradually. They believed that an English-educated person would in turn, impart his knowledge to the masses and enrich their science and literature awareness.

*"I feel... that it is impossible for us, with our limited means, to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern, – a class of persons Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."*

Unfortunately, this did not happen, and the vernacular languages were neglected both by the Government and the English educated Indians.

When Macaulay system was introduced in Bengal, some enthusiastic British officer, James Thomson (1843-53) LG of NWP, experimented with an alternative model with vernacular language as medium of instruction at school level. Dalhousie was influenced by Thomsonian Education system. He extended this model to Bihar and some other regions.

Till 1853, there was some progress in the field of education as some schools and colleges were established. Despite this, education had still to reach the masses. The home authorities in England felt that the education of the entire country was the responsibility of the State.

The **Wood's Dispatch** from the court of Directors on July 19, 1854, prepared under the guidance of Charles Wood, the President of the Board of Control, declared, "*the education that we desire to see extended in India is that which was for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy and literature of Europe, in short of European knowledge in India.*" The Wood's Dispatch is the most important document of British education policy in India and is rightfully considered as the Magna Carta of English education in India.

It rejected downward filtration theory of Lord Macaulay. Recommendations of the Wood's Dispatch

- Mass education is the responsibility of the government and ought to be implemented effectively.
  - It conceived the education at three different levels: Primary (vernacular language), middle level (vernacular + English), higher level (English)
  - Attention should be given for wider extension of education, both English and Vernacular.
  - New middle schools, especially vernacular schools and technical schools and colleges should be established.
- A separate department of education in every Indian province should be created.

- Universities must be established in the Presidency's towns of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay on the pattern of the London University. These Universities had to only conduct the examinations for testing the knowledge of students who were taught elsewhere.
- Institutions for the purpose of training teachers should be established.
- A system of granting aid to privately-run schools and colleges should be introduced.
- Female education should be encouraged.

The importance of Wood's dispatch can also be understood by the observation of H.R. James "The Dispatch of 1854 is a climax in the history of Indian education: what goes before, leads up to it; what follows flows from it." Most of the clauses of Wood's dispatch were implemented. The first three modern universities were set up at Calcutta, Madras and Bombay.

Both Christian missionary and individual Indians set up many schools and Colleges. But the government felt that many more things had to be done in the field of education, especially at the primary level.

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### Later Committees and Commissions

#### **Hunter Educational Commission (1882-83)**

The Government appointed a Commission under the chairmanship of W.W. Hunter to review the working of Wood's Dispatch and the progress of education in India. The Commission presented its report in 1883. Recommendations of the Hunter Educational Commission

1. To give more importance to primary education through vernacular languages. The responsibility of primary education must be given to local District and Municipal Boards.
2. There should be lesser Governmental control over universities in the case of higher education. Universities to have flexibility to develop a separate curriculum.
3. Secondary education is to be divided into two divisions-1) Literary education, leading up to the University level and 2) Vocational studies.
4. To give emphasis on secular and moral education.
5. To provide library facilities and furniture in schools.
6. To give more attention towards female education as the Commission was not satisfied with the progress in this direction.

Not just schools and colleges, but two Universities-Punjab (1882) and Allahabad (1887) were also established in the last two decades of nineteenth century. Western as well as Oriental studies were given equal importance. Educational institutions, especially the universities, played a big role in moulding the thinking of educated youth towards nationalism. Lord Curzon's Government did not like this development because it threatened their existence in the long run. He wanted more governmental control over Universities.

#### **Releigh Commission and The Indian Universities Act, 1904**

In January 1902, Thomas Releigh (member of the Viceroy's Executive Council) Commission was appointed in which two Indians-Syed Husain Bilgrami and Gurudas Banerji-were also made members. On the basis of Releigh Commission's recommendations, the Indian Universities Act, 1904 was passed.

## Recommendations of The Indian University Act, 1904

1. The number of fellows of a University Senate was not to be less than fifty or more than a hundred. A fellow was to hold office for a period of six years.
2. Majority of the fellows of a university were to be nominated by the Government.
3. The Government could veto the regulations passed by the Senate of a University. The Government could frame regulations on its own or alter the regulations framed by the Senate.
4. For affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges, Government approval was necessary. The Universities lost this power to the Government. For appointment of lecturers and professors, the Government's approval also became mandatory.
5. Post Graduate courses were introduced in the universities. They started not only conducting examinations, but also taking classes.

The Act directed Universities to focus on their academic role research and teaching. Clearly, the intention of the Government was to check the tide of nationalist feelings among the educated elite. The educated elite began to feel the heat of the increased control of the Government over their Universities and went ahead and opened their own educational institution. Despite all efforts, the literacy rate in 1911 census was only 6%. By the Resolution of February 1913, the Government of India urged the provincial governments to take early steps to provide free elementary education to the poorer and backward sections of the population. The Resolution stressed for the improvement of quality of schools and the establishment of universities in each province.

## **The Saddler University Commission, 1917-19**

The Government of India appointed the Saddler Commission in 1917 to study and report on the problems of the Calcutta University. This Commission also reviewed the entire field, from school education to university education. Like the Raleigh Commission, this Commission too had two Indians as members- Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee and Zia-Uddin Ahmad.

### Recommendations of the Saddler University Commission

1. The school course was to be for twelve years. After Matriculation, students had to pass an Intermediate examination from the Intermediate College. The Commission recommended setting up a separate Board or even being attached to selected high schools.
2. The duration of the degree course should be limited to three years. Honours courses should be distinct from the regular pass courses.
3. Autonomous institutions were to be given more encouragement.
4. Centralised residential-teaching universities were to be encouraged. These institutions were also to be given autonomy to facilitate their day-to-day working.
5. Women education was to be encouraged in a big way. The establishment of a special Board of women Education in the Calcutta University besides many other facilities that would help more and more women take up courses in school, colleges and Universities.
6. Provision of facilities was to be made for training teachers and setting up the Department of Education at the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca

The Saddler Commission also suggested the establishment of more Universities with a view to spreading more education and raising the literacy level in the country. In the five years from 1916-21, seven more universities were started: Patna University, Mysore University,

Banaras University, Aligarh Muslim University, Dacca University, Lucknow University and Osmania (Hyderabad) University. Besides, many individuals also set up colleges and Universities. G.K. Karve at Pune established Indian Women University in 1916. Vishwabharti (1921) at Shantiniketan was established by Rabindranath Tagore. Indian Institute of Science (1911) at Bangalore, Forest Research Institute (1914) at Dehradun, Indian School of Mines (1926) at Dhanbad were some of the famous institutes set up by the Government.

The Government of India Act, 1919 transferred the Department of Education to the control of popular ministers in the various provinces, but the ministers had limited power and thus could not contribute much to the progress of education.

### **Hartog Committee, 1929**

The Indian Statutory Commission appointed a Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Phillip Hartog to report on the development of education. Its main finding were:

Primary education should be given more importance than it is being given. It also needs consolidation and improvement. The students for the University- level should be checked at school level itself. A student should be diverted, after the middle stage, towards academic and vocational courses. Only selected students must be allowed to pursue higher education. Only then the standard and quality of universities could be maintained and improved.

### **Wardha Scheme of Basic Education**

Apart from the Government, the Indian National Congress, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, proposed a scheme of education called 'Basic Education' and also known as "Wardha Scheme". Under the chairmanship of Dr. Zakir Hussain, a noted educationist and who was to be the President of free India, a committee worked out details of the scheme to be implemented in the provinces.

The main aim of basic education was 'learning through activities'. Gandhiji believed that education should be linked with crafts and manual productive work. However, the scheme had to be postponed due to the outbreak of Second World War (1939-45) and the resignation of Congress ministers from eight provinces.

### **Sargeant Plan of Education, 1944**

Sir John Sargeant was the educational adviser to the Government of India under whose leadership a national scheme of education was drawn. The plan envisaged a universal free and compulsory education for children between the ages of six and eleven. For children between the ages of eleven and seventeen, a secondary education of six years was to be provided. High schools were to be of two types: (a) Academics schools and (b) Technical and Vocational schools. The intermediate course was to be cancelled and replaced by an extra year, each at the higher school and the college stage.

### **Radhakrishnan Commission, 1948-49**

The first commission for reforms in education, after independence, was set up in 1948 under the chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, noted educationist and later the President of India, which submitted its report in August 1949. Recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission

1. Indianisation of education
2. Starting rural universities, on the pattern of Jamia Millia Islamia, which was established in Okhla village in Delhi.
3. Twelve years of pre university educational course.
4. Emphasis was to be on subjects like agriculture, commerce, education, engineering, technology, medicine, and law which would develop the country's intellectual resources by leaps and bounds.
5. A university degree should not be considered as essential for the administrative services.
6. The working days at the university should not be less than 180 days in a year, exclusive of examination days.
7. Tutorials and seminars should be made a part of university activities to improve the standard of examination.
8. University education should be placed on the concurrent list form system of examination should be implemented.
9. The salaries of teachers should be raised.
10. A University Grants Commission should be set up to regulate and finance the universities.

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 16: Tribal and Peasant Revolts (1)**  
Nikhil Sheth

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### Popular Resistance

In pre-colonial India popular protest, the Mughal rulers and their officials was not uncommon. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed many peasant uprisings against the ruling class. The imposition of a high land revenue demand by the state: corrupt practices and harsh attitude of the tax collecting officials, were some of the many reasons which provoked the peasants to rise in revolt. However, the establishment of colonial rule in India and the various policies of the colonial government had a much more devastating effect on the Indian peasants and tribes.

British colonization of India's economy and society took place over a protracted period through piecemeal conquest and consolidation. Due to a consistent horizontal and vertical expansion of the British imperial rule, different segments of Indian society encountered the colonialism and intermittently reacted against it. At each step, this process generated discontent, resentment, and resistance. The various resistances against the British rule in 19th century were proto nationalist in nature.

At a time when elite intelligentsia and powerful people in India were focused on reforming the society to address criticisms from the West, rural communities were responding to colonial rule differently. The urban elites benefited from colonialism, but traditional elites and peasants were negatively impacted and reacted with resistance and defense, trying unsuccessfully to restore their old ways of life.

### Peasant and Tribal Revolts

With the establishment of British Rule in India, a long-drawn-out tradition of revolts and rebellions commenced. During the first 100 years of British rule, there were many civil rebellions. These rebellions were often led by people who were no longer in power, such as deposed rajas and nawabs, as well as their descendants, uprooted and poor zamindars, landlords, and poligars, and former employees and officials of the conquered Indian states. The backbone of these rebellions was made up of peasants who were charged high rent, artisans who were struggling financially, and soldiers who were demobilized.

There was hardly a year without armed opposition or a decade without a major armed rebellion in one part of the country or the other. From 1763 to 1856, there were more than forty major rebellions apart from hundreds of minor ones. These revolts and rebellions were inherent in the constitution of British Rule because the discontent produced by the sufferings under British Rule came out in the form of revolts and rebellions.

## Causes of the Peasant Revolts

The peasant revolts were a response and reaction to the circumstances created by the establishment of the British Rule and rapid changes introduced in the economy, administration, and land revenue system.

1. The British Rule in India was **colonial in character** because it was guided by the interest of Britain.
2. British rule was **alien**, unfeeling and **insensible**.
3. Colonial endeavor to draw Indian economy into the **world capitalist system** and attempts to develop capitalist agriculture had in many cases a devastating impact on agrarian relations.
4. In the British land revenue system, the land **revenue rates** were **exorbitant**. The appropriation of peasants' surplus by the company and its agents, the increasing burden of **taxes made the peasants completely dependent** on the mercy of the revenue intermediaries and officials, the merchants and the money-lenders.
5. **Creation of property rights** in land and consequently of a land **market resulted** in the replacement of **customary relationship with contractual one**.
6. **The commercialisation of agriculture** ironically promoted **famine and hunger**.
7. Due to the British trade and industrial policy, the **rural handicraft industry declined**. So, thus **impoverished artisans** put a lot of pressure on agriculture.
8. The British power expanded in India at the cost of some popular rules and zamindars. Often, **peasants revolted in favour** of these **dispossessed ruling elites**.
9. The British economic policies caused poverty for Indian peasants, and their grievances were ignored by the **British administration**. The **British law and judiciary did not help the peasants** but instead protected the interests of the **government, landlords, merchants, and money-lenders**. The implementation of new and unfamiliar courts and legal systems led to the oppression of the poor by the rich. As **a result, the peasants took up arms** to defend themselves against colonial exploitation and lack of justice.

As a result, it disrupted agrarian society, causing prolonged and widespread suffering among its constituents. Discontent produced by this suffering came out in the form of **repeated revolts**.

## Causes of Tribal Revolts

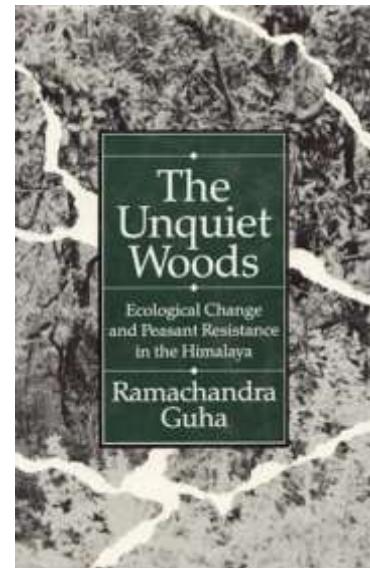
Rural India had been inhabited by the tribal population from the beginning. The tribal communities lived in relative **seclusion and isolation** for centuries and in varying states of **economy**. Each tribal community maintained its own socio-religious and cultural life and its political and economic organisations. They lived at the **periphery of the settled Hindu peasant societies** and enjoyed autonomy of culture, which was based on egalitarian ethos.

Until the arrival of the British in the tribal areas, the main means of production and subsistence for the tribals were land and forests. The forests were of great significance for the tribals all over India. They had depended on the forest for **food, fuel and cattle feed**. They had **customary rights to use** the minor forest products. Their right to use the forest products

was recognized. They practiced shifting cultivation (jhum, podu, etc.), taking recourse to fresh forest lands when their existing lands showed signs of exhaustion.

Tribal communities had chiefs and clan councils that managed their social, religious, economic, and political affairs. The people paid their respective chiefs some amount of land produce, but it was not a legal obligation. Instead, it was a moral requirement, and the chiefs received voluntary contributions in kind and a few days of free labor every year from the people.

During the colonial era, tribals also, being a part of Indian society, shared some problems with the peasants. Additionally, they had some unique features also like -



1. The establishment of British Rule affected the life of tribals in many ways. The colonial administration ended their relative isolation and brought them fully within the ambit of colonialism.
2. The isolated tribal communities were connected with the outside world following the introduction of means of communication and transportation. The self-sufficient tribal economy was converted into market economy.
3. Political
  - a. Political independence enjoyed by tribals was taken away. The traditional tribal chiefs were removed from their traditional role. The clan councils of the tribals were replaced by the councils of rajas consisting of their followers. Sometime, British recognized the tribal chiefs as zamindars and introduced a new system of land revenue and taxation of tribal products.
  - b. The customary system of justice was replaced by the new legal system. The new legal system was not suitable for the tribals. The tribals could not afford to utilise the new legal system, as they were not educated, and they did not have money for the fees of the lawyers. The British brought a host of petty government official and clerks in the tribal areas. Oppression and extortion by policemen and other petty officials further aggravated distress among the tribals.
4. Agrarian Economy: British introduced market economy in tribal areas, the customary tribal rights on forest and land were also taken away. It paved the way for the strengthening of Zamindar-moneylender-contractors nexus, which exploited the gullible tribals.
  - a. The tribal land system was marked by its collective ownership of land (eg khuntakatti) and absence of the landlords. But the British changed the land system of the tribals. It introduced and encouraged individual ownership.
  - b. British created the hitherto unknown class of zamindars (landlords) in the tribal areas and reduced the tribal position to tenants. These zamindars were considered outsiders by the tribals. The traditional land system of the British was turned into tenancy systems.
  - c. The British also introduced contractors (**Thekedars**) in the tribal areas. The zamindars and thekedars introduced the land rent in the tribal areas.

- d. The tribal tenants had to pay the rent in cash. As they did not have cash with them, they had to borrow from the money-lenders. Hence, a class of money-lenders also came into being in the tribal areas.
  - e. These outsider middlemen (zamindar-theke-dar-mahajan) were the chief instruments for bringing the tribal people within the vortex of the colonial economy and exploitation. They created debt-trap and increasingly took possession of tribal lands. Thus, tribal people increasingly lost their lands and were reduced to the position of agricultural labourers, share-croppers and rack rented tenants on their own land.
5. Colonialism also transformed their **relationship with the forest**.
- a. The forest policy (1884) of the British curtailed the tribal rights to use the forest produce. These new forest regulations appeared as encroachments on their natural rights.
  - b. Development of the communication system i.e. telegraphic, roadways and railway services and the introduction of the common administrative system ruined the natural economy of the forests.
6. **Labour exploitation**
- a. **Begari** – There was a growing discontent among the tribals against the increasingly exploitative 'begari' system. It was further accentuated due to the bonded labourers by the British. The revenue farmers and government agents also intensified and expanded the system of beggar, making the tribals perform unpaid labour.
  - b. Tribal, captured through middlemen, were sent as a 'contract labour' (indentured labour) to various plantation and outside the country where their labour exploited.
7. **Socio-cultural aspects:**
- a. The British interfered in tribal socio-religious practices in the name of reforms.
    - i. Some of the British policies - imposition excise duty on intoxicants in 1822, ban on Jhum cultivation in 1867, ban on opium farming etc. amounted to undue interference in tribal way of life.
  - b. They also resented the activities of Christian missionaries especially in Bihar and Assam.
    - i. Under British rule, Christian missionaries were encouraged to enter tribal areas, resulting in upsetting the socio-cultural dynamics. Moreover, during times of conflict, the missionaries refused to take up arms and discouraged rebellion led to their being viewed as extensions of colonialism.

The colonial intrusion and the triumvirate of traders, moneylender and revenue farmer in sum disrupted the tribal identity to a lesser or greater degree. The sufferings caused by these direct and indirect effects of BR forced the tribals to raise their voice and pick up the weapons resulting in repeated revolts and rebellions.

## Evolution of Forest Policy in Colonial India

**Lord Dalhousie** emphasized the need for a definite forest policy in 1856. With the introduction of the Railways in 1850s, huge amount of timber supply was needed. Also, Indian teak, suitable for ship building, was exploited.

The foundation of scientific forestry was laid when **Sir Dietrich Brandis**, a German forester was appointed as the first Inspector General of Forests in 1864. **Forest department** was founded in that year (1864) on the assumption that the Indians lacked sense of conservation. Passing of the First **Indian Forest Act in 1865** extended the British Colonial claims over forests in India. empowered several local governments to declare certain areas as State Forests.

**The Forest Act of 1878** established a virtual State monopoly over the forests in a legal sense. It truncated the centuries-old traditional use by communities of their forests and transformed their customary right to access forest into a privilege that could be withdrawn at will. It secured the colonial governments control over the forestry.

**The Indian Forest Act, 1927** (India's main forest law) had nothing to do with conservation. It was created to serve the British need for timber. It also sought to override customary rights and forest management systems by declaring forests state property and exploiting their timber. It established three categories of forests, reserve forest, protected forest and village forest. Reserve forest was the most restricted.



**Dietrich Brandis** was Inspector General of Forests in India from 1864-83. He formulated new forest legislation and helped establish research and training institutions.



**Imperial Forest School (1884)**, Dehradun is today known as the Forest Research Institute.

## Character of Peasant and Tribal Revolts

Colonial authors with sympathies towards the British and the established order viewed these uprisings as a law-and-order issue, overlooking the range of problems faced by these groups from pre-colonial to colonial times. Rebels were often portrayed as primitive savages resisting "civilization." The gullible common people joined the conspiracy of disgruntled leaders because they were misled.

Nationalists tended to rope in peasant and tribal history for anti-colonial purposes, but they sometimes ignored other aspects of the oppressed people's struggle. Those more sympathetic to the cause of the tribals and peasants tried to understand the domain of peasant and tribal action in its own terms.

1. The basis of these peasant revolts was **regional with limited goals**.
  - a. The peasant and tribal revolts were **localized** in character. Their spread was limited to a small territory. For the Santhals it was a battle for their '**fatherland**' which had been grabbed by the outsiders. Their fight then was for this land which belonged to them in the good old past and was now snatched away from them.
2. **Ethnic ties** were a basic feature of the peasant and tribal rebellions. At this level the solidarity shown was of a very high order.
  - a. Peasants identified more with their **cultural groups** rather than with their **economic class**. It was thus easier to mobilize on **religion/caste** rather than their **economic status/class**.
3. Often, the leadership of the movement had a **messianic outlook**. They weren't backed by any **modern ideology**. On the whole, these movements had social and religious overtones. Religion as an **ideology brought** people together. But they were directed against the issues related to their existence.
4. Some features of the peasant and tribal protest movements demonstrate a certain level of **political and social consciousness**.
  - a. The Kols in 1832 did not attack the tribal population in a **clear recognition** of who their allies were. Fellow peasants/tribals were never attacked unless they had **collaborated** with the enemy. At the same time, **not all outsiders** were attacked as enemies. They identified their enemies in the outsiders (**dikus**) - **landlords, money-lenders, thekedars and missionaries and European government officials**.
  - b. Being public and open, these rebellions were **political actions, different from crime**. Inspite of the attempt of British officials to portray them as criminals, the rebel's mode of action tells **another story**. The public legitimacy ultimately allowed **public conference, planning, assembly and attack**. For example, the Santhals gave ample **warning in advance** to the villages they attacked. This shows that the form of control was attacked rather than just outsiders.
5. The peasant and tribal revolts represented **history from below** because these were revolts of common **masses**. The participation of elite classes was absent.
6. Mostly, these revolts were **directed against immediate exploiters**. The landlords and **money lenders** were their main targets. The rebellions dissolved once their **immediate grievances** were addressed. Thus, these peasant movements didn't show a clear understanding of the **nature and character** of colonial exploitation.
7. Peasants and tribal revolts were **unplanned** and unorganized in character. In most cases these revolts represented **sudden outbursts**.

8. There was no continuity of struggle or long-term goal.
9. These revolts were violent in nature, but they didn't use modern weapons. The tribals fought against their enemies with their traditional weapons i.e. bows, arrows, lathis and axe!
  - a. Sometimes, the peasant could take recourse to the judicial legal system in many cases but tribals had no such option. Tribal revolts were far more violent than the peasant revolts because the element of fear and intensity of reaction was far greater among tribals when compared with the peasants.
10. Peasant and tribal revolts failed because they were ruthlessly suppressed by British rulers.
  - a. They were put down with Exemplary savagery. Eg Santhal Hool.

While most of the peasant and tribal revolts failed, they were not entirely unsuccessful because they set the stage for the significant uprising of 1857. Despite being suppressed, the underlying discontent among these groups persisted. This accumulated discontent ultimately erupted in the form of the 1857 revolt, which is why some argue that the peasant and tribal rebellions paved the way for the events of 1857.

*One groups of people in India that never stopped resisting and compromised with the British, who fought them relentlessly, the adivasis in India. For over 100 years they were fighting British, when the remaining elites were negotiating an accommodation in the colonial hierarchy (raja-rani feudal people). So fierce was the resistance that in 1871, the British passed a law - the Criminal Tribes Act (1870s) - criminalizing 200 tribes saying that you are genetically criminals. (The pardhis, the pahariyas etc). It is 60 years before Nazi Germany did a similar thing. But we think that British were sportsmen, and believed in fair play while Nazis were bad...! British anticipated the Nazi ideology by a century.*

- P. Sainath

### Evolving Character of the Peasant Movements

1. **Early peasant movements** during later of 18<sup>th</sup> c and first half of 19<sup>th</sup> c
  - a. Targeted local exploiters such as landlords and money lenders.
  - b. Used violent methods, these exploiters were physically attacked and killed. Their houses were burnt.
2. **After 1857,**
  - a. The struggles were directed towards specific and limited objectives and redressal of particular grievances. The movements were directed against the immediate enemies of the peasant—foreign planters and indigenous zamindars and moneylenders. Colonialism was not the target of these movements.
  - b. There was growing involvement of the educated middle-class intelligentsia as spokesperson for the aggrieved peasantry, thus adding new dimensions to their protests. They performed an important role, they tried to connect the localised and isolated peasant and tribal movements to a wider struggle against the undesirable aspects of colonial rule.

- c. The peasants developed a strong awareness of their legal rights and asserted them in and outside the courts. The peasants used peaceful methods to protest the exploiting elements.

### 3. During the opening decade of 20th century

- a. Though the fundamental causes behind these peasant movements were the same as the ones in the 19th century, their nature had changed.
- b. Now the movements were marked by a new feature: they were deeply influenced by and in their turn had a marked impact on the ongoing **struggle for national freedom**. There was a rise of anti-colonial consciousness.
  - i. During this phase the peasants became a part of the mainstream national movement and didn't remain only against economic grievances.
  - ii. Also, it didn't remain limited to local areas alone.
- c. Role of Indian National Congress
  - i. Despite the fact that the Indian National Congress came into existence in the late 19th century, it took cognizance of the peasant problems only in the second decade of the 20th century. With the appearance of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian political scene, the Indian National Congress experienced a metamorphosis. Its sphere of influence was extended, and it assumed a mass character.
  - ii. The Congress formed peasant communities in rural areas and took note of peasants' grievances. However, the peasant movements initiated by the Congress were invariably restricted to seeking relief against the excessive rates of land revenue, and were in no case directed against the zamindars.
- d. Leadership – Led by Congress, Communists also apart from peasant leaders themselves.
- e. The peasant movements of the 20th century had a firm basis of political **ideology**. Peasants organized themselves into various **class associations**.
  - i. UP Kisan Sabha (1918), Awadh Kisan Sabha (1920), Eka movement (1921)
  - ii. The first Kisan Congress held at Lucknow in 1935 led to the formation of the All-India Kisan Sabha. The programme of the Sabha reflected the aspirations and needs of the entire peasantry in agrarian India.
  - i. Towards the last phase of Indian national struggle for independence, the Kisan Sabhas and peasants responded to the call of national leadership and participated in various movements such as Civil Disobedience Movement, Quit India Movement, etc. in heroic manner.

### 2. Post Independence

- a. Communist – Tebhaga, Telangana, Naxalite
- b. Gandhian – Bhudan, Gramdan and Sarvodaya movement
- c. Green Revolution → New Farmers Movement
- d. Intersectional – environmental, feminist, dalit, Adivasi movements etc.

discuss the character of major tribal uprising in British India in the 19th century

causes intro  
character body

conclusion

organization  
leadership & objective  
prog/ method  
membership  
space time.

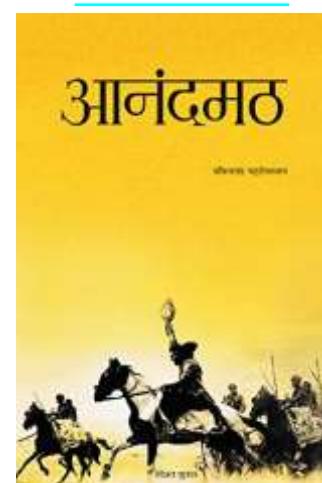
conclusion

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 17: Tribal and Peasant Revolts (2)** adsf  
Nikhil Sheth

**Peasant Movements**

**(1) Sanyasi-Faqir Rebellion, Bengal (1770-1820s)**

- Sanyasi
  - The Hindu Naga and Giri armed Sanyasis once formed a part of the armies of the Nawabs of Awadh and Bengal, and also of the Maratha and Rajput chiefs.
  - In 1770, Bengal was visited by a devastating famine leading to anarchy. Originally peasants, even some evicted from land, these sanyasis were joined by a large number of dispossessed small zamindars, disbanded soldiers and rural poor.
  - Sanyasis revolted against taxes imposed on pilgrims (immediate trigger). Now, they attacked English factories and started collecting money from cities. After nearly half-a-century long strife, the Sanyasi Uprising ended in the second quarter of the 19th century.
- Faqirs
  - Faqirs were a group of wandering Muslim religious mendicants. Shortly after the annexation of Bengal in 1776-77, Majnum Shah, the leader of these Faqirs, began to levy contributions on the zamindars and peasants and, defied the British authority.
  - After Majnum Shah's death, Chirag Ali Shah, supported by Pathans, Rajputs and the disbanded Indian soldiers extended the operations to the northern districts of Bengal. Two famous Hindu leaders who supported him were Bhawani Pathak and Devi Chaudhurani, a woman.
  - The Faqirs led by Chirag Ali Shah gained considerable strength and attacked English factories, seized their goods, cash, arms and ammunitions. There were a number of skirmishes between the Faqirs and Company's troops. The Faqirs were finally brought under control at the beginning of the nineteenth century.



The cause of Faqir-Sanyasis formed the background for the work **Anandmath**, by the famous Bengali novelist, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. 'Vande Matram', which was to become the national song during the Swadeshi Movement, was penned in the same novel. Another novel **Devi Chaudhurani** also mentions the revolt.

## (2) Chuar Revolt, Jangal Mahal (1766-1816)

- When the East India Company first began collecting revenue in the Jangal Mahal district of Bengal in 1765, the Chuars revolted against them.
- Ganga Narayan Singh led a revolt against the British in 1832–33, called Bhumij rebellion, which was the continuation of Chuar Revolt.

## (3) Rangpur Rebellion (Dhing), Bengal (1783)

- An armed rebellion in Rangpur area of Bengal against the illegal exactions of company and its revenue contractors.
- Basically, a revenue contractor Devi Singh and his agents had unleashed a reign of terror on these areas. This revolt started under the leadership of Dhiraj Narayan and Nuruluddin.

## (4) Pagal Panthi Rebellion, Mymensingh Region, northern Bengal (1824)

- Karam Shah was the founder of the Pagal Panth - a semi religious sect having influence in the northern districts of Bengal. This order sought to uphold religious principles and the rights of landless peasants in Bengal.
- An activist fervour to the sect was imparted by Tipu, the son and successor of Karam Shah. Tipu was motivated by both religious and political motives and took up the cause of the tenants against the oppression of the zamindars.
  - Apart from excessive zamindari revenue, there were additional reasons for the resentment of peasants in this region. The British wanted to construct roads in these areas to deploy army easily for the Burma war and ryots were forced to do begar in the road construction.
  - To meet the costs of war, severe taxation was imposed on the region's peasants by the Company and the landlords. Forcible collections and usurpation of property increased peasant discontent and they resisted strongly.
- Revolt
  - Tipu captured Sherpur in 1825 and assumed royal power.
  - A rumour spread among the peasants that raj of company and zamindars is ending and the reign of Tipu is imminent. Peasants gave an armed resistance to the British forces that arrived in the area.
  - The insurgents extended their activities to Garo Hills.
  - The area remained disturbed in the 1830s and 1840s.

## (5) Faraizi Movement, Eastern Bengal (1838-51)

- The Faraizis were the followers of a Muslim sect founded by Haji Shariat-Allah of Faridpur in Eastern Bengal.
  - They advocated radical religious, social and political changes. The sect tried to spread pure Islam and persuade people in East Bengal to give up un-Islamic practices. They appointed Caliphs at Dacca, Pawna, Jessore and Barasal to spread his thoughts. (Reformist dimension).
  - Additionally, the movement also tried to protect the rights of the peasants. It was against forced cultivation of Opium, feudal exploitation by zamindars and tyranny.

of indigo planters. The Faraizis took the aggrieved peasants to the courts and sued the concerned zamindars. This movement was in a way a struggle between the lower class and the bourgeoisie.

- Shariat-Allah son **Dadu Mian** (1819-60) organised his followers with an aim to expel the English intruders from Bengal.
- The Faraizi disturbances continued from 1838 to 1857. Most of the Faraizis joined the Wahabi ranks. Later on, during the partition of Bengal in 1905, the leaders/followers of the movement supported the Nawab Salimullah of Dacca and British in favour of the partition.

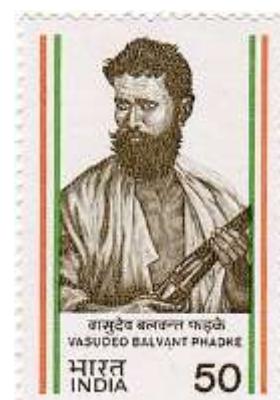
#### (6) Narkelberia Uprising, Bengal (1831)

- Titu Mir adopted Wahhabism, and advocated Sharia laws, bypassing/contradicting the tradition of folkish Islam in Bengal.
- However, his revolt can also be located in the larger context of uprisings of peasants in Bengal, who were the first to suffer the impact of colonial systems of taxation and agricultural extraction. Mir refused to pay the enhanced tax imposed on poor peasants in North 24 Paraganas district and then organised and led protests, which irked the land holders, both Hindu and Muslim.
- Eventually the zamindars and British administrators jointly mobilised forces against Titu. A large British force was sent by Governor-General William Bentinck to Narkelberia which laid seige to Titu's bamboo fortress in 1831. Finally, the fortress fell and Titu was bayoneted to death; 50 of his comrades were killed. At least 800 of Titu's soldiers were captured and 140 were sent to prison.



#### (7) Ramosi Revolt (1820s, 1880s), Maharashtra

- Ramosi tribals lived on the western Ghats. Ramoshis used to work for night patrolling and fort security in Maratha region and collected taxes from few peasants in return. But after the defeat of the Maratha Empire, this right got vanquished. In 1826, Umaji Naik organized the peasants.
- In 1879 under the leadership of **Vasudev Balwant Phadake**, Ramosis revolted again in the wake of the devastating famine. Starting with dacoities, they soon took revolutionary methods and guerilla warfare. But the movement was suppressed. Phadake was captured and tried in Pune court and transported for life to Aden, Yemen. (His was defended by GV Joshi)



#### (8) The Moplah Rebellions (Malabar 1835 - 1921):

The Moplah rebellions of Malabar, South India, were **not only directed against the British but also the Hindu landlords**. Hike in revenue demand and reduction of field size, coupled with the oppression of officials, resulted in widespread peasant unrest among the Moplahs of Malabar.

## Background

In the traditional Malabar land system, the **jenmi** held land by birth right and were mostly **high-caste Hindus**. The land was given by the ruling raja to **Namboodiri Brahmins** whose obligation was to look after the **temple** and related institutions, and to the **chieftains** (**mostly Nayars**), who provided martial aid when needed. They let the land out to others for cultivation. The other main sections of the **Malabar** society were the **kanamdar**, who were mostly **Moplahs**, the **verumpattamdar** (cultivators) and **agricultural labourers**. The peasants were mostly the Muslim Moplahs.

British by recognizing the jenmis as the **absolute owners** of the land gave them the **right to evict the tenants at will**. This reduced the others to the status of tenants and leaseholders. The courts and the **law officers** sided with the **jenmis**. Once the jenmi landlords, who had the backing of the **revenue officials**, the law courts and the police started tightening their hold and demands on the subordinate classes, the **Moplah peasantry rose up in revolt**.

Twenty-two rebellions took place between 1836 and 1854. None, however, proved successful.

- The first outbreak occurred in 1836 and the ones in 1841 and 1849 being quite serious.
- The first phase of the uprisings from 1836 to 1854 witnessed 22 revolts and had messianic overtones. The faithful Muslims died in the belief that as Ahadis they would go straight to heaven.
- The second phase of the revolts was recorded in 1882-85, and another spate of outbursts in 1896.

The pattern of the rebellion was uniform with usually a group of Moplah youths attacking a Brahmin jenmi or a Nayar official or a jenmi's servant, burning or defiling a temple or attacking the landlords' house. The police would then crack down on them and the rebels would then seek refuge in either a mosque or the temple.

## Peasant Movements after 1857

### **Indigo Revolt (1859-60)**

Indigo Revolt of 1859-60 was the most widespread and radical peasant movement. It was led by Digambar, Vishnu Biswas and Malda's Rafiq Mandal in Gobindpur village.

This was a direct fight against exploitation due to barbaric atrocities of the Indigo planters. Indigo was an important export commodity for the East India Company. Mostly Europeans were involved in the indigo manufacturing industry. In Bengal, the indigo planters, nearly all Europeans, exploited the local peasants by forcing them to grow indigo on the portion of their lands instead of the better paying crops like rice. The planters forced the peasants to take advance sums and enter into fraudulent contracts which were then used against the peasants. The planters intimidated the peasants through kidnappings, illegal confinements, flogging, attacks on women and children, seizure of cattle, burning and demolition of houses and destruction of crops.

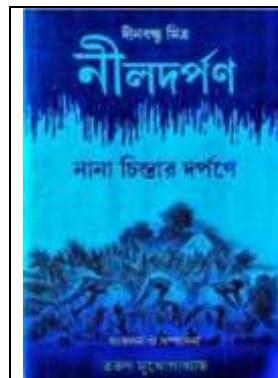
The anger of the peasants exploded in 1859 when, led by Digambar Biswas and Bishnu Biswas of Nadia district, they decided not to grow indigo under duress and resisted the physical pressure of the planters and their lathiyals (retainers) backed by police and the courts. They also organised a counter force against the planters' attacks. The planters also tried methods like evictions and enhanced rents. The ryots replied by going on a rent strike by refusing to pay the enhanced rents and by physically resisting the attempts to evict them.

Gradually, they learned to use the legal machinery and initiated legal action supported by fund collection. The Bengali intelligentsia played a significant role by supporting the peasants' cause through newspaper campaigns, organisation of mass meetings, preparing memoranda on peasants' grievances and supporting them in legal battles.

Later, a committee (Indigo Commission) was set up by the government to examine the condition of the peasants. Based on its recommendations, the Government issued a notification in 1860 that the ryots could not be compelled to grow indigo and that it would ensure that all disputes were settled by legal means. But the planters were already closing down factories and indigo cultivation was virtually wiped out from Bengal by the end of 1860.

**The major reasons for the success of the Indigo Revolt were:**

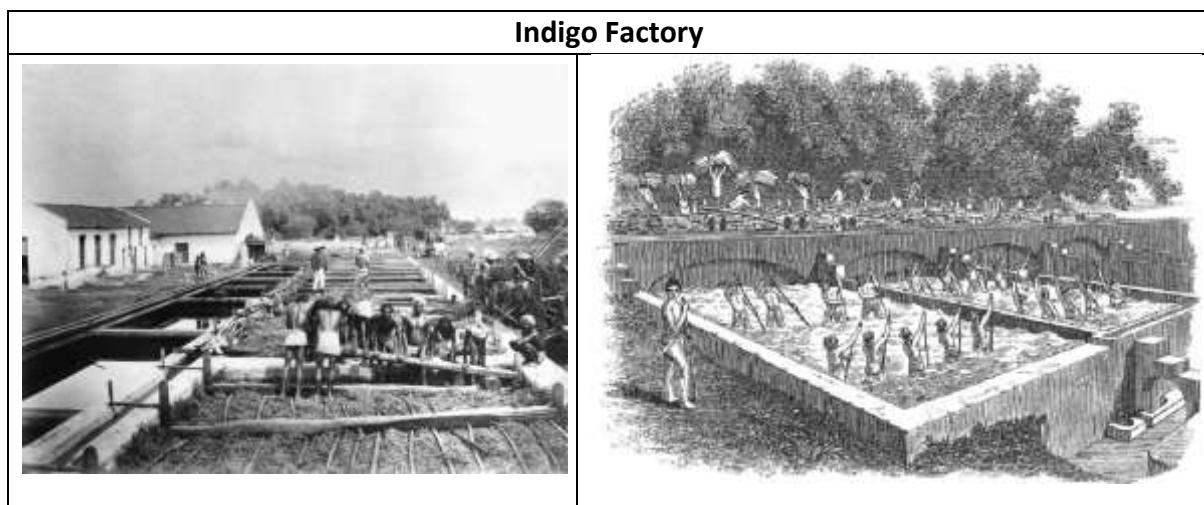
- The tremendous initiative, cooperation, organization and discipline of the ryots.
- Complete unity among Hindu and Muslim peasants.
- Leadership for the movement was provided by the more well-off ryots and in some cases by petty zamindars, moneylenders and ex-employees of the planters.



The vivid portrayal of oppression of the peasants has been described by **Deenbandhu Mitra** in '**'Neel Darpan'**'.

It was translated into English by **Michael Madhusudan Dutta** and published by **Reverend James Long**, for which he was jailed with the charge of sedition and later deported.

- Role of Intelligentsia, legal support and role of press (Harish Chandra Mukherjee, editor of Hindoo Patriot)



### Pabna Revolt of Bengal, 1873

During the 1870s and 1880s, large parts of Eastern Bengal witnessed agrarian unrest caused by oppressive practices of the zamindars. The zamindars resorted to enhanced rents beyond legal limits and prevented the tenants from acquiring occupancy rights under Bengal Tenancy Act of 1859. To achieve their ends, the zamindars resorted to forcible evictions, seizure of cattle and crops and prolonged, costly litigation in courts where the poor peasant found himself at a disadvantage.

Having had enough of the oppressive regime, the peasants of Yusufshahi Pargana in Pabna district formed an agrarian league to resist the demands of the zamindars.

- The league organised a rent strike, the ryots refused to pay the enhanced rents, challenging the zamindars in the courts. Funds were raised by ryots to fight the court cases. The struggles spread throughout Pabna and to other districts of East Bengal.
- The main form of struggle was that of legal resistance; there was very little violence.

Though the peasant discontent continued to linger on till 1885, most of the cases had been solved, partially through official persuasion and partially because of zamindars' fears. Many peasants were able to acquire occupancy rights and resist enhanced rents. The Government also promised to undertake legislation to protect the tenants from the worst aspects of zamindari oppression. In 1885, the Bengal Tenancy Act was passed.

#### **Reasons for success:**

- What persuaded the zamindars and the colonial regime to reconcile themselves to the movement was the fact that its aims were limited to the redressal of the immediate grievances of the peasants. It was not aimed at the zamindari system.
- A number of young Indian intellectuals supported the peasants' cause. These included Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, R.C. Dutt and the Indian Association under Surendranath Banerjee.
- Once again, the Bengal peasants showed complete Hindu-Muslim solidarity, even though the majority of the ryots were Muslim and the majority of zamindars Hindu.

- An important feature of this movement was not against the British rulers. On the contrary, the peasants were willing to be tenants of the Queen.

### Deccan Riots (1875)

#### Causes:

- The ryots of Deccan region of western India suffered heavy taxation under the **Ryotwari system**.
- Here again the peasants found themselves trapped in a vicious network with the moneylender as the exploiter and the main beneficiary. These moneylenders were mostly **outsiders - Marwaris or Gujaratis**.
- The conditions had worsened due to a crash in cotton prices due the end of the American civil war in 1864 (after short-lived boom), the Government's decision to raise the land revenue by 30% in 1867, and a succession of bad harvests.

- **Nagpur Railway** started in 1867
- **Bombay Stock Exchange** est. in 1875 by a cotton merchant Premchand Roychand

In 1874-75, the growing tension between the moneylenders, and the peasants resulted in a social boycott movement organised by the ryots against the "outsider" moneylenders. This social boycott spread rapidly to the villages of Poona, Ahmednagar, Sholapur and Satara. Soon the social boycott was transformed into agrarian riots with systematic attacks on the moneylenders' houses and shops. The debt bonds and deeds were seized and publicly burnt.

The Government succeeded in repressing the movement. As a conciliatory measure, the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act was passed in 1879. This time also, the modern nationalist intelligentsia of Maharashtra supported the peasants' cause.

### Dirang Movement (1893-94)

In the Kamrup and Dirang areas of Assam, a new land revenue settlement system was rolled out in 1893-94 in which the land revenue rates were hiked 50 to 70 per cent.

To face up to this challenge, rural councils were set up under the leadership of rural elites. In these councils, it was decided that the payment of land revenue would be stopped. In order to implement this decision on a significant scale, social boycott was also invoked so that whosoever went against this decision. An important feature of this movement was the method of protest through the system of Panchayat and Dhobi-Nai Bandh. This is perhaps the first instance of such a comprehensive social boycott.

Jorhat Public Assembly supported the call for land revenue demand reduction and the Bengali moderate congress leader Ras Bihari Bose raised this issue in the Imperial Legislative Council. This movement continued further under the leaders like Pushpram Kanhar.

## 19<sup>th</sup> century Tribal Revolts

### Palamu revolt (1790)

- It was first major tribal revolt against the British land revenue system began in Palamu in 1790 where local tribals rose against the exploitation of zamindars. The police action by the local raja aggravated the situation. The British made a bid to appease the restive tribals by replacing the incumbent raja. But it wasn't a permanent solution.
- Similarly, Cheros (1817) and Mundas (1819) revolted in favour of old zamindars that had been emasculated by the company rulers.

### Ho Revolt (1820)

- Hos tribals revolted in 1820 CE at a place called Porahat, on the border of modern Orissa and West Bengal. Zamindars suppressed it with the help of company sepoys till 1821-22.
- But the tribals had to make significant concessions in the agreement e.g. they had to accept the sovereignty of the company, agree to pay taxes to the zamindar, allow other communities to settle in their villages, and let their children be taught Hindi or Odia.

### Kol revolt (1822)

- Unrest of Kol tribals of Chotanagapur region began in 1822 CE. In Chotanagapur region, tribals region were deeply upset with the move of British government to impose a 4 anna cess per house on the production of a mildly intoxicating drink produced from rice (hariya) in 1822 CE. It was implemented from 1830 CE. Opium was being coercively cultivated in the area from 1827 onwards.
- Eventually, tribals united themselves and broke out in a revolt in 1831 CE which is known as the Kol revolt. It was led by Sindrai Manki and Bindrai Manki. On 11th December 1831, people of Tamar and Bargaon villages gathered in Lanka village and decided to launch a movement against the foreign rule, zamindars and diku (outsiders).
- Bhumij Revolt of 1833-34 was actually an extension of the Kol revolt in which the British rule and zamindars were once again targeted. This revolt was suppressed by the Captain Thomas Wilkinson.

### Santhal Hul (1855-56)

Amongst the tribal revolts of 19th century, the Santhal revolt was the most remarkable one. It took place in 1855-1856 CE.

In the sixty-odd years after Robert Clive's victory in Plassey in 1757, the British gradually settled Santhals. With the introduction of permanent settlement in Bengal in 1793, the Santhals were employed as labourers with the promise of wages or rent-free lands.

From the 1820s officials encouraged landless indigenous Santhals to migrate from the jungle plateau (Chota Nagpore) into the uplands of 'Lower Bengal' — the core of which was the Damin-i-Koh and the Rajmahal Hills." However, they were forced to become agricultural serfs, exploited at will. They soon developed the forest land on their own labour and started cultivation.

Soon the outsider zamindars and moneylenders started to deceitfully grab their land at the behest of the British. They were made to pay rent on their own land, and they were punished severely if they failed to pay on time. They were also constantly being exploited by the moneylenders who gave loans at exorbitant interest (50 to 500%)

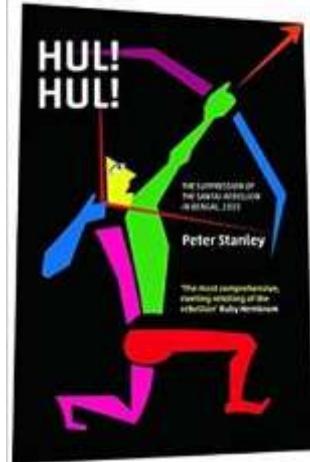
- The Company's government too protected the oppresso
- rs rather than redressing the grievances of the Santhals, which turned them against the British.
- The beginning of railway construction in the area also alarmed them because most of the Santhals were made to do begar but paid meagre sums.

Sahib rule is trouble full,  
 Shall we go or shall we stay?  
 Eating, drinking, clothing,  
 For everything we are troubled;  
 Shall we go or shall we stay?  
 (Santhal song)

Up to 1854, the unrest among the Santhals peaked. On 30th June 1855, approximately 6000 tribals from 400 villages assembled in Bhaganidih for a public meeting. A unanimous decision was taken to stage an open rebellion in order to chase the outsiders away, to replace the foreign rule with a **Satyuga** and to set up a self-rule based on justice and religion. Two main leaders of the Santhal Revolt, **Sidhu** and **Kanhu Muru** declared that the god **Thakurji** had decreed that the Santhal country no longer belonged to the sahebs, so the Santhals should take up arms for its liberation. Thakurji would himself fight on their side.

Within a month, the rebellion had assumed a formidable shape. The rebels cut off the postal and railway communications between Bhagalpur and Rajmahal, proclaimed the end of the Company's rule and commencement of the Santhal regime. They attacked the houses of moneylenders, zamindars, white planters, railway engineers and British officials. The open war with the British continued till February 1856.

Marshal Law was imposed on the areas and bounties were announced for the capture of their leaders. The rebellion was crushed ruthlessly in 1856.



Stanley shows, the Hul, inadvertently, turned out to be a concerted effort as “[other] non-Santals also joined the Hul. Company records refer to rebels who were manifestly not Santals. Santal metal tools and weapons, for example, were made by Bengali smiths living in their villages, and the records contain references to Hindu cattle-herders and oil-men who often lived among their Santal neighbours, and who became swept up in the turbulence of the Hul.”



An illustration of an engagement during the Santhal rebellion which appeared in The Illustrated London News in 1856

More than 15,000 Santhals were killed while tens of villages were destroyed. Sido was betrayed and captured and killed in August 1855 while Kanhu was arrested by accident at the tail-end of the rebellion in February 1866. And 'the Rajmahal Hills were drenched with the blood of the fighting Santhal peasantry'.

Although the British crushed the rebellion, the Santhal revolt wasn't completely unsuccessful as the British authorities were compelled to create a separate district called the Santhal Pargana due to it.

### **Khond Uprisings (1837-56)**

- The Khonds lived in vast hill tracts stretching from Tamilnadu to Bengal, covering Central Provinces, and in virtual independence due to the inaccessible mountainous terrain. Their uprisings from 1837 to 1856 were directed against the British, in which the tribals of Ghumsar, China-ki-Medi, Kalahandi and Patna, actively participated. The movement was led by Chakra Bisoi in the name of the young Raja.
- The main issue was the attempt by the government to suppress human sacrifice (mariyah), introduction of new taxes by the British and the influx of zamindars and saukars (money-lenders) into their areas, which was causing the tribals untold misery.
- The British formed a Mariah Agency, against which the Khonds fought with tangi, a kind of battle axe, bows, arrows, and even swords. Later, Savaras and some local militia clans also joined in, led by Radhakrishna Dandasena. Chakra Bisoi disappeared in 1855, after which the movement petered out.

### **Rampa revolt (1840-62)**

- The hill chiefs of the Koya and Konda Dora tribes of the Rampa area revolted many times against their chiefs from 1840 CE to 1862 CE. The reason for March 1840 revolt was that these mansabdars tried to increase levy on timber wood and grazing land. At its height, the revolt covered an area as large as 5000 square kilometre and it took 6 regiments of the Madras Infantry to suppress it.
- Later, in the Vishakhapatnam agency, a Konda Dora chief named Kora Mallayya claimed that he was possessed by the gods in 1900 CE. He gathered some 4000 to 5000 tribals around him and claimed that he was an incarnation of one of the Pandava brothers and his infant son was an incarnation of Lord Krishna. He used to claim that he would fight the British out the region.

### **Koya Rebellion (1850s-70s)**

- It took place during 1879-80 in the eastern Godavari tract of present-day Andhra Pradesh and also affected some portions of Malkangiri district in Orissa. Its hub was in the 'Rampa country' of Chodavaram where tribal Koya and Konda Sara hill chiefs **had risen against their overlord, a mansabdar family that was in collusion with the British** in 1803, 1840, 1845, 1858, 1861 and 1862.
- The 1879-80 rebellion was led by Tomma Sora and addressed problems faced by tribals, like erosion of customary rights over forests, mansabdar's efforts to enhance taxes on timber and grazing, police exactions, exploitation by moneylenders, and new excise regulations restricting domestic production of toddy. Tomma Sora was hailed as the king of Malkangiri. The rebellion at its height affected 5,000 square miles and the peasants

took over a police station. Sora was shot dead by the police and the movement collapsed under the massive assault of six regiments of the Madras infantry. In 1886 another uprising took place here. The rebels, led by Raja Anantayyar, formed themselves into Ram Dandu (Ram's Army) and appealed to the Maharaja of Jeypore to help them in throwing out the British. This uprising was 'proto-nationalist' in nature.

### **Munda Ulgulan (1899)**

Among the 19th century tribal revolts, the Munda revolt of 1899-1900 CE was an important one. It was led by Birsa Munda. It was also known as Ulgulan or the Great Upheaval.

Before 1850s, Mundas rose up in rebellion seven times against the landlords, dikus, money-lenders and the British, who sided with the oppressors. In the post-1857 period with a hope of better future, many Mundas turned to the Evangelical Lutheran Mission, which was overseeing mission work in Chhotanagpur.

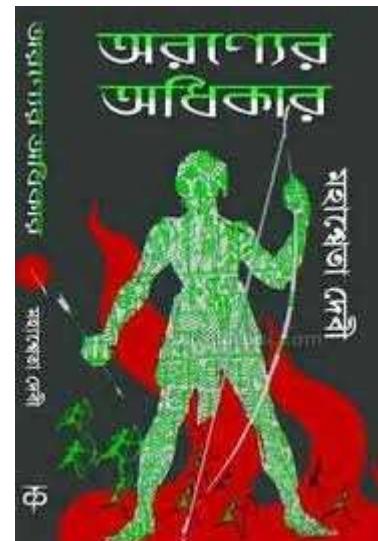
The Mundas were oppressed due to the disregard for khuntkatti rights by the zamindars bonded labour, begar, etc. The transformation of the Mundari agrarian system into non-communal, feudal, zamindari or individual tenures was the key issue. Moneylender and merchant thekedars (forest contractors) added to the Munda woes. Soon, many Mundas became more militant and broke away seeking redressal of their grievances, once they realised that the missionaries could not provide a solution to them. This resulted in the identification of the Christian missionaries as extensions of the colonial officials by the tribals.

Initially, tribal leaders raised their voice against this systematic exploitation. An interesting feature of the Munda revolt is that, before they turned to an armed revolt, the Mundas took recourse to legal remedies for alleviation of pain of the Mundas. It is only when all hopes were dashed, they took up arms.

During 1890s, 'Sardari Larai' (war of the leaders) was fought with the aim of expelling dikus, and restoration of the Munda domination over their homeland. While it failed, it did not peter out but remained dormant and in need of a charismatic leader. It was given a new life by Birsa Munda.

The Ulgulan (Great Tumult) of Birsa Munda in the region south of Ranchi in 1899-1900 is the best-known tribal rebellion of this period. Under him, the movement acquired a millenarian character under Birsa Munda. Birsa had received some education from the missionaries and later came under Vaishnava influence. His initial popularity was based on his claim of possessing medicinal and healing powers, by which his followers could become invulnerable. The Mundas envisaged an **ideal and just society, which would be free from exploiters, both indigenous and European**. Women too participated in the movement. Birsa called himself Dharti Aba, father of the world.

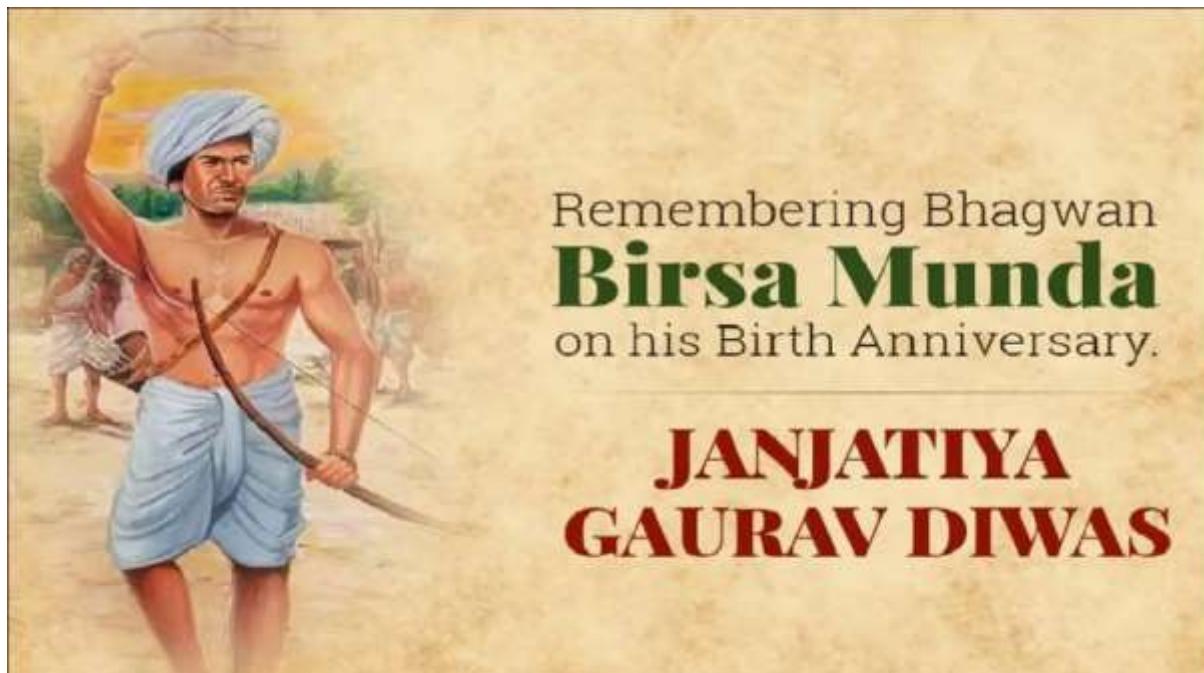
The uprising began on the Christmas Eve of 1899, when the Birsaites attacked the converts who had gathered to observe the Christmas celebrations. Thereafter, they burned many villages and churches. Police became their target in 1900, The rebels were defeated in a fight at Sail Rakab hill, and Birsa died in jail. Nearly 350 Mundas were tried, of whom three were hanged and 44 transported for life. However, the Birsaites sect survives till date amongst the



Mundas. They uphold monotheism and puritanical social reform in the hope of distant deliverance rather than an immediate one.

Some belated relief was provided by the **Chhotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908** with recognition being given to joint farming rights and ban on beth begari or forced labour. Though the claim that the Ulgulan was a full-fledged nationalist is a bit far-fetched, a primitive but basic anti-imperialist thrust can be observed in it.

Saheb Katong Katong, Rari Katong Katong . . .  
(O father, kill the Europeans, kill the other castes O kill, kill...).





# Life, legend of tribal icon Birsa Munda

"BIR BIRSA ne baagh mara (The brave Birsa killed a tiger)". This passing reference is all I could recollect on tribal icon Birsa Munda during my early years of education. That was because while mainstream historians recognised the contribution of leaders such as Chandragupta Maurya right up to socialist politician Jayaprakash Narayan, very few acknowledged the role Birsa Munda played in India's tribal rights movement and freedom struggle.

It wasn't until J C Jha, professor of history at Patna University, published his seminal work on the 'Kol revolt' – the mutiny of the tribal people against economic exploitation in 1831–1832 – in the 60s and his student, Kumar Suresh Singh, took his work forward that Birsa Munda began to be recognised as an important historical figure. Singh went on to become an IAS officer and served in Khunti, the epicentre of the Birsa Munda rebellion.

It was his book, originally titled *The Dust Storm and the Hanging Mist* and later published by Oxford University Press as *Birsa Munda and his Movement 1874–1901*, that offered the first mainstream account of the life and times of Birsa Munda – from his transformation from a Christian convert to a healer and prophet and finally, a rebel who is credited with coining the war cry "Ulgulan (Revolt)".

Born in the late 19th Century, around 1874, in a poor, peasant family, Munda grew up at his aunt's home in Chlakad, away from his father's birthplace in Khunti. There are stories of the crippling poverty that surrounded him and of days spent without food.

Munda converted to Christianity in 1886 and a ceremony was performed on this occasion. At the root of such conversions lay the community's struggle for survival: the promise that their land, which they had been deprived of due to the rise of the feudal system and the resultant economic exploitation, would be returned to them.

Though Munda trusted the missionaries, he fell out with them and quit his missionary school. This was to be the turning point of his life, resulting in him coining the catchphrase: "Saheb Saheb ek topi (The British and missionaries wear the same hat)." It laid the seeds of anti-missionary and anti-British ideas in his mind.

Birsa was deeply influenced by tribal chieftains – also known as Sardars – and by their silent resistance between 1858



Born in the late 19th Century, Munda was a Christian convert and healer before he turned a rebel

and 1896 to British repression. Their petitions and complaints to the police and collector, and even to the court, against their economic exploitation and demanding restoration of land rights fell on deaf ears. According to Ranchi Gazetteers, the tribal communities paid Rs 1 lakh over a decade as fees to lawyers, clerks and court staff. Such was the exploitation. The tribal socio-economic system was disintegrating, yet the resistance remained peaceful until 1886.

Between 1894 and 1896, Birsa turned spiritual and was known as "Birsa, the roghar (healer of diseases)" and with that grew tales of his miraculous powers. He also briefly propagated his own religion, Birsait, which was said to be influenced by both Christianity and Vaishnavism. Birsa also painted himself with turmeric, throwing a powerful aura around him. Here we also get a peek into the mind of a master strategist: he was willing to set the narrative and communicate, whether through social or religious means.

The last decade of the 19th century was also the culmination of various rebellions across the country: Rampa revolt on the banks of the Godavari by Alluri Sitarams Raju, Bhil Revolt in Rajasthan under Guru Govindgiri, Dhur rebellion in Chhattisgarh and, simulta-

neously, in Keonjhar Odisha.

The failure of the silent rebellion by tribal chieftains had a huge impact on Birsa. Then came the political movement of 1895, when Birsa used his popularity to exhort people to not pay rents on their lands. The tone of Birsa's preachings also changed – he said that he would not heed to the converted, and the outsider.

On August 22, 1895, Birsa was arrested by the British on charges of conspiracy to "disturb the peace of the area".

Supporters in thousands thronged Khunti, where his trial was being conducted. He was released after two years, but the rebellion was far from over. Birsa Munda wanted the land freed from European missionaries as well as the British officials and continued the movement to assert their rights of Munda tribes as being the true owner of the land.

It resulted in several bow-and-arrow attacks by the Munda tribes on foreigners, and culminated in arson, when a part of the Khunti police station was burnt down.

The British retaliated and many of his supporters died in police firing on Sail Rakab Hill, where they had taken refuge. Several people died and Birsa Munda was arrested in February 1900. A few months later, he died in prison, possibly due to cholera.

As the death fuelled the discontent among the tribals, British officials conceded and prepared a 'records of rights' of the tribal land owners. The Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908, which has bearings in Jharkhand even today, put in place restrictions of the sale or transfer of tribal lands.

Despite this rich history, barring a few instances where Birsa Munda was remembered, it was not until 1982 – when Munda's statue was erected in Rourkela, Odisha, 130 kilometres away from Khunti, by daily-wage workers who faced police brutalities – that Birsa Munda was thrust into public consciousness.

As word spread, a photograph of Munda was unveiled in Parliament in 1989, and a statue came up in 1998. Since last year, the Central government has been marking Birsa Munda's birth anniversary on November 15 as 'Adivasi Gaurav Diwas (Tribal Pride Day)'. On November 15, India's first tribal President, Droupadi Murmu, paid her respects at Ulihatu, considered the birthplace of Birsa Munda.

*The writer is a serving IAS officer and author of Lords of the Global Village, a book on the lives of Jharkhand's Asur tribe*

# The inspiration for New India: The unsung martyrs of Mangarh

More than 1,500 tribal freedom fighters died, battling colonial rule. India's growth story was incomplete when the tribals were left behind. In New India, the community must have a prominent place.

Written by Arjun Ram Meghwal

Updated: December 20, 2022 05:15 IST

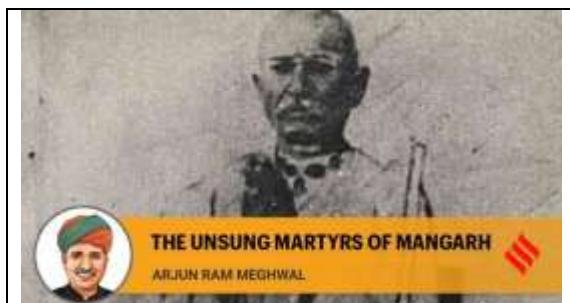
The Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav is an apt occasion to introspect and motivate people to make sure the nation scales new heights. Several heroes who sacrificed their lives for the country during the freedom struggle have remained unsung. On November 15, the country celebrated the second Janjatiya Gaurav Divas, the birth anniversary of Birsa Munda, by recollecting the valour of tribal freedom fighters. Today, we pay our respects to the courageous tribal martyrs led by Govind Guru, who fought the British rulers in the early 20th century.

Born in a nomadic community in the Dungarpur-Banswara region of Rajasthan, Govind Guru was influenced by the teachings of Swami Dayanand Saraswati to work for the socio-religious upliftment of people from the Bhil community. While the colonial state was engaged in an organised loot of India's resources, Govind Guru drew from Indian traditions and ideals to promote harmony amongst the tribal communities. He was 25 when he founded the Samp Sabha for this purpose in 1883. From 1903 onwards, Mangarh hill became famous for an annual congregation of the Bhils and other tribal groups in the region.

At that time, the demand for self-rule was gathering currency amongst the people of the country. The divide-and-rule policy of the British, the Bengal Partition and the drain of wealth from the country had dented the moral foundation of British rule. Govind Guru demanded that the colonial state reduce the revenue rate during famines and stop encroaching on the religious freedom of tribal communities and harming their culture. The Bhils and other tribals were engaged in a long standoff with the British. On November 17, 1913, a full moon day, Mangarh hill witnessed a mass gathering of more than 1.5 lakh Bhils. They swore allegiance to their guru and sought to fulfil their spiritual desires. The gathering also resolved to find ways to end the British hegemony, especially the unjust revenue regime.

'Bhuretia Nahi Manu Re' (I will not accept the tyrannical rule of white people), the song of the tribal people has, since then, become an anthem of sorts for them. Govind Guru's calls for protesting against the injustice of the colonial rulers laid the foundation of the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Sensing trouble from the congregation, the British deputed seven companies to surround the Mangarh hill and tried to suppress the tribals with the fear of bullets and cannons. But the brave tribals could not be subdued. Their awakened consciousness and new-found spirituality had raised their confidence and the desire to protect the motherland overwhelmed the fear of the bullet.



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The British ordered a mass shooting, and because of this inhuman act, more than 1,500 tribal freedom fighters died on November 17. The moral legitimacy of the British kept on eroding, especially after the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of 1919.

The sacrifices of these unsung heroes increased the moral quotient of the national movement. People began to see a stake in the country's freedom. The spirit of taking ownership of the country's welfare has passed down to people after the country gained Independence.



# Rajasthan's Jallianwala Bagh: A lost story

ON NOVEMBER 17, 1913, six years before the Jallianwala Bagh massacre of April 13, 1919, a horrifying tragedy occurred in Mangarh (Banswada, Rajasthan). While 379 lives were lost in Jallianwala, British cannons and machine guns are known to have killed more than 1,500 tribals in Mangarh.

Yet, unlike the Jallianwala massacre, this heinous crime against the tribals of Rajasthan could not find its place in the history of India's freedom struggle. While Amritsar was closer to Delhi and in the hands of prominent politicians and freedom fighters, the same was not the case with Mangarh. Much like today, the tribals of Mangarh struggled to find their place in Indian society even as they fought with all their might for India's Independence.

A noteworthy name in these lost pages of history is that of Govind Guru, a revolutionary leader of the tribals of the region that included present-day Udaipur, Dungarpur and Banswara in Rajasthan, Gujarat's Idar and Malwa in Madhya Pradesh. Guru was a living legend among the Bhil and Garasiya tribal communities, a man who united thousands of tribals with his voice.

Bhil soldiers also played a significant role in the battlefields of Mewar – the erstwhile Mewar army's emblem that portrayed a Bhil archer next to a Rajput warrior is further proof of their importance. In fact, their significance can be traced in the battlefields of Haldighati to Maharana Pratap's slogan "Bhili jayo rani jayo bhai-bhai (A Bhil's son and that of a queen are brothers)".

Before Govind Guru became a leader in India's freedom struggle, he played an important role in India's renaissance movement. At the age of 25, he impressed Swami Dayanand Saraswati, a central figure of that movement in north India. Those days, Dayanand Saraswati was in Udaipur; a sanyasi, he was raising issues related to swaraj, swabhasha and swadeshi (self-rule, self-language, and self-reliance) in the country and was spearheading social reforms in the Rajputana. These two figures together initiated a wave of social reforms in the tribal areas.

In 1903, Govind Guru pledged not to drink alcohol, shifting his focus to eradicating social evils, boycotting foreign goods, ending forced labour, educating girls, and resolving mutual disputes among tribes instead of taking them to the



A fibre installation depicting the Mangarh massacre, at Rajasthan's Museum on Political Narratives that will be open to the public next month. Hamza Khan

courts. This led to the creation of a Sump (Unity) Sabha, whose first meeting was held on the hilltop in Mangarh. This historical event solidified Mangarh's significance in Indian history as it became central to the tribal movement in this area. Like the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, this incident worried the British government and the local princely states. While the British were worried about their participation in the freedom struggle, the princely states were more concerned about social reform that could lead to the tribes demanding an independent Bhil state.

Consequently, there were many attempts to suppress the movement that started in 1883 but had spread like wildfire by 1903. Called the Bhagat movement, the gathering of tribals around the fire to reaffirm their oath was seen by the British as a threat. By 1913, the movement had turned into a revolution that made British officers even more wary as the tribals pledged to fight against suppression.

In November 1917, thousands of tribals gathered on the call of Govind Guru to decide on a decisive action against the suppression being faced by them in the form of forced labour, bonded system, and taxes on farmers during the famine.

In what is today known as the Mangarh massacre, British soldiers fired cannons and machine guns at a large crowd of unarmed tribals who had gathered in an open space on the hilltop of Mangarh. More than 1,500 tribals were killed in the massacre and hundreds were injured.

While during the Jallianwala massacre, thousands of shots were fired after

closing the only gate of the garden, it is said that five times as many rounds were fired by the British officers in Mangarh. Like Jallianwala, anecdotes say, the firing stopped only when the soldiers ran out of ammunition. Yet, amid this brutality, the tribals of the area are said to have continued singing, "Hey Bhuretia Nai Maamu Re, Nai Manu Re (Hey, British, we will not agree)!". Their song about standing up to British suppression was as scary as it was magnificent.

The consequence of the Mangarh massacre was cruel. Unlike in the Jallianwala Bagh case, no Dyer was held responsible or punished here. Rather, Govind Guru was given a death sentence, and his wife was arrested. But fearing that the movement of tribal Bhils would turn violent, the British postponed his execution and sentenced him to 20 years of imprisonment on an isolated island. When he was released from jail, all the princely states came together to exile him. He lived his last years in Kamboi, Gujarat, where he died on October 30, 1931.

The cruel irony is that this extraordinary incident, which tells the story of tribal contributions to India's struggle for Independence, has still not found its rightful place in history. During Prime Minister Narendra Modi's November 1 visit to Mangarh Dham, it was expected that he would finally announce it as a national monument. However, for whatever reasons, it was not declared so.

(The writer is a senior journalist and an Adjunct Professor at Haridev Joshi Journalism University, Jaipur)

**Causes**

1. The colonial character of the British rule was the fundamental factor responsible for the revolt of 1857.
2. The revolt represented the discontentment of different social groups of India which had been seething since the previous century since the establishment of British rule which had adversely affected every section of Indian population.
  - a. Many native rulers were removed by the British, and their territories were annexed.
    - (a) Interference of Residents
    - (b) Doctrine of Lapse of Dalhousie
    - (c) Practice of granting pensions was discontinued (eg Rani Jindan, Nana Sahib, Lakshmi Bai etc.)
    - (d) Annexation of Awadh
  - b. Old elites and intermediaries were displaced. They lost both power and prestige.
    - (a) Replacement of Persian by English (affects Ashrafs adversely)
    - (b) Bentinck attempted to take revenue-free grants from zamindars, and later Governor-Generals continued with this policy.
    - (c) The revenue commissioner of Awadh, Coverly Jackson, disposed Taluqdars.
  - c. The peasants suffered immensely because of the impact of land revenue settlement.
  - d. The British trade policy ruined Indian handicraft industry. Thus, artisans and craftsmen became jobless.
  - e. Soldiers also suffered because they were discriminated against.
    - (a) Military law was based on racism. An Indian soldiers could rise only upto the post of subedar having money salary of Rs. 50. (low salary, bleak prospects of promotion)
    - (b) Withdrawal of the allowances (Bhatta) after the conquest and annexation of a province and ironically post the same troops in those very same provinces on reduced salaries.
    - (c) Military recruitment favoured higher caste Hindus. This led to growing caste sensibility among Indian soldiers. Thus, the question of compulsory overseas service (General Service Enlistment Act, 1856 – Burma and Afghanistan) became sensitive.

- (d) Moreover, being a part of Indian **peasantry**, Indian **soldiers** also suffered the **consequences** of the effects of the British rule on **countryside**.
- f. The **discontent** produced by this suffering came out **collectively** in the form of the great of 1857.
3. **Bruised socio-cultural and religious sensibilities** due to constant British interference.
- After 1813, many **Christian missionaries** were given permission to propagate their religion in **India**. Their **propaganda** was often very insensitive towards the feelings of **Hindus** as well as **Muslims**.
  - Moreover, the government took decision to **tax temple** and mosque lands which were granted **tax free** by local rulers. (**Iman Commission 1852** led to annexation of thousands of Jagirs).
  - Aggressive social reform** – Ban on Sati and Encouragement of **widow remarriage**. It was seen as **interference** in **social, cultural and religious** affairs of Hindus by a largely conservative society.
  - The passing of **Religious Disabilities Act in 1850** which entitled **sons** to retain their property rights even after conversion, thus modified Hindu customs.
  - The rumours of **mixing bone dust in flour** used in military cantonments further fueled the suspicion against British.
  - The **issue of greased cartridges** provided **immediate spark**. This incident triggered the revolt, that's why it is commented that in the immediate sense, revolt began as a battle to **safeguard religion**.



#### Factsheet – Sepoy mutinies before 1857

- 1764 – A military contingent revolted against **Munroe in Buxar**.
- 1766 – **Sepoys mutinied against Clive**.
- 1806 – **Sepoy mutiny of Vellore**. Tipu's sons played an important role in instigating this revolt. The British had interfered in some social and **religious practices**.
- 1824 – 47<sup>th</sup> Infantry refused to go to Burma on the issue of '**Bhatta**' - a charges for fighting oversea wars.
- 1825 – Sepoys of **Artillery division of Assam revolted**.
- 1838 – Sholapur mutiny, on the issue of '**Bhatta**'
- 1844 – 64<sup>th</sup> regiment refused to go to **Sindh**.
- 1849-50 – At Govindgarh Sepoys revolted.

### Timeline of the Revolt

<b>Time</b>	<b>Event/Reason</b>
1856	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Annexation of Awadh ; <u>Nawab Wajid Ali Shah</u> is deposed</li> <li>● Summary Settlement introduced (includes Awadh and North-Western provinces)</li> <li>● Religious Disabilities Act-1850</li> <li>● Post Office Act-1854</li> <li>● Death of prince <u>Faqiruddin</u></li> <li>● General Services Enlistment Act</li> </ul>
1857	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● 10th May - <u>Mutiny in Meerut</u></li> <li>● 11-12 May - Revolt in Delhi; <u>Bahadur Shah II</u> declared the emperor of Hindustan</li> <li>● 20 - 27 May - <u>Sepoys</u> rise up against British officers in Aligarh, Mainpuri, Etawah, Etah</li> <li>● 30 May - Lucknow added to <u>the revolt</u> centres</li> <li>● May - June - Revolt Spreads to larger region; includes <u>civilian population</u></li> <li>● June - Sir Hugh Wheeler surrendered to <u>Nana Saheb</u> and he was expelled from Kanpur</li> <li>● 30 June - British lose in the Battle of <u>Chinhat (outside Lucknow)</u></li> <li>● July - <u>Shahmal</u> killed by British forces</li> <li>● June - Sept - <u>Siege</u> of Delhi by British forces</li> <li>● 25th Sept - British Forces enter the Lucknow Residency under leadership of Henry Havelock and <u>Sir James Outram</u> ; Later Sir Colin Campbell arrived with reinforcements</li> <li>● 1st November - '<u>Queens Proclamation</u>' announced by Lord Canning at a Durbar in Allahabad, thus abolishing the Company rule</li> <li>● Dec - Kanpur captured by Sir Colin Campbell</li> </ul>
1858	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● March - Lucknow captured; Begum <u>Hazrat Mahal</u> escaped to Nepal</li> <li>● May- June - <u>Rani Laxmibai</u> captured Gwalior fort</li> <li>● June - <u>Rani Laxmibai</u> died on the battlefield; Maulavi Ahmadullah killed in <u>encounter</u></li> </ul>

### Various leaders associated with the Revolt

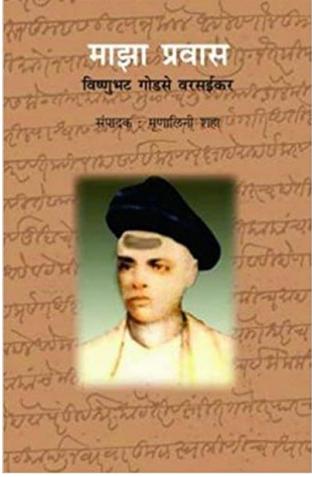
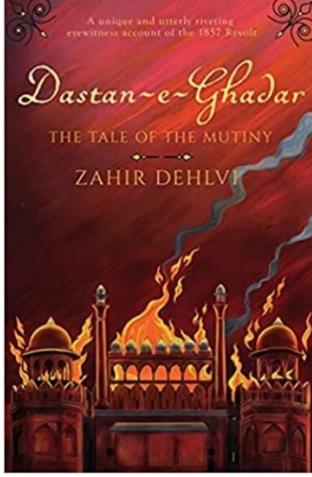
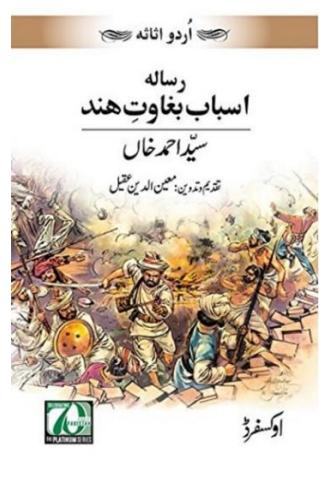
Barrackpore	<u>Mangal Pandey</u>
Delhi	<u>Bahadur Shah II</u> , <u>General Bakht Khan</u>
Delhi	Hakim Ashanullah (chief advisor to Bahadur Shah II)
Lucknow	Begum <u>Hazrat Mahal</u> , Birjis Qadir, <u>Ahmadullah</u> (advisor to the ex-Nawab of Awadh)
Kanpur	<u>Nana Saheb</u> , <u>Rao Saheb</u> (nephew of Nana), <u>Tantia Tope</u> , <u>Azimullah Khan</u> (advisor of Nana Saheb)
Jhansi	<u>Rani Laxmi Bai</u>
Bihar Jagdishpur	<u>Kunwar Singh</u> , <u>Amar Singh</u>
Allahabad and Benares	<u>Maulvi Liyakat Ali</u> in the famous <u>Khusro Bagh</u> of Allahabad
Faizabad	<u>Maulvi</u>

Farrukhabad	Tufzal Hasan Khan.
Bijnor	Mahammad Khan
Moradabad	Abdul Ali Khan
Bareilly	Khan Bahadur Khan
Mandsaur	Firoz Shah
Gwalior/Kanpur	Tantia Tope
Assam	Kandapareswar Singh, Manirama Dutta
Orissa	Surendra Shahi, Ujjwal Shahi
Kullu	Raja Pratap Singh
Rajasthan	Jai Dayal Singh and Har Dayal Singh
Gorakhpur	Gajadhar Singh
Mathura	Sevi Singh, Kadam Singh
Sambalpur	Veer Surendra Sai

### British Officers associated with the Revolt

General John Nicholson	Captured Delhi on 20 <sup>th</sup> September 1857 (Nicholson died soon due to a mortal wound received during the fighting)
Major Hudson	Killed Bahadur Shah's sons and grandsons in Delhi.
Sir Hugh Wheeler	Defence against Nana Sahib's forces till 26 <sup>th</sup> June 1857. British forces surrendered on 27 <sup>th</sup> on the promised of safe conduct to Allahabad.
General Neil	Recaptured Benares and Allahabad in June 1857. At Kanpur he killed Indians as revenge against the killing of English by Nana Sahib's forces Died at Lucknow while fighting against the rebels.
Sir Colin Campbell	Final recovery of Kanpur on 6 <sup>th</sup> Dec 1857. Final reoccupation of Lucknow on 21 <sup>st</sup> March 1858. Recapture of Bareilly on 5 <sup>th</sup> May 1858.
Henry Lawrence	Chief Commissioner of Awadh who died during the seizure of British Residency by rebels at Lucknow on 2 <sup>nd</sup> July 1857.
Major General Havelock	Defeated the rebels (Nana Sahib's force) on 17 <sup>th</sup> July. Died at Lucknow in December 1857
William Taylor	Suppressed the revolt at Arrah in August 1857.
Hugh Rose	Suppressed the revolt at Jhansi and recaptured Gwalior on 20 <sup>th</sup> June 1858. The whole of central India and Bundelkhand was brought under British control by him.
Colonel Onslow	Captured Benares.

## Nature and Character of the 1857

 <p><b>Vishnubhat Godse (1827-1904)</b></p>	 <p><b>Dastan-e-Ghadar THE TALE OF THE MUTINY ZAHIR DEHLVI</b></p>	 <p><b>رسالہ اسباب بغاوت ہند سید احمد خاں تحریک تحریک میں اندریں اوکسٹری</b></p>
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The Echo of the enormity of the 1857 reached London. The EIC was worried about its own future. Thus, it tried to undermine the enormity and gave it an undertone:

	<u>British Official Version</u>	<u>Indian Counter</u>
<b>Sepoy Mutiny</b>	<p>It was only a <u>mutiny</u> of <u>disgruntled sepoys</u>.</p> <p><i>Wholly unpatriotic and selfish sepoy mutiny with no native leadership and no popular support – Sir John Seeley</i></p>	<p>It was not a <u>Sepoy Mutiny</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Many of the leaders had no military background (eg <u>Nana Saheb</u>, <u>Laxmibai</u>, <u>Kunwar Singh</u>)</li> <li>It enjoyed the support of thousands of civilians.             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><u>Not only sepoys but also some nobles, kings, nawabs, tribals, artisans and peasants participated.</u></li> <li><u>In one sense, even sepoys were peasants in uniforms.</u></li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Muslim Conspiracy or Religious conspiracy</b>	<p>To <u>delegitimize</u> the revolt, British termed it as a <u>conspiracy of Wahabis</u>.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><i>It was a war of fanatic religionists against Christians - L.E.R. Rees</i></li> <li><i>A conflict between civilization and barbarism – TR Holmes</i></li> </ul>	<p><b>It is not fair to call it a Muslim conspiracy.</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>It involved many <u>Hindus</u> as well. Many influential regional leaders like <u>Laxmibai</u>, <u>Nana Saheb</u>, <u>Tatya Tope</u>, <u>Veer Kunwar Singh</u>, <u>Surendra Sai</u> were all <u>Hindus</u>.</li> <li>If symbolically, the <u>Mughal emperor</u> was given the status of the <u>emperor</u>, it was not because of his being <u>Muslim</u> but he was a symbol of unity of India also.</li> <li>There was Hindu-Muslim <u>unity</u> during the Revolt.</li> </ul>

1. It was **anticolonial** because the exploitation caused by British Rule was the fundamental reason behind the **revolt of 1857**.
2. It was not an isolated phenomenon. It was a **continuation** of the tradition of peasants and Tribal revolts. This, it was **not the first** revolt against British rule, but it was **first of its kind**.
3. The revolt was **unplanned** in nature.
4. Revolt was **violent** in nature.

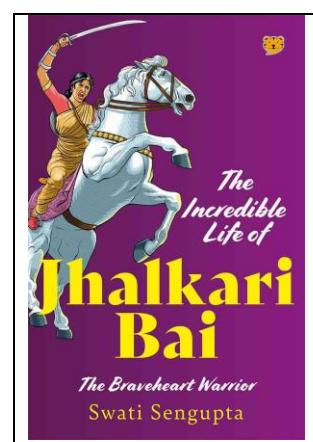
#### **5. Was it a war of national independence?**

- a. It **cannot be denied** that it was a **war Independence in local/regional sense**. Every rebel wanted to **expel the British from their areas**.
- b. Based on **numerical strength**, the **revolt of 1857** went ahead of the combined numerical strength of American and French revolution combined.
- c. Based on **geographical reach**, it spread not only in north and central India but also in **Poona and Kolhapur** in Maharashtra and some areas in Karnataka region and **Malabar Coast**.
- d. Even based on **social participation**, it can be characterized as national. Revolt began as a sepoy mutiny but at many places it assumed the character of a mass rebellion. **Peasants, artisans, craftsmen and other sections of common population** participates in large number.
- e. Based on the **interests/objectives**, it is true that different sections had different interests. One should understand that once **sectional interests converge at a single point**, then it **automatically becomes** a national interest.
- f. Based on the **concept of Nation**, the idea of a **modern pan-Indian nationalism** was absent among the rebels. The vision of India was more **regional** and not modern.

6. Revolt was **backward looking** because rebels wanted to turn the clock to pre-British period. They wanted to get rid of British alien government and **restore the old order** of which Mughal Emperor Bahadur Shah Jafar was the rightful representative.

7. **The revolt failed to achieve its objective.** The rebels could not turn clock back to pre-British period, but it was **not complete failure**.

- a. At one time it appeared as if the British Rule would come to an end. But the rebels were finally suppressed by British. **However**, inspite of its suppression, the revolt shook the foundation of the British Rule and forced them to initiate many changes in politico-admin, socio-cultural, economic and military policy.



Jhalkari Bai, leader of the women's wing of Rani Laxmibai's army

## Why did the Revolt fail?

The uprising of 1857 began with immense enthusiasm, creating an initial impression that the rebels might successfully overthrow British rule. However, over time, the British gradually regained control and ultimately managed to suppress the revolt.



### **1. Ideology:**

- a. The rebels lacked a clear understanding of the colonial rule. There was no coherent ideology and an alternative to what they were against. Backward looking character of revolt was the main reason for its failure.

### **2. Leadership, planning and organization:**

- a. On the one hand, the Nawabs, princes, and aristocracy were not able to provide organisation, coordination and centralised leadership to the revolt. On the other hand, the sepoys didn't have the training and experience of strategy-making in war. Thus, the revolt was largely unplanned, and its effects remained limited.
- a. Lack of unity among rebels was another important factor responsible for the failure of revolt. There was no coherent plan of action.

### **2. Participation:**

- a. The revolt affected only Bengal Army, while Madras and Bombay armies remained largely untouched. Recent recruits from Sikhs, Gurkhas and Pathans rather helped the British actively to suppress the revolt.
- b. Some Indian rulers either refused to join and some were actively in support of British. The Nizam of Hyderabad, Gulab Singh of Kashmir, Sikh ruler of Patiala Nabha and Jind, Holkars of Indore, Scindia of Gwalior, Nawab of Bhopal, Ruler of Tehri are some who helped the British suppress the revolt. They were referred to as 'breakwaters to storm'.
- c. Big Zamindars backed off once restoration of their lands was promised. Moneylenders who faced the wrath of revolt sought British patronage and protection.
- d. Western educated Indians supported the British rule believing that it will modernise Indian society.
- e. The Eastern, southern and western parts remained unaffected. Most of the Punjab, Rajputana and Kashmir remained peaceful.

### **3. Resources:**

- a. The mutineers were poorly equipped with very few guns and muskets.

- b. Better means of communication (eg electric telegraph line) and better weapons available with British also proved decisive rebels fought with traditional weapons such as swords. As a result of which rebels failed to stand the challenge of British.

### Changes introduced after the revolt of 1858

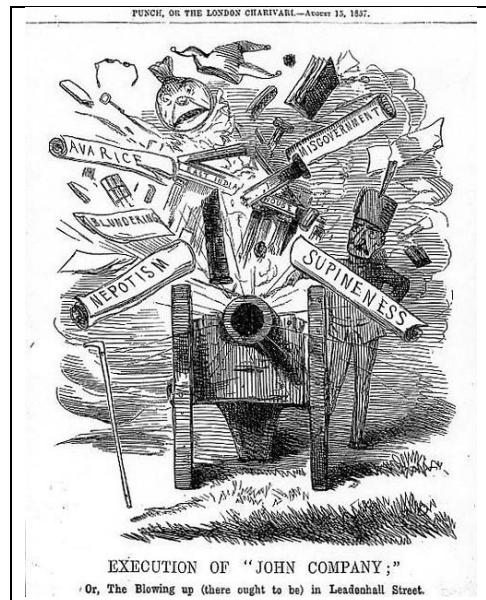
After 1858, the main purpose of British policy was to check the possibility of another revolt of masses.

1. Marked the end of Mughal rule as well as the East India Company. The direct British Raj commenced.

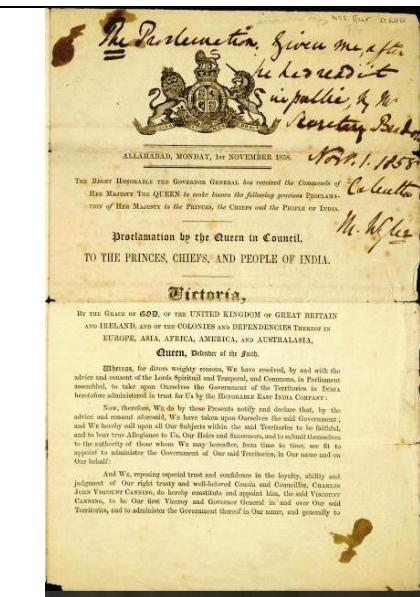
- a. British Parliament saw 1857 Revolt as the perfect opportunity (convenient excuse) to abolish the rule of the EIC in India. The Government of India Act 1858 transferred all East India Company's possessions to the British crown. The East India Company returned to being just a trading organization.
- b. Sovereignty over the Indian empire was asserted aggressively by delegitimizing the Mughals, the mock trial of Zafar being crucial for this, and by projecting Victoria as the benevolent and omnipotent monarch of all Indian subjects. Zafar was sent off to Rangoon where he died in 1862.

2. The Queen Victoria's Proclamation announced by Lord Canning on 1<sup>st</sup> Nov 1858 promised several changes in the nature and character of British Rule.

- a. Due regard would be given to ancient usages and customs of India. Government will not interfere in personal matters of people.
- b. No further extension of territorial possessions. The age of territorial expansion of British rule ended.



Parliament re-asserts the control. EIC is dismantled. Its navy is disbanded, army is absorbed in the Royal army and the Raj begins. Cartoon in Punch shows the East India House being blown by the cannon.



The Doctrine of Lapse was withdrawn and British promised to respect, dignity and honors of native princess.

- c. Administration will be managed by keeping in mind the needs and aspirations of people.
- d. It was emphasized that no discrimination would be practiced against Indians in appointment under state. Official services would be open to all without any discrimination of race or creed. To give expression to this pledge the Indian Civil Services Act of 1861 was passed, which provided for an annual competitive examination to be held in London for recruitment to the covenanted civil service.

### 3. The Government of India Act of 1858

- a. The role of the Governor-General became more pronounced, and his profile was now counted as the Viceroy as well.
- b. The previous dual government of Board of Control (established under the 1784 Pitt's India Act) and Board of Directors of the Company was abolished. The powers were now vested in the Secretary of State for India who was a minister of cabinet rank who was assisted by the India Council comprising of 15 members. There were 15 advisors to the new set up who had wide experience of working in India. Thus, the British Parliament was trying to create a mechanism to avoid any further chances of revolt in India.

### 4. Policy of caution and conservation along with divide and rule was followed by British in India after 1858.

- a. There was a shift in policy whereby the support of princely rulers and landed magnates, so called natural leaders of society (conservative elements), was actively sought to stabilize British rule. The colonial state became increasingly undemocratic and reactionary.
- b. It was felt that socio-religious reforms were responsible for the outbreak of revolt. The promise of reform and modernization was not vaporized.
- c. Rather, an active policy of divide and rule was pursued.
  - i. Hindu-Muslim unity during the revolt was met by communal British policies.
  - ii. The Tenancy Act of 1858 was passed to give safeguard to the ryots.
- d. A situation of mutual distrust was created between Indians and British.
- e. Racial arrogance of the British grew deeper. British government became more racist after 1858.



5. Policy of direct economic plunder was abandoned, and **indirect methods** were used to exploit Indian resources. Investment of **foreign capital** was the main instrument of exploitation after **1858**.

## **6. Reforms in Military**

- a. The sepoy were now seen with suspicion and therefore the British policy came to be governed by the idea of '**division and counterpoise**'. This means that the **composition of the army** was changed to manage a regional **division** within it.
- b. **Number of Indian soldiers** was reduced from **2.38 lakh** to **1.46 lakh**. Number of European soldiers was increased from **45000** to **65000**. The **ratio between Indian and European** was fixed at **2:1** for Bengal and **3:1** for Bombay and Madras presidencies.
- c. Indian were divided into **Martial and non-martial groups**. Those groups which **participated in revolt** were termed as non-martial and the groups which supported the suppression of revolt were termed as martial groups.

1) Anti-colonial tribal revolts in India were a direct outcome of the disruption of the tribal way of life discuss ( 10m ) ?

tribal societies's social and economic system are self-sufficient and autonomous in nature. disruption in social norms and economical conditions led to disturbance in tribal way of life

1) disruption 1) before britisher tribal practicing jumming agriculture. britisher force tribal people to settle in same place to collect more agricult tax. they settle other tribal people .

2) britisher created the forest law which prevent the tribal people from using forest resources and imply high tax on forest produce.

3) britisher buys forest produce like silk kakun a very cheap price. and impose heavy tax on natural resources. tribal people lended money from money lender they are mostly higher hindu ( ex mahajans , shetes) and they failed to repay his dept, because of britisher economically exploitory policy.

revolt : tribal revolted against british in leadership of birsa munda.

improvement : you can write the quantitative like more than 100 revolt happen that time it make question asked. or question depended.

1) forest settlements 2) private property tenants customary -> contractual 3) political chief justice system. forest (social -religious, political, economical, administrative) points. feminine.

## Success and failure of Socio-Religious Reform Movements:

- 1) Reformers of 19 century mostly lack mass base they were middle class upper cast intellectual who try to spread their idea through news paper and journals thus there reach were limited literate population in the cities only
- 2) Reforms of 19 century relied too much on the top-down legal route to bring social change however the Indian life guided by the custom and tradition the impact of legal reform vary limited without creating a proper climate the government legislation could not work no the ground.
- 3) Some radical ideas and extreme practice like young Bengal movement turn people away from the reform movements.
- 4) Earlier it was expected through making proper balance west and east and alternative modernization would be developed but in reality the dichotomy continued between the two rather for many reformer modernization meant westernization they fail to leave any impact on art and architecture and science and technology

The failure on their part should not actually undermine the importance their significance lays not in the number but in the fact they were trend setter

Although close to 19 century these reformist initiatives are vary powerfully changed by various revivals movement they ultimately contributed to making modern India

- 1) The reformist of 19 century were able to persuade the government to enact law to prohibits the prevailing socio religious events.

- 2) It prove to be starting point for the upliftment of the women lower cast and untouchable it affected the attitude and habits of people leading to Amelie's rations if not elimination of prevailing social evils
- 3) The reform moments revitalize Indian socio religious life to counter the challenge of cultural imperialism and aggressive propaganda by the missionary.
- 4) Reformist contributed immensely in growth of western education. Most of reformer in favour of the western education.
- 5) Reformer also contributed to growth of local literature.
- 6) The reformer of 19 century also contributed to rise of vernacular press.
- 7) By emphasising the rational and humanism to reformer on the path of modernisation.
- 8) By doing the some surgical work on the Indian society the reformer prepare the ground for the emergence of Indian nationalisms.

**Handout 19: 19<sup>th</sup> c Socio-Religious Reform Movements****Nikhil Sheth**

The socio-religious reforms movement which appeared in India in the 19<sup>th</sup> century is characterized as **Indian renaissance**. These movements played an important role in the emergence of a liberal and progressive new India. It is projected as the **harbinger** of modern age in India.

a person or thing that announces or signals the approach of another:

Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Keshub Chandra Sen, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and Swami Vivekanand endeavoured to create a new India by liberating the masses from the clutches of **prevailing evils**. Defining moment of the 19<sup>th</sup> c was the creation of modern Indian man.

**Reasons for emergence:**

1. Response and reaction to the **evils prevailing** in India.
2. The role of **orientalists** in producing a knowledge of **India's past**
3. The role of **English education** and the impact of western **liberal traditions**
4. The role of **Christian Missionaries**
  - a. Positive factor: spread of education.
  - b. Negative factor: attack of Hinduism with efforts at **proselytization**
5. The role of **social legislations** under British government
6. Rise of new social groups in India

**reform**

- 1) Rise of intelligentsia
- 2) language, literature, print media.
- western education
- Christianity
- reason + faith
- women question.
- state intervention.

**revival.**

- social and religious reform transform to political Gole.
- 2) Christianity
- communal identity.
- 3) revivalism
- urban -rural
- 5 antcaste movements

social groups  
brahmo samaj  
ramkrishna mission  
atamiy sabha.  
pathana samaj

**renaissance**  
**reformation**  
**enlightenment**

- 1) Hindu reform movements.
- 2) Hindu revivalist movements
- 3) Muslims reform+ revivalist movements
- 4) women's question
- 5) anti caste movements.
- 6) press.

## Categories of Socio-religious Response to British Rule

The contact with the West evoked a chain of reactions among the intelligentsia. But the response from the intellectual world was not monolithic. Some were traditional intelligentsia trying to resist alien influences while others were reformists trying to modernize Indian society. Both of these spoke similar language but there were certain differences too. Roughly speaking, four major reactions of the period are easy to identify:

<b>Radical reaction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Excessively westernized.</li> <li>• Rejected the indigenous tradition and religion as inferior to the supposedly superior tradition of the West.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Henry Vivian Derozio</li> <li>• Young Bengal Movement</li> </ul>
<b>critical Moderate reaction</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Aimed at a synthesis of the best ingredients from both the Western and Eastern cultures.</li> <li>• With the spirit of reason, they became critical of tradition and embarked upon the project of wholesale socio-religious reform.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Rammohan Roy</li> <li>• Brahmo Samaj</li> <li>• Prarthana Samaj</li> <li>• Gopal Krishna Gokhale</li> <li>• Agarkar</li> <li>• Aligarh Movement</li> </ul>
<b>Revivalist critical traditionalist</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Upheld their own civilization, valued their culture, and suggested only to eliminate the diseased, dysfunctional, irrational, obsolete or dead parts rather than borrowing uncritically from outside.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Arya Samaj</li> <li>• Bankim Chandra</li> <li>• Ramakrishna Mission</li> <li>• Aurobindo</li> <li>• Theosophical Society</li> </ul>
<b>Orthodox or conservative traditionalist</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Anchored to the traditional culture and religion, it organised itself in defence of Hinduism.</li> <li>• European ways were described as unworthy.</li> <li>• Developed great pride in the ancient past of India, especially the high traditions of Hinduism.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Radhakanta Deb</li> <li>• Gurukul faction of Arya Samaj</li> </ul>

These reactions, however, were not always mutually exclusive. Such reactions could be overlapping in character.

## Nature and Character of the Reform Movement

Basic emphasis of Indian renaissance was on following Values:

- **Rationalism:**

- It was applicable in every sphere of life e.g. child marriage was criticised not simply on the basis of moral & social values but also on the basis of human science. Likewise, Dadabhai Naoroji made a criticism of colonial economy on the basis of thorough application of liberal ideas.

- **Humanism:**

- Here humanism means the restoration of human dignity and to keep greater importance to human beings in relation to divine. Apart from that, it gives greater importance to this worldliness in comparison to other worldliness (life after death is other world).
- Humanism believes that every person is born good only the circumstances make a person bad.
- **Focus on improving this worldly life** was visible in the reform movements of 19<sup>th</sup> century. The reformers were disinterested in other worldliness; they did not invest their time and energy in unnecessary philosophical speculations.

- **Liberal and progressive**

- The reformers wanted to liberate Indians from clutches of prevailing evils. They did not attack Hinduism as a whole but targeted only evils. Their intention was to recast old religion into new form, to create a new India society with forward looking outlook.

- **It was basically a social movement than a religious one.**

- The basic concern of reformers was society not religion. But because the two were so much inter-woven, social reforms required religious reforms too.
- Reform movements were **composite in character** because they targeted evils prevailing in **social, religious as well as political life**. RRM Roy was the first modern political agitator in India.

- **Mix of reform and revivalism**

- English education in India initially attracted Indians to western liberal ideas. However, they soon realized the contradictions between British professed values and their actions, leading to a sense of reaction and a shift towards the traditional Indian model. Indian reformers were influenced by both western and traditional elements, with some emphasizing westernized ideas and others focusing more on traditional elements. The reformers' ideologies reflected a combination of both impact and reaction, with varying degrees of dominance for each influence.

- **Ideological challenge to the west**

- The socio-religious reforms movement was inspired by western elements but it gave an ideological challenge to western elements itself. It tried to explore

weaknesses in the western model. Eg RRM wrote Precepts of Jesus wherein he exposed weaknesses of Christianity as well.

- **Religious universalism:**

- It meant while working within the parameter of particular religious sect one has rise above sectarian boundary.

- **Assimilatory nature:**

- They accepted good elements from everywhere. The positive elements were adopted from India's **past** as well as from **western** societies.

- **Democratic outlook:**

- Reforms targeted **each section of population** so that every Indian could live a **dignified life**. This democratic **awakening** manifested itself initially in society and religion. Moreover, the reforms emphasized **equality of mankind**. They were **against discrimination** based on birth or any other ground.

- **Nationalistic outlook**

- Nationalism was also dominant in the reform movements because the reformers targeted divisive socio-religious practices. They tried to bring Indian of different castes and communities together so that one India could be created.

- **Peaceful manner:**

- Emphasize on **peaceful method** was another important identity of Indian socio-religious reform movements. Reforms propagated their message without attacking anybody, in **non-violent** manner.

- They represented **Indian renaissance**.

- Renaissance means rebirth/restoration/revival of past but Indian renaissance was futuristic. The reformers were inspired by the vision of better and brighter future. This renaissance paved the way for the emergence of new India.

### (1) Young Bengal Movement

- **Henry Vivian Derozio** (1809-31) worked as a lecturer at Hindu college.
  - His outlook was shaped by the influence of French Revolution and English radicalism.
  - He was in favour of Indianization of services and emphasized women's liberation and western education.  
He also raised the issue of tenants' security.
- Young Bengal
  - A group of radical youths gathered under his magnetic leadership. He created a band of followers in Hindu college.
  - To promote free discussion and exchange of ideas, Derozio formed the **Academic Association** in 1828 in the Hindu College.
  - Another organisation setup was the '**Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge**' founded in 1838. Tarachand Chakravarty was the president of the society and it had 200 members.
  - The Derozians also published a magazine **Parthenon** (according to another view it was **Athenaeum**).
  - They were influenced by the writings of thinkers such as Mill, Bentham, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Thomas Paine.
  - They were encouraged to criticise and scrutinise the evil practices like idolatry, caste system, untouchability etc.
  - Later he was expelled from the college.
- They came to the realization that the conservative and superstitious practices of Hindu society were too primitive to withstand logical scrutiny. Motivated by their studies, they were determined to bring about a radical transformation in society. They attacked rituals & social taboos and pleaded for radical change in society. It promoted the spirit of secularism in Bengal.
  - Mere verbal criticism of the prevalent abuses of the Hindu society was not their only programme, they went much beyond it. Intoxicated by the spirit of European enlightenment, they decided to renounce Hinduism publicly. One member of the group wrote, "if there is anything that we hate from the bottom of our heart, it is Hinduism."
- Limitations: Derozio was inclined to take a sharp break from the past. The Young Bengal had indeed a revolutionary agenda, though in actual fact it failed to turn things upside down.



- Such startling demonstration of radicalism, which shocked the Hindu conservatives were too many. It couldn't maintain the balance between tradition & reforms and thus it couldn't get acceptance in Bengali society. Derozio was eventually removed from his position on the charge of misguiding the students.
- The Young Bengal movement was confined to a small section of the English educated middle class of Calcutta.
- Significance
  - The movement was not in vain. The Young Bengal radicals, under the influence of European reason, were able to raise new questions hitherto unasked. They could not supply the answers to the questions they raised, but, the points they raised were very important.
  - The Young Bengal radicals played a significant role in shaping a modern and better India, laying the foundation for its emergence. Their contributions to the Indian national movement in subsequent years were substantial.
- Though Derozio's family was from Portugal, he considered India as his motherland. He nurtured a deep sense of patriotism. He was perhaps the first modern nationalist poet in India. Two famous poems written by Derozio were – 'To India - My Native Land' and 'The Fakir of Jungheera'.

'The Fakir of Jungheera'

My country! In thy days of glory past  
 A beauteous halo circled round thy brow  
 and worshipped as a deity thou wast—  
 Where is thy glory, where the reverence now?  
 Thy eagle pinion is chained down at last,  
 And grovelling in the lowly dust art thou,  
 Thy minstrel hath no wreath to weave for thee  
 Save the sad story of thy misery!

## (2) RRM Roy

"All modern reform movements educational, social and political have started from him and all Indian reformers of the present day are spiritually his children" – H.C. Zacharias in Renascent India

- He was the father of the socio-religious reforms movement. He is also considered as the first modern man in India.
- He taught his disciples and followers new ideas derived from Western thought but there was a constant attempt on his part to blend these Western thoughts with Indian tradition.
- He had multicultural impact on his personality. He studied Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and European literature. Firstly, he came under the influence of Arabic-Persian culture then that of Hindu-Buddhist culture and finally under the influence of western culture. He faced off with many evangelical missionaries and tried to improve the Hinduism in light of modern scientific temper and logical thinking.
- To start a crusade against the prevalent religious and social vices and injustices, Raja Ram Mohan Roy used four methods.
  - Establishment of religious associations
  - Publication of books and newspapers
  - Holding discussion and debates
  - Setting up educational institutions.
- **Religious Reforms – Vedanta**
  - He made a sincere attempt to lay a common foundation of a **universal religion** based on **the doctrine of Unity of Godhead**. He criticized idolatry, polytheism and clericalism.
  - **Scholarly work** to preach the idea of monotheism and meaningless rituals.
    - While in Murshidabad, in 1803-04 Raja Ram Mohan Roy wrote **Tuhfat-ul-Muwahhidin** (A Gift to Monotheists) in Persian with an introduction in Arabic.
    - In order to take the message of **Upanishads** to common masses, he translated them in colloquial Bengali. (Katha, Ken, Isa, Mundoka and Mandukya). He also published Gayatrir Artha (Meaning of the Gayatri) and Atmanantratma Vivek (translation of Shankracharya's work).
    - Through his book **Manazarat-ul-Adiyan** (Discussions on various religions), he tried to highlight the similarities among different religions.



- Although Vedic religion in India allowed the worship of multiple gods, Rammohan emphasized monotheism as a response to Christianity, highlighting a different tradition in Indian religious thought. Therefore, one can argue that his focus on monotheism was a result of **his encounter with Christianity**. To counter the challenge of Christianity, Roy produced **Precepts of Jesus** in 1820s, which portrayed Christ more as a moral human figure, rather than the religious. He denied divine Christ and espoused Jesus as a historic mortal. In contrast to orthodox Christianity of Trinitarianism he **acknowledged Unitarianism** as a more rational and responsible religion with its active involvement in social reform issues. Thus, he successfully defended Hinduism by combating the Christian missionaries intellectually.



- Though he gave due importance to holy texts of all religions i.e., Rigveda, Upanishads, Bible and Quran, but he gave more importance to reason. He advocated for the use of **reason and critical thinking** in understanding religious and philosophical concepts. Any idea or belief which was not based on reason and rationality, he had no hesitation in rejecting it.

- It was his firm confidence in the utility of 'reason' which forced him to oppose polytheism, idolatry, practice of Sati and other evils of Hindu society.
- He applied the same yardstick for Islam and Christianity. He accepted many ideas and philosophies of Islam and in fact, was greatly influenced by it, but rejected the Islamic concept of 'blest' and 'cursed'.
- Similarly, he rejected the ideas of 'Trinity' and 'Miracles', the fundamental principles of Christianity.

- At one level RRM was very keen to uphold the pristine Aryan Vedic religion but at another level he placed great stress on **individuality**. Atman for him was all about self, free-thinking individual with freedom to realize godhood.
- **Humanism** in Vedanta

- **Synthesis of East & West:**

- His personality reflected the synthesis between oriental and western culture both.
- He respected the traditional philosophy of the East, but at the same time, he believed that the western culture and education alone could infuse rational and scientific approach and bring forth the necessary regeneration of Indian society.
- He continued with his indigenous dress, he used to wear sacred thread & even his concept of monotheism was equally inspired by Upanishadic philosophy. Likewise, he was inspired by the western concept of liberalism & Enlightenment.

- **Reforms Programme:**

- The ideal of free-thinking individual which had in its center a deep faith in rationalism was employed to make an assessment of the social practices. He made an attack over **religious rituals** like idol worship & Brahmanic supremacy.
- He denounced the pathetic condition of women, widow marriage prohibition, practice of kulinism, and **Sati system**. He also demanded inheritance rights for women in property.
- **Anti-Sati campaign**
  - He argued that the practice of sati was designed more to secure the temporal happiness of the surviving relatives than the spiritual welfare of the deceased and his wife.
  - He asked his followers to go to this ancient Hindu scriptures to find out if had any legitimacy. Such a deep intellectual element assessment of a religious tradition became contingent on scriptural authority.
  - Organized anti-Sati vigilance party. Its members kept watch on different burning ghats to prevent sati. He could save atleast two women with his efforts.
  - Published many tracts and pamphlets against Sati.
  - He faced the challenges posed by the orthodox Hindus like Radha Kant Deb of Dharmasabha, Subramanya Shastri of Madras, Sankar Sastri of Madras Government College, and Mrityunjay Vidyalankar of Fort William College.
  - He not merely campaigned in favor of sati pleaded with the government for more direct intervention in social practices. He convinced the British Indian government of the necessity of abolishing Sati.

- **Journalism:**

- He was the **pioneer of Indian journalism**. He brought journals in Bengali, Persian, Hindi and English to educate public opinion. In 1820, he founded a Bengal journal **Sambad Kaumudi**. It regularly editorialised against Sati, denouncing it as barbaric and un-Hindu. In 1822, he started **Mirat-ul-Akbar** to propagate his ideas on religion. But in 1823, the government passed a Press Ordinance, enforcing licensing regulation. In response, Raja Rammohan had to close down the newspaper.

- **Education:**

- Roy believed education to be an implement for social reform. Hew was one of the earliest propagators of modern education.
- 1817: **Hindu College** at Calcutta, in collaboration with David Hare
- 1822: **Anglo-Hindu school** where western science, philosophy and literature were taught. Debendranath Tagore was a student of this school.
- 1825: **Vedanta College** (his teachings of monotheistic doctrines were incorporated with modern western curriculum. Indian learning as well as western social and physical courses were included.)

- **Bengali:**

- He took keen interest in the development of Bengali language. He made some contribution by compiling a Bengali grammar and by authorizing pamphlets and journals. He wanted to make Bengali a vehicle of modern intellectual thought.
- **Institutional Work:**
  - In 1814-15, he started **Atmiya Sabha**, a philosophical discussion circle in Calcutta to propagate the monotheistic ideals of the Vedanta.
  - **Brahmo Samaj** (Brahmo Sabha in 1828, renamed as Brahmo Samaj in 1829)
    - It was started as a movement against the debased practices in Hindu religion and to make people aware of Vedic Hinduism
    - The Samaj had following provisions:
      - The Samaj was open for all caste and creeds for the worship of Brahma.
      - Idol, image, statute, painting or portrait of any sort was not admitted within the Samaj building.
      - Sacrifice or religious rituals inside the Samaj building, was also not allowed. The worship was performed through prayers and meditation and readings from Upanishads. Ram Mohan himself wrote a pamphlet **Anusthan** (1829) prescribing the mode of worship to be followed in the Samaj.
    - This movement remained confined to the educated middle class of Calcutta and it failed to bring any radical change immediately.
    - In Brahmo Samaj, after Raja Ram Mohan Roy, two different trends were visible. The first trend verges on traditionalism under the leadership of Devendra Nath Tagore while the second one reflected radicalism under Keshav Chandra Sen.

Rammohun was a firm believer in internationalism and in free cooperation between nations. He took a keen interest in international events and everywhere he supported the cause of liberty, democracy, and nationalism and opposed injustice, oppression and tyranny in every form.

- The news of the failure of the Revolution in Naples in 1821 made him so sad that he cancelled all his social engagements.
- He celebrated the success of the Revolution in Spanish America in 1823 by giving a public dinner.
- He condemned the miserable condition of Ireland under the oppressive regime of absentee English landlordism.
- He publicly declared that he would emigrate from the British Empire if Parliament failed to pass the Reform Bill.

### (3) Evolution of Brahmo Samaj

The foundation of the Brahmo Samaj was the culmination of the religious thought and activities of Rammohan Roy. It also marked the beginning of the Brahmo movement.

The Brahmo Samaj in its early days confined itself mainly to spiritual and devotional work. As a social force it was virtually non-existent. After Rammohan's departure to English and then death in 1833 it began to languish. It was **Debendranath Tagore** who revived it afterwards in 1840s.

- Debendranath was a product of the best in the traditional Indian learning and the new thought of the West. He infused a new life into the Brahmo Samaj. He initially sought to popularise the ideas of Rammohan by founding the **Tattvabodhini Sabha** (1839), **Tattvabodhini school** (1840) and **Tattabodhini Patrika** (1843). The Sabha aimed at the diffusion of the fundamental truth of all Shastras of the Hindus, and the truth about Brahma as inculcated in the Vedanta. In 1859, Tattvaboshini Sabha was dissolved into Brahmo Samaj.

- **Debendranath at the helm of Brahmo**

- He boldly resisted the ultra-radical trend. Debendranath continued the same search for pristine Hinduism, but there was a difference. Unlike
- Rammohan, who was more firmly embedded in Vedic religious thought, put great stress of rationalism to assess religious practices, he had imbibed some influence from Sufism and more tilted towards devotionalism and mysticism. He was also aware of the fact that Vedic religion had polytheistic content.

- An important dimension was his constant engagement with Christianity. He was willing to engage with Christianity and combat it by going back to this source of pristine Hinduism.
- The Brahmo movement had hitherto remained confined to Calcutta. It was during his time that the Brahmo movement began to spread out. Particularly it became strong in Eastern Bengal with the establishment of Dacca Brahmo Samaj.



**Debendranath**

**Tagore** (1817-1905) was the founder in 1848 of the Brahmo religion. His efforts helped in the foundation of Bethune school, Shantiniketan, British Indian Association. Radhakanta Dev conferred on him the title of 'Protector of National Religion' who protected Indian youth from the influence of Christianity.

- The Brahmos by the 1850s had begun to acquire a distinct sectarian identity as well.

- When severe famine broke out in upper India (1860) Christian missionaries under Alexander Duff organised themselves for famine relief. Keshab too felt that it was his duty to serve the people.
- The volunteers of Brahmo Samaj established the Calcutta College in 1862 for educating the young men of Bengal. Keshab was opposed to the idea of a 'godless education' which was being imparted in government schools. He wanted intellectual progress alongwith religious development.
- They also performed intercaste marriages in 1861.
- Bambodhini Patrika (a journal for women) was started to encourage the female education.



KC Sen (1838-84) formed a reformist society **Sangat Sabha** from which many of the foremost Brahmos of later days drew their first inspiration. He was the editor of 'Indian Mirror', a fortnightly. He started a Bangla newspaper **Sulabh Samachar** in 1870.

### Brahmo Sectarianism

1866 Schism	
Debendranath's faction <b>Adi Brahmo Samaj</b>	Keshub Chandra Sen's faction <b>Brahmo Samaj of India</b> (Bharatvarshiya Brahmo Samaj)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• DNT preferred slow and cautious social transformation and not radical social reforms. He was willing to maintain the connection with the mainstream Hindu society.</li> <li>• He wanted the Samaj to concentrate more on intellectual work rather than direct action.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• KCS wanted to adopt a <b>more radical position on the <u>social</u> issues</b> of caste and women than Tagore. Due to his effort, <b>Brahmo Marriage Act, 1872</b> was passed which abolished early marriage (14 for girls, 16 for boys), sanctioned widow remarriage and intercaste marriage and polygamy was made penal.</li> <li>• The membership of the Samaj was <b>open to all</b> irrespective of caste, creed, colour, or sex. He wanted to make <i>Brahma Samaj different from Hinduism</i>.</li> <li>• He also wanted to <b>spread fast</b> in Bombay and Madras presidencies. He also toured north India in 1868, and argued that to regenerate the country, religion should be made the basis of all reform movements. He felt that only when the Bengalis,</li> </ul>

	Punjabis and Madrasis would combine and work together, the suffering and distress of India would end. Keshub, thus, <b>initiated an all India movement for social reform.</b>				
	<p style="text-align: center;"><b>1878 Schism</b></p> <table border="1" style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <thead> <tr> <th style="text-align: left; padding: 5px;">Nava Vidhana of KCS</th> <th style="text-align: left; padding: 5px;">Sadharan Brahmo Samaj</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td style="padding: 10px;">           KCS tried to blend features of <b>Vaishnava religion</b> with Brahmo religious practice. He tried to <b>build bridges with mainstream Hindu society</b>. He became a <b>devotee of Ramakrishna</b> and tried to bring in <b>Guruhsip</b>. He started <b>Kirtans</b> practice.             KCS also allowed his <b>daughter to be married to the prince of Cooch Behar</b> even though she was a <b>minor</b>. It was against the Brahmo Marriage Act 1872.         </td> <td style="padding: 10px;"> <b>Shivanath Shastri and Bijoy Krishna Goswami</b> found KCS's leadership as inadequate. These <b>more radically inclined</b> Brahmos refused to accept KCS's leadership.   <b>Anand Mohan Bose</b> was very active as the first president. It became more anti-caste in attitude.             The Sadharan Samaj <b>gradually reverted to the teaching of the Upanishads</b> and carried on the work of social reform.         </td></tr> </tbody> </table>	Nava Vidhana of KCS	Sadharan Brahmo Samaj	KCS tried to blend features of <b>Vaishnava religion</b> with Brahmo religious practice. He tried to <b>build bridges with mainstream Hindu society</b> . He became a <b>devotee of Ramakrishna</b> and tried to bring in <b>Guruhsip</b> . He started <b>Kirtans</b> practice.  KCS also allowed his <b>daughter to be married to the prince of Cooch Behar</b> even though she was a <b>minor</b> . It was against the Brahmo Marriage Act 1872.	<b>Shivanath Shastri and Bijoy Krishna Goswami</b> found KCS's leadership as inadequate. These <b>more radically inclined</b> Brahmos refused to accept KCS's leadership.  <b>Anand Mohan Bose</b> was very active as the first president. It became more anti-caste in attitude.  The Sadharan Samaj <b>gradually reverted to the teaching of the Upanishads</b> and carried on the work of social reform.
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It was later revived by <b>Rabindranath Tagore</b> when he took over its leadership in 1911.					

#### (4) Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891)

- The unfinished crusade which Rammohan launched against the oppression of women, was later carried on by Vidyasagar.
- Vidyasagar had a very ambitious educational project which included women's education and mass education but the campaign for widow remarriage was certainly the main item on his agenda. He is chiefly remembered for his role in a **long struggle in favour of widow remarriage**.
  - He started to **write in the Tattvabodhini Patrika** to arouse public opinion.
  - He made an **intense study of the Shastras** and discovered a particular sloka in *Parashar Samhita* to support widow remarriage.
  - He also wrote a **book** on widow remarriage which was published in 1853.
  - A **petition** was sent to the legislative council by Vidyasagar and others demanding legalisation of widow remarriage.
  - **The Act** legalising widow remarriage was finally passed on in **1856** by **Dalhousie**.
    - But after 1857 when the British tried to trade on a more conservative path. They were not very keen anymore to enforce this law, they wanted to soft-pedal.
    - In this context that the ICV tried to mobilize opinion in favour of widow remarriage and for the same reason he had earned the hostility of the conservative social leaders.
- **Press** – he helped in the starting of a newspaper **Somprakash** in 1858 along with Dwarkanath Vidyabhushan. It was the **first Bangla newspaper to indulge in political discussions**.
- He realised that education would be the chief instrument required for the emancipation of women. Thus, he laboured hard for **female education**.
  - He was associated with the foundation of the Hindu female school which subsequently came to be known as the **Bethune Female School**. (1849)
  - He also established other schools in the interior for the spread of women's education.
- Vidyasagar was a prolific and vigorous writer.
  - His efforts to simplify and modernise **Bengali prose** were significant. He also rationalised and simplified the Bengali **alphabet and type**.



After Vidyasagar's death, Rabindranath Tagore reverently wrote about him: "One wonders how God, in the process of producing forty million Bengalis, produced a man!"

## Bombay Presidency

Reform movements were strong in the Bombay-Poona cultural belt.

- **Balshastri Jambhekar (1810-46)**

- Started Darpan (1832) the first vernacular newspaper in the western India. He specifically dealt with the issues of widow remarriage in his newspaper leading to public debate.
- As a professor in Elphinstone college, he pupiled future leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji and Atmaram Pandurang.
- He understood the importance of public libraries started some of them in Bombay. He founded 'The Bombay Native General Library'. The **Students' Literary and Scientific Society** was its offshoot. It was formed in 1848 by the educated youths of Maharashtra. One of the chief aims of society was women's education.

- In 1851, **Jotiba Phule** and his wife **Savitribai Phule** started a girls' school in Poona. Phule also led a crusade against untouchability and the exploitation of the lower castes by the upper castes.

- **Jagannath Shankar Seth and Bhau Daji**

- Among the active promoters of girls schools in Bombay.

- **Vishnu Shastri Pandit** formed the *Widow Remarriage Association* in the 1850s.

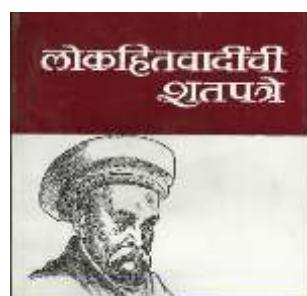
- **Karsondas Mulji** (1832-71) started the **Satya Prakash** in Gujarati in 1852 to advocate widow remarriage.

- **Gopal Hari Deshmukh** (Lokhitavadi, 1823-92)

- He championed the cause of new learning and social regeneration. He was popularly known as **Lokhitavadi** for writing **Shatapatre** in the weekly named **Prabhakar**.

- He promoted education of women, and wrote against arranged child marriages, dowry system, and polygamy, opposed caste system and religious orthodoxy.
- Deshmukh founded a public library in Pune.

- He argued with courage in 1840s that "Brahmins should give up their foolish concepts; they must accept that all men are equal and that everybody has a right to acquire knowledge..."



- **Vishnushatri Chiplunkar** (1850-82) started the monthly **Nibandhamala** in 1874.
  - Subjects included contemporary status of the vernacular language, propriety of using foreign words in Marathi, state of India, freedom of press, apart from social reform.
- **Behramji Malabari** (1853-1912), a Parsee social reformer, sought to abolish the brutal practice of child-marriage.
  - His efforts led to the Age of Consent Act of 1891.
  - He founded **Seva Sadan** in 1908. It specialized in taking care of destitute women with education, medical and welfare services.



This agenda of social reform in the Western India was complemented by the work of some scholars, who drew inspiration from Orientalist scholars and undertook painstaking examinations and translations of Sanskrit texts in order to rediscover glories of Indian civilization.

- **Kashinath Trimbak Telang** (1850-93)
  - A Bombay High court judge
  - Translated Bhagavad Geet in English – considered as a standard translation
  - Mudrarakshasa of Vishakhadatta
- **Vishwanath Narayan Mandlik** (1833-99)
  - Student at Elphinstone college
  - Translation of Yajnavalkya Smriti and Manu Smriti in English
  - Founded **Native Opinion**, a bi-weekly journal in 1864
- **Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar** (1837-1925)
  - Student at Elphinstone college
  - Historian as well as orientalist scholar
  - Social reformer – Girl's education

#### **Manav Dharma Sabha** (Surat, 1844-50s)

- Founded by Mehtaji Durgaram Mancharam, Karsondas Mulji, Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar.
- Public meetings to spread monotheism, discourage idolatry, oppose caste system, support widow remarriage and stop superstitions.

#### **Paramhansa Mandali** (1849)

- It followed the iconoclastic radical tradition of the Derozians in Bengal.
- To avoid confrontation with society, it operated like a secret society.

- Revelation of its membership in 1860 led to its demise.

### **Prarthana Samaj (Bombay, 1867)**

- Progress of Western education created a critical group looking for reform. Two visits of Keshub Chandra Sen to Bombay in 1864 and 1867 had a profound impact.

- Personalities

- Founder president was **Atnaram Pandurang**
- Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar and Mahadev Govind Ranade (1842-1901) were the true guiding spirits of the Samaj.
- Other people associated: N.G. Chandavarkar, K.T. Telang

- **Philosophy**

- Prarthna Samaj, often referred to as '**Protestant Hinduism**', emerged as a sister organization of the Brahmo Samaj.
- Like **Brahmo** movement, the Prarthana Samaj also preached monotheism, denounced idolatry and priestly domination. It sought to gain support for abandoning caste, introducing widow remarriage, abolishing purdah and child marriage, and encouraging female education.
- But unlike **Brahmos** (esp **Sadharan Brahmos**), it was not very keen to alienate the mainstream society. It rather developed a cautious approach, syncretism and connected itself to the **Maharashtrian bhakti tradition**. *Modernisation was to be accommodated within the cultural space of tradition, without signalling a sharp break*. It made Prarthana Samaj relatively **more acceptable** to the larger society.
- The Prarthana Samajists concentrated more upon **social reform as their 'actual work'** rather than the 'faith'. They kept alive the great ideals of popular saints of Maharashtra like Namdev, Tukaram and Ramdas and encouraged the society to rise above superstitions and malpractices. They emphasized the belief that God can be realised only by **serving man**. Thus, they connected the spiritual teachings of religion with practical duties in life. Their efforts included promoting social cohesion through communal dining and inter-caste marriages, advocating for widow remarriage, establishing night schools for the underprivileged, and creating shelters and missions for marginalized groups in society.
- But there was one thing in common with Brahmo Samaj. Most of the **early leaders of modern nationalism** in the Western India came from the Prarthana Samaj. It was from within this reform movement the early nationalists had their early training.



**Atmaram Pandurang**  
(1823-98) was a physician. He founded Prarthana Samaj as well as Bombay Natural History Society. He was a brother of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar and a classmate of Dadabhai Naoroji and Bhau Daji at Elphinstone.

- **Spread**

- Branches were opened in Poona, Surat, Ahmedabad, Karachi, Kirkee, Kolhapur and Satara.
- Because of their good work and a neutral stand, the Prarthna Samaj movement spread in the South too. This was also due to the efforts of Viresalingam Pantulu. But its effect was more felt in the Bombay Presidency, where it was responsible for the growth of nationalism.

- **Schism**

- Eventually in the 1880s, the Prarthana Samaj initiative was to a large extent undermined by the **Arya Samaj's challenge** in the region. It encountered its initial crisis due to its cautious approach. In 1875, Swami Dayanand Saraswati visited Gujarat and Maharashtra, presenting the potential for a more radical and assertive religious movement. Some members of the Samaj, led by S.P. Kelkar, were drawn to the Swami's Aryan ideology and decided to separate.
- Although the dissident group eventually re-joined the Prarthana Samaj, this event signalled the **start of a distinct form of religious politics in western India**, characterized more by cultural chauvinism than by reformist ideals. In the 1890s the challenge against reformism became more pronounced by the sanatanists.



**Rao Bahadur Justice MG Ranade (1842-1901)** was a social reformer, economist and pioneer of political activity in the western India. He formed **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha** in 1870. He was also editor of **Induprakash** journal. Aurobindo Ghosh wrote his series New Lamps for the Old in Induprakash.



## **Success and failure of Socio-Religious Reform Movements**





### **Reformism vs Revivalism:**

Reformists and revivalists both thought in terms of a great Indian civilization and the need for restoring the purity of this culture that had over time been contaminated. So, on one hand, there was an element of revivalism in the reform movements. And on the other hand, revivalism was not always blind faith or obscurantism. Thus, to distinguish very clearly between reformism and revivalism becomes difficult. Reformists were more inclined to accept the West without hesitation, while revivalists were less receptive to Western learning.

- While both reformists and revivalists **shared a fascination for ancient knowledge**, the ultimate distinction lay in the reformists' **greater willingness to blend Western knowledge with Indian traditions**. Revivalism argued that everything contributed by the West to Indian culture could be found in the Vedas and ancient traditions.

Revivalism manifested in various dimensions and featured multiple facets.

- **Religious Revivalism:** Those who thought that monotheism was an accepted practice in the Indian past and it now needed to be revived, notwithstanding the provocation by Christianity. This was a part of the cultural engagement that the Indian intellectuals.
- **Cultural Revivalism:** It involved efforts to rediscover and promote traditional Indian philosophies, art forms, literature, and customs, while also advocating for social and religious reforms. It played a significant role in reviving and promoting classical Indian music, dance forms, martial arts, Yoga, and classical languages etc. It also emphasized the importance of regional languages and literature. Prominent authors and poets emerged in various regional languages, such as Rabindranath Tagore in Bengali and Subramania Bharati in Tamil, who contributed to the revival and promotion of regional literature. Traditional Indian painting styles like Mughal, Rajput, and Tanjore paintings saw a resurgence during this period.
- **Political Revivalism:** The notion that India was inherently a divided nation compelled scholars and intellectuals to delve into the annals of history to uncover evidence of Indian unity and political cohesion in classical or ancient times. Some intellectuals went as far as suggesting that democratic institutions had flourished in ancient India, thus emphasizing the quest for democracy, and focusing on institutions such as assemblies and councils in Indian governance.

This aspect of revivalism was not simply a call to return to the past, but rather a re-evaluation of tradition in order to engage with modernity and embrace modern ideas, whether political, social, or religious. Its ultimate objective was the creation of a modern India. So, it was a modernist ideology couched in a language that would be reminiscent of certain revivalist ideas.

### **Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94)**

- Bankim was impressed by the **Gaudiya Vaishnavism**'s cultural efflorescence of the 14th and 15th c in Bengal. He was a **critique of the philosophy** in the sense of its emphasis on renunciation (vairagya) rather than political and social power.
- He **blended both Indian and Western culture.**
  - On the one hand, he believed in the superiority of Indian religion and culture, on the other hand, he appreciated the material and technical success of the West. According to him, both are necessary for the progress of India.
- His famous work titled **Anand Math** depicts the journey from Bengali Nationalism to Indian Nationalism. Drawing from the Shakti tradition of Bengal, he personified India as a Mother Goddess known as **Bharat Mata**. Another notable work on the Sanyasi rebellion authored by him is **Devi Chaudhurani**.



### **Ramkrishna Paramhansa (1836-86)**

- He was a priest at Dakshineshwar Temple of goddess Kali.
- Though, not educated, he learned Vedanta from Totapuri and philosophy of Sufism from Govind Das.
- He practiced **Universal Vedanta philosophy**, which was tolerant, inclusive, cosmopolitan, and progressive.
  - He did not condemn idol-worship unlike Swami Dayanand Saraswati and Raja Ram Mohan Roy. The essence of Ramkrishna's teachings was the realisation of God as the highest human ideal in whatever manner or mode of worship one liked.
  - He propagated the thought of Vedanta among the **common people** and explained it by giving examples from day-to-day life.
  - Although his teaching was based on ancient and traditional concept, it was very refreshing and modern because he made **humanism** as the theme of his philosophy. He did not discriminate man from man and religion from religion. He was not a revivalist, he preferred to use Hinduism for the progress of society by connecting it with humanism.  
He believed that to serve humanity is to serve the God. He said, '**Jiva is Siva**' (all living beings are God). Based on this precept, Swami Vivekanand, his disciple, laid the foundation of Ramakrishna mission.



His earlier name was Gadadhar. It was given to him by a Vedantic saint Totapuri.

- Despite being a Kali worshipper, he was **non-sectarian** in approach. He did not establish any new religious sect and tried to connect Hinduism with the idea of 'Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam'.
- Policy of religious tolerance and non-eclecticism
  - He tried to perceive God not only through Hinduism but also through Christianity and Islam. He believed that the essence of all religions is one. For him Ram, Allah, Christ, Hari were different names for the same God. He emphasized that the different sects recommend the different path to reach the same goal. ('Joto Mat, Tato Path') He highlighted that the unity of human beings through the idea of unity of God.



- **Sayings of Ramkrishna**

- *Taka mati, mati taka.*
- *Women are, all of them, the veritable images of Shakti.*
- *Knowledge leads to unity, but Ignorance to diversity.*
- *Lovers of God do not belong to any caste.*
- *Never get into your head that your faith alone is true and every other is false. Know for certain that God without form is real and that God with form is also real.*

	<p><b>Rani Rashmoni</b>, a lady zamindar, inherited zamindari after her husband's death. With superior managerial skills and charitable works in the city of Calcutta, she impressed the people. She successfully resisted British in many cases like fishing tax in Ganga, restraints on Puja procession. She provided tacit support to Vidyasagar's campaign for widow remarriage. She also built <b>Dakshineswar Kali Temple</b> in 1855 and appointed Ramkrishna as its head priest.</p>
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## Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902) and Ramkrishna Mission

Narendra Nath Dutta, popularly known as Swami Vivekananda, emerged as the real spiritual successor of Ramkrishna. He was educated in an English school and had read the philosophies of John Stuart Mill, Rousseau, Hegel, Duma, Dante, etc. He was a 'rationalist' and Ramkrishna Param Hansa was a 'traditionalist', yet they came closer.

Vivekananda was a revivalist who recognized the greatness of ancient Hindu culture but saw how corruption had undermined it within Hinduism. He aimed to restore its original glory by removing unholy practices.

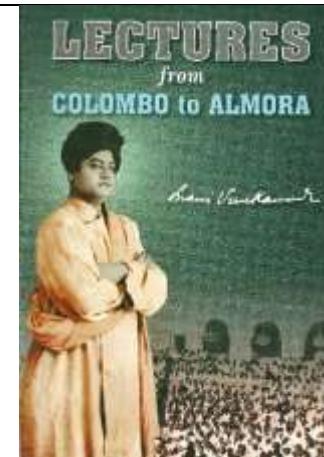


- **Philosophy:** Neo-Vedantism

- Basic ideas:
  - Through Gyan (knowledge), Karma (action) and Bhakti (devotion) one can reach the God.
  - Social and religious customs can be acceptable only when they are rational.
  - He called all religions as true religions, so no purpose can be achieved through religious conversion.
- Vedanta philosophy gives emphasis over the unity between Brahma and soul. But Vivekanand modified this concept, and he saw Brahma on the face of millions of poor. For him, service of the poor was worship to the God. So, his Vedantism was pragmatic Vedantism as it linked religion with social work.
- While he asserted that while spirituality and religions were the biggest strengths of the eastern culture, he also vehemently opposed the religious pomp and rituals. Making spiritualism practical was an important contribution of Vivekananda.

- **Visit to the West**

- He addressed the gathering as 'sisters and brothers of America', which instantly touched the heart, mind, and soul of the audience. His speech made headlines in the newspapers of U.S.A.
- Vivekananda set up Vedanta Society in different cities of USA and made many Americans and English his disciples, including Margaret Nobel (Sister Nivedita).



**Lectures from Colombo to Almora** (1897) is a book of Swami Vivekananda based on the lectures he delivered in Sri Lanka and India after his return from the West.

- He also went to Paris, Vienna, Egypt and removed the misconception about Hinduism and Indian culture. When he returned to India, he was already a well-known figure in India, thanks to his warm reception in the west.

- **Man-making Mission:**

- He popularized the Sanskrit verse, “Arise, Awake and Stop Not till the Goal is Reached” from Katha Upanishad, the goal being to gain freedom from the foreign British yoke. He exhorted his countrymen to straighten their backs so no foreigner could ride on them. Time and again Vivekananda reminded Indians to be “mighty lions” and “not meek lambs.”
- “What we want is muscles of iron and nerves of steel. We have wept long enough. No more weeping, but stand on your feet and be men. It is man-making theories that we want. It is man-making education all round that we want.”
- “Before you read Geeta, make sure you are strong and to become strong you must play football.”

- **Nation-building:**

- He instilled in Indians the spirit of nationalistic pride and vigor based on unique **spiritual heritage** of the Vedas, Upanishads, and Vedanta (spiritualistic nationalism)
- **Modernisation:** He believed that for the development of India there should be a free exchange between western elements and oriental elements. Although it is true that India is far ahead of west in spiritual richness, but it had to learn something from west in the field of science and technology. Thus, he attempted to combine Indian spirituality with Western material progress, maintaining that the two supplemented and complemented one another.
- He considered social upliftment a necessary corollary to nation-building and **rejected religious and social division**. He rejected caste inequality and
- untouchability. Likewise, he rejected communal distinctions. He argued that until India overcomes caste, ethnic, and regional divisions, she cannot become a great power. He opposed superstitious beliefs, casteism and untouchability. Once he remarked, *“Our religion is confined to our kitchens, and we have become 'do not*



Two monasteries were founded by him, one at Belur and the other at Mayavati in Uttrakhand (Advaita Ashrama). These monasteries were meant to train young men who would eventually become sannyasis of the Ramakrishna Mission.

**Belur Math** is the heart of the Ramakrishna movement. It is notable for its architecture that fuses Hindu, Islamic, Buddhist, and Christian art and motifs as a symbol of unity of all religions.

*touchist'. Our God is in our vessels and our religion is that I am pious, do not touch me."*

- He emphasized **social work**. He believed that the majority of educated people of India should work for eradicating poverty and hunger.
  - He travelled extensively in different parts of India and experienced the real India-the illiterate and poverty-stricken India.
  - Initially his mission was involved in helping the famine-affected people, later the mission broadened its horizon and set up orphanages, hospitals, libraries, etc. Thus, Vivekananda's movement was basically a humanitarian and *social service movement rather than a social reform movement*. Instead of challenging rituals or idol worship, he gave emphasis on removing poverty and illiteracy.
  - He emphasised the fact that till the millions of poor are not given basic amenities by the state, India could never emerge to be a modern nation.
  - The spirit of 'Daridranarayana' also suited socialist ideology. He made every educated person responsible for illiteracy in India, who after receiving education, forgets his brothers and sisters.
- He himself laid foundation of the **Ramakrishna Mission** (1896). He inspired the Sanyasis to work for mankind instead of renouncing the world.
  - Mystical movement of Ramkrishna ultimately acquired the character of a kind of a monastic order under Vivekananda. Its objective was making India stronger again; culturally, intellectually, socially.
  - "*Give me 100 energetic young men and I shall transform India*"
- Vivekananda edited **Prabuddha Bharat** (in English) and **Prabodhini** (in Bengali)

He inspired thousands of educated Indians, especially Hindus and helped them in developing self-confidence. No other social reformer inspired the educated Hindus so much as Vivekananda. He died long ago (1902) but his movement is alive. "Swami Vivekananda saved Hinduism and saved India. But for him we would have lost our religion and would not have gained our freedom." – C Rajagopalachari



Sister Nivedita (Margaret Noble, 1867-1911) was an Irish disciple of Swami Vivekanand. She ran girls' school in Calcutta and engaged herself in famine relief activity. She took an active interest in promoting Indian history, culture, and science. She toured India to appeal to the youth to spend life selflessly in the service of nation. She was closely associated with Anushilan Samiti revolutionaries and Aurobindo. She inspired artists like Abanindranath Tagore, Ananda Coomaraswamy, Nandalal Bose and E. B. Havell to develop a pure Indian school of art. She encouraged Dr. Jagadish Chandra Bose to pursue pure science. She introduced Vande Mataram song as a school prayer.

### **Speech delivered by Swami Vivekananda on September 11, 1893, at the first World's Parliament of Religions.**

Sisters and Brothers of America,

It fills my heart with joy unspeakable to rise in response to the warm and cordial welcome which you have given us. I thank you in the name of the most ancient order of monks in the world, I thank you in the name of the mother of religions, and I thank you in the name of millions and millions of Hindu people of all classes and sects.

My thanks, also, to some of the speakers on this platform who, referring to the delegates from the Orient, have told you that these men from far-off nations may well claim the honor of bearing to different lands the idea of toleration. I am proud to belong to a religion which has taught the world both tolerance and universal acceptance. We believe not only in universal toleration, but we accept all religions as true. I am proud to belong to a nation which has sheltered the persecuted and the refugees of all religions and all nations of the earth. I am proud to tell you that we have gathered in our bosom the purest remnant of the Israelites, who came to Southern India and took refuge with us in the very year in which their holy temple was shattered to pieces by Roman tyranny. I am proud to belong to the religion which has sheltered and is still fostering the remnant of the grand Zoroastrian nation. I will quote to you, brethren, a few lines from a hymn which I remember to have repeated from my earliest boyhood, which is every day repeated by millions of human beings: "As the different streams having their sources in different paths which men take through different tendencies, various though they appear, crooked or straight, all lead to Thee."

The present convention, which is one of the most august assemblies ever held, is in itself a vindication, a declaration to the world of the wonderful doctrine preached in the Gita: "Whosoever comes to Me, through whatsoever form, I reach him; all men are struggling

through paths which in the end lead to me." Sectarianism, bigotry, and its horrible descendant, fanaticism, have long possessed this beautiful earth. They have filled the earth with violence, drenched it often and often with human blood, destroyed civilization and sent whole nations to despair. Had it not been for these horrible demons, human society would be far more advanced than it is now. But their time is come; and I fervently hope that the bell that tolled this morning in honor of this convention may be the death-knell of all fanaticism, of all persecutions with the sword or with the pen, and of all uncharitable feelings between persons wending their way to the same goal.

### Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883) and Arya Samaj

- His childhood name was **Mulshankar**. He was born in Morbi, Gujarat in 1824.
  - He strongly argued for the **infallibility of Vedas** as the true foundation of Hinduism. He considered them the fountainhead of all knowledge and full of scientific thinking. He gave slogan of **Go Back to Vedas**, but he endorsed the Varna system of the Vedas. But his approach was not revivalist. He criticized all the social evils based on the Vedic system. He made an attack on religious ritualism like idol worship, temple cult, clericalism etc, and rejected social evils like Sati system, untouchability, caste system, child marriage etc. He supported women's education and inter-caste marriages.
  - His motto, 'Go back to the Vedas' threatened to rout the vested interests of priests and they even conspired to assassinate him. In 1863, he hoisted the **Pakhand Khandini** flag.
- **Satyarth Prakash** (Hindi, Benaras, 1875)
  - The central theme of Dayanand's exposition was his **dualist doctrine** of mind and matter. To him, God and the human soul were two absolutely separate forces in the creation and functioning of the universe. According to him, every man must take full responsibility of his action. Nevertheless, he accepted the traditional Hindu doctrines of **transmigration of soul** and **karma**.
- Though he promoted revivalism & traditionalism, he was also influenced by the west.
  - In certain matters he was impressed with the achievement of the west. He praised **discipline & dedication** among western people to their religion.
  - Like Christianity, which is based on a **single text**, Dayanand also made similar attempt to make the whole of Hinduism based completely on Vedas.
  - He applied the **western scientific temper and rationalism** against the west itself.



- When Dayanand Saraswati came to Bombay in 1874, he met Mahadev Govind Ranade, and with his help the **Arya Samaj** was founded in **1875** at Bombay.

- The Arya Samaj movement was basically a **revivalist movement**, which wanted to revive the ancient Aryan tradition in modern times because the Samaj felt that these principles were not time-bound. There was **no room for idol worship** in Arya Samaj. Rather, Vedic sacrifices were given central position. **Welfare of entire mankind** was the objective and in social matters there was belief in the fatherhood of God, brotherhood of man, equality of gender, social justice to all.
- It started as a reaction against Islam, Christianity, and Western thought. It attempted to **defend Hindu culture and wanted to reform it from within**.
- Earlier Arya Samaj was active in Maharashtra, but it gained wider acceptance in Punjab and UP. He shifted the HQ to **Lahore** in 1877.
- In the early years, Dayanand Saraswati tried to come to terms with Brahmo Samaj and even arranged a conference in Calcutta in 1869. But the attempt failed. Soon, Arya Samaj **surpassed Brahmo Samaj in Punjab**.



As 19<sup>th</sup> century drew to the close, the intonation began to change. From the intellectual revivalism of Dayanand Saraswati it became more preoccupied with the question of proselytization (Shuddhi). After Dayananda, this movement was **divided into two factions** in 1893:

<b>College faction</b>	<b>Moderate and more progressive</b>	Lala Lajpat Rai, Lala Hansraj	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Concentrated on setting up Dayanand Anglo-Vedic Colleges. First one setup in Lahore in 1886.</li> </ul>
<b>Gurukul faction</b>	<b>More <b>revivalist</b> in nature</b>	Lala Lekhram, Lala Munshiram	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Based on Brahmacharya and Vedas.</li> <li>Founded Gurukul in Haridwar in 1902.</li> <li>Raised issues like adoption of Devnagari script and ban on cow slaughter.</li> <li>Encouraged Shuddhi reconversion and Sanghatan movement.</li> </ul>

- Limitations:**

- Among Indian scholars, Dayanand was different in the sense that he never came in touch with western education. While reacting to the cultural invasion of Christianity, he came to be **excessively hostile to the western elements**.

- He tried to reform Hinduism, but he found all collective wisdom in Vedas only. So, Arya Samaj over time became a revivalist movement. He gave a slogan 'Back to the Vedas', but the belief in varna system didn't inspire lower class Hindus for whom Vedas couldn't provide a respectable place.
- Although, even other Hindu reformers gave emphasis to the glory of ancient India, Arya Samaj gave too much emphasis to the achievements of ancient India while drawing a line of demarcation between ancient & medieval India. One was identified with Hindus and another with Muslims. So, it indirectly encouraged a degree of communal consciousness.
- Above all, the Shuddhi movement started by Swami Dayanand became a major factor behind rise of pan-Indian Hindutva later. Lala Munshiram (**Swami Shraddhanand**) played a key role in Shuddhi and Sanghatan movement in 1920s. He was assassinated by Abdul Rashid.



Arya Samaj as a social reform and social service movement is still alive. In post-independent India, it was more involved in organizing/arranging inter-caste marriage and freeing the bonded labour. The work done by Swami Agnivesh in this field is truly commendable.



Shiv Narayan Agnihotri (1850-1929) founded the **Dev Samaj** in 1886 in Lahore, rejecting Brahmo rationalism and drawing on the concept of the Guru as an enlightened soul as its central tenet. He still retained elements of Brahmo reformism/radicalism.

## Theosophical Society

- The Theosophical Society was founded in 1875 at New York by **Madam H.P. Blavatsky** (1831-1891), a Russian-German lady, and **Col. H.S. Olcott** (1832-1907), an American. These were some western scholars who were influenced by Indian culture and thinking.
- Basic idea
  - To **revive the ancient religions of Asia**, mainly Hinduism, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism. The Theosophy did not believe in differences between these religions.
  - To attain knowledge of God by spiritual ecstasy, direct intuition, propagating Hindu beliefs, reincarnation and karma; drawing inspiration from the philosophy of the Upanishads-Samkhya, Yoga and Vedanta school of thought.
  - A theosophist could be of any religion and without giving up his earlier faith could become a Theosophist. In its meetings, prayers of all religions were organised.
  - However, Madame Blavatsky's main emphasis had been on the occult than spiritual. She composed a text, *Isis Unveiled*. It became the key text of the movement.
- Though **Adyar** (near Madras) became its headquarters in 1882, Blavatsky lived mostly in London and Olcott in Ceylon (Sri Lanka) where he propagated Buddhism. The Theosophical society flourished with the arrival of Madame Annie Besant, an Irish lady. She joined the Theosophical Society in 1882 and came to India in 1893 after the death of Madam Blavatsky. Dr. Besant became the **President of The Theosophical Society in 1907**, after the death of O.S. Olcott.
  - She was impressed by the Hindu culture and adopted Hindu way of life – its dress, food and social manners. She **preached Bhagvad Gita**, wrote a commentary on the Ramayana and Mahabharata.
  - She founded the **Central Hindu School** in Banaras in **1898** with the purpose of teaching Hinduism to Hindus and giving Hinduism a spearhead thus ensuring its future. Later, in 1915, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya developed the same school into a **BHU** in 1916.
- Though this society could not influence the masses, it gave a sense of confidence among the Indians regarding their culture.





### Political Activities of Annie Besant

- She dedicated herself in politics in later part of her life.
- She joined Indian National Congress in 1915 and became its first woman **President in 1917** (Calcutta).
- She was also instrumental in **bringing Tilak back into Congress** at Lucknow session (1916).
- She also started the **Home Rule League** in 1916 on the pattern of the Irish Home Rule League and propagated progressive views through her newspaper '**New India**' and '**Common Weal**'.

**Handout 21: Women's Movement in 19<sup>th</sup> c**

**Nikhil Sheth**

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*"All nations have attained greatness only by paying respect to its women. That country and that nation that do not respect women have never become great, nor will ever in future. The principal reason why your race is so much degraded is that you had no respect for these living images of Shakti." – Vivekananda.*

The subjection of Indian women in the pre-British Period was rooted in the social, religious, economic and political structure of that period. Many social evils against women were being practised in Indian society. The practice of Sati, Child marriage, polygamy, female infanticide, deprivation from education and other basic human rights, deprivation of a widow from a second marriage as well as of the right to inherit property, were only some of the common evils.

**Factors which encouraged reformers for social upliftment of women**

- **Positive impact of British rule**
  - British introduced capitalist economy, and the legal and political regime based on the principles of the individual equality and freedom, at least theoretically. It did not recognize the inequalities based on birth, sex, caste or community. Western education, western liberal thought, modern institutions, modern means of transportation and communication played a positive role in the emancipation of women.
- **Challenge of the civilizational critique by the West**
  - British scholar James Mill declared that only such civilization can be characterized as progressive under which the condition of women is good. On this basis, Indian civilization was denounced by both British reformers & James Mill. So, Indian reformers took it as a challenge for working for the upliftment of women's condition.
- **Overall social reform agenda:**
  - Almost all social reformers of the nineteenth and the twentieth century gave attention to the issue of women emancipation and their rights. It was ardently felt that most of the social evils were deeply associated with the poor condition of women in India such as the caste system, infanticide, untouchability etc. Improved condition of women would automatically remove most other social ills.

## Specific Reforms

Initiatives by male reformers: from RRM Roy to Dayanand Saraswati, almost all advocated the eradication of deplorable social condition of women. They generally depended on the government support to ban social evils through various penal provisions.

- **Restriction on female infanticide:** This was a very heinous social crime. Earlier the steps had been taken by the company to ban it on the basis of Bengal Regulation of 1795 and that of 1804 but serious efforts to ban it in practice started in 1830s.
- **Abolition of Sati system:** RRM started a campaign, then in 1829 at the initiative of Bentinck, Sati system was banned in Bengal. In 1830, it was extended to Madras and Bombay as well.
- **Window Remarriage Act of 1856:** The right of widows to remarry was strongly advocated by Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar in Bengal and by Malabari, Narmad, Justice Ranade and K. Natrajan in Bombay. Due to their consistent efforts, Lord Dalhousie's Government passed The Widow Remarriage Act in 1856. Hindu widows now started being permitted legally to remarry, contrary to what the Shastras permitted.
  - In Madras, Veereshlingam continuously fought for promotion of widow remarriage.
  - Likewise, in Bombay, DK Karve consistently made efforts to encourage widow remarriage.
- **Child Marriage:** Almost all reformers denounced this social evil and demanded government initiative to ban it.
  - Due to the efforts of Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, age of consent was fixed at 10 in the Indian Penal Code of 1860.
  - In 1872, the **Christian Marriage Act** was enacted to raise the marriage age of boys and girls to 18 and 14 years respectively.
  - Later, in 1876, **Brahmo Marriage Act** was introduced.
  - Further, in 1891, at the initiative of *Behramji Malabari*, **Age of Consent Bill** was introduced to increase the age from 10 to 12.
    - Behramji Malbari published his messages in "Notes on Infant marriage and enforced widowhood" in 1884.
    - Malabari through his journal 'Indian Spectator', created awareness and argued how child marriage was eroding the Hindu race at its roots.



**Narmadashankar**

**Dave** (Narmad, 1833-86) was a student at Elphinstone Institute. He is considered to be the founder of modern Gujarati literature. His newsletter Dandiyo propagated the social reform cause, including widow remarriage. His poem *Jai Jai Garavi Gujarat* is now the state anthem of Gujarat.

- Later at the initiative of Harvilas Sharada (an Arya Samajist), Child Marriage Restraint Act 1929 (**Sharada Act**) was passed to increase age for both boys (18) and girls (14) for marriage.
- These developments not only improved the social condition of women but also sent a message across, that everything is achievable if only one fights for it.

- **Anti-Devdasi movement**

- The institution of temple prostitution (Devdasi) was prevalent in different parts of India, especially in South India, as their temples had a kind of grandeur to them. Devdasis formed a hereditary caste of women who consecrated themselves in early childhood to temple service. In the guise of dancing and singing they worked or were rather, forced to work, as prostitutes in the temple.
- **Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi**, a social reformer, started a movement against this practice, which resulted in a ban on trafficking of minors (1925).

- **Women education:**

- The **Wood's Dispatch** (1854) and the **Hunter Commission** (1882) recommended encouragement of women education, but more than the State, the social reformers and the Christian missionaries opened schools for girls and put these good intentions into actual practice.
- European Efforts: The **Church Missionary Society** started the first boarding school for girls in Tirunelveli in 1821.
- Indian social reformers gave great importance to women education because they believed that education brought with it, awareness, and self-confidence.

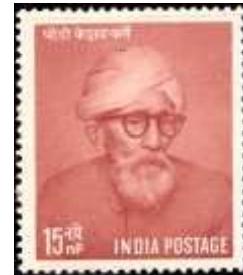
- Bengal

- **Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar**, with the help of John Elliot Drinkwater (JED) Bethune, founded the first school for girls, 'Hindu Balika Vidyalaya', in May 1849, for the girls of high caste families. It was later renamed as **Bethune School** in 1856.
- Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar did a lot in the field of women education in the status of the supervisor of Bethune school, he laid the foundation of at least 35 girls' schools. Vidyasagar succeeded, to a great extent, in removing the prejudices against female education in the country.



- Western India

- The alumni of Elphinstone college at Bombay took initiative to promote girls' education.
- **Mahatma Phule and Savitribai Phule** started first girls' school at Bhidewada in Pune in 1848.
- **(Maharshi) Dhondo Keshav Karve** started India's first women's university SNDT in 1916 at Pune.

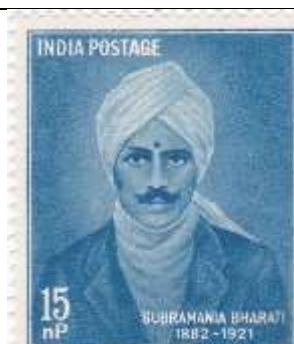


- Widespread poverty of the majority of Indian population became one of the major hurdles in the growth of women's education. Yet, the steady growth of women's education was reflected in the fact that the number of girls attending schools rose from 12.3 lakh in 1917 to 28.9 lakh in 1937.

The process of social reform for women took a new turn when the nationalist movement started and women, especially in Gandhian movement, joined it. Thousands of women took active part in political mass movement, picketing of liquor shops, marching in demonstrations, courting jails, facing lathi-charges and even bullets. Many of them worked as ministers, under-secretaries and Deputy Speakers of provincial legislatures when Congress governments were formed in 1937. Indian women also became members of local boards and municipalities. Thus, a new awakening took place among the Indian women. Now, they were ready to write their own destiny.



Speaking to the Indian Social conference at Calcutta in 1906, **Sarojini Naidu** said, "instruction may mean accumulation of knowledge, but education is an immeasurable, beautiful and indispensable atmosphere in which we live and move and have our being... How then shall a man dare to deprive a human soul of its immemorial inheritance of liberty and life? Your fathers, in depriving your mothers of that birthright, have robbed you, their sons, of your just inheritance. Therefore, I charge you restore to your women their ... rights... you are, therefore, not the real nation-builders... Educate your women and the nation will take care of itself..."



That there was a sense of great achievement among women and of new spaces opening up for them was beautifully put by the Tamil nationalist poet **Subramanya Bharati** in his poem, "**The Dance of Liberation**", in 1920

*Dance! Rejoice!*

*Those who said it is evil for women to touch books are dead.  
The lunatics who said they would lock women in their houses,  
cannot show their faces now.*

## Achievements and Limitations of the Women's Reforms

- Gradually, women joined the mainstream of Indian life and their social condition slightly improved.
  - First two female graduates in India were from Calcutta University – Kadambini Ganguly and Chandramukhi Basu.
  - **Kadambini Ganguly** was also the first female speaker in Indian National Congress.
- **Limitations:**
  - The early 19<sup>th</sup> century women's upliftment programme was **initiated by male reformers** and high caste Hindus.
    - So, it was not a complete program for female empowerment in modern sense. The reformers couldn't become free from the impact of patriarchy. They were inclined to work for the social upliftment of women, but they were not ready to encourage women liberation.
  - The reforms were **initiated from above** without creating a proper social climate for that so they proved less effective.
    - Even after the abolition of sati system, the sati system was still idealized in common consciousness and folk literature.
    - In spite of legal ban to widow remarriage, only 38 widows get married in whole 19th century. (eg even today we take dowry...)
  - It was the failure of the reforms movement that the question of women came to be **viewed within the sectarian boundary**. So, even today the Hindus could talk about the issues of their own women & Muslim reformers have to work for Muslim women. So, finally, the objective of a uniform civil code became a distant dream.

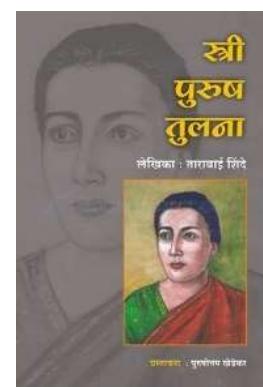
## Women Reformers

Women reformers came forward in this regard only in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. They had begun to think, speak, and act themselves. *The challenged the notion of women being mere subjects for liberal law and education.*

### **Western India**

- **Savitribai Phule** along with her husband founded the first girls school in Pune.
  - Savitribai Phule chose poetry on education, women's liberty and oppression of the lower castes were recurrent themes.
  - She wrote a *powada* (ballad) on English language and prayers to speak of the injustice done to the untouchable Shudra castes.
- **Pandita Ramabai:** She was a Sanskrit scholar and social reformer. She remained active in Maharashtra and led the foundation of a widow ashrama.
  - In 1878, Calcutta University conferred on her the titles of **Pandita** and **Sarasvati** in recognition of her knowledge of various Sanskrit works.
  - She founded **Arya Mahila Samaj** to promote women education and campaign against child marriage.
  - She converted to **Christianity** in 1880s in England. She **translated Bible**, from original Hebrew/Greek into Marathi.
  - She toured in the USA to collect funds for destitute Indian women. With the funds raised she started **Sharada Sadan** for child widows in Pune, in which MG Ranade also helped her. The more famous orphanage, **Mukti Mission** (salvation) opened at Kedgaon in 1898.
  - She wrote **Stri Dharma Niti** and **High-Caste Hindu Woman**.
  - She was one of the 10 women delegates to the Congress Session of 1889.
- **Tarabai Shinde:**
  - In 1882, Tarabai Shinde's book, **Stree Purush Tulana** generated heated discussions in public. It was a critique of patriarchy and caste system. She questioned the status of women in society. She insisted that the faults, commonly ascribed to women, such as superstition, suspicion, treachery and insolence, could be as much found in men.

This book is considered as the first modern feminist book in India. Her exploration of deep-seated connections to religion, caste, and patriarchal norms — was an unexplored territory till then.



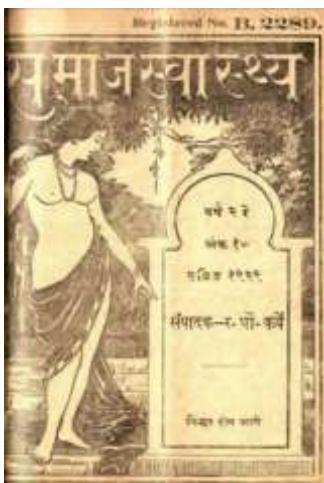
### **Eastern India:**

- Rabindranath Tagore's sister **Swarnakumari Debi** launched "Sakhi Samiti" with the aim of training widows to learn, to teach and thus become the most powerful agents of spreading education among women in 1886.
- **Begum Rokeya Shekhawat:**
  - At her initiative, girls' schools were founded at Patna and Calcutta
- **Aghorekamini Nari Samiti** was based in Bengal. It adhered to empower women through spread of education among them. It campaigned against ill-treatment of women workers by the tea planters.
- **Banga Mahila Vidyalaya** (Bengali Women's College), established at Kolkata in 1876, was the *first women's liberal arts college* in India.
- **Kamini Roy** was a great Indian feminist. She took part in the Ilbert Bill agitation. She worked with Banga Mahila Samiti in their social reform projects.



### **South India**

- **Sister Subbulakshmi:** She was a Christian missionary and social reformer who dedicated her life to education and the welfare of women in Tamil Nadu. She played a crucial role in establishing schools and empowering women through education.



**RD Karve** (1882-1953) was a pioneer in initiating family planning and birth control for masses in Mumbai in 1921. Because of his views about family planning, population control, and women's right to experience sexual/sensual pleasure as much as men he had to face opposition from the conservative elements in society.

- Karve started the very first birth control clinic in India in 1921, the same year when the first birth control clinic opened in London.
- He started a Marathi magazine *Samaj Swasthya* in 1927 where he discussed issues of society's well-being through population control through use of contraceptives to prevent unwanted pregnancies and induced abortions. He promoted responsible parenting by men, gender equality, and women's empowerment and right to experience sexual/sensual pleasure.
- Three cases were slapped against him for 'spreading vulgarity'. Instead of encouraging Karve's humanitarian work, leaders of various religions had come together to pull him down. Dr BR Ambedkar defended him in one of these cases.

**Revivalist Movement**

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the decline of the Mughal Empire, the Muslims increasingly became politically insignificant. With the rise of British Colonialism, there was an arrival of Christian missionaries, the political reassertion of Hindus. While the Hindus were quick to accept Western education, the Muslims refused to accept it. Thus, Muslims came under the influence of English education and western ideas very late. So, they were carried away by a revivalist spirit which sought to revive the past and purify Islam.

There were two effective revivalist movements in the early part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century India:

**1. Faraizi/Faraidi Movement in Eastern Bengal**

- a. The Faraizi movement was a peasant-cum-religious movement. It earned the name from Arabic word-'Farz' (duty).
- b. It was organised in eastern Bengal under the leadership of **Hazi Sariyattullah** and his son Dadu Miya.
- c. Religious Aspect
  - i. On his return to India from Hajj in 1799, where he was influenced by Wahabism, Shariatullah conjectured that the Muslims of India had been declining as a community mainly since they were practicing Islam, which borrowed rituals from Hinduism and Sufism.
  - ii. They preached a change in the mode of dress to distinguish the Muslims from the non-Muslims.
  - iii. The movement wanted Bengali Muslims to follow pure Islam by discarding borrowings from other religions like worship at Muslim shrines, floating of the bhera (ceremonial boat), ceremonial dances, planting of banana trees (phallic symbols) around the house on the first menstruation of a girl.
  - iv. The Faraizis suspended Friday and Id prayers thinking of India under the British as dar-al-harb (enemy's territory) where these prayers are not required.
- d. Economic Aspect
  - i. The movement was organised against local zamindars (mostly Hindus) and the British indigo planters. It enjoyed the support of local peasants who were the main sufferers under the British rule. To mobilise the Muslim peasant, its leaders used religious symbols.
  - e. The movement under the leadership of Dadu Miyan, son of Haji Shariat-ul-Allah, became revolutionary. He organised the movement from village to the provincial level with a Khalifa (authorised deputy) at each level. He organised a para-military force to fight the goons of landlords and the police. He was arrested many times, but after his death in 1862 his movement survived only as a religious movement.

**2. Wahabi Movement in North India (Tariqa-e-Muhammadiya)**

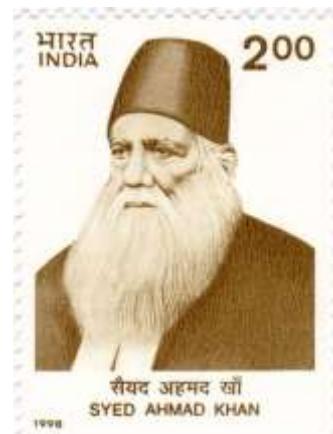
- a. Teachings of Abd al-Wahab influenced by the Delhi school of Islam. Its objective was to purify Islam by getting rid of any Sufi and Hindu influences, introduce sharia

laws and to restore Dar-ul Islam in India. This movement was led by **Sayyid Ahmad Barelvī**.

- b. A nationwide organisation with an elaborate secret code for its working under spiritual vice-regents (Khalifas) was set up, and Sindh in north western tribal belt was chosen as a base for operations. Since Dar-ul-Harb (the land of kafirs) was to be converted into Dar-ul-Islam (the land of Islam), a jihad was declared against the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab. Thus, initially, this movement was against Sikhs in Punjab.
- c. Sayyid Ahmed paid a visit to Calcutta in 1820 and gained immense popularity. When the British conquered Punjab in 1849, the Wahabi movement targeted the British as well.

### **Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Aligarh Movement**

- Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-98), the founder of the Aligarh movement is a leading figure in the stream of Muslim movement. He worked as a magistrate in the British Government and was posted at different places in the United Province (U.P.). His organised movement to reform the Muslim society was started from Aligarh and was, therefore, called the Aligarh movement.



- **Literary Work:**

- Sir Ahmad Khan edited "**Tehzeeb-ul-Akhlaq**", a monthly journal.
- He was pioneer in prose writing in Urdu language. He wrote two famous books in Urdu- **Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind** (1858) and Asar-us-Sanadid (on Delhi's architecture)

- **Education reform:**

- The failure of the revolt of 1857 was a great shock for Indians in general and elite (Ashraf) Muslims, in particular. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan represented the elite Muslims. He was quick to learn that the only way to survive for Muslims was to modernise their institutions and be loyal to the British rule.
- The ground-work was done at Ghazipur (Eastern U.P.) itself where in 1864, he founded a **modern school and scientific society** to popularise western sciences among Muslims in India. The society translated works on physical sciences into Urdu, the language of masses in northern India.
- **Trip to the west:** During a trip to England in 1869, Sayyid Ahmad was impressed by British technology, high literacy rates, and a sense of achievement. He believed that cultural superiority and worldly success were connected. He thought that older educated Muslims in India held positions of power, but now, Englishmen in England had exclusive access to equivalent education. Sayyid Ahmad aimed to spread education in India while merging religion and education together.

- **British Support:**

- Sayyid Ahmad's concept aligned well with the colonial policy outlined in Hunter's Indian Mussalmans, which aimed to educate a new generation of Muslims with Western knowledge while retaining familiarity with their own religious principles.

- Sayyid Ahmad's efforts to promote English education among Muslim elites received significant support from the British. The Aligarh College received a personal donation of Rs 10,000 from Viceroy Lord Northbrooke.
    - Sir Sayyid Ahmad was regarded by the British as a champion and representative of the Muslim community.
  - Getting support of British was easier but to garner favourable opinion among Muslim Ashraf class was difficult. He had to **re-interpret Quran** according to current context of Muslim life to persuade Muslims to accept the western education.
  - In 1886, he founded the **Mohammedan Anglo-oriental Conferences** with a view to
    - Enrich the Urdu language through translations of valuable scientific works. Exert political pressure for the acceptance of Urdu as the secondary language in all government and private schools;
    - Emphasise on women education for the development of future generations;
    - Formulate a policy for higher education of Muslim students in Europe.
  - Foundation of **Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental college** (1875) to spread modern education among Muslim youths.
- Notions of Nationalism: He advised the Muslims to keep **away from anti-British movement**. With Theodore Beck, he formed **United India Patriotic Association**.
    - Sayyid Ahmad aimed to foster a sense of Muslim solidarity and promote a **qaum** (nation, community) mentality among Aligarh students. He sought to demonstrate that Muslims were loyal rather than hostile to British rule. Sayyid Ahmad advised Muslims to **distance themselves from the Indian National Congress** and expressed concern that Muslims would be marginalized in a representative political system with Hindu population as majority. Thus, unfortunately, from the start, Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh movement fell victim to the **misguided belief that development for Muslims could only be achieved through a pro-British policy**.
    - Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan held a hostile stance towards the Indian National Congress, leading to the Muslim reforms movement taking a separate path from the mainstream national movement. This has led many historians to view him as a **pioneer of Muslim separatism and a precursor to the concept of the two-nation theory**. However, in one of his notable speeches, Sir Sayyid emphasized the importance of both Hindus and Muslims, comparing them to the **two beautiful eyes of a bride**, and asserting their equal indispensability.
    - What is also important is the success and significance conferred on these ventures by **colonial patronage**.

## Deoband Movement

- This school, founded by **Md. Qasim Nanotavi** (1833-77) and **Abdul Rashid Ghangohi** (1829-1905) believed in traditional Islamic thought and was opposed to the British system. The real aim of this school was to reestablish contact between the alim (scholars) and the average Muslims and to reorientate the Muslim Community to its original cultural and religious identity.
- They were veterans of the 1857 Revolt, and attempted to train students in Islamic learning, but along the lines of **western style**, leading to the emergence of a 'Protestant Islam'. The seminary they set up at Deoband took its curriculum from an earlier one in the *farangi mahal* (foreign quarters) of Lucknow. It was a **traditionalist course** of studies, whereas modern science was being ignored.
- They wanted to build a **bridge between Islamic and the modern western rationalist school**.
  - They hoped that a student, if he so wished, could join a modern school or university after completing his theological education at Deoband. Thus, Deoband School regarded itself as an institution, complementary and preliminary to modern westernised schools.
  - Although it was modelled entirely on western educational institutional structures, the Deoband Seminary actually played a **significant role in developing a unified and orthodox Islam in India**. The seminary produced *madrassa* teachers and became prominent at a later stage, for the number of *fatwas* it issued.
- The Deoband group, maintained a "**muted anti-British temper**," and generally supported **Congress** nationalism in the twentieth century.
  - They criticized Sayyid Ahmad's Aligarh school, his theological innovations, and his loyalty to the British. In fact, they even issued a **Fatwa against Saiyyad Ahmad Khan**.
  - **Maulana Abul Kalam** was affiliated with this movement.
  - The Deobandis vehemently **opposed the two-nation theory** advocated by the Muslim League and Mohammad Ali Jinnah, which led to the creation of Pakistan.



## Other movements among Muslims

- **Ahl-e-Hadis movement**
  - It emerged in mid-19<sup>th</sup> century as an offshoot of Tariqa-e-Muhammadiya movement of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It was led by Nawab Siddaq Hasan Khan (of Bhopal) and Syed Nazir Hussain.
  - It rejected everything introduced into Islam after Qur'an, Sunnah, Hadith and the early eras. It was most well known for its vehement opposition to veneration of sufi saints.
- **Ahmadiya Movement**
  - Founded by **Mirza Gulam Ahmad** in the later half of the 19th century in a place called Qazini in Punjab. This movement, which checked the growth of Shuddhi

movement and Christianity. It defended Islam from Arya Samaj and Christian missionaries.

- In 1889, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad declared himself as 'Masih', and '**Mahdi**' (a minor prophet). Later, he also declared himself as incarnation of Krishna and Jesus. The majority of the Muslims, however, opposed both Ghulam Ahmad and his followers known as Ahmadiyas or Qadianis. Slowly it became a distinct sect in Islam. However, in Pakistan they are treated as non-Muslims.
- **Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani's *Pan-Islamism*** (inherently anti-nationalist)
  - Jamal Afghani from Iran believed that embracing Western education could empower Muslims to overcome Western imperialism and establish a global Islamic caliphate.
  - He criticized those who rejected modern education, but he viewed Muslims as a united global community (ummah). Afghani criticized Sir Syed for focusing solely on the situation of Indian Muslims and argued that they should be seen as part of a global Muslim community.

## Handout 23: Caste Movements (19<sup>th</sup> century)

Nikhil Sheth

The socio-religious reforms movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> c were initially organized by the Indian elites and high caste Hindus. So, inspite of criticism of caste system and untouchability, no serious effort was made to bring some practical solution. So, it was the lower caste intellectuals who took the issues related to equality and social upliftment directly into their hands.

Caste Movement expressed mainly in two forms:

- **Sanskritization** (caste mobility)
- **Radical social protest** (rejection of caste system)

### Sanskritization:

- Some caste groups placed at the relatively lower level of caste hierarchy claim superior ritual status by following the upper caste behavioural norms, by accepting the taboos that the upper caste practiced. This is an **emulation of Brahmanical norms** relating to *private behavior or public postures*.
  - e.g. imitation of social practices such as sati, child marriage, prohibition of widow remarriage, temperance etc.
- Usually, such initiates toward Sanskritization come from **relatively affluent sections** among the lower castes.
- Sanskritization was a **traditional method**. It had been continuing in Indian society for a long stretch of time. E.g. formation of Rajputs.
- Claiming ritual status on the basis of certain traditional behavioural norms also involved a certain **degree of revivalism** as well. Because invariably many of these caste groups actually would visualize a fairly respectable position of theirs in the past which they sought to restore. Example the **cow protection movement** in northern India.



- **Mhishya Movement (South and southwest Bengal)**
  - Sections of the Kaivarta community (a lower caste group) became materially wealthy and started claiming Kshatriya status claiming that they were offspring of Kshatriya rulers. started to call themselves Mahishya.
  - In 1897, they formed 'Jati Nirdharni Sabha'. In 1901, they established the central Mahishya Committee.
- Similar aspirations of claiming superior Kshatriya status was seen in **Rajbanshis** of **northern Bengal**.
- **Namshudra Movement:** A different kind of movement was of **Namshudra peasants in eastern Bengal**
  - These peasants belonged to a very low strata of the caste hierarchy.
    - They were historically classified as a lower-caste Hindu community, faced social discrimination and economic deprivation.
    - Unlike the Mahishyas, who could be admitted into the Brahmin households, the Namshudras were actually debarred from entering into Brahmin households and with them the Brahmins had no physical connection or touch
  - The Namashudra movement aimed to address social and economic discrimination and assert their rights and dignity. They became very organized. Led by reformers like **Harichand Thakur** (1812-78) and **Guruchand Thakur** in the 19th century, the it sought to challenge the caste-based hierarchy and advocate for social equality.
    - Political significance was a major catalyst.
    - **Social Reform:** They emphasized education, social upliftment, and empowerment of the Namshudras through their teachings and writings.
    - **Sanskritization:** Aspirations even among the Namshudras were in part adoption of the behavioral norms of the upper caste. They asked their women not to go to the fields, not to serve in other households etc.
    - **Religious Reform:** **Matua protest sect.** It aimed to liberate the Namashudras from the dominance of higher-caste Hindus and promote an inclusive and egalitarian interpretation of Hinduism. This included challenging discriminatory practices and rituals imposed upon the community. This movement inherited some protestant elements of popular Vaishnavism of Bengal.
  - So, there was certain amount of transcendence of radicalism over Sanskritization. This movement thus tried to break the limitations of Sanskritization and acquired a more protestant, a more radical dimension, where Brahmanical orthodoxy was not only challenged but was sought to be subverted.

### Radical Social Protest: Non-Brahmin Movements

However, not all castes at all times followed this same behavioural trajectory. One cannot simply apply this framework for entire India because Indian society has a very strong regional feature. Caste movement used Sanskritization in varied manner to fulfil aspirations for mobility. At times, depending on situations, depending on the kind of leadership of the caste groups, the materially affluent section among some of these caste groups went against the Brahminical orthodoxy. They felt confident and powerful enough to challenge the Brahmanical domination and broke the limitations of Sanskritization. These were movements which instead of seeking positional changes within the caste system, questioned the fundamentals of this social organisation, the most notable of them being the non-Brahman movements in western and southern India and some of the more radical movements among the dalit groups.

Apart from Sanskritization, there were **other avenues of social mobility** and claiming superior ritual status. British rule came with a certain opportunity for the low caste people.

- Colonial rule disengaged caste system from its pre-colonial contexts:
  - **Land** became a marketable commodity.
  - **Equality before law** became the established principle of judicial administration.
  - Opportunities that are created by the **new educational system** which was open to all.
  - **Public employment** was thrown open to all.
- **Christianity** provided many of these low caste groups with the possibility of an escape from a social order dominated by Brahminical orthodoxy.
- Beginning of **caste surveys, census operations** which enumerated and classified the population on all-India basis.

### Maharashtra

**Jyotiba Phule** took the lead and raised lower caste issues.

- He came from Mali (gardener) caste, the people who were Untouchables but who were becoming prosperous over time, got education and this education became a major incentive for him to claim a higher status for his community.
- His idea was to become more respectable but in order to establish their rights, Jotiba Phule was actually traveling back to history. He had a very **radical interpretation of caste problem** in India.
  - In his *Ballad of Raja Chatrapati Shivaji Bhonsale* (1869), Phule depicted all lower-caste people as the original inhabitants of India and forgotten descendants of the



heroic race of Kshatriyas. The King Bali was refigured as representing the utopias of beneficence, prosperity and casteless order.

- He proposed his own version of Aryan invasion theory. As the old warrior castes, bahujans had once enjoyed a respectable position of pre-eminence in the society. The invading Aryans were Vishnu worshipper and they defeated natives and converted them into Shudras. He thus believed that Aryans had instituted the caste system as a framework for subjugation.
- He introduced a Marathi word **dalit** (broken, crushed) as a descriptor for those people who were outside the traditional varna system.
- He sought to unite both the non-Brahman peasant castes as well as dalit groups in a common movement. He underplayed the social-differences that divided mali-kunbi, mang-mahar or Shudra-Ati-Shudra.

- He had a **cosmopolitan view**

- He kept an eye over developments in the US, was familiar with American civil war and abolition of slavery. In his book **Gulamgiri**, he compared the condition of African-American slaves with the status of low-caste Indians. In this book, he thanked Christian missionaries and the British colonists for making the exploited castes realize that they are worthy of all human rights.

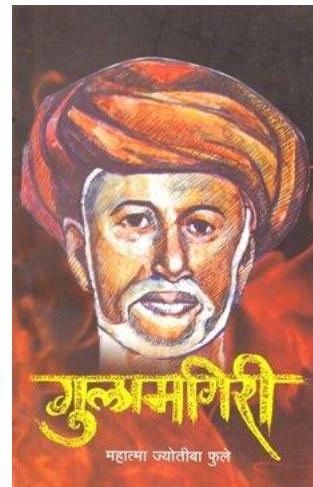
- He also supported the **cause of peasants**.

- In his book **Shetkaryancha Aasud** (1881), he analyzed the reasons behind the decline of Shudra peasants.

- He laid the foundation of **Satya Shodhak Samaj** (1873-74)

- Through this samaj, he **opposed idolatry, priestcraft and denounced the caste system**.
- Satyashodhak Samaj campaigned for the **spread of rational thinking** and modern education.
- Started to publish **Satya Shodhak journal**.

- Finally, he worked for **women education**, along with his wife Savitribai Phule. He championed **widow remarriage**. He established an **orphanage** to reduce the rate of **infanticide**.



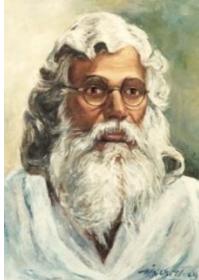
#### Some more personalities:

- Later in Satara region Satya Shodhak Samaj progressed under **Mukundrao Patil**. Mukundrao Patil Published a journal **Dinmitra** from 1910 onwards.
- Later the leaders like **Keshavrao & Dinkarao Jawalakar** started to lead an 'Anti Brahmin Movement' in Poona.

- At the end of 19th Century, the Caste movement of Maharashtra started to be organized under the leadership of **Gopal Baba Walangkar**. He published the monthly journal **Vital-Vidhvansak** (destroyer of Brahmanical pollution) targeted at the Brahmanical Orthodoxy. It was the first journal in India with untouchable people as target reader group. In 1894, Walangkar presented a memorandum to the government in which he demanded status of Kshatriya & reservation in Jobs for 'Mahars'.

Over time, the non-Brahmin movement in Maharashtra split into two distinct tendencies.

- One was the kind of aspiration was to **claim a superior status in the past**. Some people tried to **rise up in the social hierarchy and in the ritual hierarchy**.
- The other was a **more radical tendency** which became an **attack on the caste system itself**. Subsequently, some of these men who participated in this kind of a social movement against casteism became linked with the Congress.

<b>Shahu Maharaj of Kolhapur (1874-1922)</b>	<b>Vitthal Ramji Shinde (1873-1944)</b>
	
<p>He carried out various progressive reforms for the lower caste subjects of his state. <b>Primary education</b> to all regardless of caste and creed was one of his most significant priorities. He also ensured suitable employment for students thus educated, thereby creating one of the <b>earliest affirmative action</b> (50% reservation to weaker sections) programs in history.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>He formed <b>Depressed Classes Mission</b> in 1906 in Bombay.</li> <li>In 1919 he gave evidence before the Southborough Franchise Committee, asking for the special representation for the untouchable castes.</li> <li>In his book <b>Bhartiya Asprushyatecha Prashna</b> (1933), he examined the Hindu religion and social culture to oppose the caste system, idol worship, meaningless rituals and inequities against women and depressed classes.</li> </ul>

## Dr. BR Ambedkar (1891-1956)

- During the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the first graduate among Mahars i.e. Bhim Rao Ambedkar was active and he was radical in his approach also.
- He rejected the caste system and Brahmanic supremacy. He pleaded for the abolition of the practice of Mahars carrying waste and dead animals. He fought to abolish mahar vatans, to relieve Dalits of their socio-economic oppression.
- He participated/led in three satyagrahas for Dalits:
  - Kalaram temple entry movement, Nashik
  - Mahad Satyagraha for equal access to public tank, Colaba
  - Parvati temple entry movement, Pune
- In the first Round Table Conference, he raised the demand for separate electorate for untouchables on the ground that they are separate from Hindus.
- In 1956, he, along with 3.5-4 lakh followers became Buddhists and led to the formation of Navayan Buddhism.
- Newspaper
  - Mooknayak, Bahishkrit Bharat
- Books by Ambedkar
  - Castes in India
  - The Annihilation of Caste
  - Riddles in Hinduism
  - Who were the Shudras?
  - What Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables
  - The Buddha and His Dhamma
  - Pakistan, or The Partition of India
- Parties and Organizations
  - Bahishkrit Hitkarini Sabha, Independent Labour Party, Scheduled Caste Federation



*(more to be discussed later)*

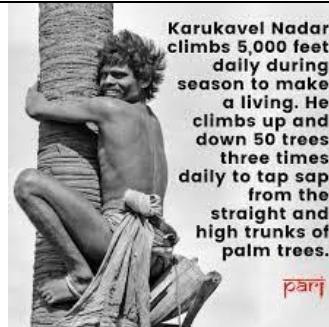
**(a) Nadars** were actually toddy-tappers. They were known as **Shanans** and they were untouchables. A section once they became somewhat wealthy through participation in commerce they wish to be known as **Nadars**. Over time they started a movement to gain respectability. They gradually transformed themselves—between the 1820s and the 1880s—from being ‘unclean toddy-tappers’ to ‘Kshatriya’ Nadars.

Nadar in the 18th century became exposed to Christianity. Some of them **became Christians** to become upwardly mobile. Others following the **model of Sanskritization claimed Kshatriya status** and tried to gain self-respect.

- The occasion for this transformation was a controversy over the wearing of breast cloths by the women of this caste in the 1820s. Nadar women had to fight for many decades from 1820s till 1850s to gain the right to wear upper garments in public (Channar revolt)
- Radical Shanans countered their unclean status by adopting the sacred thread, giving a twist to this symbol of prestige.
- They participated in the temple entry movements.
- Soon, they began to express their political ambition soon after.



Nangeli's sacrifice



Karukavel Nadar climbs 5,000 feet daily during season to make a living. He climbs up and down 50 trees three times daily to tap sap from the straight and high trunks of palm trees.

PARI

Toddy Tapper, Kerala  
(PARI)

**(b) Ezhava community** once again was of toddy tappers. They also participated in the choir industry.

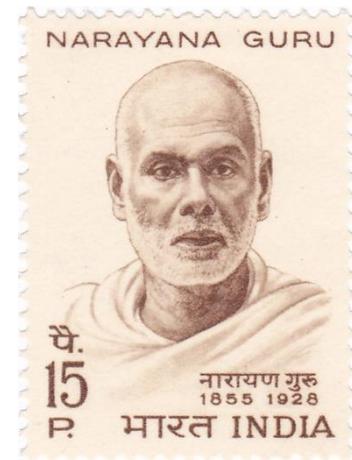
- By that time, it was a flourishing choir industry. Some of these Ezhavas became quite prosperous. They earned money by participating in coir trade and they got into these new institutions of learning. So just like among Nadars, you see rise of elites also among Ezhavas as well which was capable of challenging the forces of orthodoxy.
- They claimed a superior status and such claims came to be sustained by a certain degree of material prosperity which the Ezhava elites had acquired through participation in new professions, new educational system, through practice of medicine and ayurvedic lessons in Sanskrit schools.



A female labour working in coir industry

Ezhavas started a major movement under **Sri Narayan Guru** (1856-1928) in Travancore.

- In 1902-03 Shri Narayan Guru, Dr. Palpu (first Ezhava graduate) & a great Malayali poet, N. Kumaran Asan (disciple of Narayan Guru) formed an institution called **Sri Narayan Dharma Pariipalana Yogam (SNP Yogam)**, which worked for the social upliftment of Ezhavas.
  - Sri Narayana Guru focused on socio-economic empowerment and cultural reforms for the underprivileged. He navigated the challenges posed by caste Hindu rulers of Travancore, apathy of the British state and proselytization by missionaries.
  - **Sanskritization**
    - One of the main thrusts of this movement was to challenge the Brahmanical order by adopting their ritual codes for the Ezhava community.
    - He asked his follower to discontinue toddy-tapping and prefer better professions.
    - One of the ways to question the domination of the orthodoxy was to create their own institutions, they setup their own Shiva temples and Ezhava priests were administering spiritual needs of the fellow members SNDP managed these temples. So, this movement operated within Sanskritization.
  - But by the turn of the century, there was a **greater degree of radicalism** and there were attempts to cross the limits of Sanskritization.
    - Narayan Guru had given a slogan 'one god, one religion, one caste'
      - "All human beings are born from a mother. Brahmin and Paraya both are born in the same way. Hence, they belong to the same Jathi, Narajathi (humankind)."
      - He said, "Ask not, say not, think not caste". Guru supported inter-caste marriages and inter-dining. He himself officiated several inter-caste marriages.
    - When he was stopped from entering the temple, his disciples started the temple entry movement for untouchables **Vaikom Satyagraha** in 1920s.
    - Guru proclaimed that there was no distinction of Religion or God between human beings and called upon people to abstain from violence and religious conflicts to promote universal peace, harmony and prosperity.
      - Guru convened the first religious parliament in Asia at Aluva Adwaitha Ashram on 10th February 1924 in which leaders of almost all religions took part.
  - Later, they began to adopt more radical ideas and started using the language of atheism. His disciple **Sahodaran Ayyapan** said, "**no god no religion no caste.**"



**Ayyankali (1863-1941)** worked for the betterment of Pulayar community and removing disabilities of untouchables in Kerala.



### Tamil Nadu

Similar patterns were visible in **Madras Presidency** where you see some **intermediate powerful groups** like the Nayars, Vellalas, and Kammas, who are powerful for reasons of material prosperity, who were English educated. They were intermediary groups who claimed superior status.

Here, **a distinct Dravidian identity** was sought to be forged as a counterpoint to Brahmanic dominance. The lead here was taken by members of the **Vellala** caste.

- In the late-nineteenth century Madras Presidency, the Brahmins, comprising only 3 percent of the population, held 42 percent of government jobs.
- They prided themselves on their education, especially in English, and viewed Sanskrit as a prestigious classical language, while dismissing Tamil, the language of the common people. This fueled the anti-Brahman movement in the south, where **Tamil language became a symbol of devotion and provoked strong emotions**.
- Additionally, the non-Brahman Tamil elite drew upon missionary and Orientalist **theories of the Aryan invasion** to argue that the caste system was not indigenous to the south, that it was an imposition by the Brahmins from the north who tried to colonize Tamil–Dravidian culture.

The anti-Brahman movement found its political forum in the **Justice Party** that came into being in 1916.

- Founded by Sir Pitti Theagaraya Chetty, Dr T M Nair, and Dr C Natesa Mudaliar.
- Consciously constituted as a party of non-Brahmans, the Justice Party published a Non-Brahman Manifesto and opposed the Congress and its political programme.
- The party showed its full loyalty to the colonial administration and vied for privileges offered by government-sponsored reforms. Indeed, it demanded separate representation for non-Brahmans in legislative councils, as had been granted to the Muslims in the Morley–Minto reforms of 1909.
- Following the allocation of reserved seats to non-Brahmans in the Montagu–Chelmsford reforms in 1919, the Justice Party contested the elections to the Madras Legislative Council, in open opposition to the Congress programme of non-cooperation. The Congress

had boycotted the elections. The Justice Party remained in power until 1926, and then from 1930-37.

However, it soon came into clashes with a **more militant group of non-Brahmans**, who had developed **non-Brahmanism** as a political theory and ideology, drawing upon the writings, in Telugu and Tamil, of **S. Raghavayya Chowdary** and **E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker** respectively.

### **E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker or Periyar (Great Man) (1879-1973)**

- He joined Indian National Congress in 1919 and was associated with Gandhian Non-Cooperation Movement of 1920. Later he was disillusioned and started organising lower caste movements in **Self Respect movement**.(1925) It took a different political trajectory than Justice Party's stance. He was more radical and argued for overthrow of caste system altogether.
- He started a Tamil weekly journal called **Kudi Arasu** (People's Government) in 1925 and **Revolt** in English in 1928. Kudi Arasu became the main vehicle for propagating the political programme of the 'Self-Respect' movement.
- Father of Dravidian Movement
  - He promoted the principles of **rationalism, self-respect, and women's rights**.
  - He took a radical stand **against the caste system**.
    - He wanted to abolish untouchability. He took part in the **Vaikom Satyagraha**. He fought for access to temples and wells for all.
    - He promoted abandoning the usage of caste prefixes.
    - Marriage ceremonies performed by him himself without support of any Brahmin. (**self-respect marriages**)
    - Periodically, the movement organized dramatic assaults on religious and priestly symbols like beating of priest and idols with shoes, and burned sacred texts.
  - This was more radical than the Justice Party, which rebuffed Brahmins for their 'skills to pass exams'. He almost equated **anti-Brahminism** with **anti-Hinduism**.
  - In 1937, C Rajagopalachari (CM, Madras Presidency) introduced Hindi as a compulsory language in schools. It led to a series of **anti-Hindi agitations** which were supported by Ramasamy. He opposed the domination of Hindi and emphasised the distinct cultural identity of the Tamil nation.
  - In 1938, the Justice Party and Self-Respect Movement came together, representing the merger of the party and the movement and Ramasamy became the head of the **Justice Party**, and in 1944 it transformed into **Dravidar Kazhagam**.



- DK was anti-Brahmin, anti-Congress, and anti-Aryan (i.e. North Indian), and launched a movement for an independent Dravida nation. He advocated for an *independent Dravida Nadu*.

**Iyoothee Thass** (1845-1914) was a prominent anti-caste activist from Tamil Nadu. He famously converted to Buddhism and called upon the Paraiyars to do the same, arguing that this was their original religion. He had opposed Swadeshi Movement as led by Brahmins.



Later **Mahatma Gandhi** himself took the cause of the lower castes.

- He made anti-untouchability programme as a part of non-cooperation movement.
- After Civil disobedience movement, Gandhi fully concentrated over this question. The **Harijan upliftment programme** was organised under his guidance.
  - He formed an 'All India Harijan Sangh' in 1932.
  - In 1932 he formed an 'Anti Untouchable League'
  - Started to Publish a Journal 'Harijan'

**Thakkar Bapa** was another prominent leader of lower caste group. Gandhi called him 'Father of Harijans'.



**Emergence of modern political consciousness**

An ideology known as nationalism holds that all people have a shared cultural consciousness. It is when people in a country begin to think of themselves as being a part of a single family. The state becomes a nation when its citizens have a shared past heritage and when they believe that their future is also intertwined.

The spirit of modern Indian Nationalism emerged around the middle of 19th century due to a variety of factors. British rule with its direct and indirect consequences provided the material, moral, and intellectual conditions for the development of a national movement.

**Unintended role of British colonial rule in creating modern Indian nationalism:**

- **Politico integration** was carried to create an extensive British Indian empire.
- **Uniform laws, judicial system and administrative structure**
- **English education**
  - Western education was designed to colonize Indian mind and breed sense of loyalty. Initially Indians were impressed, moved, and spellbound due British material progress.
  - In reality, Indians selectively appropriated English education and learnt political rights and Enlightenment philosophy they acquired the ability to study the foreign evil and soon started crafting criticism of colonialism.
    - a. They started using the language of politics that they had imbibed through their exposure to Western political ideals.
    - b. It was through their engagement with Western political thought that they espoused nationalism as a legitimate political ideal for the Indians to achieve a status of equality with the West.
  - English language emerged as lingua-franca of the rising intelligentsia.
- **Rail, telegraph and unified postal networks** were created for tighter control over India and to facilitate more efficient exploitation. However, it also gave rise to pan-Indian contacts and strengthened Indian unity. It made possible new associations, bonds, idea of unified India.
- **Modern Press** was originally started by some disgruntled British India officers to fulfil their own interest.

These initiatives were undertaken to fulfilling the British colonial interest and not for the benefit of India. The positive impact of these changes was unintended, indirect and accidental by-product.

### **Negative Role:**

- **The British rule in India was colonial in character.** It was despotic, anti-people, unethical, immoral, unfeeling, insensitive and alien.
- **Economic integration**
  - Creation of **all-India poverty**:
  - Indian interests were subordinated to the British interests and Indian resources were exploited by every possible means.
    - a. It became the major cause of economic backwardness and halted India's economic, socio-cultural, political, and intellectual growth.
    - b. Every class and section of Indian society (peasants, artisans, workers, capitalists, and rising class of intellectuals) suffered due to it.
    - c. This suffering triggered a strong sense of anti-British discontent among the masses.
- **Cultural/ideological Imperialism: British propaganda**
  - Indians were never able rule themselves in the past, and they are destined to be ruled by the foreigner.
  - Uncivilized and degraded culture and thus Indians unfit for democracy.
  - Reform agenda, Humiliation, Missionary criticism and Conversion
- **Racism**
  - Europeans developed social code of ethics. They believed in the theory of superior race and considered Indians as inferior race. They portrayed Indians as uncivilized and untrustworthy.

Thus, the British rule created circumstances for the birth of Indian nationalism but at same time it should be understood that it was essentially colonial. Both are antithetical to each other. British tried to suppress Indian nationalism from the very beginning rather than being facilitator of it.

### **There were many peasant/tribal rebellions against the British in the post 1858 decades.**

- Wahabi movement of Muslims under Barelvi – finally suppressed in 1870s
- Kuka movement of Sikhs under Ram Singh – brutally suppressed in 1872
- Peasant uprisings – Indigo (Bengal), Pabna (Bengal), Deccan Riots (Maharashtra)
- Tribal uprisings – Rampa (AP), Mundas (Chota Nagpur), Tikendrajit (Manipur) and Vasudeo Balwant Phadke (MH)

Numerous such rebellions indicate the widespread discontent prevailing against the British rule in the country. However, most of them were localized, didn't post any serious threat to the British rule, and thus easily crushed.

### Emerging tiny middle-class intelligentsia created an ideological background.

Besides such uprisings, by the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was also a gradual emergence of the middle class. It happened due to the circumstances created by colonization of India by the British.

The middle class hopes that British rules would modernize India soon evaporated. It started to recognize that British rule was hindering their progress.

- Economically, India remained backward, politically there was no growth of self-government despite the pretensions, and culturally there was increasing lack of confidence as well as hostile British attitude towards educated Indians.
- Moreover, there was racial arrogance of the British
  - Europeans held all the high-ranking positions while Indians faced discrimination in every sphere of life (judiciary, train compartments, hospitals, parks etc.)
  - Educated Indians were first to feel the humiliation, yet such racial dominance appalled every self-respecting Indian.
- Most importantly, the foreign/alien character of British produced a counter feeling of patriotism.

Thus, the conflict between British interest and Indian interests → rise of anti-colonial consciousness. This realization motivated Indians to protest against colonial rule, with the expanding middle class leading the way in the national struggle for independence. That led to the beginning of the modern national movement which represented all sections of the population.

Rapidly spreading **Print Culture** led to the emergence of **modern public sphere**.

- Emergence of **modern Press** (intellectual unification)
  - There emerged several journals with nationalist content and vision in both English and vernacular. By 1870s, vernacular print media proliferated and became more effective and played major role.
  - Press was the chief instrument to spread message of patriotism and spread all-India consciousness.
    - a. Role:

- i. Political education/awareness, politicization and propaganda:  
Newspapers tried to educate people by raising important issues and to spread ideas about political rights among the common people.
  - ii. It was through the print media that people living in disparate regions were able to establish a certain kind of communication with one another.
  - iii. They actually carried news information with which the local context always was not associated. For example, a newspaper published in a small district in Bengal carried information about how the textile mills were actually trying to establish their strongholds in western India against many obstacles created by Imperial rule and therefore imperial rule deserve to be condemned.
  - iv. Role of opposition to scrutinize government actions/policies: Issues like racial discrimination, injustice to Indians, economic exploitation were highlighted to argue that British rule resulted in economic and intellectual subordination of Indians to Britain.
- It played imp role in the rise of Indian nationalism. By 1875, 400+ Indian owned newspapers, mostly in vernaculars and readership of around 1.5 lakh.
    - a. Bengalee and Amrita Bazar Patrika in Bengal
    - b. Kesari, Mahratta, Indu Prakash and Voice of India in Bombay
    - c. The Hindu in Madras
    - d. Tribune in Punjab

- **Drain Theory and Economic Nationalism**

- The Drain theory put forward by leaders like Dadabhai Naoroji exposed the true face of the British rule in India. It explained how India was being systematically impoverished by the British and connected Indian poverty hunger and reoccurring famine to it.
- This realization of the impact of British rule opened the eyes of Indian intelligentsia and they started demanding politico-administrative reforms.

- **New History Writing**

- During British rule, India's rich cultural heritage and past was rediscovered. It inculcated dignity, identity and patriotic instincts.
- The nationalist school of Indian history started to emerge in the late 19th century. These nationalist historians highlighted the glorious achievements of India in the past to instill a sense of pride in the heart and mind of Indians and this gradually got transformed into national pride.

- a. Ashoka, Chandragupta: The decipherment of Ashokan's Edicts in 1837 revealed the existence of subcontinental political unity during the Mauryan era.
- b. Art, heritage, spirituality
- c. Regional patriotic literature
- d. The nationalist historians portrayed Gupta period as the Golden Age of Indian history. The politico-admin, socio cultural achievements of Gupta's were highlighted.
- e. Existence of Indo-Aryans as the same ethnic group as British boosted the confidence of educated Indians.
- These interpretations shattered the myth of white man's burden.
- **Awareness of International events**
  - American Revolution of 1776 was the first expression of nationalism in modern sense. The success of American revolutionaries inspired the educated class all over the world.
  - The developments associated with French Revolution resulted in the spread of national awakening not only in France but also in many other countries.
  - When Germans and Italians were successful in uniting and creating powerful nations, Indians also started-thinking along the same line and a powerful spirit of Indian nationalism emerged.
- **Patriotic literature:**

Subramaniam Bharathi	Tamil
Bharatendu Harishchandra	Hindi
Altaf Hussain Hali	Urdu
Vishnushastri Chiplunkar	Marathi
Bankimchandra Chatterjee and Tagore	Bengali
Lakshminath Bezbarua	Assamese

#### **First Indian reaction came in the cultural sphere. Socio-religious Reform:**

- To modernize Indian society in light of western rationalism. The reformers examined the existing ideas, beliefs and practice in the light of new knowledge. They promoted rational and scientific outlook among the people. They were greatly in favour of logic and reason. Such awakening among the people gradually transformed into nationalist thinking.
- The reformers of 19<sup>th</sup> century condemned divisive social evils such as casteism and untouchability. The attitude of purity and pollution prevailing among upper sections of population were strongly condemned. These efforts weakened the internal social divisions

and strengthened socio-cultural unity. Thus, it paved the way for common national identity among Indians.

- As it spread all over the country and communities, it also spread the message of political content – which was nationalist. However, its speed was slow and halting.
- The reformers highlighted common cultural elements, because of this, a collective cultural consciousness was created among the educated Indians. It gradually percolated downwards and infected every Indian with the spirit of nationalism. This paved the way for the rise of Indian nationalism.

With this started the emergence of **modern political association**. This confrontation of middle class with the British rulers during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century may be considered in two phases.

- Before 1885: Unorganized, spasmodic, lacking initiative, only temporary responses to provocations and lacking plan.
- After 1885: Grew in strength and self-confidence, INC became the rallying centre of the political movement, agitation acquired momentum of its own. Attainment of responsible self-government became the principal objective.

#### Predecessor political organizations: First Generation

Modern political consciousness had made itself manifest as early as the times of RRM Roy. He was the first Indian leader to start an agitation for political reforms in India. His work was continued by liberals, conservatives and radicals in some way or the other in 1830s and 1840s.

Year	Organisation	Founders	Aims and Objectives
1836	Bangabhasha Prakasika Sabha	Associates of Raja Ram Mohan Roy	Discussing government policy and seeking redressal through petitions and memorandums. ( <i>first modern political organization in India</i> )
1838	Landholders Society/ Zamindari Association	Dwarkanath Tagore, Radhakant Deb	To safeguard the interests of the landlords of Bengal. It is credited with launching organised political activity in India using constitutional methods.  Controlled and dominated by the absentee landowners, the high browed elites of northern part of Calcutta

1839	British India Society	William Adam	To improve the situation of Indians by letting the people of Britain know about their suffering.
1843	Bengal British India Society	George Thompson	Established in opposition to the zamindari Association. To protect and promote general public interest. Young Bengal people.

### Predecessor political organizations: Second Generation

However, it was finally in 1850s that the first major voluntary organizations with exclusively Indian membership came into being. The occasion was the discussion about the renewal of the Company Charter in 1853. On the eve of the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, there are three important associations in the three presidency towns.

British India Association	Calcutta	1851	First president Radhakant Deb, first secretary Dwarakanath Tagore.  British Indian Association also tried to setup branches elsewhere in the country.
Bombay Association	Bombay	1852	Jagannath Shankar Sheth, Dadabhai Naoroji, Naoroji Ferdunjee, Bhau Daji Lad etc.  In the early stage Bombay's politics was dominated by the sethiyas, the very powerful Parsi merchants.
Madras Native Association	Madras	1852	Gazulu Lakshminarasu Chetty  (He was the owner of the first Indian-owned newspaper in Madras named The Crescent. He was the first Indian member of Madras Chamber of Commerce)

#### **Features:**

- **Membership:** These earliest associations were in the cities of Calcutta/Madras/Bombay. They were dominated by notables, 'prominent Indians' and thus represented interest of landed aristocratic class.
- **Demands:** These people desired improvement in administration and system of government
  1. Greater part in administration
  2. Complaint against dual system

3. Complaint against expensive administration and high taxation
4. Neglect of public work and education and suggest measures etc.

- **Methods**

1. Sending petitions and proposals to British parliament to express demands, esp on the eve of the renewal of the Charter in 1853

No demand incorporated in the Charter Act, 1853. Yet, such politics indicates the evolution of modern sector of Indian politics.

### **Post 1857: Inauguration of Victorian Era**

The period after 1858 witnessed a gradual widening of the gulf between the educated Indians and British Indian administration.

As Indians studied the character of British rule and became aware of the consequences, they became more critical of the British policies and gradually became politically active. Now, these initial political associations no longer satisfy them. They became increasingly discontented with the conservative and pro-landlord policies of these initial political associations.

<b>Lord Canning</b>	1858-62	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Victoria's Proclamation</li> <li>• The Government of India Act, 1858</li> <li>• Indian Council's Act, 1861</li> <li>• Introduction of the system of Budget</li> <li>• Introduction of Portfolio system</li> <li>• Indian Civil Service Act, 1861</li> <li>• Indian Penal Code, 1860</li> <li>• Police Act, 1861</li> <li>• Indian High Courts Act, 1861</li> <li>• Archaeological Survey of India, 1861</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indigo Revolt in Bengal</li> </ul>
<b>Earl of Elgin</b>	1862-63	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Calcutta, Bombay and Madras High Courts</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Suppressed Wahabi Movement</li> </ul>
<b>Sir John Lawrence</b>	1864-69	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bhutan War, 1864 (annexation of Assam and Bengal Duars)</li> <li>• Est of Shimla as summer capital of India, 1864</li> <li>• Est of Allahabad High Court, 1866</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keshub Chandra Sen established Nava Vidhan (New Dispensation)</li> </ul>

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Famine Commission of Henry Campbell (Odisha famine 1866)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of Prarthana Samaj, 1867</li> </ul>
<b>Earl of Mayo</b>	1869-72	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Started Census operation, 1872</li> <li>• Mayo college at Ajmer, Rajmukar college at Rajkot</li> <li>• Financial Decentralization, 1870</li> <li>• Statistical Survey of India, 1872</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Keshub Chandra Sen established Indian Reform Association (1870)</li> <li>• Formation of Pune Sarvajanik Sabha</li> <li>• Assassinated by a Pathan Sher Ali Afridi</li> </ul>
<b>Lord Northbrook</b>	1872-76	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dramatic Performances Act, 1876</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Suppressed Kuka Revolt</li> <li>• Formation of Satyashodhak Samaj, 1873</li> <li>• Formation of Arya Samaj, 1875</li> <li>• Formation of Muhammad Anglo-Oriental College by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, 1875</li> </ul>
<b>Lord Lytton</b>	1876-80	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Royal Titles Act, 1876 (Empress of India – Kaisar-e-Hind)</li> <li>• First Delhi Durbar, 1877</li> <li>• Great Famine, 1876-78 and Strachey Commission</li> <li>• Vernacular Press Act, 1878</li> <li>• Arms Act, 1878</li> <li>• Civil Service Age: 21 to 18</li> <li>• Second Anglo-Afghan War, 1878-80</li> </ul>	
<b>Lord Ripon</b>	1880-84	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First Factory Act, 1881</li> <li>• First Complete Census of India, 1881</li> </ul>	

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Repealed Vernacular Press Act, 1882</li> <li>• Resolution on local self-government, 1882</li> <li>• Hunter Commission on Education, 1882</li> <li>• Famine Codes, 1883</li> <li>• Civil Service Age: 19 to 21</li> <li>• Ilbert Bill, 1883</li> </ul>	
<b>Lord Dufferin</b>	1884-88	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885</li> <li>• Third Anglo-Burmese War, 1885</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Formation of INC, 1885</li> </ul>
<b>Lord Lansdowne</b>	1888-94	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Age of Consent Act, 1891</li> <li>• Second Factory Act, 1891</li> <li>• Indian Councils Act, 1892</li> <li>• Durand Line, 1893</li> </ul>	
<b>Earl of Elgin</b>	1894-99	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Famine and Bubonic Plague, 1896</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Ramkrishna Mission, 1897</li> <li>• Assassination of Rand by Chapekar Brothers, 1897</li> </ul>
<b>Lord Curzon</b>	1899-05	<i>To be discussed later</i>	

#### (A) Lord Canning (1856-62):

##### 1. Queen's Proclamation 1858: Direct takeover of Indian colony

- Loyalty of princes in 1857 rewarded. No further annexations. Princes were cultivated as bulwark against future upsurge.
- Social policy became conservative, reactionary.
  - There was no interference in society.
  - There was theoretical equality but increased racism in reality.
  - Divide and Rule

##### 2. Middle class estrangement

- Indigo disturbances (1859): A peasant revolt against oppressive planters in Bengal also became the first peasant revolt with middle-class participation.
- Income Tax imposition (1860): without any control over expenditure led to some protests.

### 3. Indian Councils Act (1861):

#### a. Transformed Viceroy's Executive Council

- i. Miniature cabinet (portfolio system)
- ii. Expansion: EC + 12 members
  1. 50% members non-officials (either Indian or British).
  2. No statutory requirement of Indian appointments. Yet, beginning to associate Indians.

#### b. Formed a central though rudimentary legislative body. It was called as **Imperial Legislative Council**

- i. No elections but nominations.
- ii. No real powers: (Chiefly advisory in nature, a consultative body without any active role)
  1. Can't discuss budget or move financial proposal without prior approval.
  2. Cannot discuss the actions of the bureaucracy at all.
- iii. The Indian Penal Code of 1860, which defines crime and punishment in the country, was discussed and passed in this Council Chamber.

### (B) Lord Lytton (1876-80):

The late 1870s was a period of conservative dominance in British policy in England. In the same series, Lord Lytton enacted a series of repressive laws. He is known as the most repressive and inglorious Viceroy. His tenure was the most controversial tenure due to a series of obnoxious Acts.

#### 1. Extravagant **Delhi Durbar 1877** on Jubilee of Queen Victoria's rule amidst ravaging famine

Three Delhi Durbars			
1877	Lord Lytton	Queen Victoria (r. 1837-1901)	Did not attend in person
1903	Lord Curzon	King Edward VII (r. 1900-1910)	Did not attend in person
1911	Lord Hardinge	King George V (r. 1910-1936)	Most spectacular of all as Attended the event in person.

2. The expensive **cost of the Second Anglo-Afghan War** burdened the Indian finances.

**3. Racist Arms Act, 1878**

- a. It took away the right of India to bear arms without licence unlike Europeans.

**4. Problem of Civil Services**

- a. System of appointment through competitive examination was started in 1854. Still, Indians remained procedurally excluded due to –
  - i. London as the centre of examination
  - ii. Syllabus favouring Englishmen
  - iii. Progressive reduction in the age limit (1853 – 23 to 1876 – 19 by Lytton)  
The effect of lowering the age was to exclude Indians.

- b. In 1879, Lytton also closed Covenanted service to Indians altogether and instituted **Statutory Civil Service** where certain number of Indians every year were to be appointed (max 1/6<sup>th</sup>)
- c. It was keenly opposed by Indians.

**5. Vernacular Press Act, 1878**

- a. It was gagging device to muzzle native press through enforcing censorship, deposit and confiscation.

**6. In 1879, Import duty** was reduced on British cotton goods to facilitate the entry of British products in India at the cost of Indian manufacturers.

These anti-India measures initiated by the Lord Lytton intensified the anti-British discontent among the people and the level of nationalist awakening reached new heights.

**Predecessor political organizations: Third Generation**

This framework of the provincial politics began to undergo changes in the 1870s. The public sphere of the print media was expanding rapidly. In many of the towns and cities associations began to be formed by a group who broke away from these parent bodies in order to establish the independence and autonomy of the middle classes.

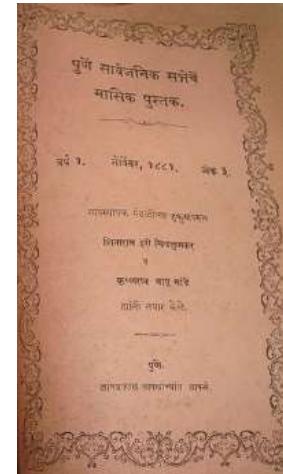
- These middle-class educated elites, the professional people who had been able to consolidate their power or their influence in social life through the educational, legal institutions or judicial institutions.



- They provided the main leadership partly because of their ability to lead the public, partly because of their ability to speak the language that the British rulers would be able to understand and also because of their exposure to liberal education from which they had imbibed the liberal political ideas which they wish to use against the despotic character of British rule.
- They were more forthright in the criticism of the government policies and didn't hesitate even to hold protest meetings.

### **Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870)**

- It was established by GV Joshi, Bhagwanrao Pant Pratinidhi etc but major role performed by Mahadev Govind Ranade
- It worked for social reform as well as political reform.
- Activities
  - Devoted much attention to study of economic problems and drew govt attention.
  - Mukhtayarnama (letters of attorney) from 17,000 people
  - Sent petition to House of Commons demanding direct representation.
  - Started a journal in 1878 to advocate land reforms, formation of agricultural banks, spread of education, improvement of judicial administration.



### **India League (Calcutta, 1875) by Motilal Ghosh, Shishir Kumar Ghosh**

### **Indian National Association (Calcutta, 1876) by SN Banerjee and Anandmohan Bose**

- It was established the same year when Lord Lytton came to India and duly opposed his regressive policies.
- Its objective was to create strong body of public opinion in country and create a unity of Indian people on the basis of common aspirations and political interests.
- To attract wider public, it kept its membership fee low for poorer classes.
- It soon established many branches in Bengal and a few outside Bengal too.

### **Madras Mahajan Sabha (1884)**

- The middle-class intelligentsia, primarily lawyers belonging to a Tamil Brahmin community, who clustered around the famous newspaper called The Hindu.
- Main activity in south India was The Hindu in 1870s – great organ of public awakening.
- Founded by M Viraraghavachari, G Subramaniam Iyer and P Ananda Charlu

## Bombay Presidency Association (1885)

- The graduates, no longer the Parsees alone, but the graduates who are Marathas, Brahmins province, who had migrated from interior Maharashtra and gone to Bombay to take up English education to be able to acquire the ability to join modern professions and services, they formed their own organization.
- By the new generation of MG Ranade, KT Telang, Pherozeshah Mehta etc.
  - These are the graduates of Elphinstone college.
- It helped in the hosting of INC in 1885 in Bombay.

**These organizations came with new demands:** Fighting for limited reforms.

- Increasing representation in **civil service** and **legislative councils**
- Reducing military expenditure and home charges
- Imposing import duty on cotton goods etc.

These were not overtly anti-British demands, are still conservative but national in character. There was a new awareness of equality and wanting share in the administration of their own country.

However, their activities remained confined largely to their own regions. It was the defeat of some of the liberal measures of the government under Ripon's Viceroyalty, particularly the Ilbert bill reform, that impressed upon the Indian leadership the need for creating a powerful organization at the national level in order to be able to influence government policy.

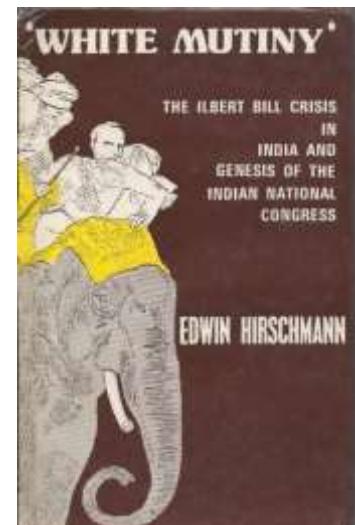
### (C) Lord Ripon (1880-84)

In 1880, a new liberal government of Gladstone was set up in England. Thus, Lord Ripon was sent to India to repair the damage done by his dictatorial predecessor. He meant well and tried to conciliate public opinion. However, the reality is complex and never favourable to Indians under colonial structure.

1. Repeal of Vernacular Press Act, 1882
2. Amending Arms Act
3. Afghan war was brought to end.
4. Civil Service Age: 19 to 21
5. Hunter Commission on Education, 1882
6. Famine Codes, 1883
7. The first Factory Act, 1881
8. First Complete Census of India, 1881
9. Resolution on Local self-government (LSG), 1882
  - a. Self-governing institutes were extended to rural areas (District boards)
  - b. Strength of official element was reduced to 1/3<sup>rd</sup>
  - c. Elective principle was adopted for non-official posts.

**Ilbert Bill Controversy in 1883**, a major eye-opener for provincial leaders.

- CP Ilbert (Law Member), at the behest of Lord Ripon, proposed to give Indian judges power to try European offenders in the mofussils. It was a proposal for judicial equality.
- Yet, it aroused bitter fury among Europeans.
  - Against this measure an organized agitation was conducted by the chambers of commerce, particularly the planters' interest who had this habit of killing plantation labourers and arguing that a minor injury had caused death.
  - Thus, Europeans launched organized protest to ensure the continuation of their Racial privileges. The ugly face of racism came out: How can native judges try us?
  - They mobilized the Anglo-Indians, Eurasian communities and organized a massive agitation in Calcutta. Public meetings in the largest square in which they actually fulminated against this measure.
- The British government comes under immense pressure. Ripon finally succumbed to pressure and found compromise. This modification defeated the very purpose of Ilbert bill



because the modified bill allowed European to demand a trial by a jury in which not less than half of judges were to be European.

### **Importance:**

- It proved that the British criminals tend to have impunity despite rule of law (racism).
- It was the last straw of humiliation.
- Ilbert bill controversy denied justice. It was an attack on human dignity. It was a clear indication of the subordinate position of even English educated intelligentsia.
- This controversy convinced Indians that the British rule was essentially racist and the British would never accept Indians as equal. This realization intensified the anti-British discontent and greatly strengthened the spirit of nationalism.
- It demonstrated the value of organized agitation community.
  - White demonstration/propaganda/organization – now Indians tried to imitate it for more effective modern politics.
- Necessity of an all India organization to be able to mobilize public opinion in such cases.

### **Need of all India organization:**

- Many political activities by several political organizations since 1850s had prepared the ground for creation of all India political organisation.
- This organization was expected to bring together the politically conscious individuals who were scattered across the country.
- Many issues of all India character had remained unfulfilled so far, for example:
  - Creation of National Fund to appeal to British voters
  - Volunteer Corps: allowing Indians to be part of it.

Already some steps were taken in this direction. **SN Banerjee** had started All India National Conference in 1883 in Calcutta and its second session was to take place in 1885.

- However, Indians still needed to overcome regional jealousies.
- Moreover, if such an all-India party was started by an Indian, then British would have definitely opposed.

It is at this juncture, enters **AO Hume**, a retired ICS officer and there was a parallel effort to form Indian National Congress.

## Formation of the Indian National Congress

Indian National Congress was established in Dec 1885 at Bombay by group of Indian nationalists under the leadership of AO Hume, who is popularly known as founder of the Congress. Congress was the first pan-India nationalist platform. Its foundation marked the beginning of the politics of national unity. It carried anti-British struggle into a movement which culminated in independence of India in 1947.

Its foundation is interpreted differently by different scholars and has been at centre of historical controversy for long time.



### **Safety Valve Theory: (myth)**

Safety valve theory was put forward by Lala Lajpat Rai in his paper Young India. According to this theory, Congress was established by A.O. Hume to act as a safety valve for British Indian empire.

**Theory:** Hume wanted Congress to work as a platform from which Indians leaders could raise issues concerning the masses. Senior British officials were expected to initiate necessary means were to remove grievances among people so that level of discontent among masses could come down, there would not be a mass revolt and British Indian empire could remain safe.

Following developments led to the emergence Conspiracy theory much after Hume was long dead.

- After 1905, Congress started becoming hostile, extremist and radical, and started going beyond the path of constitutionalism. So, some Englishmen started blaming Hume for the troubles posed to British rule by Congress. To answer this charge, his colleague and biographer **William Wedderburn** tried to whitewash his image in his biography (1913). He claimed:
  - a. Hume had seen **seven secret reports** which had data regarding seething discontent among Indians → He thus thought there was a need for an organization of Indians to voice their opinion to take the steam off. A representative organization in India could be used as a safety valve.
  - b. This initiative of Hume was taken in association with and **approval of Lord Dufferin**.

That is the basis of a safety valve theory which sees the congress as a kind of a command performance performed by a man like Hume, in consonance with the bureaucracy. This argument given by Wedderburn was later subscribed by some Indian political leaders to support their own political views.

- **Extremists** wanted to blame moderate Congress for being loyalists.
- **Leftist** thought it was a proof of the anti-revolution tendency of the moderate leadership.

#### **However, later research disproved any such claims:**

These theories which actually try to link the congress with a certain kind of command performance have reduced the story to the level of detective fiction. These are not actually valid arguments are valid explanations.

- Those 7 secret volumes were never found.
- In 1950s, Dufferin private papers declassified. He was also not appreciative of Hume, he rather suspected that Hume is teaching Indians the Irish techniques which were troublesome to Britain.

Thus, now this conspiracy theory is totally rejected. The reality is that the foundation of Congress in 1885 was not the result of any sudden development. It was culmination of long process of nationalist political activities going on in India since 1850s.

#### **Critical Analysis of the Role of AO Hume:**

We should acknowledge the very important contribution that Allan Octavian Hume made to the emergence of the Congress. But the larger circumstances necessary for a pan-Indian political platform were already there when Hume emerged on the scene. While Indian leaders in the different parts of India were already moving towards the formation of a political body of a countrywide scale, Hume's enthusiastic support hastened its birth.

His **intent** was clear: He was enlightened liberal imperialist. He was concerned about the wide gap and distress prevailing between the government and the people. He genuinely believed in the desirability of self-government for the people of India.

His **role** was very crucial in formation of Congress.

- He toured the entire subcontinent.
- He persuaded prominent Indian leaders to come together in a national body to secure alleviation of grievances and to obtain representation in provinces and centre.

It seems rather that it was the Early Nationalists (and not British government) who benefitted by association with Hume. Hume's role was very instrumental for the Early Congress in the two respects:

- To overcome regional jealousies
- To shelter potential British onslaught

Thus, one can say that it was Moderates who used Hume as lightening conductor (phrase used by Bipin Chandra)



### The Story of First Five Congress Sessions

Year	President	Delegates	Significance
Bombay, 1885 (Gokuldas Tejpal Sanskrit School)	WC Banerjee	72	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>First time, political unity by educated class, determined to shape new India as per their vision.</li> <li>Attempts to eliminate regional differences, inculcate democratic habits.</li> <li>Delegates           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>38 Bombay, 21 Madras, 4 Bengal</li> <li>Only 2 Muslims (eg Rahimatulla Sayani)</li> </ul> </li> <li>Demands: civil rights, administrative, financial and military reforms           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Appointment of a commission to enquire into the working of the Indian Administration</li> <li>India Council in London should be abolished.</li> <li>Creation of legislative councils for the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), Sindh and Awadh – more responsive</li> <li>Reduction of Military Expenditure</li> <li>Civil Services Reforms for Indianization</li> <li>Opposed increasing military expenditure</li> <li>Criticized Upper Burma annexation</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proposed separation of executive and judiciary</li> <li>• Proposed re-imposition of import duty on finer classes of cotton goods</li> <li>• Urged encouragement of indigenous manufactures</li> <li>• Demanded promotion of general and technical education</li> <li>• Reduction of government control over education</li> </ul>
Calcutta 1886	Dadabhai Naoroji	343	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Almost five times of the first session.</li> <li>• SN Banerjee's Indian National Association merged with INC. It created the basis of what is known as the politics of national unity.</li> </ul>
Madras 1887	Badruddin Tyabji	702	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Prospects of attracting more Muslims.</li> <li>• The government became alert and uneasy.</li> </ul>

### **British reaction:**

Initially, the government was only curious and not apprehensive.

However, from 1887-88, the stance of the government started to harden.

- British officers started arguing that there is no Indian nation, it's merely a geographic expression. There is no organic whole or social unity. So, for peace and order, British are required.
- They also relied on statistics to prove how little important and unrepresentative was the new English educated middle class.
- Zamindars and Princes were also used to mobilize the support against the INC.
- Realizing that the growing unity of Indian people poses threat to the British empire, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan was encouraged to raise the voice in opposition to INC (divide-and-rule policy).
  - He did so in 1887 Lucknow speech. He was awarded Knighthood within a week of the speech.
  - He also started United Patriotic Association, but it didn't last.

To counter this, AO Hume withstood the pressure and tried to create popular base for the INC.

- Propaganda campaign – large number of public meetings
- 2 pamphlets in 12 languages – almost 5 lakh copies were printed

- Muslims were assured – no new decision if any one community unitedly opposes (later it was passed as a resolution in the 4<sup>th</sup> congress)

The huge success of the fourth Congress session vindicated the Congress stance.

Allahabad 1888	George Yule	1248	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Huge attendance despite open government hostility</li> <li>• Almost 1/6<sup>th</sup> were Muslims. (2à33à81à221)</li> <li>• The Congress resolved not to debate social or religious matters for ensuring the support of religious minorities.</li> </ul>
Bombay 1889	Sir William Wedderburn		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 10 registered lady delegates, including social reformer Pandita Ramabai, Rabindranath Tagore's sister Swarnakumari Devi and Calcutta University's first lady graduate Kadambini Ganguly. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Kadambini Ganguly became first female to address the Congress.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• 254 Muslim delegates</li> <li>• Significantly, it was attended by 41 'simple' cultivators and two working artisans.</li> </ul>

Thus, Congress established its position as a major political organization. Now, British could not neglect its demands for progress.

Moreover, the need for propaganda outside India and esp. in England was recognized and in 1889, the **British Committee of Indian National Congress** was setup with William Wedderburn as Chairman, William Digby as Secretary and Dadabhai Naoroji and many other Englishmen as members. The journal India was founded to propagate Congress views in England.

Despite scant respect shown to the Congress by Viceroy Dufferin and his immediate successors, its pressure for constitutional reforms yielded the first fruit with the 1892 Council Act.

#### Indian Councils Act 1892 (Lord Cross Act)

Enlargement of Imperial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Marginal expansion</b> of Imperial and Provincial legislative councils (12à16)</li> <li>• As earlier, no less than half were to be non-official.</li> </ul>
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<b>Legislative Council</b>	
<b>Powers of the <i>impotent</i> Council</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Can discuss Budget but no voting.</li> <li>Can ask questions but no supplementary</li> <li>Cannot pass resolutions.</li> <li>Cannot move amendments.</li> <li>Viceroy: overriding and veto powers</li> </ul>
<b>Elections</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>Electoral principle</b> kept outside the text of the Law but conceded in the speech while presenting the Bill.</li> <li>While nominating members, consideration to be given to representatives of provincial councils, zamindars, chambers of commerce, major municipalities, Universities, district boards etc.</li> </ul>

Thus, it offered enlargement of the council, extension of its functions and partial introduction of the electoral principle.

These steps were not intended as steps towards granting responsible or representative government, but as a means of providing the Government as source of information regarding Indian opinion.

Yet, it was enacted due to INC demands, which is the recognition of the Congress.

In 1894, at this point, Hume finally left India. With his departure, the unifying figure was gone, so the internal differences within moderates and extremists started to become intense.

### **British response to Congress after 1892**

- Hostility didn't abate when moderate Congress distanced itself from militant nationalism.
  - Verbal attacks continued (Seditious Brahmins, Factory of sedition etc)
  - Regressive policy: attack on Press freedom in late 1890s
  - British soon became eager to finish off the Congress. Thus, Curzon policy of assisting its demise.
- However, with the beginning of the Swadeshi, the stance changed. Now, the new policy was to rally the moderates, isolate the extremists, suppress them, and then ignore the moderates. Moreover, divide and Rule became even more extensive.

## GS Foundation 2024: Modern India

### **Handout 25: Politics of Moderates (1885-1905)**

**Nikhil Sheth**

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The first 20 years of the INC is the era of Moderates. INC was **not a radical** organisation from the beginning. It was moderate in both goals and means. They hoped to gain freedom gradually and step-by-step.

Early Nationalists believed that massed need to be awakened before even taking the cause for freedom. Their **agenda** was:

- Creation of public interest in political questions
- Formulate popular demands on national basis
- Organize public opinion.

**Demands** (not complete independence but specific demands)

- **Councils Reforms**
  1. More Indians participation in both central and provincial legislatures. They should have real powers.
  2. By 1900, the claims for swarajya (self-government) like that in Australia or Canada.
- **Administrative Reforms**
  1. Indianization of ICS: Simultaneous exam, increase in age limit, remove limit on the number of Indians in the service
  2. Appointment of Indians to ranked officers in the army
  3. Separation of judiciary from executive
  4. Criticism of delays in and costs of justice delivery
  5. Opposed aggressive foreign policy and wars with Afghanistan, Burma, suppression of NE tribals etc.
  6. Urged government for public welfare activities, expansion of primary education and more facilities for higher education.
- **Defence of Civil Rights**
  1. Modern civil rights: freedoms of speech, press, thought and association.
  2. Promoting Jury system to protect rights of Indians
- **Economic Reforms**
  1. Imposition of custom duties on foreign goods to protect nascent Indian industries
  2. Reduction of land revenue
  3. To check exploitation of plantation workers
  4. Refer to Drain of Wealth section.

The **method** of the moderates was not street agitation, but **liberal constitutional means**. They didn't believe in mass political agitation but rather preferred:

- Forming associations (most important being the INC itself)
- Holding meetings
- Giving speeches
- Drafting/Submitting petitions and memorandums
- Journalism (criticism of govt policies through press)

Thus,

- Both demands and methods of the moderates were liberal in character. (**whiggish**)
- The moderates were progressive nationalists. They were inspired by the vision of better and brighter future of the people as well as the country.
- They were westernized in their outlook. Most of them were western educated.
- They were secular in character. The members of Congress were coming from all the permanent Indian faiths. The first four presidents of Congress were belonging to four different religions.
- Their method was nonviolent in character. They believed in the efficacy of peaceful means.
- Moderates were democratic in outlook. They demanded democratization of Indian politico-admin system so that Indians could participate effectively in running affairs of state.
- Moderate nationalists were egalitarian in their outlook. They were against discrimination on the basis of race culture or any others ground.

#### **Attitude towards the masses:**

- **Opposed militant mass movement and lacked faith in the politics of masses.**
  - Believed that militant **mass struggle** could be waged **only after** the heterogenous elements of Indian society had been **welded into a nation**.
  - They assumed that **illiterate masses cannot represent** themselves. They need middle class leaders. They assigned masses a **passive role**.
  - However, the notion that the masses had their political rights had not come at this point of time in India. All of this quickly changed in a manner of 2 decades in India.
- Their Swarajya was not meant for all, rather it is meant only for educated Indians. However, their demands were not only for the elites but concerned the common people as well.

In short, these are all liberal methods of constitutional agitations, all while continuously and sincerely professing loyalty.

- They believed that if **public opinion was created**, organized and popular **demands presented to the authorities** through petitions, meetings, resolutions and speeches, the authorities would concede the demands gradually. (*educate Indians*)
- Next to educating Indian public opinion, they worked to **educate British public** opinion. It required active public propaganda in Britain.
  - In 1889, a British Committee of INC was founded. It started a journal called India in 1890.
  - Dadabhai spent major part of his life and income in England in popularizing case for India.

### **Question of “loyalty”**

Moderates were sincere in their repeated profession of loyalty to crown

- First Congress: Three Cheers for Queen Victoria 27 times
- They had belief in **providential nature of the Raj**. Moderates believed that the British empire is the **force of modernisation**.
  - “In my belief, a greater calamity could not befall India than for England to go away and leave her to herself.” – Dadabhai
  - So, they expected the British government to bring essential reforms in India.
- They understood that the foundation of the **INC itself was the outcome of the British rule**.
  - Dadabhai in Calcutta Congress (1886) said that no such thing like INC would be possible in the time of Vikramaditya or Akbar. It is British who brought law and order, safety and now people could leave their property and family back and assemble in Calcutta. Thank you for that.
- Moreover, there was **fear of suppression**.
  - They also noticed how brutally British had suppressed 1857 and felt that time was not yet ripe for such a challenge.
  - India was not ready and culture of open opposition to the Crown was not yet there.
- They were influenced by **western liberal tradition**. They were not against the British rule, only against the un-British aspects of the British rule.
  - They didn't demand expulsion of British from India, rather they wanted democratic rights.
  - They even claimed their anxiety to get grievances addressed partly to help the Crown become popular in India.
- Later when they took note of the evils of the British rule and the failure of the government to accept nationalist demands for reform, many of them stopped talking of loyalty to the British rule and **started demanding self-government instead**.

In the early years, the INC had among its leaders some **Englishmen**.

Allahabad	1888	George Yule
Bombay	1898	William Wedderburn
Madras	1894	Alfred Webb
Bombay	1904	Henry Cotton
Allahabad	1910	William Wedderburn
Calcutta	1917	Annie Besant

### Most important contribution was in the Economic Field.

- Moderates' vision was to create India as an industrialized country under the aegis of Indian capital. Their major **concern** was to protect and promote Indian industries.
- Important exponents:

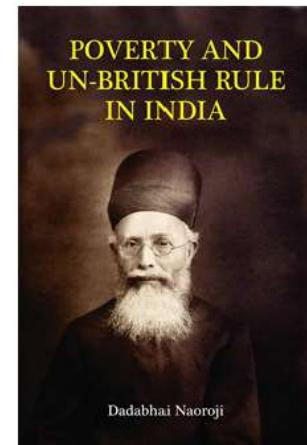
Author	Book
Dadabhai Naoroji	Poverty and Un-British Rule in India
Justice MG Ranade	Essays on Indian Economy
Romesh Chandra Dutt	The Economic History of India
William Digby	Prosperous British India
Subramaniam Iyer	Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India

Other important exponents of the Economic Criticism

- Rao Bahadur GV Joshi
- Dinshaw Wachha

#### **The details of the Economic criticism:**

- Detailed study the question of poverty.
  - Dadabhai Naoroji was first to attempt to calculate per capita income of Indians. He estimated that it was 20 Rs in 1867-68.
- After becoming aware of the poverty, attempted a scientific economic analysis.
  - Earlier, in the 18<sup>th</sup> c, it was loot and tribute thus visible. Now, in the 19<sup>th</sup> c, it is more sophisticated, less visible methods. It consists of Free Trade and Foreign Capital.
- Main thrust: Drain of Wealth
  - Meaning: unilateral outflow of capital to other country without anything in return
  - Pipelines of Drain
  - Various Estimates of Drain



- RC Dutt: 50% of net revenue (around 20 million)
- Ranade: 33% of net revenue
- Dadabhai: 25% of net revenue
- William Digby: 30 million per year
- Modern historian: 17m, represented less than 2% of exports value over this period.

Not only that the British were blamed for the growing backwardness and poverty but some solutions were suggested as **remedy**.

- Stop the Drain
  - Reduce land revenue burden on peasantry, abolish high taxes (eg on salt)
  - Condemned military expenditure.
  - Appoint Indians to as many high posts as possible
  - Opposed large-scale investment of foreign private capital in Indian railways, plantations and industries as it led to suppression of Indian capitalists and strengthened British stranglehold.
- Develop Indian economy
  - Development of agricultural banks to save peasantry from clutches of the moneylenders, large-scale extension of irrigation to save country from famines, extension of permanent settlement, repeal of forest laws.
  - Modern Industry and technology based on Indian capital
  - For rapid development of Indian industries – need for government protection through import tariff protection and direct government aid. (Opposed countervailing excise duty)
  - Spread of technical education
  - Popularization of the idea of swadeshi and boycott.

**Significance of Economic Criticism** (although economic argument, it had political and ethical consequences)

- It helped in the development of **Nationalism that is based on scientific anti-colonial analysis** and not obscurantist past. Of all the anti-colonial movements, Indian is the one most deeply rooted in the understanding of the nature of colonial exploitation.
- Exposed and attacked the **economic essence of colonization**.
  - Proved that **poverty** is due to British imperialism. Such conclusion questioned the basic purpose of colonialism itself.
  - Linked poverty to colonialism → undermined the ideological foundations/hegemony of the benevolent rule, corroded moral authority
- Easy to grasp for **common people**
  - Created anger and helped Indians unite

- To solve the economic issues → we need political rights
- It became the **major plank for all the future leaders** to criticize the British rule. It was accepted by Moderates, Extremists, Socialists, Communists, Gandhi, Nehru...

Limitation: Due to the own weakness of the moderates, they could not convert the anger generated into effective agitation. They didn't connect Drain of Wealth with Swadeshi as a political tool, which was later done by extremists.

## Survey of some important Moderate leaders

### • **Dadabhai Naoroji**

- Grand old man of India
- Huge contribution to the study of poverty and generating thesis of Drain of Wealth
- Didn't stop at discussing only the question of economy but spent 50+ years trying to get political rights in Britain and in India.
- East India Association (London, 1866)
- He canvassed in Britain, also contested many times and once became an MP in the House of Commons.
- Congress President 3 times: 1886, 1893, 1906



### • **Justice MG Ranade**

- Taught virtues of industrialization to the entire generation.
- Didn't exactly agree with DoW but focussed more on entire socio-economic regeneration.
- Founder of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha (1870), major force behind Prarthana Samaj (1867)
- Also formed Indian National Social Conference (1887)



### • **Pherozshah Mehta** (successful Bombay lawyer)

- Studying his contribution is like studying history of Congress from 1885-1915. He participated in the INC from the day one, initially as the follower of Dadabhai and once he left for England, he had his one-man control over INC organization.
- Considered as the Moderate among moderates.



### • **Gopal Krishna Gokhale**

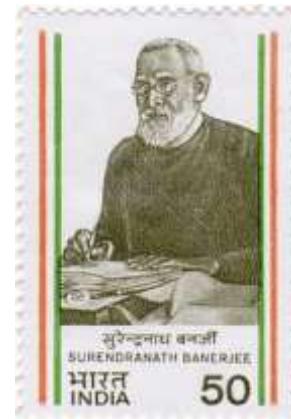
- Student of MG Ranade and later became the guru of Mahatma Gandhi
- Hugely respected for personal rectitude, support to gender cause and backward people.
- First major moderate leader to go for fulltime social-political work by rejecting profession.
- He gave the evidence of misuse of Indian finances to Welby Commission
  - Legislative work (Bombay Legislative Council 1899, Imperial Legislative Council in 1901)
    - Fearless, intellectual, and sharp criticism of government
    - Most famous for budget analysis.



- Asked for free and universal basic education.
- Attitude

- He didn't consider Legislative council as the battlefield, but an arena to change the opinion of the opponent.
- Converted the Legislative Councils into open universities for people.

- Servants of India Society in 1905 – to promote both nationalism and social service
- Congress President at Benares in 1905



- **SN Banerjee**

- One of the first-generation ICS officers from India but had to resign for no mistake of his own
- Brilliant orator and started schools/colleges and also newspapers etc
- Most effective phase: during Swadeshi movement – he sternly opposed the partition of Bengal and was not willing to compromise at all.
- Book: Nation in the Making

- **G Subramanya Iyer**

- Editor of **The Hindu** for first 20 years (1878-98).
- Also started **Swadeshmitran**, a Tamil language newspaper
- Honour of tabling first resolution in the first Congress (1885) with KT Telang.
- Play a significant role in economic nationalism



- Others

- **Badruddin Tyabji**
  - Efforts to bring Muslims in the Congress
  - Opposed by Wahabis as well as loyalists (led by Sir Sayyid)
  - Third President of Congress (1887)
  - Later became the first Muslim judge in the Bombay High Court.
- **Rahimatullah Sayani**
  - Congress President in 1896 (12<sup>th</sup> Session): This year is known for the first time singing of Vande Mataram in Congress Session
- RC Dutt
- Dinshaw Wacha
- C Vijayaraghavachariar
- P Ananda Charlu
- PR Naidu
- Sankaran Nair
- Ghosh – Lalmohan, Anandmohan, Manmohan

- WC Banerjee
- Madanmohan Malaviya
- Pandit Ayodhyananath

### **Assessment of limitations and weaknesses of the moderates**

During the moderate phase, the Indian National Congress met with **limited success** with respect to its declared objectives. They were unable to create effective pressure on the colonial regime to accept their demands in any meaningful way.

- Very meagre concrete immediate and direct achievements
- **Elite, English-educated, upper caste social background**
  - Lawyers, journalists, landlords, merchants etc
  - No special efforts to promote representation of lower castes as well as Muslims. (savarna bias)
  - No anti-zamindar or anti-moneylender proposal. They Opposed to Bengal Tenancy Act (1885), Punjab Land Alienation Act (1900)
- **Not full-time political activists**
  - Lawyers and Journalists made about 70% delegates
- **Ineffective methods** (Gandhi: Slow Party) due to inherent limits to the effectiveness of liberal constitutional methods under colonial framework
  - Politics of prayers, petition and memorials.
  - Gradualism: not ready to take a big jump.
- Constant **professions of loyalty** were not attractive to people.
- Failure to make INC a genuine full-fledged party. It remained a “**3-day tamasha**”, a part time affair during annual sessions. Thus, it limited its ability to respond and lead.
- They **lacked faith in the masses**, their propaganda didn’t reach the masses. As their mass base remained limited, and so did their power to pressure the government.
- **They didn’t keep the pace with changes**. They couldn’t see that their own success made their politics obsolete, and they failed to accept the new demands. Thus, they tried for exclusion of extremists from the Congress which further weakened them.

However, it doesn’t mean that the moderates were of all failure They were the torch bearers of Indian nationalism.

- **Congress pressure was responsible for**
  - **Council Act of 1892** included the provisions of the election for the first time, under moderates’ pressure.
  - **Welby Commission**
  - **Aitchison Commission**
  - In 1893, a resolution was introduced in the British House of Commons providing for holding of CSE simultaneously in India along with London.

- Moderates were the **first-generation nationalists**, they worked hard against heavy odds to convince the British of need of initiating reforms in India.
- **National awakening:** arousing feelings of common nation, exploitation and common enemy
  - The writings and speeches of moderates brought about maturity among Indian nationalists. As a result of this the national struggle could keep on gaining strength.
- **Political work based on concrete study** of hard facts and not narrow appeal to religious sentiments or emotional appeal to hoary past.
- **Mercilessly exposed** the exploitative character of the British empire. With the systematic economic criticism of the colonial economy, they exposed the hollowness of British claim of paternal regime. It was their most commendable achievement which exposed the true character of the British Raj.
- **Trained people** in the art of political work, popularized ideas of democracy, civil liberties etc. Indians became familiar with modern politics.
- **Formed Indian National Congress.** Their all India, secular approach gave legitimacy to the Congress, helping it emerge as a true representative of all Indians.
- **Represented Indians** in the provincial and imperial legislative councils
- **Evolved national political and economic programs/objectives** for future political struggle.

While the weakness of the Early nationalists was removed by the later generation, its achievements were to serve as the base for a more vigorous national movement in future. The perceived ineffectiveness of moderate politics inspired the next generation of nationalists to search for new methods of struggle. As a result, passive resistance and mass politics emerged as the preferred method of nationalists from the beginning of the 20th century. Thus, despite many weaknesses, the early nationalists laid the foundation for the national movement to grow upon.

## Handout 25: Extremist Phase

Nikhil Sheth

From almost the beginning, militant nationalism (Extremist) school existed but it started becoming popular in the late 1890s. However, it was at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they found favourable political climate to come forward. This led to radical transformation in Indian national movement and lead the second phase of the national movement.



### The factors behind the emergence of militant nationalism:

The emergence of extremism at the turn of the century was a response and reaction to the evils of colonialism and the politico-economic and cultural environment prevailing in India.

- **Economic Factors:**

- There was no development of Indian industries, and no protection/promotion by the Government. Instead, there was a series of terrible famines and bubonic plague around during mid-1890s. Between 1896 to 1900, about 90 lakh Indians died in the famines.
- Growing discontent among educated youth due to unemployment

- **Recognition of the true nature of the British rule (*not providential but exploitative*)** played the most important role.

- Primary and technical education was not making any progress. British, on the other hand, were highly suspicious of educated Indians.
- Complete disappointment with the Indian Councils Act 1892. Instead of giving more political rights, even the existing political rights were attacked.
- The promise of progress was not kept. Rather, the policy of divide-and-rule led to a series of communal riots.

- **Dissatisfaction with the moderates**

- Moderates brought questions of racist discrimination and economic drain to the fore but kept on **professing loyalty** to the Crown. It created the frustration among the people with the moderate style of politics.
- Thus, the politics of the moderates was based on the belief that the British rule could be reformed from within but the failure of moderates to attain practical success gradually undermined the belief. As **British failed to accommodate any of the demands** of the moderates, it produced **disillusionment** among the

nationalists. Consequently, the **weaknesses** of moderates' methods became apparent and a **demand for more vigorous political action** started.

- **Impact of cultural heritage and socio-religious movements: Growth of self-respect and self-confidence**
  - By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Indians acquired faith in their own capacity to govern and develop their country.
  - Revivalist sentiments aroused the feelings of pride in the past and self-respect. Vivekanand's triumphant tours inspired fresh hope of glorious future and superiority of East over West. (Also, Bankim, Dayanand Saraswati)
  - Tilak, Aurobindo, Lala Lajpat Rai, and Bipin Chandra Pal preached the message of self-respect and development of national character.
- **International influences** encouraged militant nationalism in India.
  - Rise of Japan was a warning of new wind blowing over Asia.
  - Defeat of Italy by Ethiopia (1896) and of Russia by Japan (1905)
  - Revolutionary movements in Ireland and Russia.
- **The policy of repression and suppression** pursued by the British Indian government also pushed nationalist of younger generation towards extremism.
  - In 1898, CrPC was amended by amending the sedition clause 124 A.
    - Tilak was awarded 18 months of RI for praising Chapekar brothers and raising nationalist issues.
  - **The reactionary policies of Lord Curzon** added fuel to the fire of extremism.
  - **Finally, the partition of Bengal** in 1905 created the circumstance required for emergence of extremism in forefront in anti-British struggle. The moderate politics lost its mass appeal because nobody was ready to listen that British was just and fair.

Old generation of Indian leaders was being replaced by **new generation**. This new age was started by majorly 4 important leaders: Lal-Bal-Pal + Aurobindo.

### **Goals:**

- About immediate political demands, they had no quarrel with the moderates. But they **set in the goal of swaraj more boldly**. They *deeply hated the foreign rule* and declared Swaraj to be their clear-cut goal.
  - "Swaraj is my birth right and I shall have it"
  - The **meaning of Swaraj** was different for different leaders.
    - Tilak meant a government formation by the Indians
    - Aurobindo Ghosh interpreted it as complete independence
- They wanted reforms to happen **at faster rate**, leading towards their end goal. (Impatient Party: Gandhi)

## **Methods: (Petition → Agitation)**

- They spurned the moderate methods of petition/prayer as “mendicancy.”
  - They were critical of the deferential and supplicatory attitude of the moderates. They didn’t have belief in the British sense of justice and fair-play.
  - Instead, they wanted public agitation and mass mobilization to force British to grant concessions. They didn’t remain confine to only constitutional means, but also included extra-constitutional means.
  - Lala Lajpat Rai: *“No nation is worthy of any political status if it cannot distinguish between begging rights and claiming them”*
  - Aurobindo in ‘New Lamps for Old’ exposed the weaknesses of moderate politics.
  - Tilak: *“We will not achieve any success in our labours if we croak once a year like a frog.”*
- **Awakening and Mobilization of the masses**
  - Impatient to throw off foreign yoke, the Extremists concentrated on building mass support for national movement. They believed that **Indians must work out their own salvation** and make efforts to rise from their degraded position.
  - They had **deep faith in the strength of the masses**, and they planned to achieve **swaraj through mass action**.
    - Thus, their target audience was not British public opinion but Indian public opinion. They pressed for political work among the masses.
  - For mass mobilization however, requirement was:
    - Spreading the feeling of nationalism + Awareness about their rights
    - Generating self-confidence and not being afraid of British (Full of boldness and self-confidence, they considered no personal sacrifice too great for the good of the country.)
    - Finally, a mass agitation to seek resolution of grievances
  - Thus,
    - The movement no longer remained elitist in its social composition because most of the extremist leaders came from middle and lower middle sections of Indian society.
    - The movement started to assume mass character during extremist phase. Mass agitations and demonstrations were organized by the extremists leaders.
- However, for such mobilization of people and opinion, the extremist leaders readily used religious/quasi-religious issues. Thus, extremists:
  - **Rejected social reform as an attack on culture.** Extremists attacked the moderates and reformers incessantly as ‘de-nationalized’, lacking pride in country and culture. For them, the task of social reform was secondary issue and drained energies from the political struggle and also weakened the Hindu solidarity.

- Tilak broke with moderates on the issue of the Age of Consent Act. He wanted that reforms should be initiated by Indian themselves without allowing the foreign government to intervene.
  - However, antipathy to untouchability and the need to eliminate it were formulated by Lala Lajpat Rai.
- To link the elites with the masses, they appealed to the three principal ties common to both educated westernized elites and the peasantry and lot of common people – **language, history, and religion.**
- Casting off the yoke of English use wherever possible, they wrote and spoke in regional languages which were understood by common people.
  - As a means of heightening patriotic fervor, they fostered pride in glorious past, when Hindu kings and warriors rule the land.
    - Shiv Jayanti started by Tilak to create the culture of worship of national heroes.
  - The most effective was the use of religious symbolism and terminology to instill in Hindus a fervent devotion to the Motherland.
    - Religious ceremonies were used.
    - Homage to motherland in the form of **Vande Mataram** proved to be extremely emotive, and virtually touched the soul of the people of India.
    - Conceptualization of Bharat Mata – Avanindranath Tagore



Avanindranath Tagore painted Bharat Mata in 1905

According to Dr Karan Singh “For him, (Sri Aurobindo), India was no mere geographical entity, no mere physical and material land mass, no mere intellectual concept, but a goddess incarnate, a mighty mother who for centuries has cradled and nourished her children and who at that time, was groaning under the yoke of a foreign oppressor – her pride shattered, her glory ground to dust”.

Thus India as a nation was eulogized by Sri Aurobindo as the mother, but a mother in chains, and the primary duty of her sons was to win freedom for the Mother, to strive by every possible means to liberate her from her shackles.

- Apart from Neo-Vedantism of **Vivekananda**, **Bankim** Chandra's eulogy of Krishna not only as an ideal man and a nation builder but also for his basic message of Karmayoga in Bhagavad Geeta
- Lala Lajpat Rai: "*Our first want, then, is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion and to aspire to live or die for it.*"
- Aurobindo: "*Nationalism is not a mere political programme; Nationalism is a religion that has come from God; Nationalism is a creed which you shall have to live.... If you are going to be a nationalist, if you are going to assent to this religion of Nationalism, you must do it in the religious spirit. You must remember that you are the instruments of god.*"
- **Expansion of idea of nation:**
  - Moderates were primarily inspired by European experience of territorial nationalism, leading to the concept of nation-state, which was bound to be secular by definition.
  - Extremists made a departure by adding a religious symbolism and cultural dimension to it. The extremist concept of nationalism was developed around the notion of motherhood which underlined the inalienable relationship between a nation and her children.
- Thus, extremists focused on Indian values, culture for inspiration. Nationalist literature, paintings, and music were used to mobilise masses. Along with political-economic dimensions, the national movement assumed cultural dimension in this phase.
- **Specific program** was based on *principle of reducing Indian dependence on the British in every possible way.*
  - **Boycott** of foreign goods and promotion of **Swadeshi**
    - Boycott was the most effective instrument to dent the British interests in India. Along with the boycott of foreign goods, swadeshi goods were promoted to encourage Indian industries.
    - Use of parallel government instead of going to British administration and courts.
  - Promoting **National Education**
    - The objective was to educate Indian youth about the ideas of self-reliance, prepare them for the freedom struggle, free them from indoctrination by government schools and popularise the method of Swaraj.



Bombay Swadeshi Cooperative Store,  
1905

- At the same time, they wanted the youth to have a Swadeshi alternative to government schools.
- Non-cooperation or **Passive resistance**
  - Extremists were ardent preachers of non- cooperation.
  - For example, Tilak asserted that people of India are the ‘great factor with which the administration of India is controlled.’ According to him, cooperation of people acted like a ‘great lubricant which enabled the gigantic machinery to work smoothly.’ He reminded people of the power they possessed in ‘making administration impossible if they choose to make it.’
- **Cooperative organisations**
  - Extremists encouraged **cooperative organization on voluntary basis** for rural sanitation, organising fairs and pilgrimages and relief work during calamities.

In essence, this program was much like Gandhian program produced in 1920.

In this entire process, the contribution of Lal-Bal-Pal and Aurobindo is seminal. They radicalised entire Congress, made mass appeal and mobilized entire country against Bengal Partition. Swadeshi movement launched in 1905 to oppose partition of Bengal was the finest example of the extremist movement.

#### A Speech by Tilak

Your revolution must be bloodless; but that does not mean that you may not have to suffer or to go to jail. Your fight is with bureaucracy who will always try to curb and suppress you. But you must remember that consistently with the spirit of laws and the bloodlessness of the revolution, there are a hundred other means by which you may and ought to achieve your object which is to force the hands of the bureaucracy to concede the reforms and privileges demanded by the people. You must realise that you are a great factor in the power with which the administration in India is conducted. You are yourselves the useful lubricants which enable the gigantic machinery to work so smoothly.

Though down-trodden and neglected, you must be conscious of your power of making the administration impossible if you but choose to make it so. It is you who manage the railroad and the telegraph, it is you who make settlements and collect revenues, it is in fact you who do everything for the administration though in a subordinate capacity. You must consider whether you cannot turn your hand to better use for your nation than drudging on in this fashion. Let your places be filled by Europeans on the splendid salary of eight annas a day if possible ! You must seriously consider whether your present conduct is self-respectful to yourselves or useful to the nation.

You must imitate your rulers only in one thing, namely, in maintaining an unfailing succession of public workers. If one Lala Lajpat Rai is sent abroad, another ought to be found to take his place as readily as a junior Collector steps into the shoes of a senior. It is vain to hope that your petitions will have the effect of releasing Lala, though it is well known that the Government do not mean to keep him a prisoner all his life. His deportation is intended not so much to penalise Lala Lajpat Rai as to terrorise those that would follow his example, and if their agitation stopped as soon as one deportation took place, Government will run away with the idea that terrorism had triumphed.

	<b>Moderates</b>	<b>Extremists</b>
<b>Social Basis</b>	Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class
<b>Objectives</b>	Largely similar. Moderates accepted Swarajya (self-rule) only under extremist pressure.	
<b>Programs</b>	Prayers, petitions, memorials	Completely rejected moderate methods as political mendicancy. Alternatively suggested “Passive Resistance”: Swarajya, Swadeshi, Boycott, National Education
<b>Perceptions of the west</b>	Believed in the providential nature of the British rule. They believed in the basic supremacy of western ideas like democracy, liberalism, secularism etc.  Therefore, persistent appeal to British public opinion for redressal of grievances caused by Anglo-Indian bureaucracy.	Extremists considered this as an act of national humiliation.  Extremists believed in rich cultural heritage of India. They were impressed with the scientific and technical development of the west, but they were not willing to accept western cultural supremacy.

## Some important Extremist leaders

- **Lokmanya Tilak** (**firebrand politician**, Father of Indian Unrest)
  - “No man preached gospel of Swaraj with such consistency and insistence of Lokmanya” by Mahatma Gandhi in 1920
    - Swarajya would not come easy or automatically, it would require sacrifice. Tilak’s entire life is a life of sacrifice and making people ready for sacrifices.
  - Public life of 40 years in two parts –
    - 1880-1900: Provincial Phase
      - Active in Deccan Education Society
      - Newspapers: Kesari and Maratha
      - Control of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha by 1895 by ousting Gokhale faction. Gokhale had to start his own **Deccan Sabha**
      - 1900-1920: National Phase
  - Books: Orion, Arctic Home of Vedas and Geeta Rahasya.
    - For Tilak, Geeta is the highest source of ethical life and call to duty. It is not a sectarian scripture. Philosophy of Geeta is rallying call for Indians to perform karma and not sannyas.
  - For mass mobilisation
    - Opposing social reform led by British.
    - Broke with moderates on the issue of Age of Consent Act 1891.
    - In 1895, he opposed moderates to hold National Social Conference in tandem with INC session as it would divide society.
  - Started Sarvajanik Ganapati (1894) and Shiv Jayanti (1895)
    - *“Our ancestors have already left us occasions for gathering people together, lets use them”*
  - Took up issues of popular distress
    - During 1896-97 famine that ravaged Maharashtra, he started **No-Tax campaign** by sending volunteers to the peasants to awaken them of their rights. He asked famine-stricken peasants to withhold tax payment if their crops had failed.
      - *“Govt’s task is to legislate but it is we who have to ensure implementation. For that we are ready to write 100 times and ask 1000 times.”*
    - **Swadeshi:** Like moderates he protested against the counter-veiling excise duty that hurt the cotton industry. However, unlike moderates, he called people to boycott and bonfire and promote the cause of Swadeshi.



- “British have not come here for philanthropy, but for their own selfish interests. If Indian people are made aware of that, we can attack those selfish interests”
- **Plague:**
  - After famine 1896, there came plague epidemic in 1897 in Pune. British took stringent measures, forcibly entering houses. Tilak strongly denounced the harshness.
  - When Rand (anti-Plague commissioner) was murdered by Chapekar brothers, Tilak was implicated on charge of inciting violence (sedition). After sedition trial, he was sent to 18 months jail.
- Tilak had used press very effectively as an instrument of propaganda against the government.
  - Judge Strachey: “absence of affection is disaffection”
  - First national political leader to suffer imprisonment for political cause
- **Bipin Chandra Pal (Bengal)**
  - Roots in social reforms and Brahmo Samaj → thus moderate in 1890s. However, he spent two years in the west, and became radicalized.
  - Established journal **New India** in 1902, with which he popularized the ideal of Swaraj to be achieved through self-help and self-sacrifice. In 1905, he started **Bande Mataram** (it was edited by Aurobindo secretly)
  - He was an excellent orator and virtually swept the country with brilliant and forceful explanation of the concepts like Swaraj and Swadeshi. He was excommunicated from Madras Presidency in 1907 on account of ‘inflammatory speeches’.
  - Distanced himself from Tilak’s Hinduism as base of nationalism, and talked of ‘composite patriotism’.
  - After 1908, he virtually retired from active politics.
- **Aurobindo** (born on 15 August 1872)
  - Main ideology in Bengal, produced similar to Tilak ideology of extremism.
  - Three phases of public life
    - 1893-1905: Returned to India after 14 years and spent some years in Baroda.
    - 1906-1910: Only about 4 years of active political public life
    - 1910 onwards: Spiritual Phase
  - Wrote **New Lamps for Old** series of articles in **Indu Prakash of Bombay** in 1893.



- Contempt for slow reforms. He was more inspired by French Revolution. Thus, he dismissed INC as ‘middle class organization’ and looked towards masses to overthrow British.
  - To arouse masses, he turned to Bankim’s Hinduism. Also **emphasised on Shakti**, which attracted him.
    - He wrote a pamphlet **Bhavani Mandir** (1905) which was inspired by Anand Math. He talked about Goddess Bhawani to link with Shivaji Maharaj.
  - *He was the first in India to declare that the aim of political action was to declare total independence from the foreign country.*
  - He played a critical role in formulating the policies of boycott and passive resistance including armed rebellion if needed. He was interested in forming secret associations, preparing for violence. With brother Barindra Ghosh, formed Anushilan Samiti.
  - In 1908, he was arrested in the Alipore Conspiracy Case and was acquitted in 1909. After the release, he tried to revive the nationalist movement and to that end, he started two journals – **Karmayogi** in English and **Dharma** in Bengali.
  - But he soon realized that the nation was not ready for such a movement. His **Uttarpura speech (1909)** marks the transition from political journey to spiritual one. He went to **Pondicherry in 1910** to pursue spiritual goal and remained there until his death in 1950.
- **Lala Lajpat Rai (Punjab)**
- He had attended Allahabad Congress of 1898. He was sent to England in 1905 with Gokhale to canvass British political opinion for reforms in India. But he shared Tilak’s views on moderate policy of mendicancy and compromise.
  - In 1886, he helped in setting up Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School at Lahore. Himself **Arya Samajist of College faction**, he was unhappy over Congress efforts to win over Muslims.

Aurobindo was convinced that imitation of Europe was not at all conducive to India’s regeneration. He argued “For a nation which is not attempting to Imprint its personality on such a movement is moving towards self-sterilization and death.”

He, therefore, exhorted the Indian people to uphold the Sanatana Dharma which was the essence of their national personality. “I say no longer that nationalism is a creed, a religion, a faith; I say that it is the Sanatana Dharma which for us is nationalism. This Hindu nation was born with the Sanatana Dharma, with it, it moves and grows. When the Sanatana Dharma declines, then the nation declines and if the Sanatana Dharma were capable of perishing, with the Sanatana Dharma it would perish. The Sanatana Dharma.... That is nationalism”.

- This issue came to head when INC refused to take stance on **Punjab Land Alienation Act 1900**.
- He was **deported to Mandalay** in 1907 without trial for taking part in political agitation in Punjab.
- Believing that it was important to explain India's position to the world, he left for **Britain** in 1914. At this time, World War I broke out and he was unable to return to India, and therefore he then left for the **USA** to gather support for the Indian cause. In the USA, he founded the **Indian League of America** in 1917 and wrote a book called '**Young India**'.
- After coming **back to India**, he once again plunged into national struggle. He was brutally assaulted by the British police while opposing the Simon Commission in 1928
- His prominent works include:
  - Story of My Deportation (1908)
  - United States of America: A Hindu's Impression (1916)
  - England's Debt to India (1917)



## Critical Analysis of the Contribution of the Extremists:

### 1. Success

The extremists transformed the anti-British character of Indian national movement completely.

- a. The first and the foremost contribution of the extremists was the significant contribution to the **growth of concept of nationalism**. The imagery of India as the mother in bondage and the sacred duty of her children to free her continued to inspire the generations of patriots. They added cultural dimension to the national movement.
- b. With **great personal sacrifice and suffering**, the extremist leaders inspired a large number of people to work for the national movement. Tilak was the first to defy the British by opposing the repressive policies and gladly suffered 18 months of rigorous imprisonment. It was the first act of major defiance from among the political leaders of the new generation and he was hailed overnight as Lokmanya for it and emerged as the national icon.
- c. The movement started to **become mass-movement**, as a result of efforts made by extremists. Common sections of urban population, women etc started participating in national struggle.
- d. They gave **new programs and methods** of struggle to the national movement. Extremist brought anti British struggle in streets, during moderate phase it was limited to conference halls and chambers.
- e. Rise of extremists **infused remarkable energy** in anti-British struggle. Government came under serious pressure as a result of which the process of constitutional reforms gained speed. The enactment of reform Act of 1909 and 1919 can be cited as an example.

### 2. Limitations

- a. The extremist leaders **failed to appreciate the contribution of moderates**. They criticized moderated as weak nationalists and mendicants. This extremely critical attitude towards moderates resulted in serious ideological divide in the Congress. The Surat Split in 1907 was the outcome of the same.
- b. The use of **religious programs and slogans** by extremists adversely affected the secular character of national movement. It allowed the critics of Congress to portray it was a Hindu organization.
  - i. At times, the extremists' anger at Muslim collaboration with the British spurred them to engage in overtly anti-Muslim activity, heedless of the fact that in doing so they were ruining the chances of creating a united anti-British movement. It has been argued that it was one of the reasons for the formation of Muslim League in 1906. While it is true that Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan had dissociated himself from Congress quite earlier in 1887-88, the

religious nature of the new nationalism certainly contributed to further alienation of Muslim leaders and masses.

- ii. However, it should be noted that there were many shadings of views among Extremists. Some were quite insensitive to Muslim sensibilities, while others were not.
- c. The **reactionary elements** among the extremist sometimes took frontstage. The Age of Consent Act created the impression as if extremists were against social reforms.
- d. Despite all fury and bravado, and immense amount of personal sacrifice, the extremists **couldn't really build up a mass movement**. It was only during the anti-partition movement that they were able to mobilize masses to a respectable scale.
- e. They took **ambivalent stance towards the issue of violence**.
  - i. Aurobindo, of course, didn't rule out violent methods.
  - ii. Even Tilak had consistently taken an ambivalent attitude on the issue of violence though he never openly supported the violence methods.
  - iii. When Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported, they inspired a new revolutionary movement which became Ghadar movement.
  - iv. It is argued that extremists became the ideological progenitor of the violent revolutionary movement which subsequently emerged and occupied some of the space vacated by extremists on the national stage.

### **Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920): Address to the Indian National Congress, 1907**

Two new words have recently come into existence with regard to our politics, and they are *Moderates* and *Extremists*. These words have a specific relation to time, and they, therefore, will change with time. **The Extremists of today will be Moderates tomorrow, Just as the Moderates of today were Extremists yesterday.** When the National Congress was first started and Mr. Dadabhai's views, which now go for Moderates, were given to the public, he was styled an Extremist, so that you will see that the term Extremist is an expression of progress. We are Extremists today and our sons will call themselves Extremists and us Moderates. Every new party begins as Extremists and ends as Moderates. The sphere of practical politics is not unlimited. We cannot say what will or will not happen 1,000 years hence - perhaps during that long period, the whole of the white race will be swept away in another glacial period. We must, therefore, study the present and work out a program to meet the present condition.

It is impossible to go into details within the time at my disposal. One thing is granted, namely, that this government does not suit us. As has been said by an eminent statesman - the government of one country by another can never be a successful, and therefore, a permanent government. **There is no difference of opinion about this fundamental proposition between the old and new schools.** One fact is that this alien government has ruined the country. In the beginning, all of us were taken by surprise. We were almost dazed. We thought that everything that the rulers did was for our good and that this English government has descended from the clouds to save us from the invasions of Tamerlane and Chingis Khan, and, as they say, not only from foreign invasions but from internecine warfare, or the internal or external invasions, as they call it. . . . **We are not armed, and there is no necessity for arms either. We have a stronger weapon, a political weapon, in boycott.** We have perceived one fact, that the whole of this administration, which is carried on by a handful of Englishmen, is carried on with our assistance. We are all in subordinate service. This whole government is carried on with our assistance and they try to keep us in ignorance of our power of cooperation between ourselves by which that which is in our own hands at present can be claimed by us and administered by us. The point is to have the entire control in our hands. I want to have the key of my house, and not merely one stranger turned out of it. **Self-government is our goal; we want a control over our administrative machinery. We don't want to become clerks and remain [clerks].** At present, we are clerks and willing instruments of our own oppression in the hands of an alien government, and that government is ruling over us not by its innate strength but by keeping us in ignorance and blindness to the perception of this fact. Professor Seeley shares this view. Every Englishman knows that they are a mere handful in this country and it is the business of every one of them to befool you in believing that you are weak and they are strong. This is politics. We have been deceived by such policy so long. What the new party

wants you to do is to realize the fact that your future rests entirely in your own hands. If you mean to be free, you can be free; if you do not mean to be free, you will fall and be forever fallen. So many of you need not like arms; but if you have not the power of active resistance, have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes. Can you do that by your united efforts? If you can, you are free from tomorrow. Some gentlemen who spoke this evening referred to half bread as against the whole bread. I say I want the whole bread and that immediately. But if I can not get the whole, don't think that I have no patience.

I will take the half they give me and then try for the remainder. This is the line of thought and action in which you must train yourself. We have not raised this cry from a mere impulse. It is a reasoned impulse. Try to understand that reason and try to strengthen that impulse by your logical convictions. I do not ask you to blindly follow us. Think over the whole problem for yourselves. If you accept our advice, we feel sure we can achieve our salvation thereby. This is the advice of the new party. Perhaps we have not obtained a full recognition of our principles. Old prejudices die very hard. Neither of us wanted to wreck the Congress, so we compromised, and were satisfied that our principles were recognized, and only to a certain extent. That does not mean that we have accepted the whole situation. We may have a step in advance next year, so that within a few years our principles will be recognized, and recognized to such an extent that the generations who come after us may consider us Moderates. This is the way in which a nation progresses, and this is the lesson you have to learn from the struggle now going on. This is a lesson of progress, a lesson of helping yourself as much as possible, and if you really perceive the force of it, if you are convinced by these arguments, then and then only is it possible for you to effect your salvation from the alien rule under which you labor at this moment.

## Handout 27: Swadeshi Movement

Nikhil Sheth

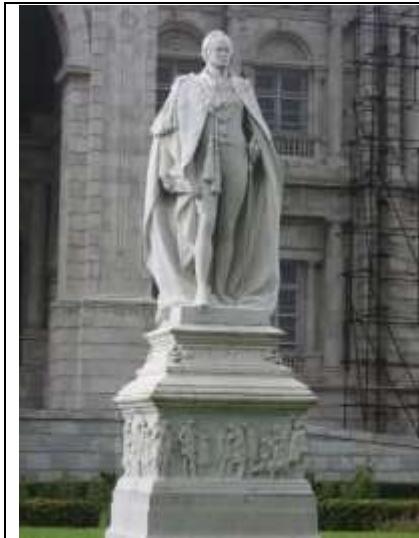
### Lord Curzon's Initiatives

*"As long as we rule India, we are the greatest power in the world. If we lose it, we shall drop straightaway to a third-rate power." – Curzon, 1902*

*Curzon's efforts 'to win the goodwill of people, and to prevent any powerful combination between them and the educated middle classes'. – Bipinchandra Pal*

Curzon's regime was responsible for creating a certain kind of militancy, a certain kind of disillusionment about British rule for its despotic pretensions. The net result was the beginning of quite a new phase in the history of Indian nationalism with the struggle against the Partition of Bengal.

- Second Delhi Durbar, 1903 (Edward VII)
- **Aggressive foreign policy** (last phase of Great Game)
  - Curzon believed Russia to be the most likely threat to British India.
  - Persia and West Asia: Flag-Waving Mission to the Gulf by Curzon himself
  - Afghanistan: Louis Dane Mission (1904)
  - Younghusband expedition to Tibet under Francis Younghusband in 1903–04
- **Economic Reforms**
  - Indian famine of 1899–1900 → McDonald Committee
  - Remissions of land revenue after the famine of 1899–1900
  - The salt tax was reduced, and the income-tax exemption limit raised from Rs 500 to Rs 1000 a year in 1903–04.
  - Punjab Land Alienation Act, 1900
    - Restricted transfer of property to urban moneylenders
  - Department of Agriculture was constituted in 1901
  - Irrigation Commission, 1901 (Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff)
  - Cooperatives Credit Societies Act, 1904
  - Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa in Samastipur, Bihar, 1905
  - Thomas Robertson Railway Commission, 1901 → appointment of Railway board
    - 6100 miles of new lines (the greatest expansion under any Viceroy)



Statue of Curzon, Victoria Memorial

- Department of Commerce and Industry
- **Administrative Reforms**
  - Creation of North-West Frontier Province, 1901
  - Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904
    - He commissioned the restoration of the Taj Mahal to its old glory which was until then severely neglected.
    - Curzon did show a genuine interest in India's ancient monuments.
  - Police Commission under Sir Andrew Fraser, 1902
    - Significant improvements in the number, training and salaries of the police force at an additional expenditure of Rs 15 million annually.
    - A separate Department of Criminal Intelligence was also set up to tackle political crimes, in place of Thuggee and Dacoity Department.
  - Calcutta Corporation Act, 1899
    - It reduced the number of elected Indian members.
  - Raleigh University Commission, 1902 → Indian Universities Act, 1904
    - The number of unofficial members was reduced in the university senate by this Act. Curzon tried to bring higher education in India under complete government control and restrict it to a handful of people.
  - Official Secrets Act, 1904
    - The native press was denied access to information on the ground that these were official secret.
  - Partition of Bengal, 1905

## Partition of Bengal

*"The partition of Bengal is an administrative measure aimed at improving governance and promoting efficient administration in the region." – Lord Curzon*

*"Bengal united is a power; Bengal divided will pull in several different directions." – HH Risley*

*"The partition of Bengal is an insult to the unity and cultural heritage of our people." – Aurobindo Ghosh*

The Bengal Presidency as an administrative unit was increasing in size with the accretion of territories through conquest and annexation. Its borders touched Sutlej in the west and Arakan mountains in the east. At this time, the province of Bengal was comprising Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Its total population was 80 million and the capital was Calcutta.

Thus, the presidency was indeed of an unwieldy size and therefore the necessity to partition Bengal was being discussed since the time of the Orissa famine of 1866. From 1870s onwards, there were several attempts with different plans about how to reduce the size of the Bengal presidency to a manageable size.

### **Earlier Plans: Administrative efficiency and convenience.**

- In 1874 Assam was separated with 3 million people as Chief Commissioner's province. Three Bengali-speaking areas, i.e., Sylhet, Goalpara and Cachar, were also added to it.
- HH Risley, the home secretary during Curzon's regime, came up with another proposal to separate the East Bengal districts (Dacca, Rajshahi, Myemensingh) and attach them with Assam.
- The concerns were: Safeguarding the interests of Assam, rather than weakening Bengal, was an important consideration behind the policy decision at this stage. Thus, making Assam a viable administrative unit came to occupy British administrative attention.
  - It would reduce the **excessive administrative burden** of Bengal Government.
  - It would **solve the problem of Assam** which would become a Lt. governor's province with **separate civil service cadre**.
  - Substantial commercial benefits, as the interest of **tea gardeners, oil and coal industries** would be safeguarded. Assam planters would be having a **cheaper maritime outlet** through the port of Chittagong.
  - **Assam Bengal railways** would be brought under a single administration as it is extremely vital for economic development of Northeastern India.



All these plans indicate certain kind of administrative concern. However, when province of Bengal was partitioned by the government of lord Curzon in 1905, it didn't follow these plans.

### **Actual Plan of Partition: Demographic details**

- **West Bengal** was made weaker by clubbing together Bengal, Bihar and Odisha with Calcutta as the capital. Its population was 54m.
  - It was a Hindu majority province – 42m Hindus, 9m Muslims
  - 18m Bengalis, 36m non-Bengalis
- **East Bengal** consisted of regions like Dacca, Rajshahi, Malda, Chittagong along with Assam. Its capital was Dacca and the total population was 31m.
  - 18m Muslims, 12m Hindus

### Real political intention

- The manner in which the lines were drawn clearly indicated a communal basis and not administrative. It was to reduce the strength of Bhadralok nationalism.
- The province of Bengal was in forefront in anti-British struggle. The level of nationalist awakening was highest among the Bengal Hindus. Calcutta was the main centre of nationalist activity. Bengali bhadraloks were providing the leadership in the nationalist movement. Also, the spread of unity between Hindus and Muslims in Bengal was the main source of strength of Indian nationalism.
- Thus, the partition was planned in such way that:
  - Bengalis could be converted into linguistic minority in the west and religious minority in the east.
  - It would also shatter the Hindu-Muslim unity. "*Muslim unity never enjoyed since long time under Nawabs/Mughals*" Openly trying to encourage Muslim communalism.

Partition of Bengal was a master stroke of Curzon's internal policy. He wanted to counter the growing strength of Indian nationalism by dividing Bengal along cultural and religious lines. But the real consequences were completely different. While formulating partition, he didn't imagine the extent of reaction, he underestimated it.

The partition instead of dividing in weakening the Bengalis further united them through an anti-partition agitation. Instead of weakening Indian nationalism, it infused new energy in anti-British struggle. The spirit of radicalism and anti-British discontent lying in heart and mind of people came out in Anti-partition agitation.

## Phases of Swadeshi Movement

The agitation against the partition had started in 1903 but became stronger and more organised after the scheme was finally announced and implemented in 1905. The initial aim was to secure the annulment of partition, but it soon enlarged into a more broad-based movement, known as the Swadeshi movement, touching upon wider political and social issues.

It was now that the Indians stood against not only the partition of Bengal but against the Raj itself. This coming together of Indians was unprecedented and was a jolt for the British government and for Britain as a nation, as nothing of this sort had happened in previous five decades. It became the first all-India movement under Congress leadership.

### **First Phase (1903-05): Moderate Trend**

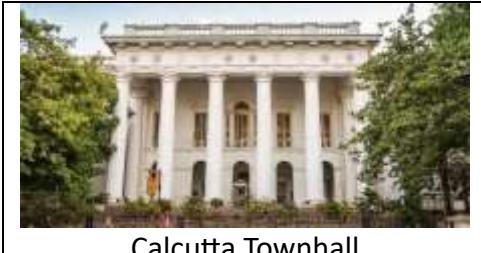
- The government's decision to partition Bengal had been **made public in December 1903**.
- This phase was dominated by the moderates.
  - **Leaders:** Surendranath Banerjea, Krishna Kumar Mitra, Anandmohan Bose, Prithwischandra Ray etc.
  - The **objective** was to exert sufficient pressure on the government through an educated public opinion in India and England to prevent the unjust partition of Bengal from being implemented.
  - Their **methods** included:
    - Petitions and signature campaigns, speeches, lectures and writing in order to appeal to the conscience of the British.
    - Signature campaign was signed by as many as 70,000 people.

Newspaper	Editors
Hitabadi	Dwijendranath Tagore
Bengalee	Surendranath Banerjee
Sanjeevani	Krishna Kumar Mitra
New India (weekly)	Bipin Chandra Pal
Bande Mataram	Aurobindo
Sandhya	Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya
Jugantar	Bhupendranath Dutta
Indian Mirror	
Anand Bazar Patrika	Sisir Kumar Ghosh

### **Timeline:**

- **19 July:** The plan of the partition was **officially announced**.
  - Thus, the failures of moderates and their methods were evident. Now the mood of the people became radical, and the **movement slipped out of the grasp of the moderates**.
- August: **Curzon resigned** and left India. **Lord Minto II** became the next Governor General (1905-10).

- **7 August:** *Townhall meeting*, Calcutta
  - With the passage of the Boycott Resolution in a massive meeting held in the Calcutta Townhall, the formal proclamation of the Swadeshi Movement was made.
  - Soon, the leaders dispersed to other parts of Bengal to propagate the message of boycott of Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt.
- **16 October:** The Partition plan came into force. It was the Day of Partition.
  - It was observed as a day of mourning throughout Bengal. Shops and marketplaces were shut for the day.
  - On Tagore's suggestion as a mark of unity the partition day was observed as **Raksha Bandhan Day**. People fasted, bathed in the Ganga and walked barefoot in processions singing '**Vande Mataram**', which almost spontaneously became the theme song of the movement.
  - '**Amar Sonar Bangla**', the national anthem of present-day Bangladesh, was composed by Rabindranath Tagore, and was sung by huge crowds marching in the streets.
  - **Anandmohan Bose** addressed the crowd of 50,000 and pledged to maintain the unity of Bengal.



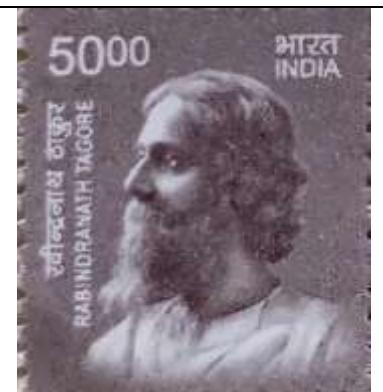
Calcutta Townhall

### Second Phase (1905-06): Constructive Swadeshi

The methods of the second phase were starting of non-political programs under **constructive Swadeshi**, which signified the rejection of the mendicant politics in favour of self-help. These steps at self-reliance were termed as **Atmashakti by Tagore**.

It meant a certain kind of self-strengthening movement – strengthening the cultural basis of Indian society, economic foundation of India through self-help measures by philanthropic societies, volunteer corps and cooperative groups.

One of the other features of this movement was the revival of pride in everything indigenous like the use of vernacular language, beginning of Swadeshi enterprises, national education and so on. The constructive work under Swadeshi contributed to socio-economic regeneration of villages and mobilising the masses.



Tagore was the main ideologue of constructive swadeshi, and programme of atmashakti. Thus, he is called the great poet of the Swadeshi movement.

#### **(1) Economic Aspect:**

Swadeshi meant reliance on indigenous products and encouragement to indigenous Industries. By itself the concept of Swadeshi was floated a long time ago by leaders of Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and Arya Samaj. Such attempts had started early, and the notable initial efforts in this regard were **Prafullachandra Ray's Bengal Chemicals** started in 1893, and **Rabindranath Tagore's Swadeshi Bhandar** in 1897. However, now it received necessary

political action and practical public platform for support. After 1905, swadeshi was popularized with a new energy and sense of purpose.

The swadeshi programme developed along two lines:

- **Reviving traditional crafts** that had been destroyed by competition from British goods
  - The revival of Indian crafts and a rise in demand stimulated handloom-weaving
  - Educated young men were taught the art of weaving and the fly shuttle loom was popularized through training centres.
  - There was also a partial revival of silkweaving in Murshidabad and Pabna.
- Building large-scale indigenous **industrial enterprise** on modern/western lines.
  - Textile mills: Mohini Mills of Kushtia, The Calcutta Weaving Company, the Tripura Company etc.
  - Leather industry: Dr. Nilratan Sircar founded the National Tannery, where new technologies of tanning were introduced.
  - Consumer articles: soap, matches, cheap cigarettes, buttons, candles, paper and sugar
  - Banking and insurance: Bengal National Bank in 1908, National Insurance Company in 1906
  - Inland trade: Bengal Steam Navigation Company in 1905
  - By 1909, Congress started printing the Directory of Indian Goods and Industries.
  - **See more initiatives in the regional section**



## (2) National Education

The other aspect was the building up of a parallel and independent system of 'national education', which used vernacular languages, instead of English, as the medium of communication.

Participation in the Swadeshi movement by the student community was met with repression by the British. The **Carlyle Circular of October 1905** is one example of repressive action by British that threatened student activists with disciplinary action. Consequently, the need was felt to develop national education and leaders began to work in this direction.

### Revivalist Aspects:

- Early nationalists had welcomed the spread of western education through English, initiated on a limited scale by the British government. However, the Swadeshi movement was more closely associated with an Extremist criticism of this system, because it neglected vernacular languages and 'indigenous values' in education.
- Rabindranath's Shantiniketan (1901) had also started on similar revivalist lines, but later broadened its vision and became Viswabharati (1921), a progressive university. For Tagore, educational reform was a crucial form of political activism in itself, because it would ensure that the movement reaches the masses.

### Encouragement to technical education and western science:

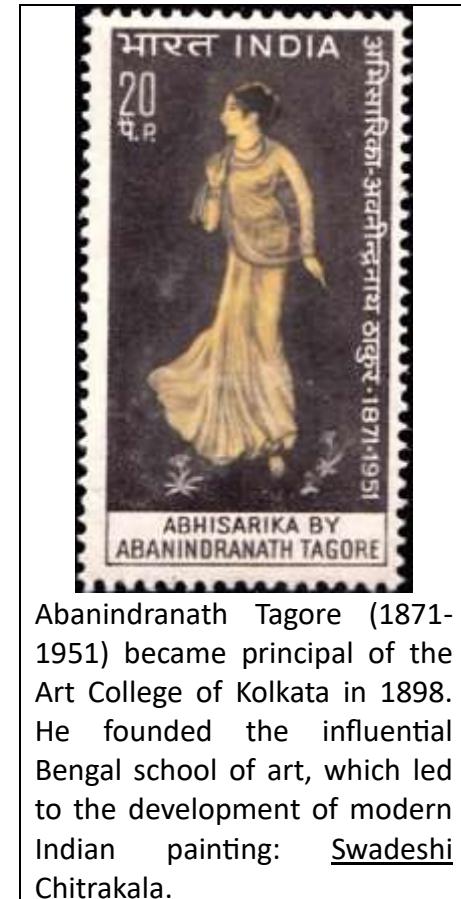
- **A National Council of Education** was set up in Calcutta in 1906 which designed primary, secondary and collegiate courses, which would combine literary and scientific education with technical training.

- The most important educational institution of the movement was the **Bengal National College and School**, 1906, with Aurobindo Ghosh as its principal.
- **Bengal Technical Institute** was established.
- Most noteworthy was the **proliferation of national schools** in districts and mofussil areas in vernacular language.
  - **Aswini Kumar Dutta**, a school-teacher of Barisal, through consistent social-work built up a strong mass-following for the Swadeshi-boycott movement in his district.

### (3) Cultural dimension

Swadeshi movement, crucially, helped in the imagination of the national cultural identity, which would support political mobilization against imperialist Britain. Therefore this period was uniquely characterized by intellectual upsurge and cultural efflorescence which articulated itself in literature, theatre, songs, poetry and art.

- An interest in **folk traditions** was also revived. In Thakurmar Jhuli (Grandmother's Tales), Dakshinaranjan Mitra Majumdar compiled numerous fairy tales.
- The **patriotic songs** written by Tagore, Mukunda Das and Rajani Kanta Sen are popular even today.
- **Traditional folk theatre** forms like Jatras were used to spread the message of Swadeshi.
- **Historical research** progressed in the colleges burgeoning with bright young graduates. Akshoykumar Maitra wrote biographies of Sirajoddoula and Mir Kasim and founded the journal *Aitihasik Chitra* and the Varendra Research Society.
- The **scientific achievements** of P. C. Ray and J. C. Bose's discoveries in Plant Response became the source of great patriotic pride.
- **Indian art** in the late 19th century had come to be characterized by Victorian naturalism. However, artists like Abanindranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore and Nandalal Bose made a conscious break from Western aesthetics by borrowing from Japanese artists and exploring indigenous Mughal, Rajput and Ajanta traditions.



Abanindranath Tagore (1871-1951) became principal of the Art College of Kolkata in 1898. He founded the influential Bengal school of art, which led to the development of modern Indian painting: Swadeshi Chitrakala.

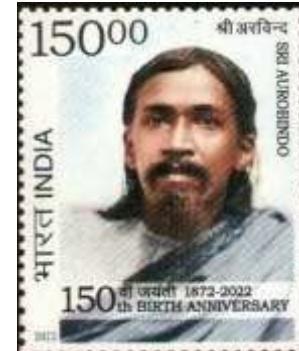
### Third Phase (1906-08): Political Extremism

The movement began to take **extremist & militant undertones** and came directly under the influence of extremist leaders.

- The main **leaders** of this phase were Aurobindo Ghosh and Bipin Chandra Pal. They held that without freedom no real regeneration of national life was possible.
- Now, **Swaraj** became the demand and not just constitutional reforms. It emerged in the imagination of many nationalists as the ultimate ideal.

## Boycott

- Swadeshi spirit articulated itself through the idea of boycott. It was a new kind of political language of extremists. The moderates were also unable to ignore the deep impact the idea of boycott was making on public mind.
- It was first suggested in Krishna Kumar Mitra's journal, Sanjibani in July 1905. It included boycott and public burning of foreign cloth, boycott of foreign-made salt or sugar, refusal by priests to ritualise marriages involving exchange of foreign goods, refusal by washermen to wash foreign clothes. This form of protest met with great success at the practical and popular level.
- The idea was to **hit Britain where it hurt most** – economy. The pecuniary loss was sure to hurt Britain and the government would be compelled to take correct measure.
- A section of **Indian business class** also saw it as an opportunity to boost sale of their indigenous products. They, along with workers of the textile mills, joined the boycott and bonfire of fire cloth wholeheartedly.
- **Debate surrounding Boycott:**
- **Moderates** were inclined to limit it as **an economic boycott only** – to the boycott of British goods.
- **Extremists** – in broader sense, boycott of British institutions also. It was a more comprehensive rejection of imperialism, and not merely the imported commodities.
  - **Aurobindo** denounced the self-help movements, swadeshim as inadequate. He visualized the **extension of boycott to a systematic non-cooperation**. British institutions such as legislative councils, municipalities, government services and, development of indigenous alternatives to be boycotted. For him boycott was the **first step towards passive resistance**. Passive resistance meant an extension of boycott beyond British goods to include the boycott of schools and colleges, law courts, government service and legislative posts.
  - With this, many samitis set up arbitration boards in rural Bengal, to settle local disputes. (e.g. Swadesh Bandhab Samiti at Bakarganj under the leadership of Ashvini Kumar Dutta)
- **Passive → Active Resistance**
- Aurobindo soon pleaded that the prevailing situation in India called for active resistance. It was the ultimate political strategy which Aurobindo propounded as the theory of organised and relentless boycott including civil disobedience of unjust laws if required. It would shake the foundation of British hegemony in India. He argued that the time had come for the Indians to defy the laws of the Empire if these laws were not acceptable to them too violent illegitimate laws of the empire.
- '*the essential difference passive/defensive and active/aggressive resistance is this: while the method of aggressive resistor is to do something by which one can bring about positive harm to the government, the method of a passive resistor is to abstain from doing something by which he would be helping the government.*'
- Even **individual violence**, if necessary, was to be pursued. These individual acts of violence were to setup examples for people to rise up in an **open rebellion** against the imperial state.
- He popularized these ideas through **Bande Mataram** newspaper.



### **Organisation of Samitis: (Volunteer bodies)**

- Samitis was one of the major innovations during the Swadeshi age.
  - The success of the boycott depended on popular mobilization.
  - The purpose of the samitis was to gather support by mobilising people and training them in physical and moral aspects.
- Different types some of the samities
  - Philanthropic samitis
  - Self-help societies following the atma-shakti ideal that Tagore
  - Physical culture societies (akharas)
    - The history of physical culture movement can be traced to the 1890s when the whole cult of manliness was propagated by the lay followers of Vivekananda who actually called upon his followers to cultivate manliness by practicing asceticism.

### **Some important Samitis: (In 1907, the police reported 19 samitis in Kolkata)**

Swadesh Bandhab Samiti	Ashwini Kumar Dutta
Anushilan Samiti	Pramatha Mitra
Dacca Anushilan Samiti	Pulin Das
Jugantar Group (Calcutta based Anushilan Samiti)	Khudiram Bose, Ulhaskar Dutta, Tarkanath Das, Barinda Kumar Ghosh, Prafulla Chaki
Midnapur Secret Society	
Atmonnyati Samiti	
Swadeshi Sangam, Tirunelveli (TN)	V.O. Chidambaram Pillai, Subramania Siva

- These samitis generated political consciousness among the masses through:
  - Magic lantern lectures
  - Promotion of Swadeshi songs, plays and poetry
  - Providing physical and moral training to their members
  - Social work during famines and epidemics
  - Organisation of schools
  - Training in swadeshi crafts and arbitration courts.

In this phase, atma-shakti turned into **revivalism**.

- **Religious symbols and mythology** were looked upon for inspiration. Such symbols were **deemed necessary to connect with the larger society**.
- In 1906, Tilak came down to Calcutta and the Shivaji festival was celebrated in the city with great enthusiasm. **Saraladevi** introduced the **Veerashktami** celebration as a festival of the youth. In imitation of the Shivaji festival of Maharashtra, Saraladevi started a new festival in Bengal in honour of the memory of **King Pratapaditya of Jessore**.

### **One major innovation in the Swadeshi age: Labour Movement**

- First intimation of an organized trade union movement undertaken by the Swadeshi leaders
  - Attempts by some of the solicitors like Ashvini Kumar Banerjee or Prabhat Kusum Raychawdhary in Calcutta to set up trade unions.
  - Between 1905-1908 are several instances of strikes in the **jute mill**.
  - **Jamalpur railway workshop**, a strike was organized for the first time.

- Establishment of the **printers union** after a prolonged strike in the government printing presses.
- Establishment of the **Railwayman's Union** around 1907-08 when some of the striking railway workers form the union.
- Other Regions:
  - Tilakites involved in labour mobilization in Bombay
  - Extremists were also involved in the famous Tuticorin strike in Tirunelveli district

## Swadeshi outside Bengal:

Maharashtra	Lokmanya Tilak	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Economic Aspects           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha – Swadeshi store in Bombay by Tilak and Tatas</li> <li>○ Godrej started with surgical instruments and Desi Typewriter</li> <li>○ Tilak raised contribution called the Paisa Fund for training men in industrial work, and formed the Paisa Fund Glass Works at Talegaon in Pune in 1905.</li> <li>○ TISCO was established in 1907</li> <li>○ Around same time, Laxmanrao Kirloskar was trying hard to kickstart his idea of a better variety of plough to help our farmers.</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Labour mobilization by the Tilakites in Bombay: The militancy of the working-class was revealed when there was a massive upsurge by Bombay workers against Tilak's arrest in a 9 July 1908</li> <li>• In Bengal, Swadeshi movement had more economic context while in Maharashtra, religious revivalism was more pronounced.</li> </ul>
Punjab	Lala Lajpat Rai, Ajit Singh	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 1907 Unrest: Pre-existing discontent among the peasants due to Chenab Canal Colony Bill. It was fierce form which led to severe cracked down: both leaders, Ajit Singh and Lala Lajpat Rai, were deported.</li> <li>• Foundation of Punjab National Bank by Lala Harkishen Lal</li> </ul>
United Province	Motilal Nehru	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More emphasis over constructive swadeshi. Moderate politics continued to be important in the region.</li> <li>• In North Indian towns, swadeshi ideology or extremist beliefs actually did not have much of an impact. But the Bengali immigrants there created swadeshi outfits and some of these swadeshi outfits became eventually nucleus of secret society movements at a later stage.</li> </ul>
Delhi	Syed Haider Raza	
Madras	Chidambaram Pillai, Subramanyam Bharathi and Subramaniya Siva	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Impact of Bipin Chandra Pal's tour of Madras Presidency (1907) was electrifying. His speeches on Marina beach were attended by thousands.</li> <li>• In 1906, VOC registered a joint stock company called The Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company (SSNC)</li> <li>• <b>Subramaniam Bharati's</b> newspaper <b>Swadesamitran</b> extensively reported nationalist activities, particularly the news regarding VOC and his speeches in Tuticorin.</li> <li>• Labour movement in Tirunelveli</li> </ul>

## Surat Split (1907)

The ideological differences between moderates and extremists were intensified by the Partition of Bengal and the Swadeshi movement. There emerged significant differences regarding the manner in which the agitation should be carried out, culminating into the split in Congress at the Surat Session of 1907. In this session, the extremists were expelled from the Congress by the. It was significant setback for anti-British struggle and the national movement lost at least one decade because of it.

### **Reasons:**

When swadeshi started, moderates came under pressure from the extremists to adopt the method of mass agitation. There was a tug-of-war between them following two important issues:

Issues	Moderates	Extremists
Regional Spread	Confine the movement to Bengal only. It is a regional issue.	All India movement to protests against partition of Bengal. It is not a regional but a national issue.
Method of protest	Confine boycott only to British goods.	Extend boycott to other spheres of life also if required.

There were ideological difference between the moderates and the extremists with respect to the visions of India's struggle against British rule. Despite the differences the two were working together. However, gradually as the failure of moderates in getting the annulment of the partition became apparent, the extremists became more influential and started to put pressure.

<b>1905 (21)</b>	<b>Benares</b>	<b>GK Gokhale</b>
In this session, the differences came to the fore for the first time. By adopting mild resolutions condemning the partition of Bengal and the reactionary policies of Curzon and supporting the swadeshi and boycott programme in Bengal, a split in the Congress was averted for the moment.		
<b>1906 (22)</b>		
<b>Calcutta</b>		
<b>Dadabhai Naoroji</b>		
The real issue in all India politics in 1906 was how far the radicalism generated by Swadeshi movement in Bengal was to be incorporated into the future politics of Congress on all India theatre.		
<b>Issue of election of the President:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Extremists were more organized and created pressure over moderates to nominate Tilak as the president. Gokhale and Mehta were not ready and thus tried to outwit them by nominating grand old man of India Dadabhai Naoroji.</li></ul>		
<b>Swadeshi Resolutions:</b>		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>In Calcutta session in spite of opposition of Gokhale and Mehta Tilak and Bengal extremist group scored a resounding victory with the help of Bengal moderates. In various committees, extremists called the shots – and got the <i>chatusutri</i> passed</li></ul>		

- Swaraj
- Swadeshi
- Boycott
- National education
- The Bombay moderates were not in favour of these resolutions but they had no option but to reluctantly agree due to insistence of extremists as well as moderates of Bengal. They felt at the end that they were humiliated and defeated, they returned home with sullen mind. But the split was averted again.

<b>1907 (23)</b>	<b>Surat</b>	<b>Suspended Session, Rash Behari Ghosh</b>
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So, when Surat session commenced in 1907 the moderates and extremists were formally determined to establish their control over Congress. The moderates wanted to take back the resolutions adopted at Calcutta in 1906. On the other hand, the extremists wanted their candidate should be president so as to keep intact the Calcutta resolutions.

#### **Issue of the Venue**

- 1907 session was planned at Pune, but it was a hotbed of extremism. So, at the last moment, Mehta and Gokhale changed the venue to Surat.

#### **Issue of election of the President and Calcutta Resolutions**

- **Lala Lajpat Rai** has returned from Mandalay and extremist proposed his name is the next congress president while the moderate candidate was **Rash Behari Ghosh**.
- But Lala Lajpat Rai, who did not want a split refused to accept the nomination and hence the ultimate fight between the two contending groups boiled down to the question of either acceptance or rejection of the four Calcutta resolution.
- Mehta conspired to keep the resolution out of the Congress agenda while the extremist decided to oppose the nomination of Ghosh if resolutions were not retained.

#### **The session:**

- Tilak tried to address the session but he was prevented from doing so. The open session of Congress at Surat ended in a pandemonium over the election of Rash Behari Ghosh
- Police was waiting outside for the same. Extremist were pulled out and moderates adopted a resolution for their expulsion leading to Surat split.
- But even after this incident Tilak was willing to reunite the Congress but Mehta seemed intransigent, as he wanted to reconstitute the party by purging the extremist elements, a task which he accomplished at the following **Allahabad convention** in 1908. Only moderates attended this session where they reiterated their loyalty to the British Raj. They changed the constitutions of Congress to expel the extremists and took complete control of the Organization.

## **Impact of Surat Split**

- Surat split was **great setback for India's struggle** against British rule. The atmosphere of political activism prevailing in the country got transformed into **political passivism**.
  - Congress was weakened at this stage and became an ineffective body. The extremist politics could not crystallize into a new political organisation. The two factions could again come together after one decade at Lucknow in 1916 and the Congress was revitalized only when Gandhi took the leadership in 1920.
- Surat split was great **success of British**. What they had failed to achieve through Partition of Bengal, was achieved by them easily through Surat split.
- **Moderate** leadership was further **discredited**; and INC remained a club of a selected few.
- **Extremism** subsided and declined; and leaders were dispersed.
- Surat split resulted in sudden **decline of swadeshi movement**. Once the extremists were not in congress, Swadeshi lost its leadership and died out suddenly.
- Surat Split greatly **disillusioned the younger generation** of Indian nationalists. Many of them lost faith in the efficacy of peaceful methods of struggle. They realized that the British would never let the congress succeed. This disillusionment pushed many of the younger nationalists into the fold of **revolutionary extremism** to fill up the political vacuum.
- British feared the rising tide of extremism, so with an objective to weaken the national movement, the colonial government introduced the policy of **divide-and-rule** and fanned the rise of **communalism**.
- The Surat split taught a **tough lesson to Indian nationalists**. This bitter experience made them smarter for the future because when similar ideological differences developed after the withdrawal of the NCM, the opposing camps in the Congress worked consciously to avoid another split.



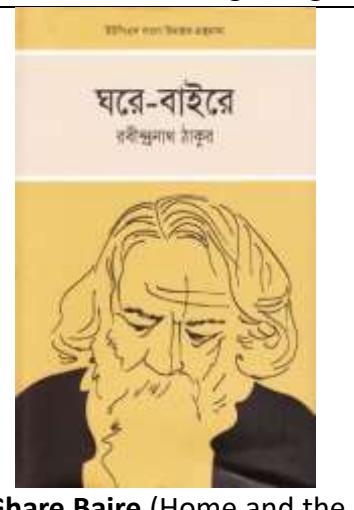
Sri Aurobindo presiding over a meeting of the Nationalists after the Surat Congress, with Tilak speaking, 1907

## **Fourth Phase (1908- ): Revolutionary Movement:**

Covered separately.

## Why did Swadeshi Movement Fail?

- British policy of carrot and stick (3-pronged strategy: repression-conciliation-suppression)
  - The extremists were to be repressed to frighten the moderates. There was **severe crackdown on the people**
    - Meetings and processions were banned, the government prohibited shouting of slogan 'Vande Mataram' in public places.
    - Laws regulating the press were enacted.
    - Those participating in the movement in any form were disqualified from government employment.
    - Student participants were expelled, fined and even beaten up by the police.
    - Police were given a free hand to launch physical assaults (lathi charge, caned, innumerable arrests & convictions).
  - **Moderates were then to be placated** through some limited concessions and hints of further concession if they disassociated themselves from the extremist. Lord Minto offered the bait of fresh reform in legislative council in the beginning of 1906.
  - The unity of the leadership was broken by the Surat Split of 1907. Once moderate fell into the trap, extremist were suppressed through use of full might of the state. Moderates could then be ignored.
  - **There was a severe crackdown on the Extremist leadership:** The prominent leaders were arrested, which rendered the movement leaderless.
    - 1907: Lala Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh were deported.
    - 1908: Krishna Kumar Mitra and Ashwini Kumar Dutt were deported.
    - 1908: Tilak was again arrested and sent to Mandalay Jail for six years.
    - 1908: Aurobindo put under trial
  - **Revolutionary extremism** was also cracked down.
    - Seditious Meetings Act, 1907
    - Indian Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908
    - Explosive Substances Act
    - Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1908
    - Indian Press Act, 1910
- The Swadeshi alternatives were expensive, and people could hardly afford them. A time came when the local people refused to consume local products and continued to opt for imported products for the simple reason that they were cheaper. When there were attempts to enforce boycott on the rural population by forcing them to buy high-priced local goods, it created tensions.
- The methods of mass protests used were largely unfamiliar and new to both leaders and masses. It was primarily because of this failure of mass mobilization.



**Ghare Baire** (Home and the World) was a novel by Tagore which illustrates the political setup in the novel is the Swadeshi Movement and the novel brings out the essence of the movement.

- **Maintaining a high momentum** of mass struggle could not be sustained for a long time as fatigue began to appear.
- **Failure of the Samiti movement** to create a broad-based movement based on peasant support.
- **The lack of formal party structure** of the Congress was one of the causes for the failure.
- **Social composition**
  - Participation largely remained limited to **Hindu middle classes in towns**.
  - **Muslims** largely stayed away from this movement with some exceptions.
    - It was because of the following factors:
      - Curzon's partition plan soothed Muslim interests upto certain extent.
      - The boycott of British goods directly hit the common Muslim consumers by raising the prices of such essential commodities like cloth, shoes, and soaps while there was no Muslims trading class in Bengal which could take advantage of swadeshi slogans.
      - Use of religious symbols and mythology dissuaded some Muslims from participating in the movement.
  - **Workers' participation** was low.
    - There was no large-scale conscious attempt the enlist the support of industrial workers. The attempts remained limited to white-collar workers.
  - The Swadeshi movement **could not attract the peasants** of Bengal as the leaders did not adopt progressive agrarian programme. There was inherent class conflict between zamindars and peasants.

So, despite the great achievements of the Swadeshi movement, it remained an example of an inadequate mass politics.

### Real Contribution of the Swadeshi Movement

With petering out of the mass movement one era in the Indian freedom struggle was over. It would be wrong to see Swadeshi movement as a failure. Swadeshi movement transformed the character of anti-British struggle. Now, the extremist leaders were pushed to the fore front of Indian National movement.

- The **National movement assumed new aims and objectives** during the Swadeshi Movement. Concessions and reforms were no longer guiding the anti-British struggle. Congress adopted attainment of **Swaraj** as its objective.
- The age of memorandum and petitions was over and there started an era of agitation and revolution for pushing the demand. Nationalist **activities came out in the street**. Anti-British struggle was no longer limited to discussion chambers and conference halls.
- The movement **innovated several new methods and techniques of mass mobilization**. Hereafter, **swadeshi, and boycott** became the main weapon to be used by Indian nationalist against British rule.
  - Holding musical conferences, campaigning in countryside with the help of theatre performances, local folk jatras to spread Swadeshi message.
  - Samiti emerged as critical linkage between the masses and the leadership.
  - Labour movement was a new technique of mass mobilization.

- All of which eventually suggests the **first efforts by the nationalists to undertake mass mobilization**, although it didn't succeed in the way Aurobindo had visualized it. The armed revolution never happened but it did leave behind many examples bravery, heroism, self-sacrifice to inspire the later generations of freedom fighters as well.
  - The trends which were visible in the course of Swadeshi movement i.e. swadeshi, boycott, national education etc., resurfaced during subsequent period as well. It proved precursor to Gandhian programme as well.
- **Social and geographical base**
    - It took the idea of nationalism to many sections of people hitherto untouched by it. And by doing so it further eroded colonial legitimacy and institutions.
    - This was the **first all India movement under the leadership of the Congress**.
    - Swadeshi movement was the **first mass movement in the history of India's struggle** against British rule. For the first time students, women and other sections of urban population participated in nationalist struggle. This widened the social base of national movement greatly.
  - This movement encouraged **domestic industries**.
    - Various entrepreneurs showed interest in setting up domestic industries.
    - P.C. Ray setup 'Bengal Chemicals'
    - Swadeshi Vastu Pracharini Sabha – Tilak
    - TISCO was established in 1907
    - PNB in Lala Harkishan Lal
    - Chidambaram Pillai formed a Navigation Company.
  - It greatly **strengthened the cultural foundations of the National Movement**, because nationalist music, paintings, literature and education witnessed remarkable progress during swadeshi movement. Indigenous art was also promoted during the period.
    - Formation of **Bengal School of Painting**
      - Avanindranath Tagore tried to rejuvenate Mughal and Rajput paintings. (Bharat mata portrayal for the first time)
      - Nand Lal Bose made an important contribution in painting.
    - Rich collection of patriotic composition and dramatic performances
    - Scientific progress led by JC Bose and Prafulla Chandra Roy.
    - Vernacular languages too got a boost as newspapers were published by extremist leaders and revolutionary nationalists in the vernacular languages to promote radical ideas.
  - Swadeshi movement created an intellectual bridge between India and west.
  - British Response
    - The Act of 1909 was introduced under the pressure of the Swadeshi movement.
    - Under the pressure of the Swadeshi movement, the government withdrew the partition of Bengal in 1911.

**Handout 28: Politics of Separatism**

Nikhil Sheth

*Please remember, in granting separate electorates we are sowing the dragon's teeth and the harvest will be bitter. – Lord Morley*

**History of the formation of Muslim League**

During the last decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Muslim elites, particularly in northern India, had been activated by an acute community consciousness. But at the time when Muslim League was formed in 1906-07, some nationalist historians looked upon this as a sort of a command performance by the Muslim leaders at the prodding of Lord Minto.

**What is Command Performance?**

By 1906, Lord Minto had set up a committee to examine further constitutional reforms for India. This was followed by Morley's statement that some concrete steps were going to be taken to introduce the representative principle in the government in India.

October 1906, a **Delegation/Deputation** led by Agha Khan III met the Viceroy Minto at Shimla to impress upon him of the need of safeguarding rights and interests of Muslims in the promised elected representative body.

Three major demands:

- In any scheme of electoral representation, Muslims should get more representation than what their population warrants.
  - The position of the Indian Muslims should be determined not merely by their actual numbers but by the political importance and the services which it had rendered to the British empire in India.
- Muslims should be allowed to send their representatives to the new legislative councils through their separate electorates.
- Muslims should be given adequate representation in the local governing bodies and also in the higher services, both executive and judicial.



Lord Minto (1905-1910)



Lord Morley, SoS



Agha Khan III

The success of the Muslim deputation to Lord Minto made the Muslim leaders very confident.

- They now felt the need of forming a Congress-like all-India organization of their own for protecting their political rights and interests particularly when Swadeshi movement was now mounting high and threatening to undo the Partition of Bengal which had created for the first time a Muslim majority province in British India.

December 1906, Muslim League was formed in Dacca in All India Mohammedan Educational Conference. Its leaders were *Aga Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Salimullah*.

Its objectives were:

- To protect the political rights and interests of the Muslims
  - Demand for separate electorates
  - Special safeguards for the Muslims in government services.
- To preach loyalty to the Raj
- To promote communal amity.

#### It was a command performance:

Many modern historians have described this deputation led by Aga Khan as a command performance, something which was engineered by the British government from behind the scenes with the object of widening the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims of India.



1906: Founders of the All India Muslim League after announcing the party's formation in Lucknow

- This **delegation was probably sponsored** by William Archbold, the Principal at Aligarh Anglo-Oriental College and Dunlop Smith, private secretary to Viceroy.
- **Lord Minto perhaps asked the delegates to set up an organization** and they decided to form the Muslim League.
- The formation of Muslim League in 1906 came **at the height of the Swadeshi movement**, exactly at the time when Swadeshi Movement needed greater support among Indians, including Muslims. It certainly introduced a very powerful dissenting element within the nationalist movement.
- The League soon became an **important British instrument to fight rising Indian nationalism.**
  - The League began to oppose every nationalist and democratic demand of the Congress.
  - Though the Muslim League and its upper class leaders had little in common with the interests of the Muslim masses, yet, the British encouraged the League to take up the leadership of the Muslim masses.

## It was not a command performance:

- **Politics of identity:** Throughout the 1890s there were some very important issues that had driven wedges in the relationship between the two communities (e.g. cow protection movement, Hindi-Urdu language controversy and Nagari circular in UP, Shuddhi movement, music-before-mosque riots). In this context, the politics of identity became very crucial.
- **Politics of privilege:** In northern India where Muslim elites, which constituted the erstwhile governing classes, had lost power under the British order due to their denial to accept western English education. Congress demands competitive exams; electoral principle of representation was seen as a threat.

### **(A) Developments in North India:**

It was responsible for Muslim elites to setup their own organizations.

- **Sayyid Ahmad Khan**, who had tried the United India Patriotic Association (1888) now formed **Mohammed Anglo-Oriental Defense Association (1893)** association with Theodore Beck.
  - The name itself actually suggests how there was an acute awareness about the need to defend the cultural identity of the Muslims elites.
- By the end of the decade, **Urdu Defence Association** was formed in 1899-1900 by **Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk**.

### **Emergence of Young Party at Aligarh**

The Muslim upper classes continued the trend of separatism set by Sayyid Ahmed Khan in the midst of the Anti-Partition agitation and the revolutionary movement.

Sir Sayyid had felt that by practicing loyalism to the British, it would be easier for the Muslim elites to extract advantages. They were successful to some extent. But the behaviour of the United Provinces government towards the close of the decade when they passed the **Nagari resolution (1900)** convinced some younger members that this loyalist strategy was not going to pay any more dividends.



Ali Brothers

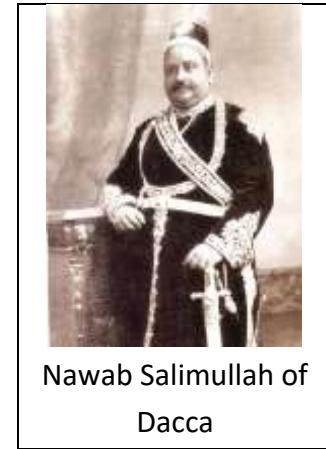
So, some followers of Sir Sayyid decided to discard the loyalist political line. Aligarh College had come under the new leadership of **Muhammad Ali** and **Shaukat Ali**. They sought the support of the ulemas to further their cause and were willing to move away from the British. They wanted a more assertive political action from the Muslim elites to get a better deal from the government. Thus, it was important for them to create an outfit to exert greater pressure

on the government in the same way that the Congress was doing. **Maulana Abdul Bari** became a moving spirit behind the new line of thinking.

But the old leaders like **Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk**, who had succeeded Sayid Ahmad Khan as the leader of Aligarh Movement, did not like the growing hiatus between the Muslims and the British. He started working to that end through the Mohammedan Educational Conference.

#### (B) Developments in Bengal:

- The British policy of divide and rule, by propping up the Muslims against the Congress, was fine-tuned by Lord Curzon, who carried it out with a rare brazenness by **partitioning Bengal in 1905**.
- The Partition of Bengal in 1905 created a new province in British India where Muslims formed a majority. This event **increased political awareness among Indian Muslims**. Despite some opposition from a few leaders, the Muslim community generally supported the partition as it provided political and economic advantages.
- The **Swadeshi Movement** further widened the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims as the creation of a new province of East Bengal was supposed to favour the Muslims, which the Swadeshi Movement sought to annul.
- By 1906, Swadeshi movement had reached a high crescendo and predictably the government adopted repressive measures. The first Lt. Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, **Sir Joseph Bampfylde Fuller**, who was openly pro-Muslim, was particularly oppressive. Such measures created an extremely adverse reaction in the British press (including the liberal SoS John Morley) and there was a likelihood that Fuller would be forced to resign.



Nawab Salimullah of  
Dacca

The intensity of the Swadeshi movement, the Congress's acceptance of the boycott resolution and then the possibility of Fuller resigning were reasons for the Muslim elites of Eastern Bengal to feel somewhat nervous about the future. So, there was an initiative on the part Muslim leaders to defend the partition. Thus, there was emergency to form a separate organization of the Muslims.

**So, these two developments (Aligarh and Bengal) converged to create the political process that eventually led to the formation of the Muslim League in 1906.**

**Morley Announcement, 1906:** Morley suggested that representative government was the ultimate objective that the British were actually looking for. He made the announcement in 1906 budget speech in the House of Commons. So, Muslim elites made it a point to form a group and to see Minto in Shimla Deputation, in which they actually asked for safeguards for

minority. Minto responded favorably by asking them to form a separate organisation for the Muslim.

So, it was not really a common performance they had their **interest to protect**, there was a **political process going on among the Muslim elites from the 1890s onwards** that should be taken as the basic reasons for the Muslims to decide on the formation of a distinct political organization capable of defending their interests. The formation of ML was a more tangible expression of these initiatives.

In fact, as early as 1901, **Sir Muhammad Shafi** had advocated the formation of the Indian Muslim League, but it did not take any concrete shape.

#### **Conclusion:**

Whether or not the delegation headed by Aga Khan was part of a 'command performance' might be controversial. What is, however, noteworthy is that the basic demand of the delegation for a separate electorate was accepted in the Act of 1909, which came to be known as Morley-Minto Reforms. A permanent wall was created between the Hindus and Muslims, who were to vote separately for the candidates of their own respective communities.

## The Morley-Minto Reforms (1909)

### Why was Indian Council act of 1909 introduced?

- The **early nationalists had been demanding the expansion of the Legislative Councils** to secure Indian membership of the Councils for elected representatives of the people. The British Government was forced by the nationalist agitation to pass the **Indian Councils Act of 1892**. But this Act **could not satisfy the nationalists**. They were looking for a larger share of power for the Indians.
- **Intensity of the Swadeshi movement** and the **spread of extremism** had forced upon the administration some new thoughts on constitutional reforms. The colonial government was **alarmed by the spread of revolutionary activities** in the beginning of the twentieth century. They now sought to check the movement by granting constitutional concessions to the Indians.
- There was a **realisation that India could no longer be ruled with a "cast iron bureaucracy"**. Indians needed to be given some share of power; in both legislatures as well as executive council. Fresh thinking had started since 1906, as Secretary of State **Lord Morley, a liberal scholar**, urged Viceroy Lord Minto to balance the unpopular Bengal partition with reforms. The discussions on the constitutional reforms were initiated in Morley's **budget speech in 1906** in the House of Commons. He suggested that representative government was the ultimate objective that the British were actually looking for.
- The British Indian government sought to contain the rising tide of nationalism by the dual **policy of concession and repression**. The conciliatory side of the colonial policy found manifestation in various constitutional reforms. It was basically, an attempt to rally the moderates and thus divide the united front of nationalism.

### The Indian Councils Act of 1909

It provided for limited self-government and therefore satisfied none of the Indian political groups. It was the most short-lived of all constitutional reforms in British India and had to be revised within ten years.

- **Executive**
  - The Act provided the appointment of Indians in GG executive council and the council of secretary of state for India.
    - Lord S.P Sinha became the first Indian member of G.G executive council. (as Law member)

- Sayeed Hussain Bilgrami and K.G Gupta – earliest Indian to join India council (council of Secretary of State)
- **Legislature Powers**
  - It did allow somewhat greater power for budget discussion (but not vote on it), raising questions, sponsoring resolutions (but not pass laws) and request additional grants for local self-governing bodies. So, the **deliberative functions of the legislature were expanded.**
  - The Government executive retained the veto power.
- **Legislature Composition**
  - It increased the membership of non-officials (persons not holding positions in government) in the imperial and provincial legislative councils.
  - The number of additional members in legislative council was increased from 16 to 60.
    - **Official majority was retained in the Imperial Legislative Council**, which would have only 27 elected members out of 60; and out of those 27 seats, 8 were reserved for the Muslim separate electorate.
  - **Non-official majorities were provided for in the Provincial Councils**, but importance of this non-official majority was reduced by the fact that many of these non-officials were to be nominated by the government.
    - Example: The Bengal provincial legislature was given an elected majority, but four of the elected members were to represent European commercial interests, who were always expected to vote with the government.
- **Election**
  - The elective principle introduced by the Act of 1892 was extended, so that in 1910 more than a hundred indirectly elected Indians took their seats in the Councils.
    - Details of seat allocation and electoral qualifications were left to be decided by the local governments, and this left enough space for bureaucratic manipulation.
  - Special provision was made for additional representation of **professional** classes, the **landholders**, the **Muslims, universities and presidency corporations**, as well as **European and Indian commerce (chamber of commerce)**.
    - Lord Minto is thus known as the **Father of Communal Electorate**.
  - The electorate was based on high property qualifications and therefore was heavily restricted.
    - There were disparities too, as income qualifications for the Muslims were lower than those for the Hindus.
  - And above everything, the Government of India was given the general power to disallow any candidate from contesting the election on suspicion of being politically dangerous.

## **Analysis: (shadow rather than substance)**

The makers of the Councils Act of 1909 wanted only apparent changes, and no real democratic change. Morley observed, "*If it could be said that this chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I for one would have nothing at all to do with it.*" It was clear that he was against introduction of parliamentary or responsible government in India. Thus, the Act failed to satisfy even the moderates.

- Congress wanted swaraj but there was **no trace of swaraj** in the provisions of this Act. The **reformed Councils didn't have any real power.**
  - The congress strongly opposed the **continuation of Veto powers** of governors and governor generals. (*Maintained constitutional autocracy*)
  - The Legislative **Councils could just criticize** the government because there was no real power in the hands of members.
  - So, the **parliamentary forms without any responsibility of power.**
- **Electoral principle**
  - The congress was demanding direct elections and adult suffrage, but the system of **indirect elections** continued.
  - Voting rights were also granted based on **property qualifications**.
  - **Women** were not given any right to vote.
- **Separate electorates**
  - By this, the Muslim community was recognized as a completely separate section of the Indian nation. It was a **deliberate move on the part of British to divide Indians** as it **intensified the spirit of Muslim separatism** which was already in the air and led to the construction of communalism.
  - **With every revision** of the electoral system, similar demands emerged from other communities. This, it created cardinal problem
    - 1919: Sikhs, Indian Christians, Anglo-Indians, and Europeans
    - 1935: Schedule castes, working class

## Handout 29: First Phase of Revolutionary Extremist Movement

Nikhil Sheth

Ekbaar biday de ma ghure ashi  
Hasi hasi porbo phnashi dekhbe bharatbasi

(Mother bid me farewell once, I will be back soon.  
Whole of India will watch me While I wear the noose smiling)

Written for Khudiram Bose. British hanged him at the age of 18.

Apart from Moderate and Extremists, there was a third group in the pre-Gandhian era, which was totally committed to the idea of freeing the country from the British hands by using violent means, including individual killings of anti-Indian British officials and their henchmen.

They have been described variously in history: the British called them **terrorists**, some called them **militant nationalists**, still others called them **revolutionaries** and yet others called them **revolutionary terrorists**.

### Factors responsible for the rise:

1. It was a reaction to the oppressive and exploitative **character of the colonial British Rule**.
2. Indigenous tradition of violent revolt, including the **revolt of 1857**. The rebellion failed but the culture of armed resistance persisted.
3. **Extremism and Revivalism**
  - a. Thinkers like Dayananda (glory of ancient past), Bankim Chandra (Anandmath, religious fervor), Swami Vivekanand (greater sacrifice from youth at the altar of nation) inspired the youths for action.
  - b. Teaching of leaders like Raj Narayan Bose, Aurobindo and Ashwini Kumar Dutt in Bengal, Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar and Tilak in Maharashtra, V.O Chidambaram Pillai in Madras and Sardar Ajit Singh in Punjab inspired nationalist of younger generation to take the path revolutionary extremism.
4. International Developments
  - a. The impact of **Irish revolutionaries** and **Russian Nihilists** on Indian youth was profound. **Italian nationalism** also inspired younger generation to adopt path of violence.

## Revolutionary methods:

1. Assassination of unpopular officers.
2. Organizing Swadeshi Dacoities.
3. Acquiring arms and weapons.
4. Publish revolutionary literature to spread their ideas and gain support.
5. Trying to engineer armed revolt.

## **Survey of the Revolutionary Activism:**

### Maharashtra

Maharashtra proved to be a very important centre of revolutionary activities.

- **Chapekar brothers**

- The first act of new form of armed revolutionary resistance took place in Pune, in 1897. Chapekar brothers killed WC Rand on Ganeshkhind Road.
  - They had been inspired by the new ideas of leaders like Tilak.
  - All three brothers were hanged.



- **Marathi press**

- In 1908, immediately after the Muzaffarpur bomb incidence, Tilak openly asserted in **Kesari** that it was the inevitable result of the government policy of repression and refusal to grant swaraj. For these comments Tilak was arrested and sentenced to transportation for 6 years. Tilak's arrest was followed by a riot in Bombay but it was soon suppressed by the Government.
  - Another Marathi editor, **Shivram Mahadev Paranjape** was imprisoned for his writings in the **Kaal** praising the revolutionary movement in Bengal.



- **Mitra Mela (1900)**

- Established at Nashik by Ganesh Savarkar and Vinayak Damodar Savarkar.
  - It arranged physical training for its members and encouraged the composition of patriotic poems and songs.
  - At its meetings biographies of European revolutionary leaders like Mazzini and Garibaldi were read out and discussed.
  - In 1904, the Mitra Mela society of Nasik was transformed into the Abhinav Bharat.

- **Abhinav Bharat**

- V D Savarkar had organised its **branches** in Maharashtra, Berar and Central Provinces.
- Abhinav Bharat tried to organise meetings for the **celebration** of Ganpati Puja and Shivaji festivals.
- Abhinav Bharat members were trained in **martial exercises**.
- Members of Abhinav Bharat closely studied the activities of **Russian revolutionaries**.
- Secret revolutionary activities also spread to Gwalior and Satara.
- **Savarkar in London**

- In 1904, Savarkar went to **England** and started his revolutionary activities from there.
- He translated the **biography of Mazzini**, an **Italian revolutionary** in Marathi, which sold 2,000 copies.
- In **The First War of Indian Independence** he described the Revolt of 1857 as the first struggle of India's independence.
- He secretly sent revolutionary literature and **firearms** to Maharashtra to help the spread of revolutionary activities.



Savarkar Brothers  
L to R: Narayan, Ganesh, Vinayak

- **Bomb Making**

- A member of Abhinav Bharat, P N Bapat was sent to Paris to learn the art of bomb making from Russian revolutionaries. A copy of a bomb making book was secured and translated from Russian to English.
- Bomb manufacturing groups were set up at Aundh, Basai, Poona, Kolhapur and other places. An attempt was made to manufacture bombs and the **Kolhapur Bomb Case** was launched, which resulted in the imprisonment of many revolutionaries.
- A bomb was hurled at **Lord and Lady Minto's** carriage in Ahmedabad (1909), but they escaped unhurt, as the bomb didn't explode. The person was never traced.



Anant Lakshman  
Kanhere (1892-  
1910)

- **Nasik conspiracy case (1910-11)**

- The Karve Group planned to eliminate **Jackson** (the District Magistrate of Nasik), as he had acquitted Williams, who had killed a farmer. In 1909, **Anant Lakshman Kanhere** shot dead Jackson at his farewell party, in public.
- He was found with a pistol which had been sent secretly from England by Savarkar. Thus, his arrest led to the *exposure of the Abhinav Bharat group* which led to the virtual end of the movement in Maharashtra. It was in connection that *V D Savarkar was brought back to India*. Out of 21 persons who were brought to trial in this case 3 were sentenced to death and Savarkar was sentenced to transportation for life to Andaman.
- The Bombay police were very quick to respond and the movement was brought under control. The revolutionary movement declined in Maharashtra after 1912.

### Bengal

#### **Revolutionary Press**

Along with Samitis, there grew up a revolutionary press in Bengal. Of the Bengali newspapers which preached terrorism three acquired great reputation – Sandhya, Yugantar and Bandemataram. The last mentioned achieved the greatest popularity.

Sandhya	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was edited by Brahmabandhab Upadhyay.</li> <li>• When its editor was put up for trial, he refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the British court and died in the midst of his trial in October, 1907.</li> </ul>
Yugantar (1906)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was a milestone in revolutionary politics. It had a brief span of life but undoubtedly it was the most influential paper of revolutionary thoughts and action.</li> <li>• Aurobindo Ghosh was associated with the paper from the very beginning.</li> <li>• In a series of articles, the Yugantar set forth a complete scheme for achieving India's independence.</li> <li>• The Yugantar had a tremendous appeal to the Bengali educated youth of this generation.</li> </ul>
Bande Mataram (1907-08)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Started by Bipin Chandra Pal and editor was Aurobindo Ghosh</li> <li>• It set complete and absolute independence as the goal of the country.</li> <li>• This paper intoxicated its readers as Aurobindo preached nationalism as a religion.</li> <li>• Unlike Sandhya, Nabashakti and Bandemataram which were formally committed to the doctrine of passive resistance, Yugantar was openly preached terrorism.</li> </ul>

A few groups existed in western Bengal but most of them were in Eastern Bengal. They undertook assassinations of colonial officials and ‘swadeshi dacoities’ to raise funds for their agitation.

- It was in 1902 that a number of **localised revolutionary groups** emerged in places like Midnapore and Calcutta.
  - In 1902, **Aurobindo** sent his younger brother **Barindra Kumar Ghosh** and **Jatirindranath Banerjee**, who was at that time a soldier in the Gaikwad's army in Bengal, to organise secret revolutionary societies in that Bengal.
    - In 1904, he tried to build up a revolutionary group in Calcutta himself.
- **Anushilan Samiti**
  - It was established in Calcutta in 1902 by **Satischandra Bose** with **barrister Pramathnath Mitra** as the President.
  - In 1903, Baroda group of revolutionaries led by Aurobindo was united with the Anushilan Samiti and Aurobindo himself became one of its Vice-Presidents.
  - Among the leaders of this Samiti we find Chittaranjan Das and **Sister Nivedita**, Nivedita inspired the revolutionaries by her writings and speeches and also distributed revolutionary literature among them from her private collection.
  - The idea behind the Anushilan Samiti was to organise and establish small centres involving the youth in different towns with an idea to take them ultimately to the villages. They were to be trained in all activities as a prelude to revolutionary actions.
    - It imparted to its members training in physical exercise, playing with the lathi and the sword.
    - It also arranged regular classes for them in history, economics political science and religion.
    - It encouraged its members to undertake relief work among the common people in times of natural calamities with the object of coming into close contact with the masses.



Barin Kumar Ghosh

- **Dacca Anushilan Samiti:**
  - In 1905, the year of the Partition of Bengal, the Anushilan Samiti established its branch in Dacca, under the leadership of **Pulinbehari Das**.
  - In course of time the Dacca-branch became more prominent
  - Pulin Bihari Das combined Hindu ritual vows with certain kind of spirit of self-sacrifice.

- **Maniktala group of Anushilan Samiti:**

- In 1907, **Barindra** Kumar Ghosh, along with **Bhupendra Nath Dutta** constituted their own inner group inside the Calcutta Anushilan Samiti. **Aurobindo** was also active here. **Hemchandra Kanungo** was expert in bomb-making.
- The chief aim of this centre was to train the youth in revolutionary ideology as well as in action programmes including bomb making and physical training, etc. They wanted to eliminate unpopular officials.

The first series of **revolutionary activities** were committed in Bengal during 1907-8.

- In December 1907, the train carrying **Andrew Fraser**, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal was de-railed near Midnapore. But the attempt to blow up the train failed.
- An attempt was made on the life of the **Mayor of Chandernagore** who had earlier stopped a Swadeshi meeting on 11 April 1907. It also failed.
- An unsuccessful attempt was made on the life of **Mr. Allen**, formerly the District Judge of Dacca.
- On April 30, 1908, came the **Muzaffarpur murders**
  - A bomb was thrown on the carriage of Mr. **Kingsford**, district judge of Muzaffarpur in Bihar, who had earlier meted out harsh treatment to Swadeshi agitators as the chief Judicial Magistrate of Calcutta. However, Mr Kingsford remained unhurt and two ladies **Mrs and Ms Kennedy** were killed.
  - **Khudiram Bose** was arrested tried and hanged while **Prafulla Chaki** shot himself dead when he was going to be arrested.
- Within two days of this incident, the entire group was unearthed which led to arrest of both Aurobindo and Barindra and many other leading revolutionaries (about 38). They were tried for waging war against the King, which is known as **Muraripukur Conspiracy (Manicktolla Bomb Conspiracy or Alipore Bomb case)**
  - Ultimately 15 persons were found guilty and sentenced to transportation for life and Kanailal and Satyendranath Bose were hanged. It included Barindra Kumar Ghosh and Ullaskar Dutt who were sentenced to death by hanging (later commuted to life imprisonment). Aurobindo himself was acquitted.



## Punjab

- In 1904, some young men of the Saharanpur district had formed a secret revolutionary society and taken a pledge to lay down their lives if necessary for the emancipation of their motherland. These people were soon joined by three men – **Lala Hardayal, Ajit Singh** and **Sufi Ambaprasad**, People connected with Arya Samaj were also in the forefront of the revolutionary activities. Secret arrangements were made for distribution of revolutionary literature.
- The **growing agrarian discontent** in the Punjab also helped to spread revolutionary ideas. Taking advantage of this agrarian discontent, the revolutionary leaders tried to inflame the passions of the people of the Punjab.
  - Revolutionary ideas were preached even amongst the tribes of the **north-western frontier region**.
- The **Swadeshi Movement** in Bengal gave a great impetus to the extremist activities in the Punjab and they kept themselves in close touch with the Bengali revolutionaries. Rasbehari Bose became a link between the revolutionaries of Punjab, Bengal, UP and Delhi.
- **1907 Incidence**
  - In 1907, on the eve of the 50th anniversary of the Great Revolt of 1857, Punjabi, a paper edited by Lala Lajpat Rai was prosecuted, which led to riots in Rawalpindi and even some Europeans in Lahore were assaulted. The government believed that these riots had been instigated by Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh. The two leaders were deported from the province after which the revolutionary activities in the province declined.
- In 1909, there was a steady flow of revolutionary literature into the Punjab from outside India. **Bhai Paramananda**, another revolutionary leader of the Punjab was arrested and prosecuted by the government.
- **Lala Hardayal** soon went to the United States and established the Ghadar Party.

## North India

- In U.P. two revolutionary papers the **Swarajya** and the **Karmayogin** were started in 1907, but both were banned by the authorities.
- Rebuilding of revolutionary network in post-Swadeshi years
  - In 1908-9, some of the Bengali youths of Benaras, started the **Benaras Anushilan Samity** (later renamed as **Young Men's Association** to avoid suspicion) under the leadership of **Sachindranath Sanyal**.
  - **Rashbehari Bose** (1885-1945) was associated with the Benaras group of revolutionaries.



- In 1912, an **attempt on the life of Lord Hardinge**, the Indian Viceroy, was made in Delhi by Bose and Basant Biswas, though in vain.
  - Rasbihari and Sanyal escaped but 5 people were arrested in **Delhi Conspiracy Case** and 4 were hanged.
- In 1914, Rashbehari Bose, Sachin Sanyal and others became involved in a **widespread conspiracy to start a series of armed uprisings involving the Indian sepoys** in different cities of North India. The conspiracy however, proved to be abortive and Rashbehari fled to Japan to evade arrest.

### Madras

- A secret revolutionary society was set up in Pondicherry which sought to impart military training to its leaders.
- First political assassination in Madras happened in 1909. **Vanchi Aiyer** of Pondicherry group shot dead Mr. Ashe, the district Magistrate of Trinnevelly on 17 June 1909, who had an anti-people image. Soon the **Trinnevelly Conspiracy Case** was launched and nine persons were convicted.

### Outside India

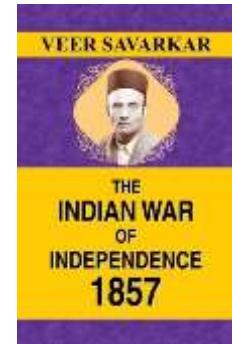
#### **London**

- The earliest centre of revolutionary activities outside India was in England itself.
- **Shyamji, Krishnavarma**, a Barrister from Gujarat, who had settled down in England in 1897, started a revolutionary society called the **Indian Home Rule Society** (1905) and a journal called **The Indian Sociologist**.
- He also instituted six lectureships of rupees 1,000 each to attract Indian scholars who might like to visit England to preach the ideas of Indian nationalism. He thus assembled a band of Indian revolutionaries, including, **Lala Hardayal, V.D. Savarkar, MPT Acharya and Madanlal Dhingra**.
- Their activities soon attracted the attention of the British government.



India House, London

- The Times of London and some other British newspapers attracted the activities of these extremists in their columns.
- A member of the British House of Commons put a question before the Parliament enquiring whether the government intended to take any action against these people.
- Krishnavarma later moved to Paris. The leadership of the Indian house of London then passed to **Savarkar**.
  - Savarkar published his famous work titled **The First War of Indian Independence** dealing with the Great Revolt of 1857.
  - With him, the extremists began to practice **revolver-shooting** in a range near London.
- **Madanlal Dhingra**
  - He murder of **Curzon Wyllie**, the political Secretary of the Secretary of State for India, at a gathering of the Imperial Institute of London in 1909.
  - Dhingra, who was arrested on the spot was hanged after a trial.
  - Savarkar was arrested and sent back to India to face his trial in the Nasik Conspiracy Case.
- The activities of the Indian revolutionaries in London thus, came to an end.



## Paris

- Here the principal leader was **Madame Bhikaji Cama**, the Parsi lady from Bombay. She was joined by **Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, SR Rana** and **VVS Aiyer**. They started **Paris Indian Society**.
- **Activities:**
  - **Flag of Indian Independence** was raised by Bhikhaji Cama on 22 August 1907, at the International Socialist Conference in Stuttgart, Germany.
  - She started two journals: **Bande Mataram** and **Madan's Talwar** in Paris.
  - In 1910, Cama, along with **VVS Aiyer**, tried unsuccessfully to pick up Savarkar after he had been arrested by the French police.
  - Chatopadhyaya went to Berlin in 1914 to further revolutionary activities.



Sachindra Prasad Bose and Hemchandra Kanungo	Flag of India by Sister Nivedita (1906)	International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart in 1907 by Bhikaji Cama.	Flag Home Rule Movement adopted by Annie Besant and Tilak
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### United States and Canada:

A large number of Sikh peasants had migrated to USA in the area around the West Coast in the search of better opportunities, but were disappointed with the kind of treatment they received there.

Besides, they were greatly touched by the daring acts of the Indian revolutionaries.

- In 1907, **Ramanatha Puri** distributed **Circular-i-Azadi** in which he supported the Swadeshi movement. It was one of the first significant pieces of anticolonial propaganda circulated on the West Coast
- **Indo-American Society** with its journal **The Free Hindusthan**.
  - Established by a Bengali scholar **Tarakanath Das** with the assistance of some Bengalees and Sikhs who resided at that time in the United States.
  - Though centred in California, this Society had its branches in many American cities including New York and Chicago.
  - It received substantial **assistance from the Irish revolutionaries** who were active in the U.S.
  - The Society used to send revolutionary literature to India for circulation among the Indian sepoys.
- **Young Indian Association**
  - It sent arms and ammunitions to the Indian revolutionaries.
- **Gadar Party (1913)**
  - The most important organisation of the Indian revolutionaries in US.
  - In 1913 **Bhai Parmanand** together with **Sohan Singh Bhakna** and **Lala Hardayal** founded 'Gadar Party' Sohan Singh Bhakna was the president and Lala Hardayal was secretary.
  - The headquarters of the Ghadar Party located in San Francisco came to be known as '**Yugantar Ashram**'. The general aim of the party was to overthrow the British rule from Indian soil through armed rebellion.
  - The organisational structure of the party was quite democratic.



**Lala Hardayal:** Born and educated in Delhi, he went to London on a scholarship but soon became an associate of Shyamji Krishna Varma. He came back to India and soon sailed for USA, arriving there in 1911. For a while he taught at Stanford University but was soon dismissed. He later joined Hindi Association of America and through it got associated with the Ghadar Party. Subsequently, he became the secretary of the Ghadar Party.

- In November 1913 a **magazine 'Ghadar'** began to be published in Hindi, English, Urdu and Gurumukhi.
  - The first issue of its mission set the tone when it unequivocally declared, 'Today there begins... a war against the British Raj'.
  - The paper also tried to expose the misdeeds of the British Government.
  - Besides, it tried to inculcate a feeling of national unity and national respect among the Indian immigrants.
  - The paper also tried to impress upon the Indians that relentless battle will have to be fought against the British using all conceivable means including sabotage.
- Lala Hardayal left USA in 1914 to join Madam Cama in Switzerland and took over the editorship of her paper Bande Mataram. However, this did not weaken the pace of the work in USA. The work in USA was carried on with **Bhagwan Singh** as president and **Barkatullah** as vice-president.

## First World War (1914)

Indian Soldiers contributed a lot in this war. About 10 lakhs Indians were fighting and India incurred an expenditure of 13 crore. This was looked upon by the Indian revolutionaries as the godsend opportunity to work for the demise and dissolution of the British rule in India.

- Madam Cama – Paris
- Ajit Singh – parts of Europe

The Ghadar Party played a crucial role in our freedom struggle during the First World War period.

- **SS Kamagatamaru Incident (1914)**

- A person **Baba Gurdit Singh** decided to charter a ship carrying a large number of people from Singapore to Canada.
- On April 1, 1914, a ship departed from Hong Kong carrying Ghadar Party activists and Ghadar literature. It arrived in Vancouver on May 23, 1914, with 351 Sikhs and 21 Punjabi Mohammedans on board. However, the Canadian authorities refused to allow them to land in Canada, despite protracted negotiations. As a result, the ship began its return journey on July 23, 1914, and reached Hugli on September 27, 1914.
- The British Indian government organized a special train to transport the passengers directly to Punjab, intending to restrict their movements. However, the Sikhs declined to board the train and instead expressed their desire to march to Calcutta. A riot ensued, resulting in the deaths of several Sikhs.

- **Hindu-German Conspiracy**

- During World War, Berlin became one of the important centers of revolutionary activity and Indian revolutionaries were provided help by Germany. **Birendranath Chattopadhyaya** and **Abinash Chandra Bhattacharya** were active on the front of seeking German support.
- Germans thought of spreading discontent among the Indian soldiers fighting on behalf of the British and also tried to persuade the Indian Muslims not to lend any support to the British, as he was fighting against Turkey, the home of their Caliph.
- On 3 September 1914, a committee called, '**German Union of Friendly India**', was set up in Berlin with some of the Indians as its members. By September 1915, the **Berlin Committee** was reconstituted, and its membership became totally Indian.
  - **Champak Raman Pillai** was another member of the Berlin Committee. Earlier, he was active in Zurich in Switzerland and had set up the 'International Pro India Committee' and even published a paper called Pro-India.
  - Lala Hardayal also became its member.

- The Berlin Committee tried to establish contact with all Indian revolutionaries working in India and abroad. The main aim was to work for general uprising in India with the help of foreign arms and materials.
- **Zimerman Plan:**
  - Indian revolutionaries in Europe sent missions to Baghdad, Persia, Turkey and Kabul to work among Indian troops and the Indian prisoners of war (POWs) and to incite anti-British feelings among the people of these countries.
  - In 1915 **Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh** together with **Barkatullah** and **Obaidulla Sindhi** set up the **first independent provisional government** in **Kabul** and tried to seek German help.

- **February Plot**

- Ghadar party tried to induce and send a large number of Indians with high motivation, to work for the revolution in India. Instructions were given to them to work for the revolution in India. Their assignment was also to induce the Indian army to revolt against the British.
- A booklet, the '**Ghadar di Gunj**' (the echo of mutiny) was printed and freely distributed among the aspiring revolutionaries. It contained detailed instructions as to how to work for the Indian revolution.
- One of the important local contact persons was Rasbehari Bose, who was the main co-ordinator of all revolutionary activities in north India. Rasbehari Bose coordinated with Sanyal in these revolutionary activities.
- They successfully contacted the Indian soldiers located in different cantonments like Danapur, Meerut, Jallandhar, Ambala, Ferozpur, and Rawalpindi, etc.
- 21 February 1915 was fixed and, on this date, important government institutions and centres from Peshawar to Chittagong were to be attacked. The basic idea was to repeat 1857 with mass revolts. As the British were caught up with the first world war would not be able to respond. Smaller revolts would take place in various Indian regiments across the world and Indian communities and various parts of the world will also join in.
- But the plan was disclosed, and the government suppressed it heavily. Rasbehari Bose pretended to be Tagore's cousin and he escaped to Japan where he would spend the next several decades. Sachandra sanyal would be captured and then be sent off to kalapani. Many of the others would be captured and also sent to kalapani or hanged or killed in gun fights.
- Other than in Singapore where the local Indian regiment did revolt and hold Singapore for a week most of the regiments did not actually revolt and so that whole thing broke down. (**Singapore Mutiny 1915** was crushed in a fierce battle)

- **Jatin Mukherjee** in Bengal tried to get arms from outside, but the conspiracy failed, and he was killed in a police encounter. (1915)



### Andaman Cellular Jail

Many of these revolutionaries, from both generations were shipped off to Andaman Cellular Jail. They were kept in extremely harsh and horrible conditions and British innovated various torture techniques.

- Many of them being literally worked to death on running the oil mill (oil press). They would be literally tied to it and made to go round and round in the heat till they collapsed from exhaustion.
- Extreme amount of torture would lead many of them tried to commit suicide.
- Some of them like Ulhaskar Dutt were subjected to multiple electric shocks and went mad.
- Sachin Sanyal was the only revolutionary to be sent to Andaman twice.



## Assessment

### **Limitations:**

What did the revolutionaries actually achieve? They could neither free the country nor could they create a mass movement.

### Reasons for the failure of Revolutionary Movement:

- The secret societies did not have access to common people. They failed to forge horizontal alliances with other people's organisations.
- The method of Pistol and bomb could not produce permanent effects.
- Some scholars also allege that these revolutionaries weakened the secular social fabric of the country on account of their Hindu religious fervour.
- There was not proper co-ordination between revolutionaries of Bengal and those of Europe. There was no central command, and the attempts remained scattered across continents.
- During first World War U.S.A. allied itself to Britain and so the revolutionaries in U.S.A. had to leave the place.

Ultimately, revolutionaries were isolated, hunted out and killed or suffered imprisonment. The government was able to control their activities and their work remains stray incidents of personal courage and indomitable will.

### **Contribution:**

- The Revolutionary sacrifice brought immense pressure on mainstream nationalism. Because of this, radicalism increased in Congress movement also with passage of time. They took the freedom struggle to a higher plane by setting the goal of complete and total independence.
- Inspiration
  - a. They set a **high standard** of sacrifice, which any nation can take pride in. They put before Indian people the example of extra ordinary sacrifice.
  - b. They created and added a religious fervour to our national struggle, which inspired the **next generation** of freedom fighters.
  - c. Revolutionaries provided **alternative methods** to those nationalism who were not satisfied with main stream struggle of congress against British Rule.
  - d. After the disintegration of extremist movement, some vacuum was created in Indian politics. The revolutionary nationalists tried to fill it up.
- Nationalism
  - a. They gave us the **dignity** of being a human being.
  - b. Revolutionaries contributed to the spread of nationalism in **native states**. On many occasions, the revolutionaries used to escape to native states after executing operations in British India. During their stay, they spread the feeling of nationalism.

- Some tangible outcomes
  - a. They also provided immediate relief to common masses by assassinating many in popular officials.
    - i. In 1909 Anant Lakshman Kanhare assassinated Mr. Jackson, the unpopular DM of Nasik.
    - ii. Vanchi Ayyer and Neelkanth Brahamachari assassinated Rober Ashe in 1911, unpopular DM of Trinavelli.
  - b. They created a fear among the British officials, who had to think twice before taking harsh measures.
  - c. Besides, by involving extreme suffering, they exposed the cruel and ruthless nature of the British rule making it unpopular among the people.
  - d. Their death-defying and daring acts forced the British to make constitutional concessions to the people.
- The contribution of **women revolutionaries** was also remarkable
  - a. Madan Bhikaji Kama was prominent revolutionary
  - b. Preetilata Vadddedar and Kalpana Dutt
  - c. In 1932, Bina Das fired at governor of Bengal.

Jodi tor dak shune keu na ashe tobe ekla cholo re.  
Tobe ekla cholo, ekla cholo, ekla cholo, ekla cholo re.

*If none will come at your call, Walk alone  
If they cower mutely facing the wall Open thy mind and speak out alone.  
If in this stormy night, in the rain and dark All shut their doors,  
If no one holds a lamp for you Let your breast be riven by thunder fire, yet walk alone.*

RABINDRANATH TAGORE

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 30: Indian Politics during WW1**

Nikhil Sheth

**Home Rule Movement**

*'India is like a son who had grown up and attained maturity. It is right now that the trustee or the father should give him what was his due.'*

Lokmanya Tilak

*"India demands Home Rule for two reasons first, because freedom is the birth-right of every nation, second, because her most important interests are now made subservient to the interest of the British Empire without her consent, and her resources are not actualised for her greatest needs."*

Annie Besant

Home rule movement was launched in 1916 by nationalist leaders to intensify anti-colonial struggle and pressurized British to grant self-rule to India. Its name and inspiration came from Irish Home Rule movement, and it was an important landmark in the pre-Gandhian era of our national struggle.

In 1916, two parallel movements of Home Rule were launched.

<b>Beginning</b>	<b>Leaders</b>	<b>HQ</b>	<b>Area of operation</b>
April 1916	Lokmanya Tilak	Pune	Central province and Berar, Maharashtra (except Bombay), North. Karnataka
September 1916	Annie Besant, George Arundale, Ramaswamy Aiyer, BP Wadia	Adyar	Rest of India

**Background:**

- Reaction to the colonial character of the British rule
- WW1
  - The policy of repression and suppression: Normal law of land was replaced by Defense of India Act (1915). Whatever little liberty was there with people was also taken away. Also, economic hardship due to WW1 when articles of daily use were diverted abroad for war efforts.
  - The War also gave a big fillip to the feeling of nationalism all over the world, including in India. The allied powers claimed they were fighting for high-sounding ideas like liberty, democracy, and the principle of self-determination, which aroused unprecedented hopes in India well.
- It was almost a decade since the launching of a mass movement and a new political activism was necessary to maintain the morale of the people.
- It was an opportune moment to unite Congress and create all India front.

- Tilak came back from Mandalay Jail in 1914 and wanted to secure the entry of the Extremists in the Congress.
- Annie Besant thought that a united Congress would be more effective and also ensure the entry of a younger generation to the national movement. Further, it would have a moderating impact on the Extremists and radicalising influence on the Moderates.
- Moreover, the War had given a real opportunity for a united national movement: the attack on Turkey had alienated the Muslims, who were already full of resentment against the British for the annulment of the Bengal partition in 1911.

Thus, without worrying about prevailing wartime condition, Tilak and Besant launched Home Rule Movement.

#### **Objectives:**

- Attainment of self-rule within British Empire.
- Convince British of mutual interest, need and urgency of self-ruled India would be better positioned to help in war efforts.
- Propagate and popularize idea of Home-Rule among the masses to build up mass base for anti-British struggle.

#### **Methods:**

- It was a peaceful **constitutional movement**.
  - Emphasis was on **educational** rather than agitational, and **conciliatory** rather than confrontationist methods.
  - Strategy was based on unity and all-inclusiveness rather than on divisiveness, differentiation and sectarianism.
  - Tilak and Besant didn't want to create any difficulty for British war efforts.
- Use of newspapers and journals to spread ideas and mobilise people, especially in vernacular language to get closer to people.
  - Tilak:
    - Maratha and Kesari
    - Printed pamphlets in Marathi, Kannada, Gujarati and English - explaining the need for the Home Rule Movement. The popularity of his literature could be gauged by the fact that 47,000 copies of these pamphlets were sold.
  - Besant: New India and Commonweal.
- Hundreds of Home Rule League branches were opened in India to mobilise the masses for future movement. Tilak and Besant organised discussion groups, reading rooms in cities, sale of pamphlets in large numbers, lecture tours, organised classes for students on politics, organised social work, organized home rule rallies, took part in local government and collected funds.
- The **Lucknow Congress** gave a big boost to the Home Rule Movement.

- Even some of the **Moderate leaders** in UP and Maharashtra joined as volunteers, going on lecture tours and bringing pamphlets in favour of the movement. What was more, even the members of **Gokhale's Servants of India Society** joined the movement.

### **British Response:**

When the Home Rule Movement started gathering momentum, the British were alarmed, though the movement was peaceful and lawful.

- Despite being peaceful, British government used all possible means to suppress the nationalist activity.
- The provisions of Newspaper Act (1908) and Indian press Act (1910) were used to check the nationalist propaganda through newspapers/journals.
- The provisions of Defense of India Act (1915) were used strictly to check the rallies and marches.
- In 1916, the government asked Tilak to furnish a surety of Rs. 60,000 and threatened to bind him for good behaviour for a period of one year.
- In 1917, Annie Besant was put under house arrest to prevent her involvement in nationalist activities.
  - a. This infuriated even those leaders who had earlier kept away from the movement. A nationwide protest movement was launched, in which prominent leaders like Jinnah, Surendranath Banerjea, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, M R Jayakar, Tej Bahadur Sapru, CR Das and others participated to show their solidarity with Annie Besant.
  - b. Tilak advocated passive resistance to get her released. There was almost a national upsurge in her favour.
  - c. Sir S Subramaniya Iyer, Honorary President of All India Home Rule League, renounced his Knighthood.
  - d. All this sent a stern message to the government and Annie Besant was freed in September 1917.
  - e. She gained unprecedented popularity and was elected Congress President in 1917 at the initiative of Tilak.

### **Impact/Significance:**

Despite limitations, the movement certainly took the country further on the road to self-government.

- It infused new energy in anti-British struggle. The atmosphere of political passivism prevailing was transformed into political activism.
- It provided an opportunity for the masses to express discontent.
- It widened the mass base of anti-British struggle because it was organized all over India.
  - Annie Besant's League had 200 branches spread in major parts of the country, with a total membership of 27,000 and Tilak's League had 32,000 members by 1918.

- Home Rule Movement reached out to new areas, new groups, and new generations, which in itself was no mean achievement. Major centres of the movement were located in Maharashtra, Madras, UP, Sindh and Gujarat.
- More than three lakh copies of pamphlets, pleading for home rule, in different languages, were sold.
- Annie Besant was excommunicated from Central Provinces and Berar during November 1916 and Tilak was excommunicated from Punjab and Delhi during February 1917. All this speaks volumes for the effectiveness of the movement.
- It allowed the extremists to regain their mass base.
  - This paved the way for the re-entry of extremist in Lucknow Congress (1916).
  - Soon, it eclipsed the moderate leaders completely and allowed the extremists leaders to establish their control over congress.
    - In 1917 Calcutta session, Besant was elected as Congress president. She was the first woman president of the Congress.

1917	Calcutta	Annie Besant
1925	Kanpur	Sarojini Naidu
1933	Calcutta	Nellie Sengupta

- It brought immense pressure on the government and forced the government to modify its policy towards India. On **20 Aug 1917** an announcement by **Lord Montague** (SoS) made an announcement declaring that the ultimate object of ongoing reforms in India is to grant dominion status and transplanting British parliamentary institutions. (August Declaration)
  - He promised an "*increasing association of Indians in every branch of administration and gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the Empire*"
  - As the Government of India's dispatch to the secretary of state in November 1916 argued, this should be offered gradually, in keeping with the **rate of diffusion** of education, resolution of religious differences and acquisition of political experience.
  - Although there was no immediate promise of 'self-government', nor was there any end of British empire, still his declaration was certainly a distinct improvement on the Act of 1909.
  - In this way the British government accepted India will attain Home Rule in future.
  - Also, swaraj was no longer considered a radical/revolutionary demand hereafter.

#### **End of Home Rule Movement:**

- Montagu's declaration of August 1917, in a way, dampened the spirit of the Home Rule Movement.
  - **Moderates** went with the government in support of new constitutional reforms and even **Annie Besant** virtually turned into a "loyalist". **Tilak** neither rejected the new proposals nor displayed any extra enthusiasm about them. As such, the Home Rule Movement lost its initial momentum.

- There was a gradual emergence of Mahatma Gandhi as a mass leader in his own right.
- New situation with the issue of Khilafat demanded a new approach, a set of new national priorities and programmes, a new leadership. As such, the Home Rule movement was pushed to the background.

## Lucknow Pact

*"It has been said, gentlemen, by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brethren. I am sure I represent the sense of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded too much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammedan community only... I would not care if those rights are granted to any section of the Indian community... When we have to fight against a third party — it is a very important thing that we stand on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of political creed."*

Lokmanya Tilak

The Congress-League joint scheme, better known as the Lucknow Pact (1916), was one of the major landmarks in the history of the Hindu-Muslim relationship.

### **Background:**

The change in the leadership of both the Congress and Muslim League brought the two Parties closer.

- **Within Congress**

- **Moderates**

- Their hopes were dashed and they were disappointed by the limited reforms under the 1909 Act.
    - Two of its stalwarts, **Gokhale** and **Pherozeshah Mehta** had passed away in 1915 and others had lost their dynamism on account of advancing age.

- **Extremists**

- **Tilak** had re-entered the national politics in 1914 and keen to ensure entry into Congress.

- **Bombay Congress (1915)**, presided over by SP Sinha

- Passed a resolution demanding substantial measures of constitutional reforms, giving the people effective control over their governance.
    - Authorized the All-India Congress Committee to work jointly with the All-India Muslim League to evolve a scheme on constitutional reforms.
    - Partially opened the door for the re-entry of the Extremists in the Congress by making suitable changes in its constitution.

- **Annie Besant** who had joined the Congress in 1914, and waned to re-active almost-defunct Congress. She brought a new dynamism and wanted a reunited national movement to take India on the road of 'Home Rule'.

- **Within Muslim League**

- **Increasing estrangement with British**

- **Annulment of the partition of Bengal in 1911** had dampened the pro-British enthusiasm.
    - **Government's refusal to set-up a University at Aligarh.**
    - British move against the **Sultan/Caliph of Turkey** further alienated them and created anti-British feelings.

- Newly emerging leadership in the Muslim League transcended the sectarian outlook and was inspired by a broader vision of the national movement.
  - It was no longer controlled by the Zamindars but came under the control of 'Young Party' which was both Nationalist and progressive.
  - Jinnah was emerging as a leader of the League and was committed to work for self-government for the people of India. On the initiative of Jinnah and others, the **constitution of the Muslim League was amended in 1913**, committing the League to the **goal of achieving self-government** under the aegis of the British crown.
- Repercussion of the **First World War**
  - Widespread appreciation of heroic deeds of Indian soldiers fighting on the European front. In the words of Annie Besant, *India would look for the liberty for her people as a 'matter of right and not as a reward for loyalty'*.

The annual session of the Congress party was held in December 1916 at Lucknow. Muslim League's annual session was also held at the same venue. Separately they passed the same resolution, popularly known as the Lucknow Pact. Its **first part** was related with the political interests of Muslims in India, whereas its **second part** was related with general reforms for India.

**Main features** of the agreement:

- Congress accepted the provision of Separate Electorate for Muslims, given through Indian Council Act of 1909. This was earlier opposed by the Congress.
- The total strength of the **Imperial Legislative** Council shall be 150, out of which, 120 would be elected members: **30% would be Muslims** – would come from separate electorates.
- Muslims should be represented through **special electorates** in the **Provincial Legislative** Councils in the following proportion of the total number of the elected members:
  - Punjab: 50%
  - United Province: 30%
  - Bengal: 40%
  - Bihar: 25%
  - Central Province: 15%
  - Madras: 15%
  - Bombay: 33%
- In both Imperial or Provincial councils, **no bill or resolution** or any clause thereof, introduced by a non-official member, affecting one or the other community, shall proceed **if opposed by three-fourth of the members of that community.**

The following were other major demands put forward under the Pact:

- A constitutional status for India **like that of 'self-governing colonies.'** (dominion status)
- The council of the **Secretary of State should be abolished.**
- **Democratization** of the central as well as provincial legislative councils: **80% members should be elected** on the basis of as wide a franchise as possible.

- At least 50% members of the Central as well as Provincial Executive Councils to be elected by their respective Legislative Councils. Thus, **subordination of the executive to the legislature** was to be ensured through the Legislative Councils.
- Except army and External Affairs, the Legislative Council should have control over all departments.
- **Autonomy for the Provincial Government**
- Grant of full measure of local self-government

#### Criticism:

- The Congress conceded the **separate electorate system** for the Muslims.
  - Most of the Congress and League leaders were happy with this Pact except a few. **Madan Mohan Malaviya opposed the Pact** and believed that the Hindus have yielded too much to the Muslims.
  - Long-term pernicious implications for the unity of the country and evolution of nationalism. It encouraged the Muslims to be very conscious of their minority status and in all subsequent constitutional developments, the communal representation remained a constant theme on the part of the Muslims.
- The provision that no bill or resolution would be passed if opposed by three-fourth of the community being affected, virtually gave a **veto-power to the Muslims**.
- The **Congress hope** that the united front created at Lucknow would **force the British Government** to concede self-government to India **proved illusory**. On the contrary, the Government of India took advantage of this agreement and introduced **separate electorates** in more accentuated form in the Act of 1919, under the plea that Lucknow agreement had endorsed it.
- The **Hindu-Muslim bonhomie thus created had no popular basis**, as witnessed in Moplah rebellion during NCM or 1923-24 communal riots across the country.

In the long run the Lucknow Pact adversely impacted the national movement. Besides, it gave a handle to the British to pursue their policy of divide and rule more vigorously.

## Montford Reforms, Act of 1909

On August 20, 1917, Montagu, the Secretary of State, declared in House of Commons that British policy in India, would be the gradual development of self-governing institutes with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. It was a clear shift in the British policy. (**August Declaration**)

In 1917 Edwin Montagu came to India and embarked on a fact-finding tour. He was accompanied by the Viceroy, Lord Chelmsford. The following year, the two issued a report on Indian Constitutional Reforms. This is known as the **Montagu-Chelmsford or Montford Report**. On the basis of this Report the Government of India Act of 1919 was passed.

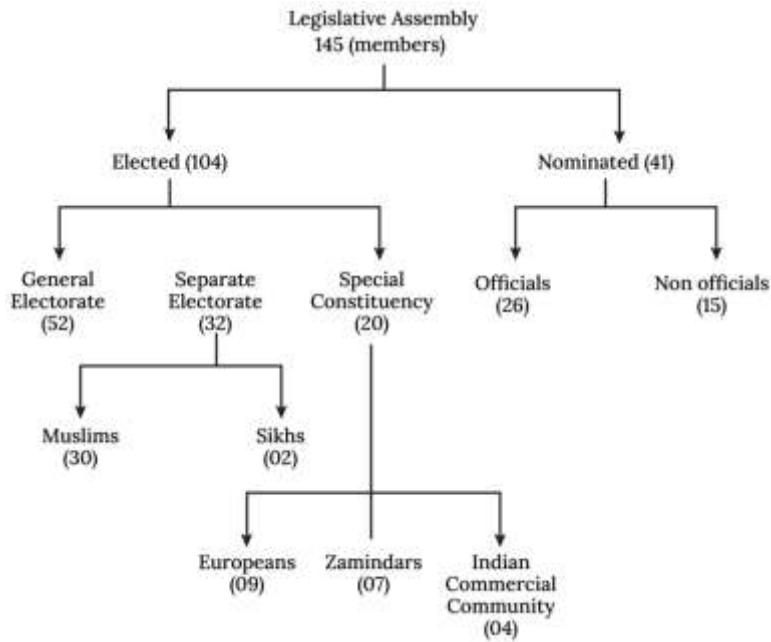
### **Preamble:**

- To create progressively responsible government in India is the objective of British Government.
- India would remain an integral part of the British Empire.
- To develop self-governing institutions, increase the involvement of Indians in the administration.
- The British Parliament would decide the progress and timing of self-government.

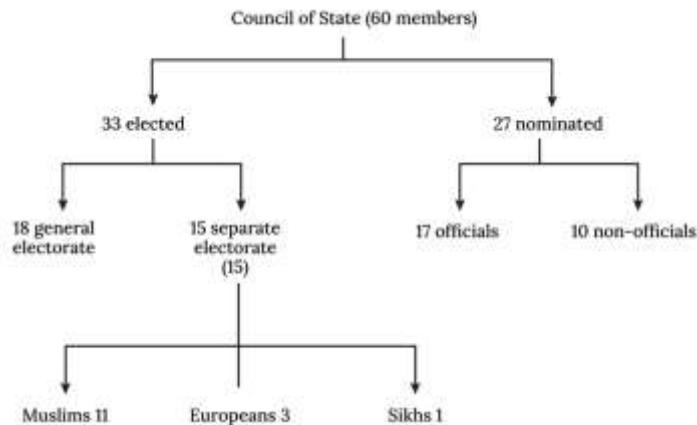
### **Provisions:**

- **Home Government**
  - a. The cost of Indian house (SoS) shall be paid by British government/exchequer.
  - b. **Office of Indian High Commissioner** was created in London to represent Gol.
- **Gol: Central government:**
  - a. Min 3 out of 8 members of **GG executive council** shall be Indian.
  - b. **Central and Provincial Lists**
    - i. Administrative matters were divided between central and provincial government by creating two lists: Centre and Provincial lists.
      1. Central List Included subjects that were of national importance or that were related to more than one province, such as foreign affairs, defense, political affairs, Post & Telegraph, public debt, communications, civil and criminal law and procedure, etc.
      2. Provincial List Those subjects of local importance such as education, health, local self-government, land revenue administration, water supply, famine relief, law and order, agriculture, etc.
    - ii. But the Central Government had unrestricted control over the provincial governments.
    - iii. The act separated, for the first time, provincial budgets from the Central budget and authorised the provincial legislatures to enact their budgets.
  - c. **Bicameral legislature** was created at center
    - i. **Central legislative assembly:** First Chamber

1. President of the House to be nominated by the Viceroy;



ii. Council of states: The second chamber.



iii. The Council of State had a tenure of 5 years, while the Central Legislative Assembly had a tenure of 3 years.

d. Power of the legislature: **The Act of 1919 introduced responsive if not responsible government at the centre.**

- i. The members were allowed to ask questions of public importance and supplementary areas. They also enjoyed the right and freedom of speech.
- ii. It could legislate for entire British India for both Indian Subjects and Government's employees. It could repeal or amend any law already existing in the country.
- iii. Some items of the Budget were subject to a vote of the Assembly, others were open for discussion, and some could not even be discussed.
- iv. On certain issues like amendment or repeal of a law, foreign relations, relations with the Indian states, defence and religion, previous sanction of the Governor General was required for the introduction of a bill.

- v. The Governor General's assent was essential for the enactment of law passed by the legislature. He could also promulgate Ordinance, which could last for six months.
- vi. The Legislature could not move no-confidence motion against the Executive, still the Executive did respond to the wishes of the Legislature.
- vii. Some of the members of the House were made member of Public Accounts and Finance committee, where they got opportunity to influence the Governmental policy.

- **Provinces:**

- a. Executive
  - i. Governor with the help of his council of ministers.
  - ii. Ministers were to be appointed by the Governor from among the elected members of legislative council.
- b. Provincial Legislative Councils were enlarged, and the majority of their members were to be elected.

Province	Elected Members	Officials	Nominated non-officials	Total
Bengal	114	16	10	140
Madras	98	11	23	132
United Provinces	100	17	6	123
Bombay	86	19	9	114
Bihar and Orissa	76	15	12	103
Punjab	71	15	8	94
Central Provinces	55	10	8	73
Assam	39	7	7	53
North-West Frontier Province	39	7	7	53

- c. The provincial governments were given more powers under the **system of dyarchy**.

- i. Subjects of provincial administration were divided into Reserved category and Transferred category.

Category	Subjects	Administration
Reserved Subjects	Subjects of greater administrative significance such as justice, police, land revenue, finance and budget, prisons, educations of Anglo-Indians, famine relief, pensions, mines, irrigation and waterways, criminals tribes, factories, gas, electricity, labour, welfare, industrial disputes, minor ports (major ports were with the centre), public services and motor vehicle.	Administered by Governor with the help of his executive councilors appointed by him.
Transferred Subjects	Subjects having comparatively less significance such as education of Indians, public work, public health and sanitation, medical relief, LSG bodies, agriculture, cooperative societies, fisheries, excise, veterinary department, industries, weights	Administered by the Governor with the advice of ministers appointed by him from

	and measures, control of entertainment, museum, libraries, religion and charitable endowment.	the elected members of the Legislature.
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- **Elections and Franchise**

- a. For the first time, **direct elections** were introduced but the franchise was extremely limited. The majority of members of both the Houses were chosen by direct election.
- b. Though women were not granted voting rights, nor the right to stand in elections, the Government of India Act 1919 **allowed Provincial Councils to determine if women could vote**, provided they met stringent property, income, or educational levels.

- **Other Provisions**

- a. Provided establishment of public service commission.
  - i. Hence a **Central Public Service Commission was set up in 1926** for recruiting civil servants.
- b. Provision for Review of 1919 Act after 10 years which led to formation of Simon Commission in 1927.

**Assessment:**

- The reform was definitely an improvement over the Act of 1909, as its main theme was elected majority in the provinces with executive responsibility. But, like 1909, the reform of 1919 was undertaken with the purpose of perpetuating the British Indian Empire
- It left many important issues for the Nationalists to debate and to launch their attack on the Government. These were:
  - Absence of a responsible Government;
  - Introduction of dyarchy;
  - Expansion and consolidation of separate electorate.

**Assessment of Dyarchy:**

Merits	Demerits
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduced parliamentary from the government for the first time in India.</li> <li>• It was a major step in direction of greater association of Indians with the task of governance because matters of immediate local significance were handed over to Indian ministers.</li> <li>• Dyarchy allowed Indians to gain experience about ministerial responsibility. This experience came</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The system of collective responsibility of ministers was absent. Ministers were individually responsible to Governor and LC.</li> <li>• All significant matters were kept in the reserved category.</li> <li>• The division of subjects was irrational and hence unworkable. E.g. irrigation was placed in reserved but agriculture in transferred. In such a situation coordination became difficult.</li> </ul>

<p>handy in future when greater powers were devolved to Indians.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Under the Indian ministers, some of the far reaching measures were taken such as enactment of Madras State Aid to Industries Act, 1923, the Bombay Primary Education act, the Bihar and Orissa village administration Act, the Bombay local boards act, 1923, etc.</li> <li>Dyarchy paved the way for introduction of provincial autonomy in future.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>There was no proper division of resources. Most income yielding subjects were placed in the reserved category.</li> <li>The civil servants were kept under the control of the executive council.</li> </ul>
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- Other issues:
  - Limited franchise based on property, tax and education.
  - At the Centre, the legislature had no control over the Governor-General and his Executive Council.
- A **special session of the Congress** held in **Bombay in 1918** condemned the scheme as 'inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing'.
  - The **moderates** **boycotted** the special Bombay session of the Congress, and soon they found themselves excluded from the body which they had dominated at one time.
- A major theme of Gandhi's non-cooperation programme launched in December 1920 was the boycott of the new councils. Gandhian philosophy was based on a critique of Western civil society; the mass movement he engineered had an altogether different logic, as his mission was to liberate Indian politics from this constricted arena of constitutionalism.

**Handout 31: Mahatma Gandhi: The Early Phase**

Nikhil Sheth

*"India gave us a Mohandas, we gave them a Mahatma"*

A popular South African refrain.

**Gandhi in South Africa**

Gandhi's career began in South Africa in 1893, as a 24-year-old Barrister. Gandhi's trip to South Africa was to transform his career. Gandhi was the first Indian Barrister, to have come to South Africa.

Young Gandhi landed at Durban in 1893. His journey from Durban to Pretoria was very eventful. It consisted of a series of racial humiliations, including the famous railway incident.

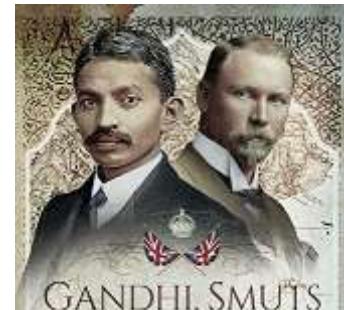
At this stage, Gandhi had no plan to live in South Africa for a long time. After his job in South Africa was over, on the eve of his departure, he raised the issue of the **Bill to disenfranchise the Indians** which was about to be passed by the Natal Legislature. The Indians in South Africa requested Gandhi to extend his stay for a period of one month to organise a protest, draft petitions and to lead the movement. Gandhi agreed to stay on for a period of one month but eventually he had to extend his stay for a period of twenty years.



Two phases of Gandhi's political activities in South Africa

**Phase 1: Moderate Phase (1893/4-1906)**

- During this phase, the Indians under Gandhi's leadership concentrated on petitioning and sending memorials to the South African Legislature, the Colonial Secretary in London and the British Parliament.
  - The **Natal Indian Congress (NIC)** was formed on May 22, 1894 by Mahatma Gandhi to fight discrimination against Indian traders in Natal.
  - Gandhi drew a petition which was signed by 10,000 Indians and submitted it to the Secretary of State for Colonies in London.
  - **1904: Phoenix Ashram** was established near Durban, **Indian Opinion** newspaper was started by Gandhi.
- This was the method, which he continued to believe in till 1905, and hoped that racial discrimination would end.





## Phase 2: Satyagraha Phase (1906-15)

The movement was taken to another level with the campaign of passive resistance. It is in this phase that Gandhi applied **Satyagraha** as a method of political struggle for the first time in his life. **Tolstoy Farm** was created in 1910 in Transvaal which served as the headquarter of the Satyagraha movement.

Issues:

- Against Transvaal Ordinance (1906) on compulsory registration and passes for Indians
- Against Immigration Restrictions (1913)
- Against de-recognition of non-Christian Indian marriage (1913)
- Against £3 tax on ex-indentured labourers (kind of poll tax)

It was massive in dimension. Gandhi and his followers had to bear with the brutal repression of the Government. Prosecutions, deportations and economic pressures, however, could not crush the movement.

In the course of his struggle against racialism in South Africa, Gandhi had developed his philosophy of action – **Satyagraha**.

Its two major elements were truth and non-violence. Satyagraha aims at conflict resolution with the means of peaceful resistance, applied right from personal to international levels. He defined it to be soul-force, or love-force, the force, which is born of truth and non-violence.

Gandhi was well-read and studied the deeply inspiring philosophies in the **Bhagvad Gita**. He also delved into the philosophies of **Jainism, Buddha, Jesus Christ, Tolstoy, Thoreau and RW Emerson**. Though he was deeply inspired by them, he evolved his own method of struggle.

Accordingly:

- **Satya:** The Satyagrahi would *refuse to submit to whatever he considered to be wrong.*
  - It is an idea of pledge of resistance to an unjust law, with God as witness, and with no fear of consequences.
- **Ahimsa:** Satyagrahi would remain peaceful under all provocations.
  - Gandhi opposed Violence on two fundamental philosophical bases:
    - Violence stems from the conviction that the perpetrators of violence are right, or that they know the truth. The search for truth has always been the goal of human life, but no one could ever be sure of having attained the ultimate truth.

Four pillars of Satyagraha:

- Absolute truth
- Absolute love
- Absolute discipline
- Absolute justice

- Gandhi argued that those who hurt others assault their own integrity. Others are us in a different form.
- Root cause analysis:
  - He classified violence into passive and physical forms.
  - As long as we continue to ignore the root of violence, physical violence will continue in the world. Anger is the root of violence passive and physical. It is a powerful emotion. Gandhi wanted anger to be used as 'energy' – constructively
- Means-End Relationship
  - For Gandhi, the 'means' was as important as the 'end'. He maintained that it was not the winning of a demand that was important but how it was won.
- **To change the mind and heart** of the opponent through **self-suffering**: He would resist evil but would not hate the evil doer.
  - He would vindicate truth not by inflicting suffering on the opponent but by *accepting suffering himself*. He hoped thereby to *arouse the conscience of the wrong-doer*.
- The Satyagrahi **differed from the passive resister**, for he gave up violence not for expediency but as a matter of principle. Passive resistance, Gandhi said, was a weapon of the weak while Satyagraha was the weapon of the strong.
- **Civil resistance was an integral part of Satyagraha.**
  - Civil resistance might be offered in various ways such as peaceful violation of specific laws, mass courting arrests, hartal, demonstration, picketing, marches, fasting, prayer, spinning etc. But they must be completely non-violent and there should be no element of coercion in it.
  - Disciplined cadres were trained in his ashrams.
- Satyagraha provided the unarmed people with a new weapon of struggle. It is a non-violent alternative to a violent struggle against oppression, exploitation and injustice.

### Comment on Gandhi's work in South Africa:

Before his return to India in 1915, some of the issues had been resolved, partly due to Gandhi's Satyagraha and partly due to international pressure. However, racial discrimination had not ended. Thus, Gandhi's work did not provide an enduring solution for the Indian question in South Africa. Rather, after his time in South Africa, the legalized system of racism called Apartheid was to emerge in 1940s in much more brutal form.

**What Gandhi did to South Africa was, however, less important than what South Africa did to him.**

- **South Africa became a sort of laboratory** for Gandhi to evolve the techniques of Satyagraha and style of leadership, at smaller scale which would be later implemented at a much larger scale in India and on much bigger issues.
- Gandhi found that the masses have immense capacity to sacrifice for a moral cause.
- **Leader of Indians:** The issues in South Africa involved different classes and religious groups of Indian origin Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Gujaratis, South Indians, upper class merchants, lawyers, mine workers, etc. Thus, outside India, Gandhi represented a large section of Indians. He was able to **unite** them under his leadership.
- During the struggle for Indian independence, on many occasions, he derived **inspiration from his experience** in South Africa. He came to know that at times the leaders have to take **tough decisions** which would be unpopular with the followers.
- He had seen the **ups and downs** of the Satyagraha Movement in South Africa and therefore, was never frustrated by the ebb and flow of the freedom movement in India.
- The exposure he got in South Africa prepared him for the leadership of the Indian national struggle.
  - His personality underwent a crucial change in South Africa. The shy, timid and introvert Mohan Das was transformed into an **extrovert and dynamic personality**.
  - He found his **purpose in life**.
  - It was in South Africa that his **indoctrination in nationalism** was confirmed.



## Gandhi's Return to India

Gandhi arrived in India on **January 9, 1915**

When Gandhi landed at Bombay, Indian political life was at a low ebb. However, on the advice of Gokhale, Gandhi decided that for the time being, he could not take a public stand on any political issue. He instead travelled different parts of India, met many people and tried to understand the situation from various perspectives.



### **The Early Satyagrahas in India**

Ever since Gandhi's entry into Indian public life there had been numerous applications of Satyagraha. During 1917-18 he experimented with it in Champaran in Bihar and in Ahmedabad and Kheda in Gujarat.

#### **(1) Champaran (peasant movement 1917)**

- The peasants of Champaran in North Bihar were growing indigo under tinkathia system (3/20th of their holding for indigo cultivation) and were being cheated and exploited by the English planters.
- When **Rajkumar Shukla**, the local peasant leader at Champaran, invited Gandhi, he wanted to study the situation and meet the peasant.
  - The Commissioner of Champaran ordered Gandhi to immediately leave the district. Gandhi, who never tolerated injustice, refused and was ready for the consequences. He was stopped at Motihari, arrested and sent up for trial. Gandhi told the local magistrate that he had deliberately violated the law in obedience to the voice of his conscience. The magistrate sent him to prison.
- The Government was not in a mood to make Gandhi a hero by arresting him, so they decided to allow him to proceed with his enquiry. But he had already become a hero of the people, the moment he refused to leave Champaran.
- At Champaran, he started recording the statements of the peasants to make sure that they were giving correct information.
- Finally, the government had to appoint an enquiry committee, of which Gandhi was also a member.
  - This committee accepted as valid most of the complaints of the peasants.
  - It put an **end to the tinkathia system** by the **Champaran Agrarian Act of 1917**.
  - It announced that peasants were to be compensated for the illegal enhancement of their dues. Gandhi told the planters to refund only 25% of the money they had taken illegally from the peasants.



- Young nationalists like **Rajendraprasad, Mahadev Desai, Narhari Parikh and J.B. Kripalani** worked with Gandhi at Champaran.

## (2) Ahmadabad (industrial labour, 1918)

- Gandhi took up his first workers' movement for the cotton mill workers of Ahmedabad over the question of a 'Plague bonus'.
  - The employers wanted to withdraw the bonus once the epidemic had passed but the workers insisted it to stay because of the rise in the cost of living during the war.
- Due to the persuasion made by Gandhi, the mill owners and the workers agreed for arbitration by a tribunal, but the mill owners breached the agreement. Gandhi advised the workers to go on strike and demanded 35% increase in wages.
- Gandhi addressed the workers every day and brought out a daily news bulletin. In order to persuade all the workers to join the movement Gandhi went on a door-to-door campaign. When the workers seemed to have lost hope, to inspire them he also went on a fast, *his first in India*, to rally the workers and to strengthen their resolve to continue.
- It attracted such wide all-India attention that afraid of the consequences, the mill owners came under tremendous pressure, they agreed to submit the whole issue to a tribunal, which awarded a 35% increase in the wages.

## (3) Kheda (peasant movement, 1918)

- In 1918, the Kheda district of Gujarat was hit by a severe draught. The local cultivators felt that the land revenue demanded suspension/remission of land revenue on that particular year as per rules.
- Gandhi offered the peasants to organise Satyagraha.
  - **Vallabhbhai Patel, Mohanlal Pandya and Indulal Yagnik**, joined Gandhi in touring the villages.
  - The peasants demonstrated a striking solidarity by refusing to pay revenue. Even those who could afford to pay the revenue declined to do so as a matter of principle.
- The Government was eventually forced to yield ground and arrive at a settlement with the peasants.

These Satyagrahas had important consequences.

- Demonstrated Gandhi's style and method of practice. It helped Gandhi to study the real problems of the people, the strengths and weakness of the masses.
- Brought Gandhi into close contact with the masses.
  - Previously, the national movement had been elitist in character, but with the emergence of Gandhi the masses became active participants in the movement.
  - Gandhi's simple habits and simple appearance impressed the people who took him to their hearts at once.

## Factors Responsible for the Rise of Gandhi

- The **success of his South African experiments** had already transformed Gandhiji into national hero. Because of this the process of rise of Gandhiji leadership in India was extremely rapid.
- **Political condition in India**
  - When Gandhi arrived in India there was a need for nationalism to grow into a more broad-based movement. Even Nehru admitted that political situation in India during the war and immediately after the war was **dull**.
  - **Leadership vacuum:** by 1919-1920, many of the prominent nationalist leaders were no more. The leadership vacuum also facilitated the rapid rise of Gandhi.
    - Gokhale, Mehta and Naoroji had left this world.
    - On 1<sup>st</sup> August 1920, Lokmanya Tilak also passed away.
  - By 1919-1920 both the moderates and extremists had lost their mass appeal. Because of this the Indian nationalists were looking for new leadership.
  - In 1919-1920, an **extremely volatile environment** was prevailing in India.
    - Indians supported the British wholeheartedly in war efforts, but the reward of this co-operation came in the form of **Rowlatt act and Jallianwala Bagh massacre**.
  - There was an urgency on the part of the leaders to present a person who'd be somewhat different, untainted by any political involvement in India and also capable of developing certain ideas which the Indian followers would be find it easier to follow. During this hour of crisis Gandhi jumped to the front to lead the masses.
- **Nature of Gandhian movement:** Gandhian movement attracted lakhs of common Indians and even the commonest of Indian could participate in struggle against the British Empire.
- **The early success** of Champaran satyagraha (1917), Ahmedabad Mill satyagraha (1918) and Kheda satyagraha (1918) convinced the masses of the efficacy of Gandhian methods and thus the masses reposed full faith in his leadership.
- **Role of Gandhi's Personality:** Gandhi was *a living saint*.
  - This consistency of the words and actions of Gandhi left a deep impact on the heart and mind of common masses.
  - Gandhian simplicity was magnetic, it attracted lakhs of Indian towards him.
  - Gandhiji was a man of strong convictions. He had firm faith in the strength and capacity of the masses.

All these factors together pulled the masses towards Gandhi, and he emerged as the undisputed supreme leader of the anti-British struggle.



## Features of Gandhian movement





*"Satyagraha is the power of the powerless."*

- Stephen Biko

## Handout 32: Khilafat and Non-cooperation Movement (NCM)

"Where God commands, I am a Muslim first, a Muslim second and a Muslim last, and nothing but a Muslim. But where India's freedom is concerned, where welfare of India is concerned, I am an Indian first, an Indian second and an Indian last and nothing but an Indian."

Muhammad Ali

"The fight that was commenced in 1920 is a fight to the finish, whether it lasts one month or one year or many months or many years."

Mahatma Gandhi

In the long list of anti-British movements, the **NCM was the first major pan-India struggle**. Started on the 1<sup>st</sup> August 1920, it carried the active anti-British struggle to new heights. The year 1920 is very significant in the history of India's freedom struggle. In that year **Gandhi emerged as the undisputed leader of the Indian National Congress** and the decision to launch a non-violent non-cooperation movement against the British rule was taken. It was a **crucial new departure from the policy of petition and prayer**, earlier pursued by the elitist early Congress.

NCM was **initially started by Khilafat committee** under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, while Congress joined the struggle later at later point of time and both movements merged.

### Background

A new political situation was created by the **First World War**.

- The First World war gave a **tremendous impetus to nationalism** all over Asia and Africa. Nationalism gathered its forces, and the nationalists were expecting major political gains after the war.
- During the war, **Indians provided resources** and manpower to the British Empire in the hope of self-government after the war. **However, the Montague-Chelmsford reforms (1919) were found to be wholly inadequate.**
- The **economic situation took a turn for the worse**: The economy was hit by a post-war global depression. All sections of Indian society were suffering from economic hardship.
  - The **prices** of essential commodities skyrocketed.
  - The **workers** had no job and they lived in great poverty.
  - The **peasants**, groaning under poverty and high land revenue, also felt the pressure.
  - The Indian **industrialists** were very unhappy as they demanded protection for their industries through high tariff and government aid.
  - The **educated** middle class too, was struggling hard against the problem of unemployment.

Thus, The stage was now set for a broad-based movement.

### Rowlatt Acts (1919) and the Rowlatt Satyagraha

The colonial rulers followed a **dual policy of conciliation** (Montagu Chelmsford Reforms) and **repression** (Rowlatt Acts) to cope with the growing pressure of the national movement.

- **Rowlatt Acts (Feb 1919)**

- The Acts allowed certain political **cases to be tried without juries and permitted detention without trial**. Their object was to replace the repressive provisions of the wartime Defense of India Act (1915) by a permanent law.
  - Based on the report of Justice S.A.T. Rowlatt's committee of 1918.
- These Acts were passed in the Imperial legislative council even **though every single non-official Indian member opposed it**.
  - The British Indian Government was determined to arm itself with more coercive powers. They curtailed the civil liberties of the Indians in the name of crackdown on terrorist violence.

- **Sparked off a movement of protest**

- The Rowlatt Act was taken as a great **blow to the honour of the Indian nation**.
  - At the end of the war, while Indians were expecting substantial constitutional concessions, all they got was the Rowlatt Acts. The Act gave immense power to the police, and naturally created panic.
- Almost **all political parties opposed** Rowlatt Act. Even moderates like Surendranath Banerjee recorded their reservations about the Act. Jinnah, Madanmohan Malavia and others resigned from the legislative council in protest against the Rowlatt Act.
- To launch a strong movement against the measure, a **Satyagraha Sabha** was formed under the leadership of **Gandhi**.
  - Gandhi became its president, used the members of Home Rule League, as they were not satisfied with Annie Besant and Tilak had gone to England. Gandhi also used Pan-Islamic group like Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal (Lucknow), Ali brothers, Wazir Hasan, Raja of Mahmudabad, Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, etc.
  - The Satyagraha Sabha published propaganda literature and collected signatures for a Satyagraha pledge. Gandhi toured Bombay, Delhi, Allahabad, Lucknow and a number of South Indian cities between March and early April.
  - Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha took India's struggle for freedom to a new height. The Satyagraha Sabha **decided to stage civil disobedience movement** in India. It urged the nationalists to participate in processions, meetings, demonstrations and court arrest. On March 30, 1919 Gandhi called for a nationwide strike, however, the date was later changed to **April 6<sup>th</sup>**. This was the **first all-India hartal/strike**.

- The following instructions were issued for Satyagrahis:
  - The signatories are of the opinion that the Rowlatt Bill is unjust and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals. The signatory solemnly affirms that he will **refuse civilly to disobey** certain laws.
  - The Satyagrahi will, during the struggle, fearlessly adhere to **truth and ahimsa** (non-violence) and will never misrepresent anything or hurt anybody's feelings.
- However, many Nationalists, especially members of the Imperial Legislative Council though opposed Rowlatt Act but were **firmly against Satyagraha**. They were: D.E. Wacha, Surendranath Banerji, Tej Bahadur Sapru, and Srinivas Sastri. But the wind was blowing in the other direction, especially **in Punjab where Rowlatt Satyagraha was most effective**.
  - The reasons were:
    - Unrest in Punjab caused by food grain **price rise** of 100% between 1917 and 1919, while **artisan wages** went up only by 20-25%
    - A **Muslim awakening** that was inspired by poetry of Zafar Ali Khan (father of Urdu Journalism) and Iqbal (Sare Jahan se Achha)
    - Activities of the **Arya Samajists**.
    - **Hindu, Muslim and Sikh unity**
  - The people responded to his call in an unprecedented way and in their exuberance certain violent acts in Delhi, Lahore and Amritsar were committed.
  - The period saw **police firing, severe coercion and brutal crackdown** on the activists. The authorities were alarmed, and they appealed to Gandhi for cooperation.
  - Gandhi was arrested on April 9, 1919, and protest processions were taken out, which were fired upon in Amritsar resulting in the death of some people.
- The movement reached its **climax in the Jallianwala Bagh** massacre on April 13, 1919.
  - On the day of **Baisakhi** (harvest festival) thousands of people, mostly from nearby villages had gathered at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar to celebrate their harvest festival (April 13, 1919). Most of the people were unaware of the fact that the city was under curfew. Some leaders and their followers also gathered in the same Bagh to protest against the arrest of their leader **Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew and Dr. Satyapal Malik**.
  - General Dyer, who was in-charge of the operations, had issued an order prohibiting meetings and demonstrations. He took it as a violation of his order and directed his troops to open fire. **No warning** was issued to the unarmed, peaceful and unsuspecting crowd before the shooting. The Government estimate showed **379 deaths**, other estimates were higher.
- The brutality of massacre at Jallianwala Bagh shocked the nation and **Gandhi decided to call the movement off** on April 18, 1909. Gandhi confessed that it was his 'Himalayan blunder' and observed a three-day fast to atone his blunder.

- The massacre exposed the true nature of a colonial rule. It was condemned worldwide.
    - Rabindranath **Tagore returned his knighthood** to condemn this assault on humanity.
  - Not satisfied with that, **martial law** was declared in Amritsar and indiscriminate flogging and firing followed. At some places, people were even asked to **crawl like reptiles**. This was the greatest insult to the honour, dignity and self-respect of the people. This further alienated the people and in fact infuriated them.
  - Despite so much bloodshed and protest the British Indian Government did not care to repeal the Rowlatt Act.
- **Significance**
    - The Rowlatt Act **destroyed the moral foundations** of the British Empire in India. The movement is particularly important because it strengthened the determination of the Indian nationalists to fight back. It **boosted the self-confidence of a nation in the making**. Herein lies the importance of the movement.
    - The movement **established Gandhi as the most important Indian political leader**. The failure to get Rowlatt Acts abolished made Gandhi realise the need for an impersonal political organisation such as the Congress. His next step was to take over Congress leadership.

## Khilafat Movement

The Khilafat agitation was launched in 1920 over the question of the future of Turkey which was a defeated power in the War. It marked the highest watermark in the entire history of Hindu-Muslim unity during the anti-colonial struggle.

### **Historical Background**

The Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa or the Supreme head of the Sunni Muslims of the World. As the religious head, the caliph was also to look after Muslim religious places located in Arabia. Therefore, the political future of the Khalifa became a matter of grave concern to such Muslims in India.

Several major political developments occurred during the second decade of the twentieth century, which laid down the foundation, as well as shaped the course, of the Khilafat movement.

- **First World War:** Turkey joined the war against the Allied powers.
  - **Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister, gave an assurance** to the Indian Muslims that the British Government was not fighting against Turkey in order to deprive her of the territories that rightly belonged to the Sultan.
- **Post-War settlement:** The Ottoman empire suffered a major defeat in the war.
  - The fear gripped the Indian Muslims about the impending dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, Muslim religious places to be taken away from the purview of the Caliph and even his own status would be adversely affected.
  - To put pressure on the English, French and Americans, the Khilafat movement was launched in many Muslim countries and thus became a Pan-Islamic movement.
- In India, this led to the formation of the **Khilafat Committee** in March 1919.
  - **Leaders:** Ali brothers-Maulana Mohammad Ali Jauhar and his elder brother Shaukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, etc
  - There were two groups:
    - Bombay Group: favoured memoranda and delegation to press for its demands.
    - Delhi Group led by the Ali Brothers: favoured agitational methods.
  - The Khilafat Committee chose **Gandhi as the President** and urged the Indian Muslims not to take part in the victory celebrations of the First World War.
  - The Committee threatened the British Government with complete boycott and non-cooperation if the problem of Turkey was not solved.
- In **Delhi meeting (Nov 1919)** of **All India Khilafat Conference**, the Khilafat Committee reached a consensus on launching all India **Civil Disobedience Movement**. The agitation was to be launched in November 1919 under the leadership of Gandhi.
- **Why did Gandhi take up the Khilafat cause?**
  - After the withdrawal of the Rowlatt Satyagraha, Gandhi got involved in the Khilafat Movement, in which he saw a **splendid opportunity to unite the Hindus and Muslims in a common struggle** against the British.
  - Gandhi was convinced that the Khilafat cause was a right cause and that the Muslim demand was a **just demand**.
  - He had a **soft corner in his heart for the Ali Brothers**, Maulana Muhammad Ali and Maulana Saukat Ali. Both were imprisoned when the movement started.

- Gandhiji's **perception of the British rule changed** due to Rowlatt Act and Jallianwala Bagh Massacre.
- In a surcharged political environment that the **Amritsar Congress** met in **December 1919**.
  - President – Motilal Nehru
  - The Amritsar Congress, despite finding the reforms as 'unsatisfactory' and 'inadequate', expressed its willingness to give a trial to it.
  - It was decided between the leaders of the Congress and the Khilafat Committee that the Khilafat agitation would be continued under Gandhi's leadership.
  - It was further decided that a delegation would be sent to the Indian Viceroy to impress upon him the justness of the Khilafat cause.
- **Mohammad Ali presented a charter of demand before the diplomats in Paris in March 1920.** The demands were:
  - The Turkish Khalifa must retain control over the Muslim sacred places.
  - The Khalifa must be left with sufficient territory to enable him to defend the Islamic faith, and
  - The Jazirat-Ul Arab (Arabia, Syria, Iraq, Palestine) must remain under the Muslim sovereignty.
- **Two major developments took place in May 1920**, which added further fuel to the fire: acceptance of the Hunter Committee Report and publication of terms of the Treaty of Sevres.
  - **Hunter Committee Report**
    - It was setup by the government to enquire into the Punjab massacre, under pressure.
    - The Congress, not satisfied with the terms of reference of the committee, had set up its own enquiry committee. It found the Jallianwala Bagh massacre as nothing but **well-calculated, and cold-blooded murder of innocent**. It demanded **adequate compensation** for the families of the dead and the wounded.
    - **But the Government** ignored this report and accepted the majority view of the Hunter Committee, in May 1920. It **exonerated all officials** involved in the massacre.
    - The majority observations
      - The Government **defended General Dyer's brutal acts as an error of judgment** and Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the Governor of Punjab, was allowed to go totally scot free.
      - An English newspaper of England 'The Morning Post' even collected fund to defend General Dyer.
      - The Upper House of British Parliament-House of Lord praised General Dyer.
    - That sealed the fate of any rapprochement between the government and the people of India.
  - **Treaty of Sèvres: Ottoman Empire was to be divided.**
    - It was to lose the entire rich area of Asia Minor.
    - The Arab Provinces such as Palestine, Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Egypt were severed from the empire which were in the Turkish Empire were to be mandated territory under the British and French tutelage.

- Sultan was to be deprived of the leadership of the Muslim masses. He was to become a virtual prisoner of the Allied High Commission.
- The coincidence of the acceptance of the Hunter Committee Report and the publication of the Treaty of Sèvres turned out to be the **proverbial last straw on the back** of both Gandhiji and the Muslim leadership led by the Ali brothers. It **turned Gandhiji from being a loyalist to a non-cooperator**, as he himself admitted in the course of his trial in 1922. Gandhi issued a statement on May 18, 1920 on behalf of the Khilafat Committee in which he called upon the disappointed Muslims to launch a non-violent movement on the two issues of the **Khilafat wrong** and the **Punjab wrong**.
- The **Khilafat committee** met in **Allahabad** in **June 1920** to chalk out a **plan for non-cooperation on an All-India basis**.
  - It decided upon a fourfold boycott programme.
    - Boycott of the **titles** offered by the government.
    - Boycott of **civil service, army and police**.
    - Boycott of **schools and colleges**.
    - Boycott of **law courts**.
  - This virtually amounted to **total non-cooperation with the Government**.
  - This meeting was attended by many of the Congress leadership including Gandhiji. They extended their unstinted support to the Khilafat proposals. **Gandhi insisted that the movement must be non-violent in character**, and no one should be forced to join the agitation.
- The Khilafat Committee started the mass movement on August 1, 1920, and made Mahatma Gandhi their leader (same day as NCM). Gandhiji got the Congress Working Committee to extend support to the non-cooperation movement on three issues: **Punjab wrongs, Khilafat wrong** and the **Swaraj**. He followed it up by successfully seeking support for the same from the **Calcutta and the Nagpur Congress**.

### The Course of the Khilafat Movement

- A **deputation** under the leadership of Dr Ansari called on the **Governor-General** to apprise him of the hurt feelings of the Muslims but nothing came out of it.
- **Ali brothers** went to **England** and other countries to seek support for the cause of Khilafat, but they returned empty-handed.
- In **UP**, some Muslims took it as a general revolt against the authority, taking Khilafat in its literal sense of opposition.
- **Millennial hopes** were aroused among Muslims.
- In **Malabar**, the Moplahs indulged in violence against the Hindu zamindars.
- In June 1920, about 20,000 Muslims, tried to do **hijrat** by leaving India en masse and migrating to Afghanistan in anger against the government.

Soon, the Khilafat Movement became a part of the Non-Cooperation Movement and along with Gandhiji, the Ali brothers emerged as prominent leaders of the movement. However, after the withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement by Gandhiji, on 11 February 1922, the Khilafat Movement also lost its initial momentum.

What gave it a big blow was the new leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha in Turkey who abolished the office of Caliph. Thus, the very basis of the movement was taken away and the movement died a natural death.

## Non-Cooperation Movement

### **Causes:**

- The deteriorating **economic conditions** in the post-war period had generated a ground swell of anti-government feeling.
- Popular discontent were three immediate issues: **Khilafat wrongs, Punjab massacre** and '**inadequate' nature of the reforms** under the Act of 1919.
- Publication of the **Treaty of Sevres** with Turkey and acceptance of **Hunter Committee report** precipitated the issue.
- The **Khilafat Movement** was already on.

### **Launch of the movement:**

**Banaras meeting** of AICC (June 1920) it was also decided to seek the opinions of the provincial Congress committees on the sensitive issue of non-cooperation.

- Though there was general support in favour of non-cooperation among the provincial committees, but there was some reservation on the issue of the boycott of the Council election which was getting due under the 1919 Act.
- Gandhiji made it amply clear that he favoured launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

When **Gandhiji had approached Tilak**, seeking his support on the issue of satyagraha, Tilak was *sceptical about its efficacy, though he did not oppose it*. Besides, Tilak was not very enthusiastic on the issue of support to the Muslims on the Khilafat issue, and he passed away on 1 August 1920.

As decided earlier, the Non-Cooperation Movement was **formally launched on 1 August 1920**. Many fasted in the memory of Tilak and participated in the demonstrations and hartal as a part of the movement.

### **Calcutta Special Session of Congress (Sept 1920):**

- President: Lala Lajpat Rai
- It was with this mixed bag of support:
  - Leaders like C.R.Das, Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipan Chandra Pal did not agree with the idea of boycott, especially of Councils.
  - Only Motilal Nehru, among veterans supported Gandhi.
- But Gandhiji was determined to pursue his line of action even in the face of the old guard's opposition. Mahatma agreed that by the adoption of Non-cooperation resolution, **Swaraj might be attained within a year**.
- Finally, Gandhi's resolution on non-cooperation was passed. **Gandhi succeeded in getting his resolution, favouring the launching of the Non-Cooperation Movement**, passed with a massive majority: 1886 delegates favoured his resolution while only 884 opposed it.
  - The Congress favoured **seven forms of boycott**, namely, (1) boycott of titles and honorary offices, etc.; (2) boycott of the official and semi-official functions held by the government; (3) boycott of schools and colleges; (4) boycott of legal courts; (5) boycott of recruitment for service in Mesopotamia; (6) boycott of the Council's election and also boycott of voting, and (7) boycott of foreign goods.
  - As an integral part of the Calcutta resolution on non-cooperation, there was also a **programme of constructive work**. It included promotion of Swadeshi (national

system of education, private arbitration courts, swadeshi goods, and hand-spinning and hand-weaving of clothes), removal of untouchability and promotion of Hindu-Muslim unity.

In pursuance of the Calcutta conference, there was a **general boycott of the Council's election held in November 1920**, both at the candidates as well as on the voters' levels.

#### **Annual Nagpur Session of Congress (Dec 1920)**

- **President: C. Vijayaraghavachariar**
- Gandhiji gained further support, even from among the old guard of the Congress.
  - Both CR Das and Lala Lajpat Rai, who had earlier opposed the non-cooperation resolution at the Calcutta Congress, lent unstinted support to it.
- Change in **goal and means** of Congress.
  - Its earlier goal of the '**attainment of self-government by constitutional means**' was replaced by the '**attainment of swaraj by peaceful and legitimate means**'.
  - Now, non-violent satyagraha, as an extra-constitutional means of mass struggle, came to be accepted as the legitimate method.
  - Thus, the Nagpur Congress **endorsed the program for non-cooperation** (ratified the Calcutta resolution) and the general dissociation from the Government at various levels along with the non-payment of taxes.
  - Gandhi declared that if the non-cooperation programme was implemented completely, **swaraj would be ushered in within a year**.
- **Restructuring Congress's organisation:**
  - Formation of the **15-member working committee** to look after the day-to-day work of the organisation;
  - Set up an **All India Congress Committee (AICC)** with 350 members;
  - Re-organisation of the **Congress Provincial Committees on a linguistic basis**;
  - The organisation of the Congress to be built at **village, town, tehsil and district levels**, along with the provincial and national levels; and
  - the Congress was to launch a **membership programme with a symbolic fee of only four annas**. This was the first major attempt to reach out to the common man. Thus, Congress was made a mass-based organisation.

Thus, the Congress came very near to the Gandhian vision of the constructive and combative programmes and Mahatma Gandhi became its tallest leader.

#### **Course of the Non-Cooperation Movement**

##### **Initial phase**

Backed by the Nagpur Congress, the programme of non-cooperation soon gathered momentum. The people responded to the movement with a lot of enthusiasm.

- The **Council election** was successfully boycotted.
- **Titles and honours** were renounced on a massive scale.
- A number of prominent legal practitioners like Motilal Nehru, CR Das, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, C Rajagopalachari and a score of other legal **luminaries left their legal practice**.
- Several **institutions of national education** like Gujarat Vidyapeeth, Bihar Vidyapeeth, Kashi Vidyapeeth, Vishwa Bharati University by Tagore and National College, Lahore came

up to provide education to those young students who had earlier left their schools and colleges. Jamia Millia Islamia (first at Aligarh and later shifted to Delhi) was also established.

- Eminent persons like Subhas Chandra Bose, Acharya Narendra Dev, Rajendra Prasad, Dr Sampurnanand and others became teachers at these national institutions.

### Vijayawada Meeting

In the background of such a massive response to its non-cooperation programme, the All-India Congress Committee met at Vijayawada April 1921. AICC decided to concentrate its attention on the collection of the **Tilak Swaraj Fund**, securing a membership of one crore Congress members and distribution of 20 lakh charkhas by June 1921.

Once again there was a warm popular response to the Congress programme: The Tilak Swaraj Fund was oversubscribed, and 50 lakh Congress volunteers were enrolled.

### More Boycotts:

- **Boycott of foreign clothes was the most successful program of NCM.** From July 1921 onwards the attention of the Congress shifted to the boycott of foreign clothes. Clothes and other foreign (mainly English) goods were collected and burnt in public.
  - During this movement, Gandhi started wearing dhoti and shawl and earned the name 'naked fakir'. (22 September 1921, Madurai meeting, as his desire to identify with poor masses)
- Gandhi's **village development programme** was highly successful in Bihar mainly '**charkha**' and **khadi** programme.
- **Picketing of toddy shops** also became very popular which led to the decline of the Government revenues.

### Among Muslims

- July 1921 was marked by an important development. **Muhammad Ali was arrested** as he had made a declaration that Muslims could never accept the fact of working in the British Army as it was against their religion. His arrest by the government led to widespread protests, and a large number of the Congressmen repeated the same statement forcing the government to ignore the whole issue.
- **The Moplah Uprising**
  - Unfortunately, in August 1921, the Moplahs of the Malabar attempted to establish **Khilafat kingdom** which soon it took a **communal turn**, and in the process hundreds of Hindus were killed, or and their properties were looted, and many atrocities were perpetrated, including forced conversions to Islam. The number of forcible conversions went up to 2,500 and the death-toll among Hindus went up to 600.
  - Soon repressive measures by the government followed. Several Moplahs were killed, and a large number of them were wounded. At one stage 45,000 of them were being held as prisoners. Strong measures, ultimately, resulted in the control of the situation.

### Tribal participation:

- **The Tana Bhagat sect** of Chota Nagpur tribals boycotted liquor.

- The non-cooperation in **Rajasthan** was scattered and was related with the local peasant and tribal issues. The Bijolia movement in Mewar, the Bhil tribal movement under Motilal Tejawat and the Meos of Alwar who attacked police station in Gurgaon (December 1921) are a few examples.

#### **Peasant participation:**

- **No Tax Movement** was also started at many places like Midnapore (Bengal), Charala-Pirala and Pedanandipadu Taluqa (A.P). Peasants in many parts of Bihar and U.P refused to pay revenue. They believed that Gandhi Raj had come and there is no longer necessity to pay anything to anybody.
- Agrarian riots were organised in Rae Bareli, Pratapgarh, Faizabad, Sultanpur (January-March 1921) under the leadership of **Baba Ramchandra**.
- Madari Pasi in Hardoi, Bahraich, Bara Banki and Sitapur, led **Eka Movement**.
- Haats (local market) were looted at various places like Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Munger, and Purnea in January 1921. A powerful anti-zamindar peasant agitation in **Darbhanga estate**, was organised in 1920.
- Apart from peasants, nationalist leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, G.B.Pant, Lal Bahadur Shastri, Purshottam Das Tandon, and Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi were also active in U.P during Non-Cooperation Movement.

#### **Akali Movement:**

The Akali fight in Punjab against the corrupt Mahants and British officials over the Sikh Gurudwaras (Shrines) was part of the Non-Cooperation Movement.

- In November 1921, the British official refused to hand over the keys of the Golden Temple treasury to the Akalis. Thousands of Sikhs joined the Akalis and forced the British to hand over the keys and released the prisoners by mid-January 1922.
- The Akali struggle, however, continued till the Sikh Gurdwaras and Shrines Act of November 1925 established Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committees' (SGPC) control over the Gurudwaras.

#### **Further escalation:**

It was also decided to boycott the visit of the **Prince of Wales** in November 1921. During the visit, another unfortunate incident took place in Bombay between Christians and non-Christians.

All this convinced the Congress leadership that the country was not yet ready for mass civil disobedience. Thus, in November 1921, All India Congress Committee authorised the provincial committees to start civil disobedience on their own responsibility.

#### **Government Repression**

Soon the government changed its strategy and went whole-hog in the use of repressive measures. It declared the Congress and Khilafat works as unlawful activities. Congressmen responded to this challenge and many Congress workers and leaders like **CR Das, Maulana Azad, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, Jawaharlal Nehru and others were arrest** and were put behind bars. Altogether, 25,000 Congress and Khilafat workers were behind bars.

#### **Annual Congress, Ahmedabad, 1921**

- President: Hakim Ajmal Khan

- It was in such a surcharged atmosphere that the Congress met at Ahmedabad, and it called up its members to suspend all other activities and volunteer themselves for arrest. Mahatma Gandhi was made its sole executive and things started moving fast.

**Gandhi sent an ultimatum to the Viceroy** Reading on February 1, 1922, and demanded among other things, the release of political prisoners, and the removal of restrictions on the press. In case the demands were not met, he informed Viceroy that he intended to start civil disobedience in Bardoli in the form of non-payment of taxes.

Meanwhile, on 4/5 February 1922 an unfortunate incident occurred at **Chauri-Chaura** village in the district of Gorakhpur in eastern UP. Gandhi was shocked beyond measure by the unfortunate turn of events, and he withdrew the movement on 11 February 1922.

#### **Why did Gandhi withdraw the movement??**

- People have not learnt the method of Nonviolent protest fully** and without proper understanding the movement was turning violent as the incident like Chauri Chaura showed. A violent movement could be easily suppressed by the colonial regime.
- The movement was also **showing signs of fatigue**. This was natural as it is not possible to sustain any movement at a high pitch for very long.
- The central theme of the agitation—the **Khilafat question—also dissipated** soon, as Kemal Pasha abolished the system and a secular state was formed.
- Growing Hindu-Muslim divide** due to revolts like *Moplah* etc.

This withdrawal proved that at this stage Gandhi did not want to lead a movement which he could not control, and it also proved that the nationalists would heed Gandhi's call, for **though there were many who differed from him**, no one thought of defying his call for withdrawal. Subsequently, his decision was endorsed by the Congress Working Committee.

Soon after the withdrawal of the movement, Gandhi was arrested on 22 February 1922 and was put on trial on 18 March 1922. He pleaded guilty to all charges and was awarded six-years imprisonment.

#### **Criticisms of the Non-Cooperation Movement**

The Non-Cooperation Movement and its undisputed leader, Mahatma Gandhi, had been subjected to severe criticisms on various counts.

<b>Issue of Non-violence:</b> Gandhi's decision to withdraw the movement on 11 February 1922 in the wake of the violent incident of Chauri-Chaura	
<p>Thousands of young men and women, who had put everything at stake in this first major battle for Swaraj, were thoroughly disappointed. More so, as the leader (Gandhi) had earlier promised Swaraj within one year and the act of withdrawal came as a great anti-climax.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the tallest among our national leaders, called it a 'national calamity'. "<i>To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm</i></li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Some historians looked at it more as a <b>matter of strategy</b> rather than that of principles. In their view, the continuation of the movement, after it turned violent at Chauri Chaura, would have drawn sharp repressive measures from the government leading not to a decisive battle for Swaraj but futile sufferings, sacrifices and even demoralisation among the masses.</li> </ul>

<p><i>was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of a national calamity."</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>RP Dutt, a Marxist historian, looked at the issue of the withdrawal of the movement at the light of 'class interest' and not on the issue of violence.</li> <li>Even Jawaharlal Nehru expressed his 'amazement'.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>However, for Gandhiji it was not a matter of strategy As he himself put it '<i>I would suffer every humiliation, every torture, absolute ostracism and death itself to prevent the movement from becoming violent.</i>' Thus, for Gandhiji it was a <b>matter of principle</b> and not a matter of strategy.</li> </ul>
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#### **Issue of Muslim Communalism:** Mixing of religion and politics

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gandhi failed to realise that the Khilafat was an <b>extra-territorial issue</b> which cut at the very root of Indian nationality. By emphasising that the Khilafat cause was a just cause Gandhi admitted that the Indian Muslims belonged to a separate nation.</li> <li>Muslim leadership was primarily inspired by their <b>pan-Islamic sentiments rather than the felt-need of Indian nationalism</b>. It was a <b>tactical move</b> on their part to seek the support of When Khilafat became a non-issue in view of the abolition of the office of the Caliph by the Turkish leadership, Ali brothers and Maulana Abdul Bari fell out of the mainstream of the national movement and even became critical of Gandhian politics.</li> <li>It is argued that by lending support to the Khilafat Movement, Gandhiji unwittingly <b>lent undeserved respectability to Muslim communalism</b>, strengthened religious bigotry. During the movement, the services of mullahs and maulavis were used in a big way for the popular mobilisation of the Muslim obscurantist masses, leading to their consolidation based on Islamic religiosity. The forces, thus, unleashed by the Khilafat Movement retarded the growth of secular politics in India. It ultimately led to the partition of the country.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Gandhiji was working to lay the <b>foundation of a free, pluralistic and united India</b> and for that goal, a united national movement was the basic need. Both the Khilafat and the Non-Cooperation Movements should be viewed in that <b>larger Gandhian perspective</b>.</li> <li><b>Gandhiji was not the progenitor of the Khilafat Movement: he just lent his support to it.</b></li> <li><b>For Gandhiji, religion and politics were twins</b>, deriving strength from each other, rather than being mutually exclusive. His principle of sarvadharma samabhava hardly differed from a secular view of politics.</li> <li>For Gandhi, <b>Hindu-Muslim unity had always remained as an article of faith</b> since his South African days. He stuck to his faith till the end, which reached its apogee during the dark days of 1946-47. If the critics still persisted with their doubts about his secular credentials, his martyrdom completely vindicated him.</li> </ul>
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Despite these criticisms, the Non-Cooperation Movement undoubtedly made significant contributions to further the ends of our national movement. **Contributions of the NCM:**

It was the 1<sup>st</sup> great mass movement in the history of India's anti-British struggle and it transformed the very character of anti-British struggle. It was not greatly radicalized with swaraj as a goal and widened mass-base, it also led to adoption of Gandhian methods of struggle and establishment of Gandhi as the supreme leader. It erased the fear of British rule from the heart and minds of people because people could see helplessness of British in front of Gandhian methods.

- **Political front: Departure in several ways**

- It marked the **emergence of the Congress** as the most powerful political organisation in the country. It became the central focus of the Indian nationalist movement.
- Previously, some of the political activities of Gandhi had been carried on independently of the Congress organization. But from now on **Congress and Gandhi became identical** in popular imagination.
- Though the movement failed to achieve Swaraj, it generated a **feeling of freedom among the masses**.
- **Swaraj** became the battle-cry of the movement. Although it was not yet well-defined, it caught the imagination of even the common men and women.
- The Congress was now committed to **all peaceful and legitimate means** for the attainment of Swaraj. The people had an unprecedented sense of empowerment and even the lowliest of the low was now equipped with a new weapon of satyagraha.
- With the non-cooperation movement there was a significant **shift towards mass-politics**. It was a great stride forward in the **growth of political consciousness** of the Indian people. The workers in the towns and the peasants in the villages were affected by the movement.
  - This change in Congress was not liked by some of its aristocratic leaders. The split between the conservatives and the liberals was now complete. The liberals accepted office under the government, became ministers and tried to fight and crush the Congress agitation. They were completely cut off from the people and developed a habit of looking at problems from the official point of view.
- As the leaders of the old generation were fading out, the movement **gave a new band of leaders** who successfully led the country to independence in 1947. Leaders like C Rajagopalachari, Sardar Patel, Maulana Azad, Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Rajendra Prasad, Acharaya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, B C Roy, T Prakasam, Jawaharlal Nehru, Subhas Chandra Bose, G B Pant, were the products of the Non-Cooperation Movement. Some of them even played a crucial role in laying the foundation of a free and democratic India in the post-independence era.

- **Economic front: Quite spectacular**

- Considerable **boost to handloom and khadi industries**, which was a positive development, both in terms of income and employment generation.
- Sharp **decline in the import** of British goods.

- Paved the way for peoples-led **self-help programmes** like village reconstruction, village sanitation, and revival of handloom and khadi industries.
- **Social front**
  - Some of its programmes, like **Hindu-Muslim unity and eradication of untouchability**, were concerted attempts to strengthen the social fabric of the country, resulting in the emergence of a united national movement.
  - **Prohibition campaigns** brought many women in the national movement - a group that started participating in the national movement for the first time in a big way.
  - A remarkable spread of the national movement in geographical terms: **new regions and new linguistic groups** were brought into the national mainstream.
  - New social groups and classes like the **peasants, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and women** identified themselves with the national struggle.
  - **A number of local movements**, viz., Akali movement in Punjab, peasants movement in Midnapore in Bengal, Kanika in Orissa, Kheda in Gujarat, Gunter in Andhra, as well as the peasant movement in Awadh in UP and that of north Bihar also got integrated as part and parcel of the national movement. All these led to widening of the base of the national movement, both in spatial and social group terms.
  - The movement contributed significantly to the **liberation of women** because women participated in large numbers, and they fought shoulder to shoulder with their male counterpart. Indian women spontaneously came out from their homes to co-operate with the movement. In this connection, the names of Basanti Devi, Sarojini Naidu, Urmila Devi, Hemaprabha Majumdar and others deserve special mention. The social outlook towards women began to change after 1920.
- **Cultural front**
  - Several **institutions of national education** were founded, which became the mainstay of the national movement.
  - There was a **great cultural resurgence** in India: 'Indian-ness' became an idea, to have pride in. Thus, a new swadeshi spirit permeated throughout the length and breadth of the country.
  - The movement also attempted to build up a **bridge between the classes and masses**. Gandhiji started wearing only a loincloth during the movement. He became a symbol of peasant's simplicity, religious and spiritual humility, and political militancy--all these virtues blended in one.

**Handout 33: Swarajists, Simon Commission****Swarajists**

Ours is a purity movement, and as such is above diplomacy. To enter the Councils with the object of making them a failure is not only diplomacy, but it is also diplomat's duplicity which every non-cooperator should disdain.

Sardar Patel

The Council's entry is and can be thoroughly consistent with the principle of non-cooperation as we understand that principle to be.

CR Das and Motilal Nehru

The Swaraj Party was formed by leaders like Motilal Nehru, C.R Das and their supporters in 1923 to participate in forthcoming general elections that were scheduled to be held in 1923.

**Circumstances leading to the formation of Swaraj Party**

Swaraj Party was outcome of atmosphere of disillusionment post-NCM

- The sudden withdrawal of the Non-Cooperation Movement by Mahatma Gandhi, in the wake of the Chauri Chaura incident, created a crisis of confidence among the leaders of the movement.
- The arrest, trial, and imprisonment of Mahatma Gandhi for a period of six years further deepened the crisis.

The country was caught in a mood of despair and dilemma and was clouded with indecisiveness.

Serious strategic differences developed among the members of Congress over the issue of participation in forthcoming general elections. **Congress was divided on the issue of council-entry.**

	No Changers	Pro Changers
<b>Elections</b>	Favour of boycott of forthcoming elections as continuation of Gandhian policy of non-cooperation	Participate in elections to extend the Non-cooperation to the Legislature.
<b>Constructive Program</b>	Greater emphasis of constructive program among the people	Not opposed, but no fetish.
<b>Arguments</b>	(a) Legislative work would lead to the neglect of constructive work among the people. (b) Constructive work would prepare the organization and people for	The Council entry was needed: (a) To prove their popularity with the masses. (b) To wreck this citadel of bureaucracy from within. Thus, extension of non-cooperation.

	the next round of struggle in future	(c) Enthuse the masses, to keep up morale, during the political vacuum. (d) To deter govt from filling the councils with undesirable elements and get legitimacy to its rule.
<b>Leaders</b>	C Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Vallabhbhai Patel, MA Ansari, and S Kasturiranga Iyengar	Motilal Nehru, CR Das, Ajmal Khan and Vithalbhai Patel

The entire leadership got divided on the issue. The Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee, set up by the Congress in June 1922, and which submitted its report in October 1922, could not settle the issue. The Committee was evenly divided between two groups.

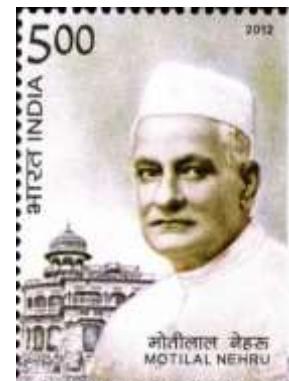
### Annual Congress Session at Gaya (Dec 1922)

President: CR Das

It was with such a divided house that the Congress met at Gaya. CR Das pleaded for the Council entry. But ultimately the no-changers led by C Rajagopalachari had their way. C Rajgopalachari became successful in getting the proposal accepted against the council entry. CR Das resigned from the office of the president of the Congress.

At this, Pro-changers formed Swaraj Party on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1923 to participate in coming elections. It was formally called as **The Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party**. C.R. Das was the President of the Party and Motilal Nehru was one of the secretaries.

They neither repudiated the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, nor did they go in for a total break up with the Congress. It accepted the Congress programme except in one respect-it decided to participate in council election. They did not repudiate the policy of non-cooperation in totality. CR Das in his presidential speech at Gaya had explained his stand that through the Council entry they wanted to extend the principle of non-cooperation to the councils and expose the sham character of the reforms from within and tear off 'the mask' from the face of the British 'steel frame'.



## The Aims and Objectives of the Swaraj Party

The party reiterated its faith in the basic political goal of the Congress: the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means. Like the Congress, Swaraj for them meant dominion status within the British empire.

But the Council Entry was an **extension of the principle of non-cooperation** to the very citadel of bureaucracy. Their policy had both constructive and destructive planks. They would work for 'ending' or 'mending' the Act of 1919.

- **Destructive side:** They promised to work for the rejection of all anti-people programmes, policies, budgets, and resolutions of the government with the ultimate objective of bringing the government machinery to a standstill. In pursuance of the same goal, they were committed to boycott all government bodies and all official functions. Thus, their primary objective was to expose the 'sham' nature of the reforms offered under the Act of 1919 and make them totally unworkable.
- **Constructive side** of their legislative work, the party was committed to push through proposals and resolutions to further the cause of constitutional development with an ultimate aim of achieving 'self-government' for Indians. They were also in favour of supporting Gandhian constructive programmes without making a fetish of them.

## Swaraj Party and the Indian National Congress

The relationship between the Congress party and the Swaraj Party always remained close, intimate and symbiotic.

- The founders of the party initially called it 'the Congress-Khilafat Swaraj Party' which subsequently came to be known as the Swaraj Party.
- They neither repudiated the basic principle of the Indian National Congress nor the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. All members of the Swaraj Party continued to be active members of the Congress.

## Career of Swaraj Party

1. **Elections in November 1923:** Though Swarajists got little time to prepare for elections, they were quite successful.

- a. Swaraj party won majority in CP, emerged as dominant party in Bengal and an influential party in UP and Bombay.
- b. In the Central Legislative Assembly, Swarajists won 45/145 (or 42/141) elected seats.
- c. In the Central Assembly Motilal Nehru became the leader of the Party and C R Das in the Bengal Assembly.

2. **Centre**

- a. Motilal Nehru managed to defeat the Government on many occasions in the Central Assembly. He forged an alliance with Madan Mohan Malaviya and Jinnah for that purpose. He managed to secure the support of the Independents and the Nationalists and embarrassed the government on many occasions.

- b. The most historic occasion was when Motilal Nehru managed to get through a resolution in the Assembly in February 1924, calling upon the government **to take steps to amend the Act of 1919**. It further urged the government to hold a **Round Table Conference** to make recommendations for a new constitution of India. This exposed the government's **hypocritical attitude towards the issue of 'self-government' for Indians**, as the government summarily rejected the resolution.
- c. The Swaraj Party managed to get a number of demands, made in the **Finance Bill** of 1924, rejected. This was followed by the rejection of budgets in subsequent years and each time the Governor-General had to use his **extraordinary power of certification**, which was extremely embarrassing for the government.
- d. **Many resolutions** on the initiative of the Swaraj Party were passed even in the face of stiff opposition from the government. It was followed up by a **boycott of government functions and several walk-outs** from the Assembly.
- e. The government tried to pacify the Nationalists and made an announcement in February 1924, regarding appointment of a **committee** to report on the working of dyarchy with Sir Alexander **Muddiman**, as the Chairman. Motilal Nehru, however, refused the offer of the government for membership of the committee.
- f. In September 1924, the **Lee Commission Report** on the Superior service came up for consideration before the Central Assembly. Motilal Nehru got it rejected through moving an amendment to it.

### 3. Bengal

- a. As the leader of the single largest party in the council, C.R. Das was invited to form the ministry in Bengal. But he refused to do so.
- b. In 1925 C.R. Das, who had refused to form a ministry in Bengal, was elected the Mayor of Calcutta.
- c. CR Das managed to create communal harmony and get the support of Muslim members through the **Bengal Pact** and made the working of dyarchy come to a standstill.
- d. Not only that, the Bengal Council passed many resolutions on the issue of the release of prisoners and repeal of repressive laws. Besides, it rejected a number of grants and demands for salaries of ministers. Dyarchy was virtually made unworkable in Bengal.

### 4. Central Provinces

- a. In the Central Provinces the task of the party was much easier as it had the absolute majority. Thus, dyarchy was made totally unworkable there too.

The Swaraj Party played a crucial role in the legislatures both at the central and provincial levels.

#### **The Work of the Swaraj Party Outside the Legislature**

Though the Swaraj Party was founded on the issue of the Council entry, they never rejected the importance of constructive programmes as enunciated by Mahatma Gandhi. In fact, they had faith in major Gandhian programmes.

- Hindu-Muslim unity: Both Motilal Nehru and CR Das had impeccable secular records.
  - Motilal Nehru managed to secure the support of independent members through Jinnah in the Central Assembly.
  - CR Das managed to enter into a pact with Muslim members of the Bengal Council. It came to be called the Bengal Pact which made dyarchy unworkable in Bengal.
- Khadi work
  - Even on the issue of Khadi work, they were not opposed to it in principle. What they were opposed to, was the idea of making a fetish out of it.
  - It was through their effort that spinning qualification for the membership of the Congress was dropped and the old qualification of four annas membership was restored.
- Removal of untouchability
  - They were second to none in commitment. On the initiative of CR Das, Tarakeswar temple in Bengal was handed over to a public trust and its gates were opened for all including the 'untouchables'.
  - They also lent their support to the Vaikom Satyagraha (1924-25) in Kerala, which was launched to get the gates of Hindu temples opened for the untouchables.

Thus, the Swaraj party played a creditable role outside the legislatures also.

### **Achievements of Swaraj Party**

1. **Filled political vacuum:** Activities of Swarajists did not allow the atmosphere of passivism to develop in India. They provided an alternative to people to continue struggle even after withdrawal of the NCM.
2. The Swarajists succeeded in **exposing the unresponsive nature of the colonial administration.**
3. Used legislative councils as the platform and **raised nationalist issues.**
  - a. They followed the strategy of blocking anti-national resolutions of government by joining hands with other like-minded parties.
  - b. The pressure brought by Swarajists on government, compelled the British to take steps to protect Indian's Industries and promotion of education.
4. Exposed the hollowness of constant arrangement created by Act of 1919.
  - a. Their activities exposed that the system of diarchy was a complete failure because the real power was still in British hands.
  - b. It was on their persistent demand that the Muddiman Committee and even the Simon Commission was setup to inquire into the inadequacies of the Act of 1919.
5. The Swarajists made an attempt to implement the constructive programme of the Congress. They advocated economic improvement of the country and talked about modern industrialisation, protection of the national industries, improvement of the condition of the working class, reduction of train-fare and taxes.
6. Swarajists were the first to underline and demand the right of the Indian people to make their own constitution. That was a very revolutionary demand which later on became one of the major demands of our national struggle.

7. Swarajists were the first generation of the elected political leaders. Their activities enabled Indians to gain political experience for future.
8. The British decision to review the constitutional reforms of 1919 by sending the Simon Commission could partly be attributed to the pressure exerted by the Swarajists.
9. The sincerity and commitment of the Swaraj Party was also proved by the fact that when the time came for mass struggle in the wake of the Simon Commission, they did join the mainstream of the national struggle.

### Why did Swaraj Party decline?

The Swarajists started with great enthusiasm. They were successful as well in the beginning but by 1926 they ran out of steam and their mass appeal got eroded. A number of factors led to the decline and final re-integration of the Swaraj party in the Congress.

1. **Long-term ineffectiveness of the idea:** In the first place, their policy of 'uniform and continuous obstruction' was quite successful in the initial stages and also in establishing the credentials of the members of the Party as the genuine representatives of the people. However, gradually it lost its initial sheen and reached some kind of dead end. The Party members themselves realised its futility.
2. **Temptation of occupying office:** Internal schisms and bickerings in the party.

a. Acceptance of membership of various government committees by the Swarajists, further complicated the matter.

i. Some of the Swarajists accepted the membership of the Steel Protection Committee.

ii. In 1925, Motilal Nehru himself became a member of the Skeen Committee, which was

set up to inquire into the possibilities of Indianising the Indian Army.

iii. Vithalbhai Patel became the Speaker of the Assembly.

3. **Spread of communal consciousness:** The Indian political scene was changing fast after withdrawal of NCM; the period of Hindu-Muslim bonhomie was over and communal riots started occurring in the country in 1923.

a. This led to the breaking up of alliance politics in the Central Assembly. All this weakened the effectiveness of the Swaraj Party led by Motilal Nehru in the Central Assembly.



In the Old Lok Sabha chamber, facing the Speaker's Chair, was the portrait of Vithalbhai Patel, the first Indian presiding officer of the Central Legislative Assembly.

- 4. Internal division:** Amid this communal disharmony even the Swarajists became divided along communal lines.
- Responsivists: Madan Mohan Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, N.C. Kelkar and others.
  - Non-Responsivists: Motilal Nehru, who was ridiculed as 'anti-Hindu' by responsivists.
- 5. Leadership vacuum: Death of CR Das** in 1925 was a big setback to Swarajists because he was the main ideologue and the most popular Swarajist leader.

All this weakened the Party, which was reflected in the Council election held in 1926. As compared to the 1923 election, the Swaraj Party lost seats in every Province except in Madras and Bihar. Even in the Central Assembly their strength was reduced as they got only 35 seats as against 45 in the 1923 election.

Thereafter, the Party which had already begun to break up into factions, collapsed quickly. By March, 1926 the party disintegrated and dashed out of history.

**6. New of appointment of all-white Simon Commission** in Nov 1927 changed the direction of political activities in India. Swarajists abandoned their line of action and joined hands with the rest of the Congress.

In a word, at a very critical junction of our national movement, the Swarajists played a crucial and constructive role.

**Prelims Facts: During this period, the following Satyagrahas took place.**

- Nagpur flag Satyagraha, 1923
- Guru Ka Bag Satyagraha (1922-23)
- Tarkeshwar movement, 1924
- Borasad Movement (1923-24)
- Vaikom Satyagraha (1924-25)
- Mahad Satyagraha, 1927
- Parvati Satyagraha, 1929
- Kalaram Temple Satyagraha, Nashik, 1930

**1926: Gandhi's Year of Silence**

He spent the entire year in silence working on Harijan welfare. He withdrew from active politics to the Ashram work at Sabarmati, and vowed not to leave Ahmadabad for one year. He spend time in editing newspapers Young India and Navajivan and also in teaching and correspondence.

## Simon Commission (1927)

Despite certain signs of political resurgence, the general condition of the country in 1927, was by and large, not very promising. The communal gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims had widened, the Swaraj Party had collapsed, and Gandhi had retired from active politics. Amid this situation came Simon Commission.

According to Indian Act of 1919 a commission had to be set up to look into the working of diarchy after 10 years, i.e. in 1929. In November 1927, the British government set up the Indian Statutory Commission, known as the Simon Commission. The job of the Commission was to enquire and recommend whether India was ready for further constitutional progress and to what extent and in which direction.

Its sudden appointment created a deep sense of doubt regarding the very motive of the British Government.

### **The British attempt to justify the composition of the Simon Commission**

The Simon Commission consisted of seven British MPs. Apart from Sir John Simon, one of its members was the future leader of the Labour Party, Clement Attlee.

The fact that no Indian was considered good enough to be associated with the Commission, which was to decide the political fate of India, was too much of a national insult to be taken lightly.

- The government tried to justify its composition by saying that only the members of the British parliament could become its members. The Nationalist leadership countered it by pointing out the **eligibility of Lord SP Sinha and Sir Naoroji Satkatwala** in joining Simon Commission as they were already a member of the British Parliament at that time.
- Another argument advanced by the Government was that in view of **divisions and fissures in the Indian national movement**, it was not possible to associate any Indian without offending another section of the Indian public opinion. If this was so, our leadership argued, then why was no attempt made to find a consensus candidate/s from among the Indian people.

### **Deeper Reasons for Rejecting Simon Commission**

However, for Indian leadership, apart from its all-white composition, there were other deeper reasons to reject and boycott the Simon Commission. It was seen as a violation of the principle of self-determination and a deliberate insult to the self-respect of the Indians.

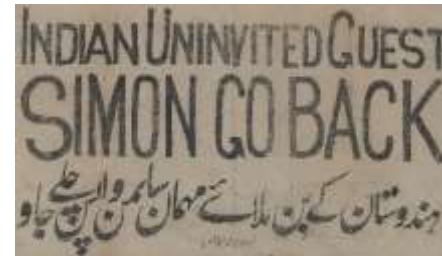
- Indian leaders were of the view that **only an Indian institution can draft the constitution**. The Indian National Congress took its well-known stand that the people of **India had a right to make their own constitution**.
  - This was a consensual national viewpoint as evidenced by the passage of two resolutions (February 1924 and September 1925) by the Central Assembly, reiterating the same demand.

- Besides, as the Congress president, S Srinivasa Iyengar argued **any enquiry to the fitness of the Indian people for self-government was nothing but a direct affront to our national respect**. All that was needed, he further argued, was a direct negotiation between the people of India and the British with a view to grant self-government to us.

### **Condemnation of the Commission by Indian political leadership**

There was an unprecedented unity among the Indian political leadership leading to universal condemnation of the Commission. Apart from the Indian National Congress, other parties, and groups, viz., the Indian Muslim League, Liberal Federation of India, Hindu Mahasabha, and Khilafat Conference, also joined the chorus of the national condemnation of the Commission.

- Jinnah described it as 'butchery of our soul.'
- Tej Bahadur Sapru called it 'the worst challenge to Indian nationalism'.
- On the initiative of Lala Lajpat Rai, on 16 February 1928, a resolution was passed by the Central Assembly expressing its lack of confidence in the Parliamentary Commission.



### **Annual Madras Congress (December 1927)**

President: Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari

It took a strong stand against the Commission by passing a resolution:

- Calling on the people of India to **boycott the Commission by organising demonstrations** against it on its arrival in India.
- All members of Indian legislatures, including the non-official members, **not to associate with the Commission's work in any manner**.
- Mahatma Gandhi called for befitting 'action' and not mere 'declaration' and 'speeches' against it.

A faction of the **Muslim League**, led by Mohammed Ali Jinnah, also decided to boycott the commission. Even Surendra Nath Banerjee's Indian Liberal Federation participated in boycott. The NC Kelkar, who had joined Hindu Mahasabha, also supported the Boycott.

However, the support for co-operation came from some members of the Muslim League under Muhammad Shafi, Justice Party, All India Federation of Untouchables and Unionist Party of Punjab, some sections of Hindu Mahasabha and Central Sikh League. Leaders like Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Periyar E. V. Ramasamy, MC Rajah, C Shankaran Nair, and Chaudhary Chhotu Ram supported Simon Commission.

## Boycott of the Commission: The People's Action

There was a groundswell of opposition when the Commission landed at **Bombay** on 3 February 1928. An all-India strike was observed on its arrival.

There were protests all over India and the sky echoed with the slogan of '**Simon! Go back**'. Mass rallies, black flag demonstrations, and processions became the order of the day. There was hardly any town in India where anti-Simon Commission demonstrations were not held.



- **Madras:** the situation took an ugly turn when there was police firing resulting in the death of three people. Madras also witnessed a death-defying act on the part of **T Prakasam**-a prominent Congress leader, who bared his chest for being shot, on being prevented from reaching the place of police firing.
- **Calcutta:** there was a similar confrontation between students and the police.
- **Delhi:** The Commission was greeted with hostile demonstrations. Placards and banners carrying the slogan 'Go Back, Simon', flooded its streets.
- **Patna:** Over 50,000 people gathered to demonstrate against it and even when the entire city was invaded by the police force, the people refused to be cowed down.
- **Lucknow**, even **Jawaharlal Nehru** and **Govind Ballabh Pant** were subjected to lathi-blows.
  - There was also a more innovative and comic scene: thousands of **black kites** carrying slogans of 'Simon! Go Back', flooded the sky of Lucknow city.
- **Lahore:** **Lala Lajpat Rai** was showered with lathi-blows on 30 October 1928, while demonstrating against the Simon Commission.

The year 1928 was marked by political agitations against the Simon Commission. Demonstrations, burning of foreign clothes, strikes, and mass processions became the order of the day. It amply demonstrated people's readiness for a new mass movement. *It also marked the return of Mahatma Gandhi to active politics.*

### The Report of the Simon Commission

1. **No drastic change at the central level:** it favoured a federal government, including Princely India.
2. It recommended scrapping of the dyarchy at the provincial level as provided under the 1919 Act, to be replaced by a responsible government within a federal framework with provincial autonomy.
  - a. But there was a rider to the general principle of provincial autonomy: the Governors had to have some special powers to safeguard the interests of the minorities and to maintain peace and tranquility.
3. **Enlargement of franchise:** Though it did not favour general adult franchise at that point of time, it assented to raising of franchise from 3% to 15% of the population.
4. It favoured the system of communal representation.

5. **State reorganization:** Separation of Sindh from Bombay, Orissa from Bihar, and Burma from India.
6. The Commission stood for the framing of a **really elastic constitution** which would develop in course of time and thus avoid periodical parliamentary enquiries.

### **Appraisal of the Simon Commission**

- Neither did it seriously consider the question of self-government for the Indian people, nor did it favour Dominion Status as the future political goal of India.
- It favoured a fully non-responsible government at the centre with a non-representative central legislature which looked like being 'retrogressive' and 'anti-people'.
- Even the provincial autonomy was hedged by the special powers of the Governor.
- Its recommendation for a meager expansion of franchise did not give a big push to democratisation of Indian polity.
- Its recommendation favouring communal representation was a replica of the old policy of 'divide and rule'.

In fact, by the time the Commission made its recommendations, a lot of political change had already taken place both in India as well as in England. By the time the Simon Commission made its recommendations, they had lost all their practical utility due to the change in the political environment.

In retrospect, it appears that the Commission and its recommendations had only twofold practical utilities.

- Some of its recommendations worked as building blocks of the Act of 1935.
- It gave a big fillip to the national movement as the opposition to it became a rallying point for the national movement.

Thus, though inadvertently, it contributed to the strengthening of the national movement and prepared the ground for the next British experiment of parliamentary federalism in India.

**Handout 34: Nehru Report, Jinnah's 14 Points, Lahore Congress**

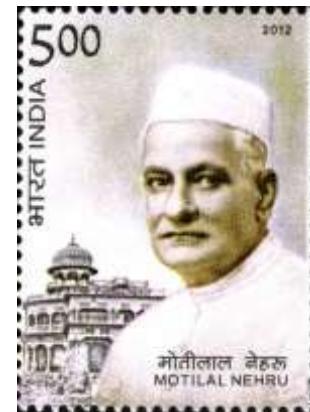
Nikhil Sheth

**The Nehru Report (1928)**

The Nehru Report was a landmark in the history of constitution-making in pre-Independence India. It was a **wholly Indian attempt at constitution-making**. Moreover, it had **cross-sectional support**, and its major contours were not a product of any one individual or group. Finally, some of its recommendations had a **far-reaching impact on the Act of 1935, as well as on the constitution of India**.

**Historical Background**

There was almost a consensus among our leaders that the Act of 1919 was 'inadequate' and hence its drastic revision in the form of a new constitution was needed to take India on the road towards self-government. This new constitution was to be made by the Indian people themselves.



Several resolutions were passed by the Central Assembly, containing all these demands were neglected by the British. To justify the exclusion of Indians from the Simon Commission the British cited the lack of unity among the Indians. **Lord Birkenhead** (secretary of state 1924-28) **challenged** the Indian leaders to produce a constitution acceptable to all political sections in India. Indians now seemed to be determined to counter-challenge Birkenhead's assumption.



- Consequently, the **Madras Congress** (December 1927, President: Dr. MA Ansari) directed its Working Committee to hold a special convention to work out a constitution in consultation and cooperation with other political groups as well as the elected members of Central and Provincial legislatures.
- Thus, a **special convention** consisting of representatives of different political formations was held at **Delhi** in February 1928 under the chairmanship of Dr MA Ansari. As a result, a **committee headed by Motilal Nehru** was set up to draft a constitution for India. The other prominent members of the Committee were:
  - Tej Bahadur Sapru (Liberals)
  - Sardar Mangal Singh (Sikhs)
  - Shuaib Quareshi, Sir Ali Imam (Muslims)
  - Subhash Chandra Bose (Congress)
  - GP Pradhan (non-Brahmins)
  - Madhav Srihari Aney, MR Jaykar (Hindu Mahasabha)
  - NM Joshi (Labour)
  - Jawaharlal Nehru (secretary)

This Committee, after making a strenuous effort, produced a draft constitution for India, which was submitted on August 10, 1928.

The **major recommendations** of the Nehru Report were as follows:

## **1. Central Government**

- a. India should be granted **dominion status** forthwith. The Governor-General would represent the British Crown but would act on the advice of the Central Executive Council, responsible to the parliament.
- b. **Responsible government** should be introduced both at the central as well as at the provincial levels. Ministry would be responsible to the legislature.
- c. There would be a **bi-cameral Parliament**.
  - i. **The upper house**, to be known as the Senate, would consist of 200 members to be **elected by the provincial legislatures for 7 years**.
  - ii. **The lower house**, known as the House of Representatives, would consist of 500 members who would be **elected directly** by the people based on adult franchise for **5 years**.

## **2. Federal Government**

- a. Provincial Councils, to be elected on the basis of adult suffrage, with tenure of 5 years. The Provincial Government to be headed by a Governor, acting on the advice of the Provincial Executive Council.
- b. Redistribution of provincial boundaries on **linguistic basis**.
- c. **Princely India** was to hasten the process of introduction of responsible government and ultimately an All-India Federation was to emerge, also covering Princely India.
- d. **Powers between the Provinces and the Centre** were to be divided on the basis of the lists of subjects covered at both levels.
- e. **Residuary powers** were to be vested in the centre.
- f. An **independent judiciary** with a Supreme Court at its head. The **Supreme Court** would be made the final court of appeal and all appeals to the Privy Council would be stopped.

## **3. Bill of Rights (19 FRs)**

- a. Freedom of conscience, freedom of religion and profession
- b. Secular state: there shall be no state religion.
- c. Right to form unions
- d. Men and women shall have equal rights as citizens.

## **4. The language** of the Union shall be Hindustani, which may be written either in Devanagari or Urdu character. The use of the English language shall be permitted.

## **5. Representative Character**

- a. The Report accepted the basic principle of **universal adult franchise**: every person who had attained the age of twenty-one, unless disqualified by law, would enjoy general adult franchise.
- b. The report disfavoured the principle of separate electorate and provided for **joint electorate**. However, it did provide for **reservation of seats for Muslims** where they were in minority and similarly reservation of seats for **non-Muslims in the North-West Frontier Province**.
  - i. The reservation of seats would be based on population and for a fixed period.
  - ii. The community with reserved seats should have right to contest the general seats.
  - iii. There would be no reservation of seats for Muslims in Punjab and Bengal.

The Report was approved by the **All-Parties' Committee (Lucknow, August 1928)**. However, the unanimity displayed at the Lucknow conference turned out to be short-lived. Despite its innovative features, the Nehru Report faced criticism from several quarters.

### **Nehru Report Debate 1: Issue of communal representation**

- **Muslim League split into two factions.** One was under Mohammad Ali Jinnah while the other was under Safi Khan.
  - Muhammad Shafi and Aga Khan's faction was not ready to even talk on the issue of separate electorate.
  - Jinnah's faction agreed to talk about the principle of joint electorate, but had certain conditions.
- When the Report was put before the **All-Parties Meeting (Calcutta, December 1928)**, **Jinnah** demanded certain changes (**Delhi Proposals**)
  - The Muslims must have 1/3<sup>rd</sup> representation in the Central legislature.
  - Till adult franchise was accepted, Bengal and Punjab legislatures should have Muslim representation on the basis of population.
  - Creation of new Muslim-majority provinces: Sindh, Balochistan, NWFP
  - Residuary powers should be vested in the provinces and not in the Centre.



However, Hindu Mahasabha (esp MR Jaykar and NC Kelkar) and Sikh League bitterly opposed the demands.

Ultimately, Jinnah's amendments were put to vote in Calcutta and were lost. The rejection of the 3 out of 4 demands was perceived by Jinnah as betrayal. For Jinnah, it was 'parting of the ways'.

As Congress rejected the proposal of Jinnah, he also drifted in the direction of Safi Khan. It led to a **Delhi Declaration of Muslims** in March 1929 and adopted an expanded version of Jinnah's earlier demands. Subsequently, known as **Jinnah's fourteen-point proposal**.

Some of the points covered under the proposal were:

- The system of separate electorates should continue in Muslim majority provinces till the introduction of universal adult suffrage.
- Adequate share to the Muslims in all the services of the state and self-governing bodies.
  - No cabinet, either Central or Provincial, should be formed without granting at least one-third seats to Muslims.
- No constitutional amendment could be carried out unless approved by four-fifth majority of either house sitting separately or both houses voting jointly.

These points were rejected by Congress.

Some historians say that the negotiations failed because of the Hindu Mahasabha's obduracy; and Motilal Nehru cooperated with the Mahasabha leaders though he himself saw no harm in the demands.

Other historians blame Jinnah for the failure. Jawaharlal Nehru called them 'Jinnah's ridiculous 14 points.' It was Jinnah's obduracy that, ultimately, sabotaged their assiduously worked-out formula to bury the virus of communalism. The Indian Muslim League ultimately rejected the

report on the issue of communal representation. Some of these points became the basis of communal politics of the Muslim League in future.

### Jinnah's 14 Points

1. Provincial Autonomy.
2. Federal Constitution with residual powers to provinces.
3. All legislatures and elected bodies to have adequate representation of Muslims in every province without reducing a majority of Muslims in a province to a minority or equality.
4. No constitutional amendment by the centre without the concurrence of the states constituting the Indian federation.
5. Adequate representation to Muslims in the services and in self-governing bodies.
6. One-third Muslim representation in the Central Legislature.
7. In any cabinet at the centre or in the provinces, one-third to be Muslims.
8. Separate electorate, in Muslim majority provinces, to continue till adult franchise is introduced.
9. Any territorial redistribution not to affect the Muslim majority in Punjab, Bengal and NWFP.
10. No bill or resolution in any legislature to be passed if three-fourths of a minority community consider such a bill or resolution to be against their interest.
11. Separation of Sindh from Bombay.
12. Constitutional reforms in the NWFP and Baluchistan.
13. Protection of Muslim rights in religion, culture, education and language,
14. Full religious freedom to all communities.



**In 1930, Allahabad Session of Muslim League, Allama Iqbal gave the famous address:**

*India is a continent of human groups belonging to different races, speaking different languages, and professing different religions [...] Personally, I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sindh and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire, or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.*



Notably, Bengal, another Muslim majority province, was absent from his speech. But this speech was milestone in the development of idea of Pakistan and road to partition.

## Nehru Report Debate 2: Dominion or Republic?

- During the 1920s, the young radical leaders **Jawahar Lal Nehru** and **Subhas Chandra Bose** emerged in Congress politics. Both along with **Srinivasa Iyengar** founded the **Independence for India League in 1928** which put forth the demand for complete independence. In 1928, they toured the whole country to influence public opinion on the issue of Purna Swaraj.
- In the **Calcutta-session of the Congress (President Motilal Nehru, 1928)**, they opposed the idea of dominion status as provided by the Nehru Report.
- **Resolution 1**
  - Mahatma Gandhi reached a compromise formula, by which the Congress gave an ultimatum to the government: either accept the Report by 31 December 1930 (2 years), lest the Congress would go in for Purna Swaraj, backed up by a mass movement. Nehru and Bose were still unhappy and thus Gandhi cut down the 2 years to 1 year as a further concession, the resolution was passed.
  - In an open session,
    - Gandhi's compromise resolution was passed
    - Bose introduced an amendment during the open session of Congress that sought a complete break with the British, but it was rejected.
- **Resolution 2**
  - Another resolution was passed on Gandhian constructive work which involved revival of organisational work, removal of untouchability, boycott of foreign cloth, spread of khadi, temperance, village reconstruction and removal of disabilities of women. It was through this constructive programme that Gandhi hoped to achieve true swaraj. But one important issue that this constructive programme did not touch was Hindu-Muslim unity.

## After Calcutta, before Lahore

The political scene in India was moving so fast that within a year the Nehru Report lost its sheen.

Even after the Calcutta Congress, some Congress Liberals preferred cooperation with the British. Labour government in London was willing to seek some kind of resolution.

Lord Irwin, to seek reconciliation to introduce a constitutional scheme with a dominion status as the goal, came with the "**Irwin Offer**" of 31 October 1929, **proposing a Round Table Conference** to settle the issue.

Gandhi was reluctant to reject it outright, but negotiations broke down, as the Congress leaders wanted the concrete details of the dominion status to be discussed, and not just the principle. The Congress also asked for amnesty and a policy of general conciliation on the part of the government. Irwin refused to accept the conditions; negotiations fell through.

As a result of the denial of reforms and political rights, Congress soon unified in the desire to oust the British from India completely. But many leaders still had reservations about starting a movement for full independence, particularly in view of the rising wave of violence spearheaded by revolutionary leaders like Bhagat Singh and others.

## Lahore Session, (45<sup>th</sup> Congress, 1929)

Jawaharlal Nehru became the president of Lahore session. Congress in Lahore discarded the Nehru Report as the Government failed to accept it by the deadline of December 1929.

1. The proposal for **Purna Swarajya** was accepted.
  1. 26<sup>th</sup> January was declared as the day of complete independence.
  2. Jawaharlal Nehru raised the "swaraj" flag that was later adopted as the national flag of India.
2. The proposal for civil disobedience was also accepted. The All India Congress Committee (AICC) was authorized to start a civil disobedience movement at an appropriate time.



Nehru speaking on the bank of Ravi for Purna Swaraj

### **Nehru's presidential address**

- He declared himself to be a *socialist* and a *republican* and outlined an *internationalist* and socially *radical* path for the Indian freedom struggle.
- He openly criticized Gandhi's 'trusteeship' solution of zamindar-peasant and capital-labour conflicts, calling trusteeship a sham.
- Cries of *inquilab zindabad* (long live the revolution), replaced the chanting of *Vande Mataram* as the Indian flag was unfurled. |

The **independence pledge** that the Indian National Congress presented to the world on 26 January 1930 stated that the British government in India had taken away the freedom of Indians and systematically exploited them. It had 'ruined India economically, politically, culturally and spiritually'. Further, the pledge affirmed that as Indians they considered it a sin 'before man and God to submit any longer to a rule that has caused this four-fold disaster to the country'.

### **Comment on Nehru Report:**

However, there is no denying the fact that the Nehru Report was a milestone in our constitutional history, if for nothing else at least for its home-made nature.

Although the Lahore Congress bypassed the Nehru Report, it did accept its essential formulation that no constitution would be acceptable to the Indian National Congress that failed to give full satisfaction to the minorities.

Most of its recommendations were ignored by the British government during the drafting of the Government of India Bill of 1935; however, the Indian constituent Assembly (1946- 1949) adopted many of its features.

### Evolution of Congress position on the issue of Swaraj

<b>Year</b>	<b>Congress Position on Swaraj</b>
<b>1885</b>	'All that we desire is that the basis of the Government should be widened and that the people should have their proper and legitimate share in it.' (Presidential Address of W. C. Bonnerjee)
<b>1906</b>	'This Congress is of opinion that the system of Government obtaining in the self-governing British Colonies should be extended to India.' (Resolution)
<b>1916</b>	'This Congress demands that a definite step should be taken towards Self-Government by granting the reform contained in the scheme prepared by the All-India Congress Committee in concert with the Reform Committee appointed by the All-India Muslim League.' (Lahore Resolution)
<b>1920</b>	'The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swarajya by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means.' (Nagpur Resolution)
<b>1929</b>	'This Congress ... declares that the word "Swaraj"... shall mean Complete Independence ... and authorizes the All-India Congress Committee ... to launch upon a programme of Civil Disobedience ...'(Resolution)
<b>1942</b>	'The All-India Congress Committee, therefore, repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India.'

## Handout 35: Second Phase of Revolutionary Movement (1920s and 1930s)

Nikhil Sheth

*"The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of tyrants. It is its natural manure."*

Thomas Jefferson

Ab na agle valvale hai, aur na armanonki bheed  
Sirf mit jaane ki ek harsat dil-e-bismil me hai

Ramprasad Bismil

Once again pushed the youth to the course of revolutionary nationalism. Revolutionary activities began in Punjab, United Province and Bengal.

### Causes for its upsurge:

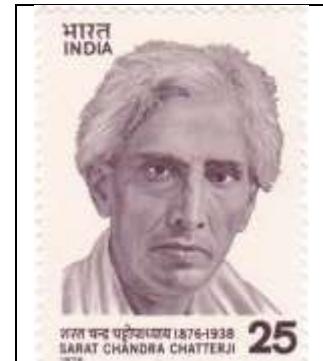
- Discontentment among Indian youths due to the sudden withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement.
- Many youth leaders were not satisfied with Gandhian techniques. They were under the influence of Russian Revolution (1917) and the success of the young Soviet state in consolidating itself.
- Journals publishing memoirs and articles extolling the self-sacrifice of revolutionaries, such as Atmasakti, Sarathi and Bijoli.

### Two different currents of Revolutionary Nationalism:

During this period revolutionaries came under the influence of new ideological forces such as socialism & communism.

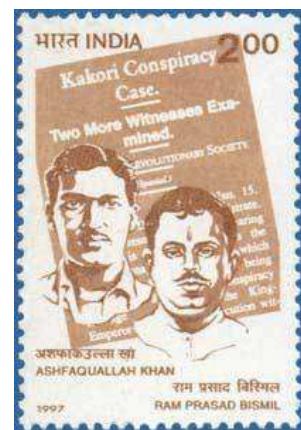
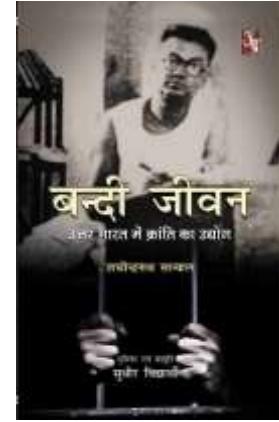
#### 1. United Province and Punjab:

- In 1920s, two old revolutionaries such as **Sachin Sanyal & Yogesh Chandra Chatterjee** started to organize youths in UP and at their initiative **Hindustan Republican Association (HRA)** formed in 1924. Its objective was to organize an armed revolution. Later, this party was reorganized by **Chandra Shekhar Azad**.



Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya (1876-1938) was a Bengali novelist who wrote books like Parinita, Devdas. His novel Pather Dabi (1926) inspired the Bengali youth for sacrifice and it was banned by the British government for the revolutionary theme.

- Sachin Sanyal propagated militant ideology through his biography '**Bandi Jiwan**'. In 1925 he published a pamphlet in which he stated that stars are born in anarchy.
- Just after one year, **Kakori train Dacoity** happened in 1925. The Government took serious note of this development and decided to strike at it by putting a large number of revolutionaries under trial. So, the government cracked down and in this case, Ram Prasad Bismil, Roshan Singh, Asfaqullah Khan and Rajendra Lahiri got death sentence.
- Bhagat Singh help establish **Punjab Naujawan Sabha (1926)** as an open wing of revolutionaries to carry out political work among youth, peasants and workers. Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev organized **Lahore Students' Union** for open legal work among students. He soon joined HRA.
- Bhagat Singh, Azad and Rajguru killed a British police officer **JJ Saunders** (Dec 1927), who was responsible for the lathi-charge on a demonstration headed by Lala Lajpat Rai, who was seriously wounded in the incident.
- In 1928, the members of HRA convened a meeting at Ferozeshah Kotla in Delhi under the chairmanship of Bhagat Singh, and H.R.A was renamed as **H.S.R.A (Hindustan Socialist Republican Army)** on the advice of Chandrashekhar Azad. HSRA had three-fold objective.
  - To rouse the consciousness of people of India to the futility of the Gandhian methods of non-violence;
  - To demonstrate the need and desirability of Direct Action and Revolution to achieve complete independence.
  - To substitute British imperialism in India by a federated republic of the United States of India ideologically inspired by the Russian Revolution and the Socialist thought.



### Debate with Gandhiji

**Bhagwati Charan Vohra** attacked Viceroy Lord Irwin by planting a bomb on a railway line in Delhi in 1929. Gandhiji criticized this act in his article titled **The Cult of Bomb** wherein he referred to HRSA's actions as cowardly. In response, **Philosophy of the Bomb** was written by Vohra. In it, HSRA defended their violent methods by terming them as important as Gandhiji's non-violent methods. It also urged the youth to join them in their journey to achieve freedom for India.

The concluding paragraph of the article reads:

*There is no crime that Britain has not committed in India. Deliberate misrule has reduced us to paupers, has 'bled us white'. As a race and a people, we stand dishonoured and outraged. Do people still expect us to forget and to forgive? We shall have our revenge – a people's*

*righteous revenge on the tyrant. Let cowards fall back and cringe for compromise and peace. We ask not for mercy and we give no quarter. Ours is a war to the end – to Victory or Death.*

Gandhi differed with Bhagat Singh only on the merit of their path. He called militant revolutionaries as ‘misguided youth.’ He often said that militant nationalism was injurious to India’s struggle for freedom.

Vohra died in Lahore in 1930 while testing a bomb on the banks of the Ravi.

- On April 8, 1929, when **Trade Dispute Bill** and **Public Safety Bill**, which aimed at curbing civil liberties, were being passed in the central council, Bhagat Singh and Batukeshwar Dutt threw a **bomb and pamphlet in the Central Legislative Assembly Hall**. Their aim was to propagate their ideology. They were arrested.
  - The pamphlet had slogans like Inquilab Zindabad.
  - *“It takes a loud noise to make the deaf hear.”*
- They also **used the spotlight to propagate their ideas** and inspire the country to action.
- The case is famous because of the draconian provisions incorporated by the British in this context in the otherwise reasonable laws of criminal procedure.
  - Those detained under the case resorted to hunger strikes and boycotts in jails. In December 1929, **Jatin Das** started hunger strike. He demanded that he should not be tried like any ordinary criminal but should be tried as a political prisoner involved in the freedom struggle. He died while he was on hunger strike and being force-fed.
  - Bhagat Singh, Raj Guru and Sukhdev were awarded capital punishment and executed in Lahore jail on the 23rd March, 1931. Batukeshwar Dutt was sent to Kalapani for 14 years (life transportation) in assembly bomb case.
- In 1931 **Chandra Sekhar Azad** was killed in a police encounter. With this, the government was finally successful in crushing HSRA.
  - Alfred Park, Allahabad



## 2. Bengal:

- After 1922, Revolutionary Nationalism became active in Bengal too. They started revolutionary propaganda and underground activities through the press at a large scale.

- **Surya Sen** (masterda) who was a teacher in a national school in Chittagong formed 'Indian Republican Army'. In this group, apart from Surya Sen the other members were Anant Singh, Ganesh Ghosh, Amrita Chakrvarti and Loknath Pal/Baul.
  - When the civil disobedience movement was at its climax, **captured the Chittagong armoury** on 18 April, 1930.
  - This was followed by a series of attacks on other European establishments in Chittagong by the same group. Soon after, a temporary independent government of India was formed, whose president was Surya Sen himself. (*Provisional Revolutionary Government*)
  - In this revolutionary organization, women decided to start a Guerrilla war through staying at nearby villages. The **women associated** with this group were **Bina Das, Kalpana Datta** and **Pritilata Ohdedar**.
  - Despite severe police pressure, the revolutionaries received **protection from the villagers (mostly Muslims)** for nearly 3 years.
  - But Surya Sen was eventually caught and hanged in 1934.



- In Dec.1931, in another revolutionary incident we found that two Santhal girls, **Comilla Shanti Ghosh** and **Suniti Chaudari** assassinated Mr. Steven (judge).
- Likewise, in 1932, a revolutionary **Beena Das** tried to assassinate Lt. Governor of Bengal by firing at him point blank while receiving degree during convocation.



#### **Government Reaction:**

There was a panic at first in the government but finally they came down heavily on the revolutionaries. Armed with 20 repressive acts, Government let loose the police after the revolutionaries. Hundreds of revolutionaries were sentenced to long term imprisonment or transportation. In 1933, even Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested for sedition and given two years of imprisonment because he condemned imperialism and praised the heroism of revolutionaries.

The extreme government repression, violating all norms of civilised behaviour, ultimately led to the decline of the revolutionary movement of this phase. The martyrdom of Bhagat Singh, Chandra Shekhar Azad, followed by the martyrdom of Surya Sen, was the high watermark of the revolutionary movement of that period. The other revolutionaries were awarded life imprisonment and sent to the Andamans and those who were left behind were put behind bars.

## Differences in revolutionary nationalism during 1920s and 1930s from earlier time

- Essentially a continuation of the revolutionary activities of the earlier period, though there is some ideological change. The importance of the second phase of the revolutionary movement was in its ideological content.
  - Influence of **socialism** and communism.
  - Earlier revolutionaries were organized based on religious symbols, but now based on **secularism**.
- Tendency towards a more concrete programme of action.
  - Secret organization of a violent armed uprising to drive the British out of India and collecting money and arms were collected in large quantities continued as before.
  - But, now, the revolutionary leaders of this period were fully aware of the role of the masses. They sought to arouse the masses through propaganda and agitation.
  - Yet, they were in practice compelled to keep 'terroristic activities' in the forefront of their movement. Eg target assassinations.
- One Pan-Indian movement
  - Although there were several revolutionary organisations operating during this time, in a broad sense, India only had one revolutionary movement working to advance the same goal of the nation's freedom and employing the same strategy. The various revolutionary organization interacted with one another and occasionally also engaged in talks for coordinated operations.

## Contribution of revolutionary nationalism

The reactionary attitude of the government evoked popular anger and protest. The deep sense of patriotism, courage and determination displayed by the revolutionaries helped to disseminate a growing sense of nationalism and socialism all over the land.

- Every time the morale of the people became low and national movement was on wane, these young revolutionaries **enthused their countrymen** with their unprecedented acts of sacrifice and sufferings.
- They made a tremendous impact on the minds and hearts of the youth, enthusing them to fight relentlessly for the freedom of the country. Their martyrdom become a living **source of inspiration for the youth of the country**.
- The lasting contribution of these revolutionaries was to demand and **popularise the idea of Purna Swaraj**. They were the first to raise and popularise it by making supreme sacrifices.
- They underlined the essential unity of our people and thus blazed a new trail on the front of **secularism**. Their contribution to promoting the secular fabric of India appears more

spectacular as it was during that period when various communal groups had started eating into the vitals of India.

- They also made some contributions towards linking the fight of independence with the **fight for socialism** and tried to put the sufferings of the poor and the downtrodden on the national agenda. Influence of Bhagat Singh's views on the socialist proposals of the **Karachi Session** of Congress in 1931.

#### **Limitation:**

- The critics point out their lack of organisation, and their failure to mobilise and carry the masses along with them. As they worked as a secret organization, these revolutionaries could not go to the masses to lead them. Therefore, their socialist programme remained simply on paper.
- With the acts of open defiance and bravery, these young people made it easier for the government to lay their hands on them.
- They may add that some of these young revolutionaries even appeared to be in a hurry to seek martyrdom.

All these observations might contain some grains of truth. But there is no doubt that these limitations do not diminish their seminal contributions to the cause of Indian freedom.

#### **Bhagat Singh (1907-31)**

- He wasn't simply a revolutionary, but he was a great ideologue as well.
- He was a well-read man and he widely read the text on socialism, communism, and anarchism. He presented an alternative method for nation-building based on socialism & secularism.
- **Redefining Revolution:**
  - Revolution was **not about violent movement against imperial rule**, but for national liberation including end to the exploitation by landlords. Similarly, although an admirer of Gandhi because he managed to mobilise the masses, he did not believe that Gandhian philosophy and programme would lead to a fundamental transformation of society. Gandhian politics, he observed, would only result in the replacement of one set of exploiters by another. It would enable the exploitation of Man by another Man.
  - Bhagat Singh understood that **revolution means mass movement** of the suppressed and exploited sections by the revolutionary intelligentsia. Bhagat Singh used to say "...real revolutionary armies are in villages and in factories."



His main objective was not to create headlines by using pistols and revolvers but to create awareness among the masses.

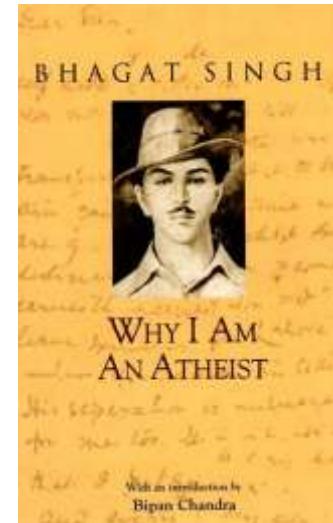
What distinguished him from the earlier revolutionaries was this **ideological factor**.

- **Socialism:**

- The alternative was found in socialism, which he incorporated in the ideology and programme of the movements with which he was associated.
- Bhagat Singh conceived of socialism as the abolition of capitalism and class domination. It is unfortunate that his book entitled **The Ideal of Socialism**, which was smuggled out of the jail along with three other manuscripts, has not survived, as it would have given a much fuller account of his ideas on socialism.
- HSRA clarified its position '*We don't believe in the cult of bomb & pistol, rather my objective is to destroy such a system in which the exploitation of man by another man would become possible*'. According to him, violence is permissible only for a transitional phase for socialist transformation. Once this Objective would be achieved then, the method of violence would automatically be discarded. Then, through education & persuasion, the socialist programmes would be carried out.
- He also published a series of articles on **anarchism** in *Kirti*. On anarchism he said, "*The ultimate goal of Anarchism is complete independence, according to which no one will be obsessed with God or religion, nor will anybody be crazy for money or other worldly desires. There will be no chains on the body or control by the state. This means that they want to eliminate: the Church, God and Religion; the state; Private property.*"

- **Secularism:** In his pamphlet, '**Why I am an atheist**' he clarifies his vision of secularism.

- He believed that God was brought into imaginary existence to encourage man to face boldly all the trying circumstances. **The idea of God is helpful to man in distress.** He thus recognised the role of religion in the life of the masses. At the same time, **he rejected the existence of a benevolent God**, as otherwise there would not have been any injustice in the world.
- According to him, **normally religion is misused by the dominant class to exploit the people.** Thus, secularism means the denial of that kind of exploitation. Emancipation from the bondage of religion and superstition was, in his reckoning, crucial for revolutionary practice and, therefore, **he tried to instill rational thinking** in the minds of all his comrades. "to be a revolutionary, one



requires immense moral strength, but one also requires criticism and independent thinking."

- Bhagat Singh **opposed to communal politics** from which he tried to distance the organisations he was associated with. The Naujawan Bharat Sabha, for instance, did not entertain those belonging to religious-communal organisations as its members.

# Armed revolutionaries' role in freedom struggle not given due recognition: Shah

EXPRESS NEWS SERVICE  
NEW DELHI, JANUARY 10

SAYING THAT the freedom struggle led by the Congress succeeded only because of the "fire of patriotism" ignited by armed revolutionaries, Home Minister Amit Shah said on Wednesday that the latter, unfortunately, did not get due recognition in India's written history.

Shah was speaking at the launch of the book, *Revolutionaries: The Other Story of How India Won Its Freedom*, written by Sanjeev Sanyal, a member of the Prime Minister's Economic Advisory Council.

Shah said only one story about the freedom struggle has been "repeatedly narrated". "Only one point of view has been thrust upon people through education and history books. I don't say that the non-violent movement had no contribution in the freedom struggle, or that it is not part of history... But this narrative that no one else had any contribution is not right," he said.

"Many people like me believe that the Congress's movement was successful because of the fire



Home Minister Amit Shah with Sanjeev Sanyal at the launch of the latter's book in New Delhi, Wednesday. Prem Nath Pandey

of patriotism ignited by the armed revolution. I believe it, and I can prove it also. If the armed struggle had not continued parallelly, it would have probably taken many more decades to get independence," he said.

"The history of India should be written not on the basis of victory or defeat, but by judging the struggle and efforts of all. That is how history is complete," Shah said. "To rid the country of colonial mindset, the biggest work, I feel, needs to be done in the field

of written history, to free India's written history of the colonial mindset," he said.

He said many historians did not mention the contributions of armed revolutionaries like Bhagat Singh and Aurobindo Ghose. Shah said their efforts have been portrayed as sporadic acts of individual bravery, whereas the truth was that they were a well-thought-out, collective effort driven by a common ideology. "We have to understand it, accept it, and propagate it as well," he said.

"Some people have suppressed this narrative but I want to say to those people that history is very cruel... no one can distort history... it comes out eventually," he said.

"They don't know that when Bhagat Singh was hanged, no fire was lit in the kitchens from Lahore to Kanyakumari. Now, if you write history saying the country was not free when Bhagat Singh was martyred, that is not the right judgement," he said.

Shah said Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose and the INA also did not get the respect and place they should have got in the history of the country.

Saying that the armed revolutionaries were not violent by nature but viewed violence as a means to achieve freedom, Shah said: "We have to bring our history out of the binary of extremist versus moderates".

He said it is time to remove "distortions" from the history of India's freedom movement. "Many people blame the Communists or the British mindset while talking about how history was distorted. Sometimes, even the Congress is

blamed. But I ask, who is stopping us now," he said.

He asked students and scholars of history to take up the responsibility, adding that it cannot be the government's responsibility alone.

Shah said Veer Savarkar was the first to challenge the established narrative of India's freedom struggle. "The entire world used to view the 1857 revolution as a mutiny. He was the first to call it the country's first freedom struggle. That was the start of altering the narrative," he said.

Sanyal's book, he said, would start a new narrative on India's freedom struggle.

Shah said literary personalities like Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay, farmers and tribals were equally responsible for India's independence. "But those who were responsible for telling the story of freedom struggle from our point of view after independence, I think, were somehow at fault," he said.

"The British had left, but history was written with the British-ness that they had left behind, and because of that, there is this confusion even today," he said.

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## Handout 36: Rise of Left

Nikhil Sheth

*'I am a socialist and a republican, and am no believer in kings and princes, or in the order which produces the modern kings of industry, who have a greater power over the lives and fortunes of men than even the kings of old, and whose methods are as predatory as those of the old feudal aristocracy.'*

- Pandit Nehru

During the later phase of 1920s and during 1930s, a powerful Left-wing movement arose in India and within Congress. Socialist ideas took root in Indian soil.

The early nationalists were aware of socialism, but their outlook was not consistent with socialist thoughts. The moderates believed in efficacy of concessions and reform while socialism was too radical to them. They deliberately avoided class issues. The extremists believed that swaraj would be the panacea to all the sufferings. Gandhiji believed in the idea of class-collaboration and trusteeship. He was convinced that exploitators would realize their mistakes sooner or later and the sufferings of working class would disappear. He was not in favour of complete departure from tradition and radical restricting India socio-economic life.

### Causes for the rise of leftist ideas in National Movement

The emergence of socialism was response and reaction to socio-economic and political environment prevailing in India. The contemporary international developments were also responsible for emergence of socialism.

- **Emerging class and class consciousness**

- Increasing industrialisation leading to the creation of workers' class.
  - By the opening decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, a number of modern Industries had emerged in India but the condition of working class in these factories was far from being satisfactory. The suffering of working class pushed them towards socialism.
- Growth of awakening among peasants was also responsible for emergence of socialism.
  - There was an emergence of Kisan Sabha movement against exactions by Zamindars. (e.g. UP Kisan Sabha, Awadh Kisan Sabha). This growth of awakening carried Indian peasantry and their leadership towards socialism.
- Successful Russian revolution of 1917 and formation of USSR popularized socialist ideas of Marx.

- **Economic dislocations**

- Post-WW 1 consequences: Price rise etc.
- Effect of the Great Depression of 1929-30 and unemployment

- During this period, when capitalist world was suffering immensely, the Russian socialist economy was growing with leap and bound. This convinced Pandit J.L Nehru and S.C Bose that socialism was best ideology for India as well.
- **Political condition**
  - The beginning of the phase of mass politics brought 'people' in the national movement. But there was a section of youth which was dissatisfied with Gandhian techniques.
  - Sudden withdrawal of NCM/CDM convinced many peasants and working class leaders as well as youth that Gandhian method of struggle was too weak to be effective and they developed faith in socialism.
  - Rise of new youth icons who developed leftist visions like S.C. Bose, J.L. Nehru, Bhagat Singh. Other leaders were Acharya Narendra Dev, J.P Narayan and Achyuta Patwardhan, Indulal Yajnik etc.
  - Rise of leftist organisations, newspapers, journals etc.
- **Role of foreigners**
  - H.L. Hutchinson, B.F. Bradley, P Spratt in Meerut Conspiracy Case

**There was emergence of three major streams of Left ideology in India:**

- Communist Party of India (1925)
- Congress Socialist Party (1934)
- Other party organisations: HSRA, Royists, Forward Bloc etc.

All this led to radicalization of the Congress. The objective of national movement was also redefined. The goal of political independence acquired a clearer and sharper social and economic content. Thus, there was a coming together of political and socio-economic stream.

### Communist Party of India

The Communist Party was originally formed at **Tashkent** in 1920 at the initiative of **M.N. Roy**. Roy founded military and political schools in Tashkent with the help of Lenin to prepare revolutionaries. In 1920, as he formed the Communist Party of India, he contacted his revolutionary colleagues in India.

However, the government had banned all communist activity, which made the task of building a party in India very difficult.

Peshawar Conspiracy Case	1922-27	Russian-trained muhajir communists were put on trial.
Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case	1924-25	Communists were seeking "to deprive the King Emperor of his sovereignty of British India, by complete separation of India from Britain by a violent revolution."

The All-India Conference of Communist Party took place at **Kanpur**. Its founders included MN Roy, his wife Evelyn Trent, Abani Mukherjee, and MPT Acharya. SV Ghate was the first secretary, and the president was M. Singaravelu in 1925. This is the official beginning of the communist movement.

Communists formed the **Workers' and Peasants' Party** within Congress (1925-30) as a front organization. It made alliances with other left elements inside the Congress, including Jawaharlal Nehru. However, it was wound up by 1929-30.

Meerat Conspiracy Case	1929-33	Arrests of WPP, CPI and other labour leaders
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#### **Contribution:**

- Working as a pressure group under the Congress.
- To make Indian nationalism more inclusive through organizing farmers and workers.
- To establish mass support in Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala.

#### **Limitations:**

- The communist party couldn't transform itself according to the Indian condition. Unlike the communist party of China, it didn't chalk-out its programs according to the Indian condition.
- Factors like economic division, social division, gender division and caste exploitation were clearly visible in India, but the communist party failed to take advantage of them.
- The model of the violent revolution was suitable for an autocratic government of Soviet Russia but not for India. Here the model of democratic socialism could have proved more suitable than the Communist model.

### **Role of Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose**

The youth leaders, like J.L Nehru and S.C Bose, were widely influenced by socialist ideas. Both of them imparted a socialist vision to the national movement and emerged as symbol of socialism in India after 1929.

#### **Pandit Nehru:**

- 1920-21: Developed an interest in economic questions, came in touch with the peasant movement in eastern UP
- 1927: Attended the international Congress against Colonial Oppression and imperialism, held at Brussels
- 1927: Visited the Soviet Union and was deeply impressed by the new socialist society. He remained in touch with communists and anti-colonial fighters from all over the world.
- 1928: Independence for India League (with Bose) to fight for complete independence and 'a socialist revision of the economic structure of society.'
- 1929: J.L. Nehru presided over the Lahore session of Congress. There, he declared himself to be a socialist and a democrat.
- 1936: He presided over the Lucknow session of Congress. There, he encouraged socialist consciousness among the youths. While addressing the session he declared that I think there is only solution to the problem of India and the world was socialism.
- 1937: He presided over the Faizpur session of Congress and introduced progressive programs for the peasants.



### **Subhas Chandra Bose:**

- The Haripura session of Congress was presided over by S.C. Bose in 1938. A 'National Planning Committee' was set up during this session.



### **Congress Socialist Party**

Some youth leaders in **Nasik jail** planned to form the Congress Socialist Party in 1933 (finally formed in 1934.) Prominent leaders were Acharya Narendra Dev, Jayaprakash Narayan, Ashok Mehta, Sampurnanand Singh, Meenu Masani etc.

This party decided to work within the Congress and to channelise the Congress policy and programme towards socialism. Thus, the socialist phase was concurrent to the Gandhian phase. Socialist represented Leftist within Congress. Throughout the course of National struggle, the socialist were under the leadership of Gandhiji but their ideas of National struggle were significantly different.

#### **Contributions:**

The emergence of socialism greatly radicalized anti British struggle, Congress adopted new aims as well as new methods.

- **It radicalized the objective of national movement** (from political freedom to economic and social freedom).
  - The socialists stood for Purna swaraj. It was under the pressure of socialist leaders, Congress adopted Purna swaraj resolution in 1929 at Lahore.
  - Socialist idea of Purna swaraj was not just political but social and economic as well they believed that political freedom would be meaning less in the absence of social and economic freedom.
  - The Congress linked itself to the programs of workers and peasants.
  - The socialists were in favour of extension of freedom movement into native states. The leaders like Pandit Nehru believed that native states cannot remain aloof to the development going on British India. They wanted national struggle would assume **true pan India character**.
  - The Congress adopted socialist programs during its Karachi session (socio-economic freedom) (1931), Lucknow session (1936), Faizpur session (Agrarian program) (1937) and Haripura session (National Planning Committee) (1938) etc.
  - In 1936 at its Faizpur session, Congress adopted an agrarian program which emphasized:
    - Land revenue should be reduced.
    - Feudal privileges should be abolished.
    - Tenant-cultivators should get guarantees of safety of their tenure.
    - Forced labour should be abolished.
  - In 1945, congress adopted a resolution in which it demanded abolition of zamindari system.
- **Social base**
  - The social base of National movement was greatly widened by emergence of socialism. The peasants and workers started participating in nationalist activities

in large no because the policies and programs of socialist were in consonance with their needs and aspirations.

- **Impact on Gandhi**

- **Difference with Gandhian method**

- The socialists were not happy with Gandhian philosophy of STS and wanted continuous mass struggle till time independence. Thus, socialists were in favour of sustained struggle.
    - Socialists were non-violent in nature, but their idea of non-violence was pragmatic. They did not want nonviolence to be a weakness of nationalist struggle. They believed that stray violent acts should not punish the entire movement.
  - **The radical outlook of socialist leaders influenced Gandhiji as well. He also became more and more radical with the passage of time.**
    - In the summer of 1942, Gandhiji was far more radical than the socialist leaders including Pandit J.L Nehru because at this time even Pandit Nehru was not in favour of landing a mass movement. It was Gandhian pressure that forced Congress to start the movement.
    - The emergence of socialism transformed anti British struggle into all-out war. QIM was never suspended or called off.

**Limitations:**

- Socialist and Communist parties couldn't establish their hegemony in the Indian national movement.
- The Congress Socialist Party remained vague in its objectives. Its primary goal was Indian independence whereas a socialist transformation remained to be a secondary one.
- It couldn't form a united front with CPI even during the time of crisis.

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 37: Civil Disobedience Movement**

Nikhil Sheth

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*"Civil disobedience is not our problem. Our problem is civil obedience."*

Howard Zinn

*"The call of 1920 was a call for preparation. The call in 1930 is for engaging in the final conflict."*

Mahatma Gandhi

*"The Civil Disobedience Movement was a watershed moment in the Indian freedom struggle. It helped to unify the Indian people and to show the world that India was ready for independence."*

Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan

**Background:** The political environment in the country was getting over-heated. By 1928-29 the country was slowly but surely, moving towards a new mass movement.

- The Swaraj Party
- Simon Commission and Nehru Report
- A new upsurge was visible among the youth: Leftist leaders like Subhash Chandra Bose and Jawaharlal Nehru were spreading the idea of Purna Swaraj through the Indian Independence League.
- Return of Gandhi
- Ultimatum given by Calcutta Congress (1928): British to accept the Nehru report or be ready for another round of mass movement with the goal of Purna Swaraj.
- Lahore Conspiracy Case and death of Jatin Das
- Meerat Conspiracy Case
- Failure of Irwin Offer (Oct 2919)
- Impact of world economic depression on almost all sections of Indian society.
- Lahore Session of Congress (1929-30)

Thus, the stage was set for a new confrontation with the Government. Gandhi wrote a letter to Viceroy Irwin on 31<sup>st</sup> January 1930 presenting his **eleven demands**. He first wanted to negotiate with Viceroy before launching the movement.

1. 50% cuts in army expenses and civil service salaries
2. Total prohibition
3. Release of political prisoners
4. Reform in the C.I.D. It should stop spying on political leaders.
5. Change in the Arms Act allowing popular control of issue of fire-arm licenses.
6. Lowering of the rupee-sterling exchange ratio to 1:41
7. Textile protection
8. Reservation of coastal shipping for Indians
9. 5% Reduction in land revenue
10. Abolition of the Salt Tax and end of Government salt monopoly
11. Acceptance of Postal Reservation Bill

Many Congress leaders, including Jawaharlal Nehru, did not appreciate Gandhiji's proposal. The government also took a negative attitude to his proposal. After a lot of heart-searching, Gandhiji decided to launch the Salt Satyagraha.

In his letter to the Viceroy dated 2 March 1930, Gandhiji conveyed his decision and reiterated some of his earlier demands. And he made it clear that if no positive response came by 11 March 1930, he would proceed along with his Ashram co-workers to break the provisions of the salt laws.

### **Gandhi's letter to Viceroy on 2<sup>nd</sup> March 1930**

*And why do I regard the British rule as a curse? It has impoverished the dumb millions by a system of progressive exploitation, and by a ruinously **expensive** military and civil administration which the country can never afford. It has reduced us **politically** to serfdom. It has sapped the foundations of our **culture**. And, by the policy of cruel disarmament, it has degraded us **spiritually**.*

### **Beginning of the movement: Dandi March**

On 12<sup>th</sup> March 1930, Gandhi, in association with 78 volunteers, started a 24 days march of 386 km from Sabarmati Ashram to Dandi coast. Based on Gandhi's principle of non-violence or Satyagraha, the march marked the inauguration of the civil disobedience movement.



*"Gandhi wanted this to be a long march, or pilgrimage perhaps, where his leisurely progress would enthuse people along the way and attract wider publicity too."* Ramchandra Guha

Thus, it wasn't simply a physical march; it was an attempt to establish an extensive communication with the people. It was a technique of mass mobilisation.

His Ashram inmates who accompanied him were drawn from different region and religions. In a word, it was a mini-India marching under the leadership of the 20<sup>th</sup> c. apostle of truth and non-violence. *"There were thirty-one marchers from Gujarat, thirteen from Maharashtra, lesser numbers from the United Provinces, Kerala, Punjab, and Sindh, with Tamilnad, Andhra, Karnataka, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa sending one man apiece. The diversity was social as well as geographical, for among the chosen marchers were many students and khadi workers, several 'untouchables', a few Muslims and one Christian"* (Ramchandra Guha). Even though women too wanted to be part of the march, Gandhi preferred to keep it restricted to men alone.

Newspapers of the day reported on how at every stop Gandhi was greeted by enthusiastic followers.

Gandhi reached Dandi on April 5. The following day (6<sup>th</sup> April), early morning he proceeded along with the other marchers to the sea, where he picked up lumps of natural salt lying in a small pit. The act was symbolic, but was hugely covered by the press, and was the beginning of several other acts of civil disobedience in other parts of India.

*"With this, I am shaking the foundations of the British Empire...Now that the technical or ceremonial breach of the Salt Law has been committed it is open to anyone who would take the risk of prosecution under the Salt Law to manufacture salt wherever he wishes and wherever it is convenient. My advice is that the workers should everywhere manufacture salt to make use of it and to instruct the villagers to do so"*

Gandhi said.



Now the movement spread to different parts of India. The people joined the battle instantaneously, thousands defied the lawless law all over the country. On 5<sup>th</sup> May, Gandhi was arrested and taken to the Yerawada Central Jail. (He remained in the Central Jail without trial and was released unconditionally on 26 January 1931.)

#### **Why did Gandhi choose salt as the main issue?**

The **Salt Act, 1882** gave the British a monopoly in the manufacture and sale of salt. Even though salt was freely available on the coasts of India, Indians were forced to buy it from the colonisers. Gandhi decided that if there was any one product through which civil disobedience could be inaugurated, then it was salt.

The issue of salt suited to the Gandhian method of mass mobilisation. It proved to be a unifying factor between the rural poor and the urban intellectuals. For millions of rural poor, it was an economic issue. It was inhuman and unnecessary burden on them. On the other hand, it was an emotional issue for Indian intellectuals. So, by choosing salt as the major issue of the non-cooperation movement, Gandhi tried to bridge the gap between the two classes and created a united front against the British.

**Programs:**

Gandhi had formulated a well-planned programme for this movement such as the boycott of British clothes and educational institutions, violation of salt laws in different parts of the country, protests outside liquor shops and at the shops selling other intoxicants (women took part in large numbers in such protests), no-tax campaign in Ryotwari areas and no-chowkidari tax campaign in Zamindari regions etc.

**Spread of the movement:**

The popularity gained by the march shook up the British government. It responded by arresting more than 95,000 people by March 31.

Gandhi had chosen **Dharasana** (May 1930, Gujarat) as the next site for salt satyagraha. However, before it could be executed, many Congress leaders, including Nehru, Patel as well as Kasturba were arrested. Gandhi had chosen **Abbas Tyabji** to lead but he too was arrested. Finally, it was **Sarojini Naidu, Maulana Azad, Pyarelal and Manilal** who led the brave and peaceful satyagraha at Dharasana.

American journalist **Webb Miller** was an eyewitness to the beating of satyagrahis with steel tipped lathis. He wrote that in his 18 years carrier as an international journalist he never saw such a determined non-violent agitation, where agitators were beaten mercilessly but they didn't lose courage. *"the satyagrahis faced blows with steel shod lathis on their bare heads and not one of them even raised his hands to protect his head. Each one of the satyagrahis went ahead till he was beaten unconscious and then another batch came facing the same fiery ordeal."* His report attracted international attention. As Louis Fischer later on commented: *"The British beat the Indians with batons and rifle butts. The Indians neither cringed nor retreated. That made England powerless and India invincible".*

The Salt Satyagraha inspired many such satyagrahas in different parts of India.

**1. Salt Marches**

- a. In Bengal, volunteers led by **Satish Chandra Dasgupta** walked from Sodepur Ashram to the village of Mahisbathan to make salt.
- b. **K.F Nariman** in Bombay led another group of marchers to Haji Ali Point where they prepared salt at a nearby park.
- c. **Chakravarti Rajagopalachari** broke the salt law at Tanjore coast in Tamil Nadu. He led a march from Tiruchirapalli to Vedaranyam, on Tanjore coast. (Vedaranyam Salt March)
- d. **K. Kelappan** (the hero of Vaikom) led a march from Calicut/Kozhikode to Payyannur.

- e. In the **far North-East**, salt satyagrahis marched all the way from Sylhet in Assam to Noakhali on the Bengal coast for making salt.
- f. In **Andhra**, Satyagrahis marched from village to village, spreading the message of Swaraj to reach the coastal area for making salt.
- g. In Bihpur, Bhagalpur, a large crowd of satyagrahis were lathi charged, in which **Dr Rajendra Prasad** was seriously hurt.

## 2. Satyagraha at Salt-work

- a. A crowd of 15,000 carried away all the salt from **Wadala salt work** in a suburb of Bombay, despite deployment of heavily armed mounted police.
- b. In Karnataka, a crowd of 10,000 satyagrahis invaded **Sanikatta salt-work** and faced lathi blows and police firings.

Altogether, more than one hundred people lost their lives and more than a thousand were wounded. However, the movement was not confined only to breaking of the salt laws alone. People also joined, rather enthusiastically, the **other programmes of the movement**. The illegal manufacture and sale of salt was accompanied by the **boycott of foreign cloth and liquor**. What started as salt satyagraha soon grew into mass satyagraha.

1. In response to the call of the Congress by February 1930, 172 **members of legislatures had resigned their memberships**, including 21 from Central Assembly and the rest from the provinces like Bengal (34), Bihar and Orissa (31) CP (20), Madras (20), UP (60) Assam (12) Bombay (6) and Punjab (2) and Burma (1).
2. In **Gujarat** a number of **village Patwaris** relinquished their posts and joined the movement.
3. Farber in **Calcutta**, **JM Sen Gupta**, the Mayor of Calcutta, publicly read out from seditious literature in **defiance of the law of sedition** and invited imprisonment.
4. **No revenue campaign** was organized in those areas where peasants were paying land revenue directly to government. **No rent campaign** was organized in Zamindari area.
5. **Forest laws** were flouted in Maharashtra, Karnataka, and the Central Provinces. The provisions of Indian forest Act, 1927 had imposed a number of restrictions on the activities of forest dwellers. They could no longer use forest produce freely.
6. Peasants in Bengal refused to pay **land and chowkidari taxes**. Anti-Chowkidari tax movement was particularly strong in East India.
7. **No rent and no municipal board tax campaign** was also organized.



In Allahabad, Motilal Nehru gave away his palatial house, Anand Bhawan, which was renamed Swaraj Bhavan, to the country. He even tried to make salt in the streets of Allahabad.

Jawaharlal Nehru was arrested on 14 April and gave his clarion call to the people: "Who lives if India dies and who dies if India lives.

8. **Traders and businessmen** also participated by boycotting foreign clothes, evidenced by the fall in the imports of British clothes from 26 million yards in 1929 to 13.7 million in 1930, Revenue on liquor excise also went down in a significant measure.
9. One of the marked features of the movement was the **large-scale participation of women**. They particularly took the lead in **picketing liquor shops**. They launched their own '**Purda Hatao' Movement** in which the women, drawn from all sections of society, participated.
10. **Assam:** Agitations were organized against **Cunningham Circular**.
11. **Nagaland:** Nationalist agitations were headed by **Rani Gaidinliu**. She was a young tribal girl of about 15 years of age. She led the agitation from the front. She was arrested during CDM and was released only after independence. The title of Rani was given to her by Pandit Nehru.



**Flag Satyagraha:** Flag agitations were organized by Indian Nationalist throughout India.

1. At **Machlipatnam**, the flag agitations were led by **Thota Narasayya Naidu**.
2. At **Calicut** the flag agitations were led by **P. Krishna Pillai**.
3. At **Surat**, kids organized **flag agitations** in their unique manner.

Quite surprisingly, there were **three violent incidents** during this movement-

3. Revolutionary activist, **Surya Sen**, along with his 5 associates, captured the **Chittagong** armoury on 18th April 1930.
4. On 23rd Oct 1930, when **Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan** was arrested at Peshawar, the volunteers of massively successful **Khudai Khidmatgar**, called **Red Shirts**, turned violent against the police.
5. On 7th May, the **mill workers of Solapur** went on strike on a violent note. Labours paralyzed the entire admin. They ran parallel government in city from May 7 to 16.

Acts of violence broke out in Calcutta, Karachi, and Gujarat as well, but unlike what happened during the non-cooperation movement, Gandhi refused to suspend the civil disobedience movement this time. It means that he realised by this time that a mass movement cannot be completely non-violent.

#### **Participation in the movement:**

- Larger participation of farmers, women, and capitalist class in comparison to Non-cooperation Movement.
- Unlike Non-cooperation Movement this movement did not enjoy the support of Hindu-Muslims amity. Declining participation of intellectuals, students, and workers in comparison to Non-cooperation Movement.

## **Political Attitudes**

- The **socialists** supported the movement wholeheartedly. The **communists** also supported the Congress as at this time, they were working from within the Congress and trying to tilt its policies.
- Some congress leaders known as **New Swarajists** refused to resign from the Legislative Council. NC Kelkar, Satyamurti and M.A Ansari were prominent among them.
- The Nationalist **section was Muslim League** supported CDM, but rest of the didn't participate.

### **Interlude: Stalemate from both the sides**

The movement affected India's soul despite the government's repressive actions, and it sent a clear message to the authorities that the Indian people were no longer prepared to live as slaves. The administration was also alarmed since it had not anticipated such broad public backing, despite its outwardly aggressive postures and oppressive methods.

Lord Irwin started to talk in terms of holding the RTC by the end of 1930. The services of liberal leaders like **Tej Bahadur Sapru** and **M R Jayakar** were enlisted to work out a compromise formula, leading to a truce. But nothing came out of their efforts as both sides stuck to their guns. Hence the struggle continued.

The **First Round Table Conference** was held in Nov 1930 – Jan 1931, in London, which was boycotted by the Congress. As the Movement was losing its momentum towards the end of 1930, some rethinking was also probably being done by the Congress leadership. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Tej Bahadur Sapru and Shrinivas Shastri played behind-the-scenes roles to work out a new rapprochement between the Congress and the Government.

In January 1931, Gandhi was released unconditionally from the Jail.

### **Major provisions of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact** (March 5, 1931):

After protracted negotiations between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, an agreement was reached between the two on 5 March 1931. Gandhiji agreed to discontinue the civil disobedience movement and participate in the Round Table Conferences, on Irwin's acceptance to withdraw the Salt tax and ordinances and cases against the Congress and other nationalists.

- Major Provisions:
  - All declarations regarding all associations, including the Indian National Congress, making them **unlawful** during the movement were to be taken back.
  - Release of **prisoners** of CDM who had not participated in violent acts.
  - All **fines** not yet realised were to be remitted. All **moveable property** seized during the movement would be returned. To return the seized **immovable property** if that property had not been sold to a third party.

- Withdrawal of draconian **ordinances**.
- All **proceedings** moved by the Government against all legal practitioners will be dropped, except those which relate to the acts of direct violence. However, proceedings/prosecutions against police and armed personnel would not be covered by this clause.
- All those who had **resigned** from their posts during the movement and wished to revert to their jobs would be reinstated, except relating to all those posts which had been filled up on a permanent basis.
- Right to protest near liquor shops in a peaceful manner.
- Right to make salt for their own use to people living on the seashore/coastal areas (not elsewhere)
- In return, as per this pact, Congress agreed to
  - Halt the Civil Disobedience movement.
  - Join the Second Round Table Conference.

#### **Judgement on Gandhi-Irwin Pact:**

Many people on the side of the Government as well as that of the Congress were not happy with the terms of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact.

- **British conservative elements** took it as surrender on the part of Lord Irwin.
  - British Conservative leader Winston Churchill said: "*it was alarming and nauseating to see Gandhiji-late Inner Temple Lawyer, now a seditious fakir, striding half-naked, up to the steps of the Viceroy Palace to parley on equal terms with the representatives of the King-Emperor.*"
- **Many Indians, including the Congressmen**, were dismayed by Gandhiji's consent to withdraw the movement at a very critical stage without achieving its basic objectives. There was discontent among the peasants as the movement was withdrawn in the mid-course.
  - Subhas Chandra Bose looked at it as an *act of surrender* on the part of Mahatma Gandhi.
  - Jawaharlal Nehru recorded in his autobiography, "*So I lay and pondered on that March night and in my heart, there was a great emptiness as if something precious had gone beyond recall... this is the way the world ends, not with a bang but with a whimper.*"

Despite opposition, the Pact was ratified both by the Working Committee and the Karachi Congress subsequently. In a way, it seems to be a major success of the Congress because for the first time Congress had bargained with the government on equal level. It was the first, and perhaps only, formally negotiated and signed pact between the Mahatma and the Viceroy of India. Besides, it also underlined the centrality of the Indian National Congress in general and that of the Mahatma in any future political settlement for India.

However, further developments prove that this pact could not prove durable. Gandhi himself was deeply disappointed by the British government's approach in the Round Table Conference and then he had to restart the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Meanwhile, Congress held **Karachi Session, (26-31 March 1931)**

- President: Sardar Patel

The Karachi resolution on fundamental rights and economic programme was nothing short of historic. Lahore Congress (1929) committed to the idea of Purna Swaraj, Karachi Congress gave a concrete shape to it.

#### **Resolutions:**

- The Congress expressed its admiration of the bravery and sacrifice of Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev and Rajguru who were executed on March 23, 1931, while also voicing its disapproval of political violence. It declared the execution of the three young men to be an 'act of wanton vengeance.'
  - Resolution on the martyrdom of **Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi**, a staunch secularist, who had been earlier assassinated during communal riots at Kanpur in 1931.
- The resolution reiterated the Congress Party's **commitment to 'Purna Swaraj.'**
- In addition to **fundamental rights** which protected **civil liberties**, the Resolution for the first time put forward a **list of socio-economic principles/rights** that the Indian state had to adhere to.
  - Wording: *This Congress is of the opinion that to enable the masses to appreciate what 'Swaraj,' as conceived by the Congress, will mean to them, it is desirable to state the position of the Congress in a manner easily understood by them. In order to end the exploitation of the masses, political freedom must include real economic freedom of the starving millions.*
- The Karachi resolution was in three parts.
  - **Part I: the fundamental rights and duties of the people**
    - Rights of freedom of expression, free association, peaceful assembly, freedom of conscience and religion.
    - Right to property and their free movement
    - Due process of law
    - Abolition of capital punishment
    - The state was to desist from offering any titles.
    - Free and compulsory free education.
    - System of universal adult franchise
    - Right to bear arms subject to public regulations
    - Citizen military training for national defence
    - Access to public utilities for all castes
    - Under Gandhian influence, it prohibited intoxicating drinks and drugs.



- **Part II: Labour**

- Minimum wages, better working conditions, including regulated hours of work.
- Women workers were assured of maternity leave and equality in respect of wages, etc.
- Children were to be barred from being employed.
- Peasants and working class were given the right to form unions for the protection of their interest.
- Small peasants were assured of reduction of land revenue and rent and their exemption, if found necessary.

- **Part III: economic policy and programme**

- To protect textile and other indigenous industries.
- State to own key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means of public transport.
- Relief in respect of agricultural indebtedness and control of usury.

Thus, the Karachi resolution presented a concrete and comprehensive picture of citizen's rights in respect of civil, political, and economic liberty.

### **Second RTC (Sept-December 1931)**

Mahatma Gandhi agreed to participate in the Second Round Table Conference which was to be held in London from 7 September 1931. However, **a lot of political change had taken place between the period of the Gandhi-Irwin Pact (March 1931) and the Second Round Table Conference (September 1931)**. Thus, Gandhiji started having doubts whether any useful purpose would be served by his participation in the Second Round Table Conference in the light of the divided nature of the national movement and the new hostile attitude of the British officials. *"I have often wondered myself what we are going to do at the Conference when we know that there is such a gulf between what we want and what has been as yet offered at the Conference. But the considerations of a satyagrahi decided me."* – Mahatma Gandhi



MR. GANDHI LANDS IN ENGLAND WITH MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU [LEFT] AND SIR P. T. MADAN, PRESIDENT OF JHANSI STATE COUNCIL; THEIR ARRIVAL AT FOLKESTONE.

### **In London:**

The main problem was the **Hindu-Muslim** problem. Despite his best efforts and his utmost sincerity, Mahatma Gandhiji could not achieve a breakthrough on the **issue of communal representation**. In the Minority committee, Gandhiji made a powerful speech in his attempt to allay the fears of minorities and pleaded with them to work unitedly for the independence of India. But he failed to persuade them.

Also, other minorities like scheduled castes, the Anglo-Indians, Christians and non-Brahmin groups also joined hands with the Muslims to assert that without adequate safeguard of their interests, no constitution for India would be acceptable to them. As the minority problem was not being solved, the conference turned out to be a big flop.

**Reason for the failure and Gandhi's disappointment in the Second Round Table Conference:**

- The composition of the Muslim delegates and other representatives was such that they were more committed to the Muslim cause rather than the cause of independence.
- The Labour Party Government, primarily responsible for the First Round Table Conference and the Gandhi-Irwin Agreement, had been replaced by the national Government which was virtually dominated by the conservatives.
- Gandhi was deeply disappointed when he felt that the British were treating the Congress like any other interest group or pressure group.



Thus, the Second Round Table Conference almost ended in a fiasco. This failure provoked Gandhiji to say that the '*parting of the way*' had come.

The Prime Minister declared that the communal difference would not be allowed to come in the way of further constitutional arrangements. But he also made it clear that if no agreement among the different sections of Indian people could be reached on the minority issue, *he would announce his own award on it*.

After returning to India, Gandhi realised that the Indian political scenario had changed under the **new viceroy, Lord Willingdon** (Nov 1931). He violated Irwin Pact by repressing Congress and other nationalists. Instead, he introduced a **policy of extreme repression**.

The **Gandhi-Irwin Pact**, for all practical purposes, **was dead**. All attempts by Gandhiji to revive its spirit failed as he was **not even given an interview by the new Viceroy**. While the old dispensation treated Gandhiji and the Congress with respect, the new one was out to humiliate them by showing them their place. Thus, the Congress was hardly left with any other alternative but to revive the mass Civil Disobedience Movement with renewed vigour. Hence, **Gandhi revived the civil disobedience movement** on 4 Jan 1932.

**The renewed movement invited the worst repression from the government.** More than that, there was fundamental change in the attitude of the Government after the collapse of the Second Round Table Conference

Within a few months the government apparently crushed the movement with all such barbaric measures. The movement continued, though its pace slowed down by the later part of 1932.

Now, when the movement was likely to die, to make the situation worse, the then **Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald's** government announced a scheme, subsequently known as **communal award** (16 Aug 1932). British Government announced that members to the provincial legislatures would be elected from separate electorates demarcated on a communal basis. This award was a big blow to Indian nationhood and was designed to further fragmentation.

(a) It extended the principle of separate electorate to many Indian religious and caste groups. Thus, **each community was to be treated as a separate constituency** for the purposes of election for its representatives.

Ten communities were identified as minorities: (i) Muslims, (ii) Depressed classes, (iii) Backward areas representatives, (iv) Indian Christians, (v) Anglo-Indians, (vi) Europeans, (vii) commerce and industry, (viii) Land holders, (ix) university and (x) the labour. However, the award did not cover the Central Legislature



(b) Seat allotment

The actual distribution of seats in the provincial legislatures differed from province to province. Careful consideration was given by the Award to safeguard the British imperial

interests. Out of 1488 seats in all the 9 provinces, Hindus got only 776 (715 general seats +61 for the depressed classes) which was 52% of the total seats, whereas the Muslims got 489 (around 33%) when the population was not more than 25% of the population. Thus, the British game becomes clearer.

(3) It was more of an order rather than an award as the Congress Party was never a party to rendering any authorisation to McDonald in this regard. Perhaps, this is why it was made clear by him that in case Indian political groups would succeed in finding an all-agreed scheme, the award would be withdrawn and suitably substituted by it.

Gandhiji was deeply concerned about it, and he reacted sharply. On September 20, 1932, Gandhiji went on a fast unto death protesting a separate electorate for Harijans. He said, '*separation would kill all prospects of reform*'; '*when a man relies on a support, to that extent he weakens himself*'

Finally, it was resolved in September 1932 through the **Poona Pact**. With the persuasive intervention of some prominent Indian leaders including Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Poona Pact was signed with Dr Ambedkar, the leader of the depressed classes.

- Central and Provincial elections
  - **The concept of separate electorate would be discarded.** Instead, seats for the depressed classes would be reserved in general electorate, which would be joint in nature.
  - There would be 148 reserved seats in different provincial legislatures instead of 71 as provided under the Communal Award. In Central legislature, 18% of the seats allotted to the general electorate in British India would be reserved for them.
- This system of representation for the depressed classes (for both provincial and Central Legislatures) would continue till it would be terminated by the mutual agreement of the communities concerned.
- Other provisions
  - Every effort would be made to secure fair representation of the depressed classes regarding the election to **local bodies** as well as in their appointment to **public services**.
  - An adequate sum, out of the **educational fund of every province**, would be earmarked for providing educational facilities to the members of the depressed classes.

This agreement was signed not only by prominent national leaders like **Madan Mohan Malaviya, C Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, and GD Birla**, but also by prominent depressed classes leaders like **BR Ambedkar and MC Rajah**. The British Prime Minister immediately accepted these points of the Poona Agreement, which were relevant to the award already announced by him.

On the termination of the fast on 26 September 1932, Gandhiji turned his attention towards the problems faced by the Harijans.

First RTC	Nov 1930 – Jan 1931	Congress boycotted
Second RTC	Sept 1931 – Dec 1931	Congress attended
Third RTC	Nov 1932 – Dec 1932	Congress boycotted.
Soon after, in April 1933, a joint parliamentary committee was appointed which submitted its report on 19 December 1934. Finally, a Bill was introduced in the British Parliament which was passed on 4 August 1935 and became the <b>India Act of 1935</b> .		

### Winding up of the CDM:

The next **Congress Session was in Calcutta (Sept 1933)** presided over by **Nellie Sengupta**.

- Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, the President elect of the Congress, was arrested before the Calcutta Session of 1933. Nellie Sengupta was elected in his place, thus becoming the third woman, and the second European-born woman to be elected.
- In the Congress, resolutions were passed reiterating complete Independence as the goal of the Congress, endorsing the revival of Civil Disobedience, expressing complete faith in Gandhiji's leadership and reaffirming deep faith in non-violence.



This was the period when a new thinking was growing in a section of the Congressmen that there was a need once again for the entry into the Council. Ultimately, the **Civil Disobedience Movement was withdrawn** on 20 May 1934 and the **Congressmen were permitted Council entry**.

### **Bombay Session of Congress, October 1934**

President: Rajendra Prasad

- **Major changes in the Congress constitution:**
  - Wearing of Khadi was made a necessary criterion for elective membership.
  - The delegates were to be elected at the rate of 1 per every 500 primary members, thereby making them representatives of the people.
- Jawaharlal Nehru moved the **resolution for convening a Constituent Assembly** to frame a suitable Constitution for free India at the Bombay session.
- Owing to the increasing difference of opinions between the tactics of Gandhi and Congress, **Gandhi's retirement from Congress as member was declared at this session**. He declared, "*I am a dead weight in the Congress now.*"

Gandhiji started vigorously the **Harijan Upliftment Program** and went on a tour of ten months from November 1933 in connection with Harijan work.

## Did the Civil Disobedience Movement fail? (Critical evaluation)

Even though the movement didn't succeed in achieving its declared objective of complete independence nor did it immediately lead to self-rule or dominion status, we cannot take the entire CDM as a failed movement.

- **The massive support for the Congress** reached new heights. With it, the **social base** of the national movement was greatly widened. **Its influence in the rural area** was clearly visible.
- The movement provided an **opportunity to younger generation of congress to participate** activity in anti-British struggle. Young leaders like Pandit J.L Nehru and Sarojini Naidu played an important role in the movement.
- The movement manifested itself in the **radical form in certain areas** viz., NWFP, Nagaland
- The refusal of the soldiers of Gorkha regiment to open fire on peaceful agitations of Peshawar clearly indicates that spirit of Nationalist was no longer limited to civilian population only. The **British could no longer rely on blind support of Indian armed forces**.
- **Three major points**
  - Indian, British and world opinion increasingly recognized the legitimate claims of Gandhi and the Congress for Indian Independence.
  - The British also realized that control over India now depended completely on the consent of the Indians. The pressure builds by CDM forced the British to take Indian Nationalist leaders seriously. The round table conference granted Indian leaders a position of equality with British Government.
  - Congress received unprecedented public support amid this movement. Hence, it played a major role in the success of the Congress in the election of 1937.

The Strategic Debate: What to do next?

Following the withdrawal of CDM, there was a two-stage debate on the future course of action. Many Congressmen including Gandhi believed that mass movement must be followed with a period of reprieve in order to regain strength after prolonged mass movement, give chance to government to respond. (STS' strategy). **In the first stage**, three proposals were put forward.

1. There should be **constructive work on Gandhian lines**.
2. There should be **constitutional struggle and participation in elections** to the central legislature due in 1934; M.A. Ansari, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai, S. Satyamurthy and B.C. Roy supported this.
3. A strong **leftist trend** within the Congress represented by Nehru was critical of both the above options. Nehru was against this STS' strategy as he argued that India's National Movement had reached such a stage where continuous confrontation and conflict with imperialism was required till it was overthrown.
4. He proposed for *continued non-constitutional mass struggle* to achieve purna swaraj, because the situation was still revolutionary owing to continued economic crisis and the readiness of mass to fight. (**SV strategy** = struggle-victory)
5. He suggested to have class organizations: peasants, workers, traders, businessmen to prepare them for the mass movement. He suggested that these class organizations be affiliated with Congress to influence its policies and activities. He believed that there cannot be genuine anti-imperialist struggle without masses organised into classes.

**Council Entry:**

- Though Gandhi was principally against the council work, he realized that he was out of tune due to the power equation in Congress.
  - The reason given was that there are Congressmen who cannot actively participate in the constructive work or Satyagraha should not be kept unoccupied, they could express their patriotic energies through council work if they are not sucked into constitutionalism or self-serving.
- Nehru and the socialists thought that the British must first be expelled before the struggle for socialism could be waged, and in an anti-imperialist struggle, unity around the Congress, was indispensable. Thus, it was better, they felt, to gradually radicalise the Congress than to get isolated from the masses.
- The right wing was no less accommodating. Seeing all this, Gandhi decided to resign from Congress and decided to show his conviction through work and deed.

**In the elections of Central Legislative assembly in Nov 1934**, Congress captured 45 out of 75 seats reserved for Indians. It emerged as the largest legislative party.

## The Act of 1935

*After all, we framed the constitution... of 1935 because we thought ... it was the best way... to hold India to the Empire.*

Lord Linlithgow

The Government of India Act of 1935 was the longest piece of legislation ever passed by the British Parliament. It was a comprehensive document consisting of 321 Sections and 10 Schedules. The Act provided a framework for the establishment of an All-India Federation at central level and a new system of government for the provinces on the basis of provincial autonomy.

The Act is of considerable significance. It did the groundwork for the negotiations that led to the final transfer of power into Indian hands. Though the Act was drawn up to perpetuate British rule, some of its provisions were so well thought out, that, they were incorporated into the constitution of independent India.

### **Features:**

The basic conception of the Act of 1935 was that the *Government of India was the Government of the Crown*, conducted by authorities deriving functions directly from the Crown, in so far as the Crown did not itself retain executive functions. This conception, familiar in dominion constitutions, was absent in earlier Acts passed for India.

#### **(A) Provincial level**

- **Provincial Autonomy:** the most significant change
  - **Abolition of dyarchy → responsible government.**
    - There was to be a provincial Governor and a cabinet of ministers.
    - The ministers would be appointed from among the members of the Legislative Assembly. Ministers were appointed by the Governor but were responsible to popularly elected legislative assemblies.
  - **Provincial autonomy**
    - Provinces were freed from "the superintendence, direction" of the Secretary of State and the Governor-general. The provinces would henceforth derive their legal authority directly from the British Crown.
    - In the provinces, local power was increased. The ministers exercised complete control over the subjects allotted to them. They were given independent financial powers and could borrow money on their own security. In every matter the Governor had to act on the advice of their ministers.
    - Provincial legislature could legislate on subjects in provincial and concurrent lists.
- **Hedged and marred by various discretionary and special powers to the governors. Governors were the pivot of the entire constitutional structure.**
  - **Special power** in respect of minority rights, safeguard of British business interest and privileges of civil servants. It was also the special responsibility of a provincial governor to ensure adequate representation of minorities in the cabinet.

- They could, **dismiss ministers** at their discretion. Besides, the governor could also **take over the provincial administration** under certain special circumstances.
- What made the position of the governor more formidable was the fact that **40 per cent of the provincial budget was beyond the purview of the provincial ministries**. The governor also enjoyed the **power to restore the budget** even if it had been rejected by the legislatures.

### (B) Central level

- A federal structure comprising *both British Indian provinces* as well as **Princely India**.
  - **Federal features**
    - Three lists, federal, provincial, and concurrent.
    - A federal court.
  - However
    - States were given full freedom whether or not to join the federation.
    - Federation was to come into being only if.
      - More than 50 per cent states decided to join it (52 seats out of 104)
      - Aggregate population of states in the above category should be 50% of the total population of all Indian states.
- **Bicameral legislature** at the centre

House	Composition	Election (communal electorate)	Duration
<b>Lower house (House of Assembly)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total 375 members: 250 members from the provinces and 125 members from the states. 250 = Hindus (104), Muslim (83), other minorities (26), industries and commerce (11), labour (10), landlords (7) and women (9).</li> </ul>	Elected by the members of the Provincial Assemblies by the system of proportional representation with a single transferable vote basis.	The duration of the assembly was to be 5 years.
<b>The upper house (Council of State)</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Total 260 member: 105 elected, 104 from Princely India and 6 to be nominated by the Governor General.</li> <li>• 150 = General category (75), Schedule castes (6), Sikhs (4), Muslims (49), Women (6) and Anglo Indian (10).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 150 members were to be elected directly by voters with high property qualifications.</li> <li>• 104 members were to be nominated by the rulers of Princely India. (Not elected)</li> <li>• 6 members were to be nominated by the Governor General.</li> </ul>	Council of States was to be a permanent body with one-third members retiring every third year.

Note 1: Election to the Council of States was direct and that to the Federal Assembly, indirect.

Note 2: Members of Federal Assembly could move a vote of no-confidence against ministers. Council of States could not move a vote of no-confidence.

- **Executive: Dyarchical system** of the government at the central level.
  - Two categories of the subject list: reserved and transferred.
    - **The reserved subjects** were administered exclusively by GG with the help of his executive councilors. It included defence, external affairs, tribal administration and ecclesiastical affairs. The Indian legislature had no control on these affairs. As to these subjects the Governor-General was held directly responsible to the British Parliament and not to the Central Legislature.
    - **The transferred subjects** were to be administered by the Governor-General with the help of the ministers, who appointed by the Governor General from among the persons enjoying the confidence of the Central Legislature. Here too, the Governor-General kept certain 'special responsibilities'. It is clear that under the new Act there would be no responsible government at the centre.
  - **Role of Governor General**
    - The Governor-General could act in his individual judgment in discharging his special responsibilities. The Governor-General had the power **to overrule the advice of the council** of ministers or to force his decision on the ministers. He could restore cuts in grants, certify bills rejected by the legislature, issue ordinances, exercise his veto.
    - The Governor-general had **residuary powers**.
    - Before enacting any legislation, the legislature had to take the prior approval of the Governor-General.
- Additional Features
  - 80 per cent of the budget was non-votable.
  - The Act contained a provision known as **Instrument of instructions**. It was a set of instructions for GG and Governors for the exercise of their authority. (*later on it influenced DPSP in the Constitution of India 1950*)

## Critical Analysis of the Act of 1935

The Act of 1935 was condemned and rejected unanimously by all sections of the Congress. The Congress demanded, instead, convening the constituent assembly elected based on adult franchise to frame constitution of free India.

- There was no sense of independence in the provisions of this Act. Even **Britain's earlier promise of the grant of the 'full dominion status'** was missing from its provisions.
- The Act provided a **rigid constitution** with no possibility of internal growth. The Right of amendment was reserved with the British Parliament.
- **Provincial Level:**
  - Provincial autonomy was hedged by the autocratic nature of the powers of the governor.
    - Provisions relating to safeguards and discretionary powers were made under the pretext of providing protection to minorities made the **provincial autonomy quite farcical**. The **real intention was to safeguard the British interests** and continuation of the British imperial rule.
  - Responsible government at the provincial level was a part of that larger strategy of the British.
- **Central Level:**
  - The system of **Dyarchy** introduced at center was strongly opposed because it had already failed at provincial level.
  - Indian nationalist wanted that **participation of native states** must be compulsory in proposed federation, but the act made it voluntary. The Congress wanted representatives of native states in parliament to be elected by people, but act provided their nomination by ruling princes.
  - The **federal part was never implemented**, primarily on account of the reluctance of Princely India.
- **Election**
  - Only 14-15% eligible to vote.
  - The system of religion-based and class-based electorates was further extended. It refurbished the idea of separatism by promoting separate electorates for the Muslims and other minorities. It helped the construction of communalism in a big way.

**Silver lining: It marked a new departure in India's constitutional history.**

- **Centre**
  - The ideas of federation **covered the entire country**.
- **Provinces**
  - Introduction of the **responsible government** at the provincial level.
  - The element of Indian representation made it certain that **Parliamentary institutions** would gradually become stronger.
  - **Administrative devolution to the point of no return:** provincial autonomy indicated that the next logical step was autonomy at center. In that situation India was to get dominion states.

- It provided for **greater association of Indians with the task of administration** because at provincial level all the subjects were to be handled by Indian ministers.
- System of provincial autonomy **allowed Indian leaders to gain crucial experience** in the working of government machinery. Because of this, Indians could manage efficiently when power was transferred to them.

- **More points**

- The **instrument of instructions** provided in the Act of 1935 imposed a moral obligation of Governor and GG to exercise their authority for the benefit of people. The British realized that aspirations of common masses cannot be neglected forever.

When the Constituent Assembly engaged itself in the task of constitution-making for independent India, the Act of 1935 came as a very handy and helpful document for the founding fathers of our constitution. It facilitated task of Indian constitution. This Act was adopted substantially by makers of Indian constitution. (Structurally, if not spiritually)

### Faizpur Session of Congress (Jalgaon, Dec 1936)

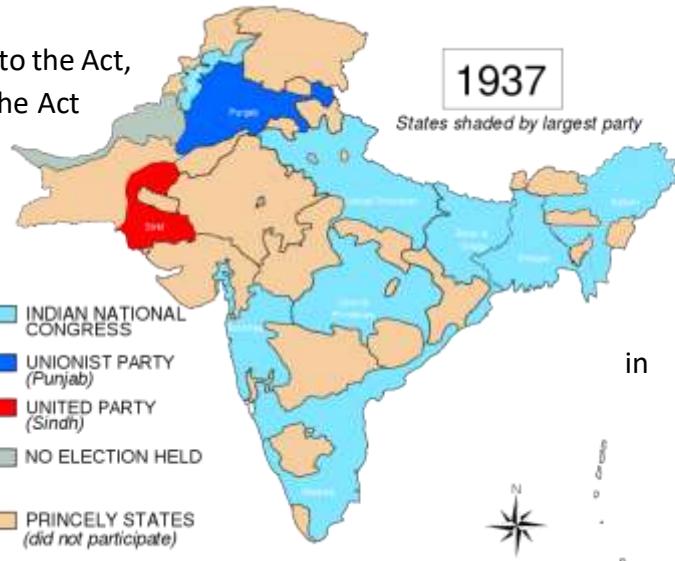
- President: Jawaharlal Nehru
- This was the **first Congress Session in a rural area**. Pandit Nehru said during his presidential address, 'A vaster and more pressing problem is that of the peasantry, for India is essentially a land of the peasants. In recognition of this fact, and to bring the Congress nearer to the peasant masses, we are meeting here today at the village of Faizpur and not, as of old, in some great city'.
- **Agrarian programme**
  - Its ratification demonstrated a change in ideological posture and generated expectations of socio-economic change.
  - Issues of 'freedom of organization of agricultural labourers and peasants', safeguarding of peasants' interests against intermediaries and 'just relief from agricultural indebtedness including arrears in rent and revenue'

## Elections of 1927 and Formation of the Congress Ministries

Though the Congress was bitterly opposed to the Act, it decided to contest the elections under the Act of 1935.

### • Council Entry debate

- Initially the Congress was hesitant as to whether the party would contest the elections. Jawaharlal Nehru, at the beginning, was not in favour of contesting the elections.
- Eventually even Nehru admitted that as many members of the Congress were in favour of taking office there was "no choice but to contest the elections". It was felt that by contesting the elections, the Congress would be able to demonstrate to the millions of the disenfranchised the ineffectiveness of the Act of 1935.
- The Congress and the Muslim League met separately in April 1936 and decided to contest the provincial elections, which were slated for January and February 1937.



### • The Election

- The election campaign took off towards the end of 1936.
- The Congress swept the polls in most of the provinces.
  - Out of the 1585 seats in the 11 provincial legislatures the Congress bagged 706 seats.
  - It won absolute majorities in Madras, UP, CP, Bihar and Orissa.
  - It was the largest single party in Bombay, Bengal, Assam and NWFP.

### • Office Entry debate

- This success, which was a surprise even to most Congressmen, gave a new turn to the office-acceptance question.
- **Nehru and Bose were opposed to forming government as it would mean responsibility without power and the constitutional work would sideline the revolutionary character of the movement.** The proponents of office acceptance argued that they were equally committed to combating the Act of 1935 but work in council was only short term as the availability of mass movement is a distant goal right now. They agreed that there was danger to be sucked in by wrong tendencies, but the right way is to combat them and not to abandon them. Despite limited powers, provincial ministers could be used to promote constructive work. **Gandhi** was against the office acceptance, but he agreed to the trial of Congress ministries.

- The hesitation of the Congress to form ministries even after such a landslide victory in the elections was because of the **special power of the Governor**, as laid down in the Act of 1935 to overrule legislation put through by the ministers.
- Finally, however, Congress ministries were formed in July 1937 **in seven out of eleven provinces**. Subsequently, the Congress formed **coalition governments in two others**. (Assam and NWFP)
- It was during the ministry formation that Jinnah wanted a coalition government, particularly in UP and Bombay. That was rejected by the Congress on ideological grounds. The spurned Muslim League went for rapid communalism,

- **Non-Congress Provinces**

- Unionist Party of Sikandar Hayat Khan – Punjab
- Krishak Praja Party of Fazlul Haq – Bengal
- Sindh Ittehad (Union) Party of Allah Baksh Soomro – Sindh

### In the Offices: 27 months of the Congress Ministries

The formation of congress ministers resulted in psychological revolution in India because for 1st time The British Indian officers were taking orders from khadi clad, men and women who were harassed by them till that time. These Indians who were repeatedly Lathi charged and pushed in jails became the boss of white officials. The common Indians felt liberated when the responsibilities of government moved into hands of Indian ministers. According to Pandit Nehru, there was a sense of immense relief among the masses as if the colonial oppression going on since ages was no more.

#### **Working with British**

- The Indian ministers **worked fairly well with the British** authorities.
  - The special powers given to Governors by the new Act which had almost caused Congress to refrain from forming ministries, were applied on only one occasion.
- On the whole, the relation between Indian and British officials were characterised **by mutual trust and respect**.
- Though they **failed to bring about any fundamental change in the exploitative character** of colonial rule, they sought to give some comfort to the people **within the framework of the British rule**.

#### **The disadvantages of the Congress ministries**

- The Congress ministries **could not work independently**.
  - There was the **inevitable paradox of a party committed to Poorna Swaraj and having to implement decisions through civil service and police** with which its relations had so long been hostile.
  - The Congress had to work within the framework of the 1935 constitution and could not bring about any fundamental breakthrough.
- The most serious problem was the **balancing of diverse interests of communities and classes**.

- As the Congress had a **multi-class character**, as a ruling party it found impossible to go on pleasing the landlords and peasants, or businessmen and workers, at the same time.
- The principal problem which the provincial governments experienced was **financial stringency**.
  - The bulk of the Indian revenues was **controlled by the Central Government**. It was difficult for the Congress governments to freely undertake welfare programmes which required a steady flow of funds.
- As Congress policy was now formulated by the Parliamentary Sub-committee, it was not possible for the ministries to embark on any project without the **prior approval of the High Command**.

Despite the various disadvantages experienced by the provincial governments their achievements were significant. The Congress ministries performed a **herculean task within a short period of 27 months** between July 1937 and November 1939. Their performance was remarkable compared to the non-Congress ruled provinces.

- **Promotion of Political and Civil rights**

- The British rulers passed quite a few repressive acts to contain the rising tide of nationalism. The Congress ministries of different **provinces repealed some of the repressive acts** and released many political prisoners. Emergency power acquired by provincial government in 1932 was done away with.
- **The ban imposed** earlier on some political organisations was **removed**.
- Political newspapers/journals were given freedom **of expression**. Securities confiscated were returned to the newspapers. Pending prosecution against them was withdrawn. Blacklisting for the government advertisement was given up.
- **The arms** confiscated from Indian were returned, revoked licenses were restored.
- **Power of police** were reduced. Practices like shadowing political leaders and meetings by CID were stopped.
- Many prisoners, including revolutionaries involved in Kakori and other conspiracies, were also released. The revolutionaries convicted for violet activities could not be released because they could only be released by consent of governor which was not given.

- **Peasants**

- Steps were taken to restore land of those farmers which were confiscated by the government by CDM.
- As promised in the election manifesto the ministries helped the peasants by passing anti-usury and tenancy legislation.
  - Congress ministries tried to give economic relief to peasants and workers as quickly as possible.
  - The UP government enacted tenancy act which gave full occupancy right to the peasants working on a land for a long time, the landlords could not remove them. The illegal taxes collected by landlords from peasants were stopped. Practices like begar (forced labour) and Nazrana (forced gifts) were abolished.
  - Bombay government released more than 40,000 serfs tied to land.

- Bombay and Madras government abolished growing fees in forests.
  - The activities of money leaders were also curbed.
- In his book India Wins Freedom, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad while narrating the achievements of Congress during this period, makes special mention of "legislation on Zamindari or proprietorship in land, of liquidating agricultural indebtedness and undertaking a vast programme of education both for children and adults."

- **Workers**

- The Congress worked for the benefit of the workers too.
- The number of trade unions rose and the trade union movement received a fresh impetus.
- The wages of the factory-workers rose and on the whole, the condition of the working class improved.

- **Social Welfare reforms:** These included following:

- Prohibition imposed in certain areas. There were campaigns to discourage alcoholism.
- Measures for welfare and upliftment of Harijans: temple entry, use of public facilities, scholarships, an increase in their numbers in government service and police.
- Attention given to primary, technical, and higher education and to public health and sanitation.
- Encouragement given to Khadi through subsidies.
- Prison reforms undertaken.
- Encouragement given to indigenous enterprises

- **Standards of behaviour: honesty and public service (led by example)**

- The ministers reduced their own salaries drastically from Rs. 2000 to Rs. 500 per month.
- Most of them travelled in ordinary classes on the train.
- They were easily accessible to the people and tried to address common grievances.
- Sumit Sarkar however differs on this point and says, "the sudden access to power and patronage bred the usual evils of opportunistic place-hunting and factional squabbles."

### **Extra-Parliamentary Mass Activity of Congress**

1. Launching of mass literacy campaign
2. Setting up of Congress police stations and panchayats
3. Congress grievances committees presenting mass petitions to Government
4. States Peoples' movements
5. Efforts taken to develop planning though **National Planning Committee** set up under Congress President Subhash Bose in 1938

## Criticism

While the Congress Ministries did commendable job in general but there were certain objections.

Despite creditable performance, Muslim League kept on accusing the Congress Ministries of pursuing an anti-Muslim policy. The left parties and their front organisations like trade union and the Kisan Sabha also went on expressing their dissatisfaction with the overall performance of these ministries.

- **Madras government did not behave liberally** sometimes.
  - In July 1931, **Yusuf Meherally**, a socialist leader, was prosecuted by Madras government for making an inflammatory speech.
  - In Oct 1937, the Madras government prosecuted **S.S. Batliwala**, another Congress leader for making a seditious speech and send in 6 months imprisonment.
  - These cases created a massive uproar. Serious conflicts developed between C Rajagopalachari (premier of Madras) and pandit Nehru but finally Batliwala was released.
- However, the Congress governments were immensely popular. The Congress ministries initially gave a **major stimulus to all sections of the anti-imperialist movement**. Congress membership shot up from half a million in 1936 to 3.1 million in 1937 and 4.5. million in 1938.

### **Haripura Session of Congress (Gujarat, Feb 1938)**

President: Subhash Chandra Bose was unanimously elected president of the session.

- He believed that the Congress ministries in the provinces had immense revolutionary potential.
- Bose supported economic development of the country through planning and was instrumental in setting up a **National Planning Committee** later (Oct 1938). Its main objective was to focus on *development of industries* in India.
- A resolution to give **moral support (not organizational help) to people's agitation in the princely states**. Individual leaders could participate, under the overall leadership of a special subcommittee of the Congress Working Committee.

### **Bose v/s Gandhi**

- In January 1939, Subhash Bose decided to stand again for the president's post in the Congress. Gandhi was not happy with Bose's candidature. He instead supported another candidate, **Pattabhi Sitaramayya**.
- Bose said he represented the new ideologies and programs to sharpen the anti-imperialist struggle. However, Sardar Patel, Rajendra Prasad, J.B. Kriplani (members of CWC) pointed out that various working committees develop the ideologies and program. The position of the Congress president was more of a representative and symbolic of the unity of the nation.
- Subhash Bose won the election by 1580 votes against 1377; he got the full support of the Congress Socialist Party and the communists.
  - Gandhi congratulated Bose on his victory but also declared that "Pattabhi's defeat is my defeat." Now it became a Gandhi versus Bose issue.

### **Tripuri Congress (near Jabalpur, March 1939)**

- With Bose's victory the polarization between the old guard and left in terms of ideology and method of future struggle was clear. **It led to a sharp internal crisis and showdown.**
  - 12/15 of the members resigned from the working committee.
  - In his presidential speech, Bose prophesized that an imperialist war was about to take place in Europe. He was in favour of giving a six-month ultimatum to Britain to grant the national demand of independence; if the ultimatum was rejected, he said, a mass civil disobedience movement should be launched. Gandhi believed that it was not the time for such ultimatums as neither the Congress nor the masses were yet ready for struggle.
  - Gandhi asked him to constitute his own Working Committee and refused all cooperation. Bose tried to patch up a compromise but failed, and ultimately at the AICC meeting in Calcutta in April 1939 he resigned and was quickly replaced by Rajendra Prasad.

- In May, Bose and his followers formed the **Forward Bloc**, as a new Leftist party within the Congress. But it didn't gain much support outside Bengal.
- When he staged a protest against the AICC decision to ban Congressmen from participating in civil disobedience without the prior permission of provincial Congress committees, the Working Committee at Gandhi's insistence **punished him for indiscipline**; in August 1939 he was removed from all Congress positions, notably the presidency of the Bengal PCC, and was banned from holding any executive office for three years. Later in January 1940, Gandhi wrote to CF Andrews describing Subhas as "my son" - but a "spoilt child of the family" who needed to be taught a lesson for his own good.

- **Resolutions**

- In February 1939, Nehru accepted the presidency of the AISPC and the Tripuri Congress endorsed the scheme of joint action with respect to state people.
- As a result of this evolving situation, in late 1938 and early 1939 many of the princely states witnessed an unprecedented escalation of popular agitation, spearheaded by the local praja mandals, clandestine Congress branches and outside political leaders from British India. Significant agitation took place in Mysore, Jaipur, Rajkot, Travancore, Kashmir and Hyderabad – **Gandhi himself taking a leading role in Rajkot.**

## **Beginning of World War 2: Resignation of Congress Ministries**

In 1939, the Congress ministries resigned in protest of the Viceroy's unilateral decision to declare India in war against Germany during the Second World War. The Congress was stunned and demanded a concrete assurance in respect of Indian independence, which the government refused to give. As a protest, the Congress ministries resigned in October 1939. Thus, the popular rule in the Congress-ruled provinces came to an end and the government once again resumed its autocratic rule. That once again set the stage of another mass movement which was to engulf the country in the form of the Quit India Movement in 1942.

### **Evaluation:**

Though by 1939 internal strife, opportunism, and hunger for power had started surfacing in the Congress, yet they were able to utilize Council work to their advantage to a great extent. The 28-month rule was significant also due to following reasons:

1. Contention that Indian self-government was necessary for radical social transformation got confirmed.
2. Congressmen demonstrated that a movement could use state power to further its ends without being compromised.
3. Ministries were able to control communal riots.
4. The morale of bureaucracy came down.
5. Council work helped neutralize many erstwhile elements (landlords etc)
6. People were able to perceive the shape of things to come if independence was won.
7. Administrative work by Indians further weakened the myth that Indians were not fit to rule.

## Muslim Separatism and Lahore Resolution (1940)

### **Miserable electoral performance of AIML:**

- In the elections of 1937, the Congress swept the polls in most of the provinces. The Muslim League, on the other hand could not do well in the elections.
- The only provinces remaining outside the Congress-orbit were Punjab, Sind and Bengal. None of these provinces, all of which had a Muslim majority, went to the Muslim League.
- The League won only 109 of the 482 seats reserved for the Muslims. Even Congress, which offered candidates in only 58 of these seats, won 26 of them.

### **Attempts at coalition:**

- Despite the failure of his party, Jinnah, the President of the League, hoped that Congress-League coalition should be formed in several provinces.
- Some efforts were made to arrive at an agreement, but eventually the negotiations fell through. The Congress, after its landslide victory, had no need to rally the League on its side.

### **Jinnah now became hostile:**

- The League now turned to bitter opposition to the Congress. From this point onwards Jinnah's attitude to Congress became hostile.
- He began to spread the cry that the Muslim minority was in danger of being engulfed by the Hindu majority. Jinnah now sought to consolidate the Muslim League by using a **communal strategy**.
  - He accused Gandhiji of "turning the Congress into an instrument for the revival of Hinduism" and of wishing to "**establish Hindu-raj in the country.**"
  - The League began to spread the idea that the **Muslim minority in India was in danger** of being engulfed by the Hindu majority.
- In October **1937** the Muslim League at its **Lucknow session** sought to create a broad-front by building up a populist image.
  - Jinnah-Sikandar Pact (1937): Sikandar Hayat Khan merged his Unionist party in AIML.
  - Jinnah propagated the ahistorical and unscientific theory that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations which could, therefore, never live together. Down through the ages, he said, the country was 'always divided into Hindu India and Muslim India.' In his Presidential address, at the Lucknow session he said that the Congress governments were nothing but Hindu governments out to oppress members of the Muslim nation. (**Two-Nation Theory**)
- Jinnah continued to spread separatism by **concocted accounts of Congress-repression** on the Muslim minority. The **1938 Pirpur Report** brought out by the League listed cruelties suffered by Muslims in the Congress-ruled provinces.
- In 1939, the Congress ministries in all the provinces resigned in protest of the Viceroy's decision to declare war against Germany during the Second World War. To celebrate the occasion he called for the observance of a '**Day of Deliverance and thanksgiving.**'

## 1940 Lahore Session and “Pakistan Resolution”

- At the Lahore session of the League, a resolution drafted by Sikandar Hayat Khan was passed calling for the grouping of '*geographically contiguous units in areas where Muslims pre-dominated, such as north-western and eastern India, which would form Independent States in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign.*'
- The resolution was vague and ambiguous.
  - Neither Pakistan nor Partition were explicitly mentioned.
  - The idea of 'Independent States' implied separation but could possibly mean no more than full autonomy within a loose federation.
  - The resolution later came to be known as the 'Pakistan Resolution' though officially the word 'Pakistan' did not feature anywhere in the text of this document.
  - Still, the Resolution certainly widened the gulf between the two communities and paved the way for the birth of Pakistan. Sayyid Ahmad Khan's "two nation theory" was refurbished, and Muslim separatism was now in full blast.
  - It also provided fuel to the advocates of Hindu nationalism.
- Subsequent to the Lahore Resolution Jinnah frequently referred to the **notion of a separate Muslim state as the only solution** to India's political problems.

### Congress Response was adequate

- INC rejected any form and shape of communalism. It disregarded the '2 nation theory' propagated by Jinnah and the Muslim league. The Congress leadership, Gandhi and the nationalist press **condemned** the Lahore Resolution in harsh language.
- Old policy of **projecting a few nationalist Muslims** to silence the League. They repeated their old **argument that the League was not the sole representative of the Muslims** of India.
- The Congress leaders helped to organize the **All-India independent Muslim Conference** in Delhi shortly after the Lahore Session of the League. The voice of the nationalist minded Muslims like Abul Kalam Azad was too feeble to match the voice of the separatist Muslims.
- Congress had **steadfastly refused to ally itself with Hindu Communalist groups**, but, on the other hand, it was unable to purge communalists from its ranks altogether.

# ANTHROPOLOGY

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**Ramgarh Congress, August Offer**

There was a general sentiment of launching immediate mass struggle among some leaders, after resignation of the Congress ministries. However, different stakeholders responded as follows:

**Gandhi and his supporters did not favour an immediate mass struggle. Gandhi was in favour of continued cooperation at the provincial level. He said that he would offer the British moral support during the war but on a non-violent basis.** Gandhians believed that the cause of Allied forces (of which the British were a part) was just, Congress organization was not fit to lead another mass struggle immediately, there was a possibility that a mass struggle could degenerate into communal conflict and the masses were not ready to participate effectively in another conflict.

**The leftists** like Subhash Chandra Bose, Communist Party of India, Congress Socialist Party, the Royists – characterized the war as an imperial struggle and supported an all-out effort to dislodge British government from India.

- Bose continued with his strong militant stand of direct action against the colonial government forcing it to agree to the grant of freedom. Once again, he pointed out that Britain's difficulty was to be seized as India's opportunity.
- He even mooted the idea of forming another Congress party to lead a mass struggle but the CPI and CSP did not support him.

**Nehru** was against both imperial and Fascist powers but tilted against the fascist powers and therefore went along with Congress and Gandhi. He reiterated that complete independence for India must be a precondition for Congress support to the British war effort.

- **Ramgarh Congress (March 1940)**

- President: Abul Kalam Azad
- The Congress reaffirmed its demand for complete independence.
  - Indian freedom could not be in the form of dominion or any other status within the imperial structure. Sovereignty, said the Congress resolution, must rest with the people, whether in the States (the princely states) or the provinces.
- "Congress would resort to civil disobedience as soon as the Congress organization is considered fit enough or if circumstances precipitate a crisis."



Jawaharlal Nehru, industrialist  
Jamnalal Bajaj, Sarojini Naidu,  
Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan,  
and Maulana Azad at the 1940  
Ramgarh Session

- It said that India never intended to establish a new nation on the ruin of British crown and accepted that Indian **Congress had no intention to support the extreme Nazi regime** as against the British paramount. The Congress further stated that it would support the British government to fight the war as it is meaningless to resort to non-violence when enemy is at the doorsteps. Thus, it appreciated the grave crisis with which the British were confronted with at that time, **agreed to cooperate** with the rulers on the conditions:
  - **Provisional National Government immediately**
  - Announcement of the goal of **Independence in India after the war.**

### August Offer by Linlithgow (August 1940)

- In response, the British authorities made it clear that power could not be transferred to a body which was not accepted by the Muslims and other minorities. But they came up with the August Offer as a reply to the offer of cooperation made by the Congress towards the government.
- **Timing:** For many months the British government did not pay any attention to demands of Indian leaders but when **Battle of Britain** commenced in July 1940, Britain came under immense pressure. British government was at a worse situation, as almost all the nations of Europe fell before the German army. The deteriorating war situation in Europe forced them to seek all help from India, and thus appease India by conciliating them.
- **Proposals:**
  - **Long-term (post-war)**
    - India would be granted self-government or **Dominion Status**
    - Setting up of a **representative constitution-making body:** a Constituent Assembly after the war where mainly Indians would decide the Constitution according to their social, economic and political conceptions, subject to fulfilment of the obligation of the Government regarding defence, minority rights, treaties with states, all India services.
    - No future Constitution to be adopted without the consent of minorities.
  - **Interim**
    - Full Indian support was expected during war period.
    - **Increase in the number of Indians in the Governor-General's Council**
    - **A war advisory council** comprising Indian members would be established.



- **Congress Reaction**
  - It failed to satisfy the aspirations of Indian Nationalists It was rejected by congress immediately.
    - The Congress had been demanding **complete Independence** since 1930 but it promised **dominion status** after the end of the war.

- Indian leaders were **demanding transfer of response to Indian hands immediately**, but the August Offer contained no such provision, congress was not against the idea of drafting constitution, but it wanted that the constant making process should commence immediately not after the end of the war.
- The Government had taken the **adamant position that no constitutional advance could be made till the Congress came to an agreement with the Muslim leaders**. It was just a ploy, and they were very well of British intensions of dividing Indians so that British Rule could continue.
- The Indian politicians rejected this August offer' forthwith.
  - Nehru said boldly that the whole idea of 'Dominion Status' "was as dead as a doornail."
  - Gandhi declared that August Offer widened the gulf between the British and Indian nationalists.
- **Muslim League Reaction**
  - The League rejected the Offer and announced that it would not accept anything less than partition of India.
    - In March 1940, the League had demanded the creation of separate state for Muslims by adopting a **resolution at Lahore**. So, it wanted separate state for Muslims, but August Offer did not make any such promise.
    - The August Offer just promised to safeguard the interest of minorities, but the nature of safety was not elaborated.
    - AIML wanted the League to get equal representation in the reconstituted executive council of G.G but the government did not make any such promise.

### Individual Satyagraha (Oct 1940 – Dec 1941)

- Meanwhile, the government issued **ordinance after ordinance** taking away the freedom of speech and that of the press and the right to organize associations. Thus, the Congress decided to resort to civil disobedience. Towards the end of 1940, the Congress once again asked Gandhi to take command.
- Gandhi insisted that it would be an individual or limited rather than mass movement of resistance. It would be a limited Satyagraha on an individual basis by a few selected individuals in every locality.
- **Objectives:**
  - He wanted to ensure that the British were not embarrassed at their hour of crisis.
  - To show that nationalist patience was not due to weakness.
  - To express people's feeling that they were not interested in the war and that they made no distinction between Nazism and the double autocracy that ruled India.
  - To give another opportunity to the Government to accept Congress' demands peacefully.
  - To prepare the people for the coming struggle the Congress organization was being put back in shape; opportunist elements were being discovered and pushed

out of the organization; and above all the people were being politically aroused, educated and mobilized.

- **Nature of Individual Satyagraha:**

- The Satyagrahi would **beforehand inform the district magistrate** of the time and place where he or she was going to make the anti-war speech.
- Public anti-war declaration by Satyagrahi: '*It is wrong to help the British war-effort with men or money. The only worthy effort is to resist all war with non-violent resistance.*'
- And if the Government did not arrest a Satyagrahi, he or she would not only repeat the performance but move into the villages and start a trek towards Delhi, thus participating in a movement that came to be known as the '**Chalo Delhi**' (**onwards to Delhi**) movement.

- **Satyagraha**

- The carefully chosen Satyagrahis - **Vinoba Bhave** was to be the first Satyagrahi on 17 October 1940 and **Nehru** the second - were surrounded by huge crowds when they appeared on the platform, and the authorities could often arrest them only after they had made their speeches.
- By May 1941, 25,000 people had been convicted for individual civil disobedience.
- The Forward Bloc leader Subhas Chandra insisted that it was high time to launch a civil disobedience movement and strike at the enemy. Subhas Chandra launched a civil disobedience movement on his own which found a favourable response in Bengal.



### Aftermath

- Withdrawal of the individual satyagraha movement in **December 1941**.
- The Congress leaders, released from jails, were anxious to defend Indian Territory and go to the aid of the allies.
- The CWC overrode Gandhi's and Nehru's objections and passed a resolution offering to cooperate with the Government in the defense of India, if:
  - Full independence was given after the war,
  - The substance of power was transferred immediately.
- It was at this time that Gandhi designated Nehru as his chosen successor.

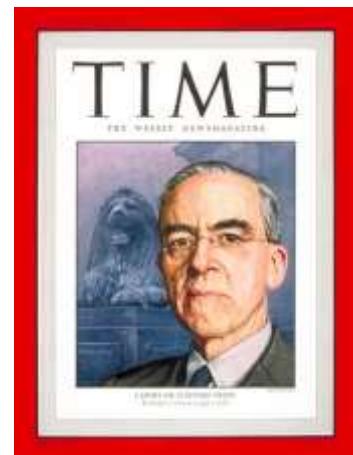
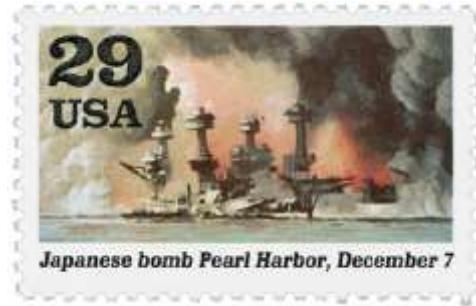
## The Cripps Mission (Mar-Apr 1942)

**Background reasons** for the British to break the deadlock after the rejection of the 'August offer' in 1940 by the Indian leadership. Deteriorating war situation, particularly on the eastern frontier of India, forced both parties to engage in serious dialogue.

- In 1941, two major changes in world politics took place.
  - On June 22, 1941, **Nazi Germany attacked the Soviet Union**. Repeated success of the Germans in the War kept the British on their toes. Quite a few people in India were happy to discover their enemy number one in distress, but the Congress High Command refrained from doing anything which might multiply the difficulties for the British. The
  - On 7th Dec 1941, **Japan entered the WW** with a massive attack on American base located at pearl harbor, in which more than 2000 American soldiers got killed and the complete scenario of war got changed. Within a span of few weeks Japanese forces captured almost whole of southeast Asia, it was quite clear that **India would be next Japanese Target**.
- Even a diehard imperialist like **Premier Churchill** looked for support of the Indian people and their leadership to meet the challenge of the Japanese menace.
- **Indian leadership** also appeared inclined to open negotiation, as they were doubly concerned about the defence of India.
  - The Congress leadership had refused to go along with Gandhiji on his proposal to a non-violent resistance to war, so much so that he was relieved of his leadership after the withdrawal of the individual satyagraha movement in December 1941.
  - Thus, Congress leadership had no moral compunction in extending its support to the British war efforts if its demand for freedom was conceded by the British.
- During early 1942, **Chiang Kai-Shek**, visited India and extended moral support to the cause of the Indian independence.
- Interest was also shown by **President Roosevelt** in Indian affairs. Roosevelt even contradicted Churchill's statement that the Atlantic Charter was not applicable to the Indian situation.
- Not only that, **a section of the British Cabinet led by the Laborites** also favoured some fresh initiative on the part of the British to break off the Indian deadlock.

All this influenced the British Government to set up the Cripps Mission in March 1942.

Sir Strafford Cripps reached India on 22 March 1942 and stayed till 11 April 1942, engaging himself in serious discussions with the Indian leadership.



## The Cripps Proposal

The preamble of the draft proposal clearly mentioned that the basic objective of the British Government was to usher India to a state of self-governance. To that end, the government contemplated the creation of a new Indian Union, having **dominion status**.

- **As a long-term measure (post-War)**
  - An **elected constitution-making body** would be set up to frame a new constitution for India.
    - **Electoral college**
      - Elected members of the provincial assemblies
      - Nominated representatives from the Indian states
    - The total number of the constitution-making body would be one-tenth of the number of the electoral college. The election would be held based on **proportional representation**.
    - This Constituent Assembly would frame the **new constitution** for India.
  - British Government committed itself to accept the new constitution **subject to two conditions:**
    - **A province** at any stage would be free to reject the new constitution and opt-out of the Union and could retain its existing constitutional position.
      - However, it would be also open to future accession to the Union on its own discretion.
      - Such non-acceding provinces could frame their own constitution, which, in the eye of His Majesty's Government, would have the same status as the Indian Union.
    - **Indian states** were given freedom to join or not to join the proposed union.
      - A new treaty arrangement would have to be re-negotiated in the light of the new situation. This would apply to both acceding and non-acceding states.
- **Interim phase**
  - Until the new constitution comes into being, His Majesty's government must bear the responsibility for and retain the control and direction of the Defence of India as a part of their World War effort.
  - The government of India would bear the responsibility for mobilising the military, moral and material resources of India with the **cooperation of the people of India**.
    - Thus, **Indians** would immediately become **members of the Viceroy's Executive Council**, primarily with a view to prop up war efforts.
    - The leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people were invited for immediate and effective **participation in commonwealth as well as in the United Nations**.
  - Thus, they were exhorted to give their active and constructive help in the discharge of a task, which was vital and essential for the future freedom of India.

## Indian Reaction

It was clear that whereas **the long-term goal was clearer and more specific; the short-term arrangements were left deliberately vague and inconclusive.**

Several political groups like the Hindu Mahasabha, the leaders of the depressed classes, the Akalis, Anglo-Indians, and the Indian Christians rejected the proposal for their own reasons. For example,

- **Dr. Ambedkar** rejected Cripps plan because there were no provisions to safeguard their interest.
- **Sikhs of Punjab** also rejected Cripps plan because they were apprehensive that if province of Punjab rejected new constitution they will be left at mercy of Muslims.
- **Hindu Mahasabha** rejected Cripps plan on the ground that the freedom given to provinces to accept or reject a new constant was a threat on unity and integrity of India. It wanted that the members of C.A should be elected without any safeguard for any community.

The only political party to welcome the scheme was the **Radical Democratic Party led by M.N. Roy**. But the two dominant political organisations which really mattered, viz., the Indian National Congress and the Indian Muslim league, entered a sustained negotiation with Cripps.

### Negotiations with the Congress

The Congress Party was unhappy with the Cripps proposal.

- **Mahatma Gandhi**, after he came to know of the details of the proposal, asked Cripps to go back to his country by the first available plane. He even nodded his agreement when someone commented that the proposal was like 'a post-dated-cheque drawn on a crashing bank'.
- **Jawaharlal Nehru** was profoundly depressed by the contents, nature and implications of the proposal.



**The Congress had serious objections to the long-term part of the proposal primarily on three counts:**

- Instead of **Purna Swaraj** only dominion status had been conceded.
- Both the British provinces and the Indian states had been granted **the right to opt out** of the union, which would result in the dismemberment of the country.
  - Conceding the right of the British Provinces and the Indian states to opt out of the Union was nothing but **opening a Pandora's box for the balkanisation of India**.
  - The Cripps Mission gave a big **boost to the Muslim League** as it found in the proposal, a virtual **endorsement of its idea of Pakistan**.
- **Indian princes** had been given the right to nominate/appoint their representatives to the Constituent Assembly instead of the people being given the right to elect them directly.

However, the threat to the Japanese menace was too near to be ignored and the Congress leadership was interested in the optimal mobilisation of the people in defence of India. Hence, despite their reservation on the proposals, they willingly negotiated with Cripps on the nature and extent of immediate transfer of power to the people of India.

Thus, the Congress entered serious negotiations with Cripps on the interim arrangement to be made, even though it rejected its long-term arrangements.

**Maulana Azad**, the Congress President and **Jawaharlal Nehru** were the main negotiators on behalf of the Congress.

- The Congress leaders, at that time were looking for **certain concrete political gains** and they were not satisfied with mere promises for the future. They insisted that the **interim Government** must be a cabinet government with full powers including the defence portfolio. The Indian nationalists felt that the complete transfer of power to Indian hands was necessary to organise the war effort.
- The British refused to accept the Congress demand for the immediate transfer of effective power to Indians. The exigencies of the war were being used as a pretext to **deny substantial political concessions** to the Indian people, while it tried to extract maximum concessions from the Indian leadership.

The take it or leave it attitude of Stafford Cripps left Indians with no choice. **The negotiations between Cripps and the Indian leaders thus broke down.**

**The Muslim League rejected the Cripps proposal** as there was no assurance of a separate Muslim nation. The League did not like the idea of constituent assembly as such a body, they felt, would be dominated by the Hindus. The Muslim leaders claimed that partition was "the only solution" of India's constitutional problem.

#### Critical Analysis:

The Cripps Mission failed due to various reasons.

- **Cripps could not cope with the various demands floated by various Indian voices.**
  - To pacify the pluralist Indian political leadership, he too, spoke in many voices. He sought to please everybody, but in the end could not satisfy anybody. ‘
  - **His only ambition was to become the Prime Minister of Britain by making his mission to India a success.**
- Cripps alone was not responsible for the breakdown of the negotiation. The **Indian Viceroy, the bureaucracy, Lord Wavell and Churchill, the British Prime Minister** also contributed to the collapse of the scheme.
  - Winston Churchill could not hide his intentions when he flatly said, "I did not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire".

- It seemed more of a **window dressing** on the part of the British to meet the **pressure of the world public opinion**, rather than a genuine attempt to transfer substantial power to the people of India.

However, on several counts, the **Cripps Mission marked an important milestone** on the road to a negotiated constitutional settlement between the British Government and the people of India.



- For the first time, the British Government clearly **accepted the principle of self-determination** for the people of India. It conceded their **right to frame their own constitution**, which was a long-standing demand of the Indian national movement.
- **The British people** of all political hues got **committed to the idea of freedom for India**, which none of them could retrace subsequently.
- It was **the first major attempt of the Congress leadership to enter a detailed negotiation** with the British on their own: on all other earlier occasions, it was Mahatma Gandhi who had negotiated with the British.

But the immediate impact of the failure of the Cripps Mission was that it left the Indian people more determined to persevere on the path of struggle.

The failure of Cripps mission in satisfying Indian aspirations greatly disheartened Indian Nationalists. It also brought about a **distinct change in Gandhi's mood**. Earlier, he had been against launching any mass agitation against the colonial rulers during the war. He now asked for complete British withdrawal from India and was willing to go for a mass movement, despite the war. He realized that if British were so rigid in accepting Indian demands at a time when empire was fighting for its existence, their attitude won't be better after the end of the war.

It, therefore, provided a **historical backdrop to the Quit India Movement**.

**Quit India Movement (August Revolution) (1942-45)**

*"Whatever the consequences to India, her real safety and that of Britain too lie in orderly and timely withdrawal from India."*

Mahatma Gandhi

*"No empire intoxicated with the red wine of power and plunder of weaker races has yet lived long in this world and the British Empire, which is based on organised exploitation of physically weaker races of the earth and upon a continuous exhibition of brute force, cannot live, if there is a just God ruling the universe."*

Mahatma Gandhi

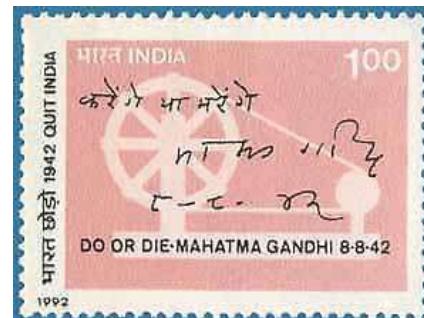
The failure of the Cripps Mission opened a new phase in India's struggle for freedom. Gandhiji had hitherto been hesitant in launching a mass movement against the British as they were busy fighting a global war. But, after the failure of the Cripps Mission, Gandhiji asked for complete British withdrawal from India. He made it clear that if the British failed to withdraw from India, he would not hesitate to launch a mass movement.

Deteriorating war situation on the eastern frontiers of India provided added urgency. As the Japanese invasion of India appeared imminent, a feeling grew that at the critical moment the British authorities might just leave the Indian people to their fate.

**Causes for the Quit India Movement:**

- The new popular mood of August 1942 caused by the rout of the British by the Japanese in S.E. Asia. The people came to believe firmly that the British rule was ending.
- Calculations by the Congress leaders.
  - Leaders like Gandhiji believed that the presence of British in India was inviting Japanese invasion because there was no such hostility b/w India and Japan.
  - Majority of the congress leaders, including Gandhi, began to calculate India's national interest in the event of an Allied defeat, which was very much on the card in the mid-1942.
  - When Europeans could not face the Japanese, they evacuated the whites and native were left behind at the evacuated the whites and natives were left behind at the mercy of Japanese forces. Indian leaders knew that scenario in India would be no different. Gandhiji decided to launch a mass movement against British rule, so that India could prepare its defense against possible Japanese invasion by expelling British from India.

- The arrogant behaviour of most of the foreign soldiers (British, American and Australian) stationed in India.
- The steeply rising inflation and the acute shortage of food stuffs caused by the war. The British, who were successfully managing the war economy at home, did not make any serious effort to do same in India.
- It had been more than 10 years of launching a mass movement against British. The anti-British discontent was reaching revolutionary proportions. Gandhiji knew that if a mass movement was not launched immediately the morale of people would get shattered. So, in spite of opposition from many Congress leaders, he decided to launch a mass movement.
- British provocation before and after the passage of the 'Quit India' resolution by the Congress were equally responsible for the Revolt of 1942.
- **AICC Meeting, Allahabad** (April-May 1942) and **CWC Meeting, Wardha** (14 July 1942)
  - It proposed **non-violent non-cooperation with the Japanese army**.
  - It simultaneously **called for a speedy British withdrawal** from India.
  - Once again **Gandhiji accepted the leadership of the Congress**, as it had broadly veered around his views. Now, Gandhiji started preparing for a new mass movement.
    - There was a remarkable change in Gandhi's attitude, and he seemed to be in a uniquely militant mood. He realised that the moment of his final engagement with the Raj has arrived.
    - Gandhi wrote in May 1942. "*Leave India to God... If that is too much then leave her to anarchy. This ordered disciplined anarchy go, and if there is complete lawlessness, I would risk it*".
- Historic **AICC meeting in Bombay** (8 August 1942)  
(Gawalia Tank Maidan)
  - Approved **Quit India Resolution**.
  - Gandhi's speech, which followed the Resolution, clearly indicated the nature of the movement which he was to lead.
    - "*I, therefore, want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had.....I am not going to be satisfied with anything short of complete freedom.....Here is a mantra, a short one, that I give you. You may imprint it on your hearts and let every breath of yours give expression to it. The mantra is: "Do or Die". We shall either*



free India or die in the attempt; we shall not live to see the perpetuation of our slavery....".

- The Quit India Resolution clearly brought about a new shift in the attitude of the nationalists. Gandhi demanded a **complete and immediate withdrawal** of the British from India. The stage was now set for the climax.

#### **Initial Government Crackdown:**

- Even before the Congress resolution of 7 August, the government had made **elaborate preparations for the suppression** of the movement.
- **Defence of India Rules**, along with several other ordinances, were issued to impose strict control over all walks of our national life.
  - On the next morning of 9<sup>th</sup> August, **all prominent leaders, including Gandhi, Nehru, Patel, Azad, were put behind bars**, even before the movement was formally launched.
  - As a precautionary measure, even the **district leaders of the party were arrested**. This was followed by the **arrest of many political workers all over the country**.
  - **Many newspapers**, including the National Herald, Amrita Bazar Patrika as well as Gandhi's Harijan were banned.
  - All the branches of the **Congress were banned**. All Congress organisations were declared unlawful, and their funds were confiscated.
  - **Special courts** were set up to deal with the criminal cases. Some of them were even referred to the military courts.



Jawaharlal Nehru's room during his incarceration in Ahmednagar fort where he wrote Discovery of India (1942–1945)

The sudden arrest of our national leaders, followed by other draconian repressive measures, **failed to dampen the freedom-spirit** of the people. On the contrary, as the news of these arrests spread, tension mounted everywhere. The response of our people was instantaneous and spontaneous. The severe police repressions on peaceful public demonstrations proved to be counterproductive.

#### **Phases of the Movement:**

- **First Phase (9-15 Aug):**
  - Massive and violent but quickly suppressed.
  - Predominantly urban in nature. The first response to the government's repressive measures came from the **urban areas**.
  - Included spontaneous meetings, hartals, demonstrations, processions, strikes and clashes with the police and army in most cities. Public life came to standstill.
- **Second Phase (15 Aug – 30 Sept):**

- Focus being shifted to the countryside.
- Militant students fanning out from urban centres to rural areas in order to lead peasant rebellions and to destroy communications on a large scale.
- **Third Phase (Oct – Dec):**
  - Characterized by terrorist activity by educated youth directed against communications.
  - Least formidable: Such activities no longer posed serious threat to the British rule.

### **Characteristics of the Movement:**

- **Region-wise**, the movement was very widespread.
  - **Four nerve-centres** of the movement were Bihar and U.P, Midnapore, Orissa and Maharashtra-Karnataka.
  - In these areas the movement took the form of a mass rebellion with elements of populism.
- The **working class** came openly in support of the movement.
  - In places like Lucknow, Kanpur, Bombay, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Madras, Delhi, and Jamshedpur the working class struck work as they favoured a national government.
  - The textile mills of Ahmedabad and the Tata Steel Mills of Tata Nagar were closed for quite some time in support of the movement.
- The **students** played a major role in the demonstrations and processions.
  - Students spread the message of "Quit India" by **writing slogans on the walls**, and even on the trees. They organized **mass meetings, distributed leaflets, pamphlets, and other revolutionary literature**. They **boycotted schools and colleges** and at many places hoisted our national flags by pulling down the Union Jack.
- **Women** played a commendable role in this movement.
  - **Matangini Hazra**: a peasant widow of 72 years, was remarkable. She led a crowd to occupy the Tamluk police station during the August movement.
  - **Kanaklata Barua and Bhogeshwari Phukanani**: was shot dead by police while leading a procession with national flag in **Assam**.
- Many **parallel governments** were set up, replacing the British administration.



- For some time, they took over the administration and virtually ran the government. Though they could not be sustained for a long time in the face of excessive use of force by the imperial administration, but for people's morale their psychological impact was tremendous.



Ballia	Eastern UP	Chittu Pandey (lion of Ballia)
Tamluk Jatiya Sarkar	Midnapore	Satish Chandra Samanta
Satara Prati Sarkar	Maharashtra	Nana Patil (Kranti Simha), YB Chavan

### Participation:

However, the spread of the movement was uneven. While the Congressmen were in jails, almost all other parties opposed the Quit India movement-although for different reasons.

- The movement was **weak in Madras Presidency and Punjab**.
- QIM was opposed by a large section of the political elite, viz., the Akali Dal, Liberal Party, the Unionist Party, Ambedkar-led Scheduled Caste Federation, the Indian Muslim League, and even by the Hindu Mahasabha.
- **Muslim League** opposed it because it was now working closely with the British and saw it as a great opportunity to seek favours from the government.
- **The communists** opposed it because at this time Soviet Union was at war with Germany-and hence an ally of Britain-and the communists did not want British war efforts to be hampered by agitations in India.
- **Ambedkar** opposed Mahatma Gandhi's decision, in August 1942, to launch QIM. He declared that the "patriotic duty of all Indians" was rather to prevent such movements from creating "anarchy and chaos which would unquestionably help and facilitate the subjugation of this country by Japan". From 1942 to 1946, he remained as a member of Viceroy Executive Council.
- **The business class** remained aloof. **Landlord** were with the government because of the prominence of socialist ideas within Congress at this stage.
- Except in Mysore, the movement was also **weak in Princely India**.

### Gandhiji's 21 days Fast (10 Feb – 3 Mar 1942)

- Since the beginning of the movement, the Government was squarely blaming the Congress for all the violence that was let loose in the country. It **accused Mahatma Gandhi of inciting violence**.
- **Gandhiji tried to explain** that the movement was designed to remain non-violent. He refused to condemn popular violence because he saw it as a reaction to the state's much greater violence.

- When he failed to convince the Government that the people's violence was **in response to violence of the Government**, he decided to undertake a 21 day fast. The fast was directed against the violence of the state.
- Tremendous pressure was brought on the Government to release Gandhiji while he was on fast:
  - Many **people returned the honors** conferred to them by the Government. Prominent among them was Allah Baksh Khan, the Premier of Sindh.
  - **Three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council**, namely, HP Modi, N R Sarkar and MS Aney followed suit and **resigned**.
  - Gandhiji's fast gave a new momentum to the movement as it **inspired several freedom fighters** to keep the flag of the movement flying.
  - Outsiders and inmates alike participated in sympathetic fasts. People travelled in secret to Poona to offer Satyagraha outside the Aga Khan Palace, where Gandhiji was imprisoned.
  - Thousands of letters and telegrams were sent to the government from people from all walks of life, including students and youth, men in trade and commerce, lawyers, ordinary citizens, and labour organisations, demanding his release.
  - It had **evoked worldwide interest** in India's cause. It put the case of Indian independence on the world agenda.
    - Newspapers such as the Manchester Guardian, New Statesmen, Nation, News Chronicle, and Chicago Sun, as well as the British Communist Party, citizens of London and Manchester, the Women's International League, the Australian Council of Trade Unions, and the Ceylon State Council, demanded his release from across the seas.
- But the Government stuck to its position and refused to release Gandhiji.
  - The Viceroy and his officials, on the other hand, were unmoved. They arrogantly refused to show any concern for Indian feelings.
  - Winston Churchill's statement to his Cabinet, "*this our hour of triumph everywhere in the world was not the time to crawl before a miserable old man who had always been our enemy.*"
  - The Government brought out a pamphlet '**Congress Responsibility for the Disturbance of 1942-43**' blaming the Congress and its leader Mahatma Gandhi for violence during the movement.

#### **The fast achieved the following purposes:**

Gandhiji got the better of his opponents and refused to die. The fast had accomplished exactly what it had set out to do. The public mood was lifted, anti-British sentiment was heightened, and political activity was made possible.

1. Public morale was raised.
2. Anti-British feeling was heightened.
3. An opportunity was provided for political activity.
4. Government's high-handedness was exposed.

Subsequently, Gandhiji was released on 6 May 1944 on health grounds.

### **Suppression of the Movement:**

The Government let loose a **virtual reign of terror**. Winston Churchill, British PM, said in the Parliament (September, 1942), "*the disturbances were crushed with all the weight of a Government... large reinforcements have reached India and the number of white soldiers now in that country, although very small compared to its size and population, are larger than at any time...*"

- The **government imposed collective fines** on 173 occasions, collecting over Rs one crore in fines from the people.
- With the arrival of the **military and mounted police**, a reign of terror was let loose. In many places **villages were looted and burnt, women were raped, men were slaughtered, and children were tortured**.
- All kinds of forces including **firing by machine-guns from the air** were used against the people. According to the Government's own records police firing was resorted to on 601 occasions in which hundreds of people lost their lives.
- More than a **hundred thousand people were put behind bars** in the course of the movement. Nearly 25,000 people were convicted and were sentenced to various periods of imprisonment. About 50 people were awarded the death sentence. According to unofficial estimates, at least 10,000 people lost their lives in the course of the movement.

**Bipan Chandra** says, "*India had not witnessed such intense repression since the Revolt of 1857.*" In face of such massive repression, it was not surprising that the Government succeeded in suppressing the major chunk of the movement by the end of 1942. Thereafter, the movement went underground.

### **Underground Phase of the Movement:**

- **Congress Socialist Party led by Jayaprakash Narayan (JP).**
  - The prominent socialist leaders who were in the forefront in underground resistances **were Rammanohar Lohia, Ram Nandan Mishra, Acharya Narendra Dev, Basawan Singh, Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Usha Mehta** and others.
- The revolutionary movement in **Bihar** was strengthened by the presence of **Jayaprakash Narayan**.
- In **Bombay**, **Usha Mehta** and **Rammanohar Lohia** organised a secret **Radio Station** to broadcast the message of the movement.
- **Attack on the symbols of the government** like police stations, courts, post offices and railway stations.



### However, the movement declined due to several factors:

- The chief weakness of the movement was **lack of coordination**.
  - It was a loose decentralized type of movement. There was no central command after the arrests of leaders to direct the movement in various provinces.
- There was **no proper organization and programme of action** in the movement.
  - Organization meant secrecy which had no place in Gandhi's notion of non-violent Satyagraha. When the first phase of the campaign was over, there was no further programme placed before the people.
  - Jayaprakash Narayan cited the instance of Ballia and some other places where the people had captured power but had no clear plan of future action.
- **Lack of funds** was another weakness of the movement.
- The movement was weakened **by various dissident voices** from within India.
  - Indian communists openly opposed the movement and did everything to help the British war-effort.
  - Muslims, excepting the small group of nationalists followed the advice of the Muslim League. They condemned the movement and kept aloof from the struggle.
- Most importantly, the movement went down in the face of **brutal repression** undertaken by the police and the military.



### Success or failure?

It is true that the movement could not force the British to quit India at once.

- The great significance was that the movement placed the **demand** for independence on the immediate agenda of the national movement. After Quit India, there could be no retreat.
- **Intensity**
  - QIM was the most intense mass struggle of Indian nationalists against British rule. It infused great energy in anti-British struggle. The level of radicalization was carried to revolutionary proportions. It transformed India's struggle against British into an all-out war. It was the fight to finish because it was never suspended or called off.
  - In this struggle, the common people displayed unparalleled heroism and militancy. The repression they faced was the most brutal, and the circumstances under which resistance was offered were most adverse.
- The **magnitude** of the movement was unprecedented. It was one of the biggest mass upsurges in the history of modern India.

- It commenced like a spontaneous revolution because with one call of Gandhiji, lakhs of nationalists jumped into fight against BR. Large scale agitations and demonstrations were witnessed throughout India. It appeared as if people were waiting for their final struggle against colonial British Rule.
  - The large-scale mass participation in QIM inspite of the arrest of all national level leaders exhibited the maturity of Indian nationalism. The contribution of local leaders was most important during QIM because they led the anti-British struggle from front.
  - The role of women was remarkable during QIM. Leaders like Aruna Asaf Ali led the anti-British struggle from front while Usha Mehta established a secret congress radio to transmit nationalist message.
  - The launching of QIM carried the level of nationalist awaking to new heights. Even the civil servants and armed forces got infected with the spirit of nationalism.
  - British administration was completely paralyzed by Nationalist activities at many places. Parallel governments were formed at Satara, Balia and Tamluk.
  - It transformed the anti-British struggle into a true pan India movement because for the first time the national movement was extended to native states.
- **Loyalty to Government suffered considerable erosion.** This also showed how deep nationalism had reached. The complete breakdown of law and order in many places and the rise of independent governments of the Indian people made the British realise that their days in India were numbered.
    - The British, thought succeeded in surprising the revolt, realised the advantages of trying for a negotiated settlement rather than risk another confrontation as massive and violent as this revolt.
  - In terms of its **ideological import**, it made a subtle departure from earlier Gandhian movements: It was a kind of open people's rebellion, in which participants were free to use all means at their disposal except overtly causing physical violence to the wielders of the imperial power. Though non-violence was to be its guiding norm, the people were not supposed to make a fetish of it.
  - In terms of **impact**, it stood out from all earlier movements as it virtually gave a deathblow to the British rule in India. It certainly demolished the very foundation of the British rule in India. It gave a loud and clear message to them-pack up and go home by the first available plane.
  - The movement put the Indian struggle on the **world agenda**.
    - The Indian struggle, standing on a high moral pedestal, turned out to be the trailblazer for the oppressed and the enslaved people of the world. It is not for nothing that Indian independence started a process of decolonization leading to the freedom of many enslaved people in the post-war period.

QIM shook the foundations of British Rule, as a result of which the British Indian empire came to an end within five years and British had to transfer power into Indian hands.

### Famine of 1943

It resulted in the deaths of some three million people due to malnutrition or disease.

While many famines are the result of inadequate food supply, the Bengal famine did not coincide with any significant shortfall in food production. According to the Indian economist **Amartya Sen**, who himself witnessed the famine as a nine-year-old boy, the famine was the result of an **entitlement failure**. In other words, the distribution of the food supply throughout Bengali society was hindered primarily by economic factors that affected the ability of certain groups of people to purchase food.

Events in 1942 had a relatively minor impact on the supply of food. After Burma (Myanmar) and Singapore fell to Japan in 1942 in the midst of World War II, **rice exports** from those countries were halted. A **cyclone** in October 1942 also **damaged the autumn rice crop** and put pressure on the following year's crop because, to survive, many subsistence farmers had to consume grain meant for planting. Still, the 1942 halt in rice imports to India did not cause the famine, and the 1943 crop yield was actually sufficient to feed the people of Bengal.

It was **ultimately special wartime factors** that caused this difficult situation to become a disastrous famine.

- Fearing Japanese invasion, **British authorities stockpiled food to feed defending troops, and they exported considerable quantities to British forces in the Middle East.**
- They also **confiscated boats, carts, and elephants** in Chittagong, where the invasion was expected. This deprived fishermen and their customers of the ability to operate and generally inhibited the sort of low-level commerce upon which many Bengalis relied for survival.

In the wake of these actions by the British, anxiety about shortages caused **hoarding, speculation, and consequent price inflation** that put even a basic subsistence diet beyond the means of many of Bengal's workers.

The **government's failure to halt rice exports or seek relief supplies** from elsewhere resulted in a disaster that killed millions of people.

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 41: The Indian National Army**  
**Nikhil Sheth**

*"Netaji's name is one to conjure with. His patriotism is second to none. The lesson that Netaji and his army brings to us is one of self-sacrifice, unity — irrespective of class and community — and discipline."*

Gandhi, Harijan 12 Feb 1946

The Quit India Movement had spent its fury by the end of 1942. Political activity inside India came to a standstill for the time being. Most of the established leaders were behind the bars. The Indian national movement, however, found a new dimension outside the country's frontiers. This time the movement centred round Subhas Chandra Bose, one of the most dynamic political leaders the country had ever produced.

• **Bose' stance**

- Bose became increasingly convinced that the much-cherished dream of freedom from colonialism could never be achieved through peaceful negotiation. He was convinced that freedom could be achieved only through direct armed conflict with the British and to achieve this he was prepared to take the help of foreign powers, if necessary. The Second World War and the international situation created by the War offered him the opportunity he was looking for.
- The British authorities in India were aware of Bose's ultra-radical and they considered him as the most dangerous element among the Indian leadership. Subhas Chandra was arrested under the Defence of India Rules in **July, 1940**, as soon as the Second World War broke out.
- Bose undertook fasting in jail and fell ill. On **December 5**, he was removed to his Calcutta residence and kept in confinement.

• **The Great Escape**

- On **16 January 1941** he managed to escape from his Elgin Road residence by dodging the police and slipped away from Calcutta. It was one of the exciting escapes in the history of the revolutionary movement of the world. He travelled by 'road, rail, air, pack animal and on foot if necessary' in different disguises (eg Pathan) to reach Afghanistan.



- Bose's prayer for military assistance, however, was turned down as at that time Stalin, who was hoping to strike an alliance with Great Britain against a possible German aggression.
- Being denied Russian help, he reached Rome, and from there he travelled to Germany.

- **In Europe**

- **18 March** Bose reached Berlin.
- He met both **Hitler and Mussolini** assured Bose of all necessary help. But in reality, he did not get much support in Germany.
- He delivered **anti-British speeches** from the **Berlin Radio**.
- With the help of the German Government, he set up the **radio station** called **Azad Hindustan** in January, 1942.
- In Germany, Bose raised a 3000-strong army called **Free Indian Legion** in Jan 1942. This army was comprised of the Indian PoWs captured by Germany in North Africa.
- Bose wanted the German government to make a categorical announcement for Indian independence, which the latter was not willing to do. Also, at the same time, Germany had started to face reverse in Russia (battle of Stalingrad).
- When he met Hitler in May 1942, his suspicions were confirmed, and he came to believe that the Nazi leader was more interested in using his men to win propaganda victories than military ones.
- Consequently, Bose did not see much of an independent role for himself from the German territory, which prompted him to look for an alternative.



- **Developments in SE Asia (Eastern Theatre)**

- Japanese jumped in the war fray and made spectacular success in the Southeast Asian war front. When the **Japanese captured Singapore** on 15 February 1942.
- **Mohan Singh** enlisted the support of **15,000-20,000 prisoner soldiers** out of 40,000 (being the total number of the Indian prisoners of war, who had surrendered at Singapore in early 1942).
- **Indian Independence League** was formed as the civilian-political wing in Feb 19342, in the cause of Indian freedom under the leadership of **Rasbehari Bose**.
  - **Tokyo Conference** (March 1942): to discuss war and the Indian situation. Here, the idea of the Indian National Army emerged.
  - **Bangkok Conference** (June 1942): Bigger conference.
    - Attended by some of the representatives of the Indian PoWs captured by the Japanese.
    - Decided to extend an invitation to Subhas Chandra Bose to take up the leadership of the Indian National Army.

- **First Phase of Indian National Army** (Formal inauguration on 1 September 1942)

- At that stage the INA was prepared to go into action against the British only on the invitation of the Indian National Congress. The outbreak of the Quit India movement boosted up the INA. However, on the issue of the independent role for the Indian army, Mohan Singh fell out with the Japanese and was even arrested for a while. Mohan Singh disagreed with the Japanese and faced imprisonment.



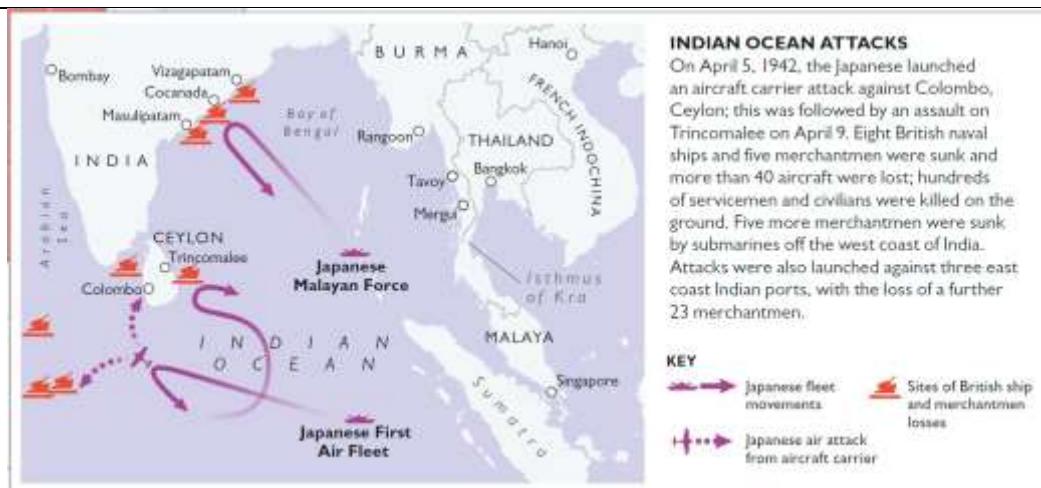
Mohan Singh, Major Fujiwara



### Japanese Success in Burma and British Retreat

Japanese captured Burma in 1942. The British, cut off from the supplies and facing reinforced Japanese army, began messy retreat to India during which they left behind much of their equipment. After the invasion, Japanese installed a puppet government in Burma. Many Burmese came to believe that Japanese had no intention of giving them real independence. The

Burma National Army, created under the leadership of Aung San changed sides in 1944 and fought with Japanese on the sides of allies. The Japanese were evicted from Burma eventually in 1945. During the occupation, almost 1.7-2.5L Burmese civilians died.



- **Bose in the East**

- With Japanese progress in SE Asia and activiti

- o es of India Independence League, Bose visualized better role for himself in the cause of Indian Independence, in the South-East Asian region.

- Indian nationalist movement didn't view the Japanese as a friend of India as it was a Fascist govt. Its sympathies were with the people of those countries which had fallen victims to Japan's aggression.
- Netaji however believed that with the help of INA, supported by Japan, and a revolt inside India, the British rule over India could be ended. Thus, slogans of Chalo Delhi and Jai Hind are a source of inspiration.

- o 13 June 1943

- Netaji made a secret and hazardous 90-days (U-boat) **submarine voyage to reach Tokyo.**

- o June 1943

- Bose met Hideki Tojo, the Japanese dictator, who said that he envisaged independence for India after the War. He had failed to get from Hitler such **assurance on the issue of Indian independence.**
- Being assured by the Japanese that they had no territorial designs on India, he started a thorough reorganization of the Indian National Army.

- o 2 July

- He reached Singapore where a hero's welcome awaited him.



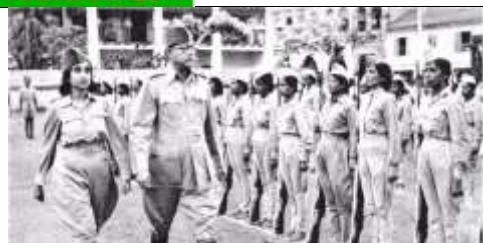
Netaji proclaims the Provisional Government on 21st October 1943, Singapore.



Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose reviewing his INA troops in Singapore in 1943.



Unity (Etihaad), Faith  
(Etmad), Sacrifice  
(Kurbani)



Rani Jhansi Regiment



Greater East Asia Conference in November 1943

Participants (L2R): Ba Maw, Zhang Jinghui, Wang Jingwei, Hideki Tojo, Wan Waithayakon, José P. Laurel, Subhas Bose.

- 4 July 1943

- Rashbehari Bose generously offered Netaji the Presidentship of the Indian Independence League.
- He appealed to all **people of Indian origin living in the South-East Asian region**, to extend every possible help in the cause of India's freedom.

- 5 July 1943

- Formation of **Azad Hind Fauz**
- Clarion call of **Chalo Delhi**.

- 25 August 1943

- Formally assumed the direct command of the Indian National Army.

- **Provisional Government**

- 21 October 1943: Formation of the provisional government of India

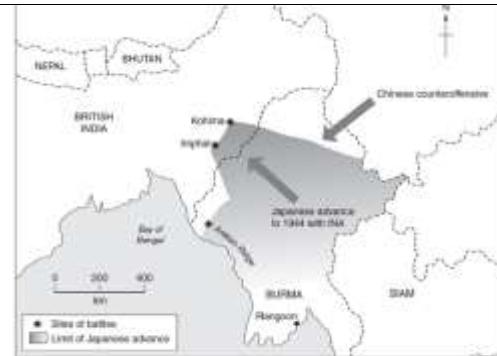
- Bose as the head of the Government and the C-in-C of the Army.
- AC Chatterjee was to be the in-charge of Finance.
- SA Aiyar as the in-charge of publicity and propaganda
- Laxmi Swaminathan as the in-charge of women's affairs.

- Activities of the Provisional Government

- Declared war against the Allied powers.
- Within a short period of time Japan and eight other countries (Germany, Italy, Croatia, Burma,



Indian National Army marching in Rangoon, 1944



Japanese advance in Burma, showing battles involving the INA in 1944.



Burma Campaign (1942-44)

Thailand, Philippines, Manchuria etc) offered diplomatic recognition to this Provisional Government.

- 6 November 1943
  - Japanese handed over the islands of Andaman and Nicobar to the provisional government of India, and Subhas Chandra Bose set his feet on the soil of India, renaming them as **Shahid and Swaraj Islands**.
- **Second Phase of Indian National Army**
  - After the arrival of Bose, it reached around 40,000.
    - Civilians, such as Indian plantation labourers in Malaya, petty traders in Burma and shopkeepers in Thailand, swelled its ranks.
    - “*Punjabi, Muslim, Sikh and Pathan professional soldiers mingled with Tamil and Malayali workers in a “national army” led by a Bengali*” - Ayesha Jalal
    - “*Bose’s instantaneous and electric leadership turned the INA affair from a footnote in history into enough of a threat to create serious concern among the British*” – Stephen Cohen
  - Bose set up two INA headquarters in Rangoon and Singapore. Recruits were trained and funds were raised.
    - Different training centers for male and female recruits.
    - The training period for the recruits lasted for six months.
  - Regiments
    - Gandhi Brigade, Nehru Brigade and Subhas Brigade (guerilla warfare)
    - Rani Jhansi Brigade headed by Laxmi Swaminathan (women recruits)
  - Important commanders: Shahnawaz Khan, G.S. Dhillon and P.K. Sahgal.
- **The INA Campaign was a part of the U Go Offensive (March 1944):**
  - It was a Japanese offensive aimed at the Brahmaputra Valley. The offensive culminated in the Battles of Imphal and Kohima. It was one of the last major Japanese offensives during the Second World War.
  - Bose was eager for the INA to participate in any invasion of India, and persuaded Japanese that a victory would lead to the collapse of British rule in India.
  - INA launched an organized armed struggle against the British from the north-eastern frontier of India. The idea was to march, along with the Japanese army, through Burma to Imphal (Manipur) and then to Assam, where the Indians were expected to join them in an open struggle to free India.
  - Achievements
    - Entered inside the Indian Territory near **Mowdock post** – fifty miles east of Cox's Bazar.
    - **Battle of Imphal, Battle of Kohima**
- However, Japanese as well as INA were first held and then pushed back. The Japanese defeats at Kohima and Imphal were the largest up until that time.
  - The British and Indian forces had lost around 17,000 men. The Japanese suffered 60,000+ casualties. Most of these losses were the result of starvation, disease and exhaustion.

- In May 1945, the British troops occupied Rangoon and 20,000 INA troops were obliged to surrender.

	
 Mountbatten of Burma with Joe Stilwell	 Stillwell Road or Ledo Road

### Causes of the failure of INA

- Bad **monsoon**, tough and treacherous **topography** of the fighting zone.
- INA was not significant enough to militarily beat the British Indian Army.
  - Bose was aware of this and formulated his own strategy of avoiding set-piece battles, garnering local and popular support within India and instigating revolt within the British Indian army to overthrow the Raj.
  - **The Forward Bloc** underground within India had been crushed well before the offensives opened in the Burma-Manipur theatre, depriving the army of any organised internal support.
- **Big British counter-offensive (1944-45):** By May 1945, both the Japanese army and the contingent of INA had to withdraw from the Indian front when Rangoon was captured by the British force.
- **Withdrawal of the Japanese support** was the main reason for its defeat.
  - **Without air-support**, the INA became weaker as a fighting force.
  - **Hiroshima and Nagasaki (August 1945):** Immediate surrender by Japan
- **Alleged death of Subhas Chandra Bose** in an air crash on 18 August 1945.

Thus ended the brilliant political career of one of the bravest sons India ever produced.

### **The larger perspective of Indian soldiers in World War 2:**

Despite the opposition, the impact of INA soldiers, fighting on side of Axis powers, was slight compared to the Indian soldiers fighting on the side of Allies, in British Indian army. INA strength of around 15,000 while British Indian army expanded greatly in wartime, reaching around 26,00,000 in 1945.

The INA's role in military terms is relatively insignificant, given its small numerical strength, lack of heavy weapons (it utilised captured British and Dutch arms initially), relative dependence on Japanese logistics and planning as well as its lack of independent planning.

Indian units were deployed widely – in Iraq, Ethiopia, North Africa, Italy – but their main goal was to prevent Japanese from crossing over to India (1942-44) and to defend Burma against the Japanese. It failed in the spring of 1942 but succeeded in 1944-45, when they drove out Japanese from Burma, with the help of Allied forces.

### **The contribution of the Indian National Army:**

It is true that the Indian National Army, despite its valour and dedication, failed to achieve its basic objective of freeing the country from the British yoke. There were many reasons for it including lack of resources, limited number of soldiers, lack of proper training and its dependence on Japanese support.

Despite apparent failure, it made a singular contribution in the cause of the Indian independence. It constitutes a glorious chapter in India's freedom struggle.

- The INA, during the war, **penetrated 150 miles inside** the country.
  - **4000+ Indian soldiers** gave away their lives in the war in a courageous attempt.
- The attempt of Subhas Chandra Bose and the INA **quickened India's freedom**. The tale of their bravery and sacrifices caught the imagination of people all over India.
- The sacrifice of INA men struck a sympathy in the hearts of Indian soldiers fighting on British side.
  - It soon affected the Indian army and revolt of the Royal Navymen was partly attributed to the resentment among the Indian armed forces against the INA trial. Perhaps the fear of a wider revolt by the Indian armed forces also contributed to the hastening of the end of the British rule.
- INA experiment underlined the fact of the composite nature of our culture and the fact of Hindu-Muslim unity. This was remarkable as it was during that period that the Muslim League led by Jinnah was playing its nefarious game of Hindu-Muslim disunity. INA played a glorious role in promoting the secular character of our freedom struggle.



(Padmashri) Janaki Thevar took over the (second in command) leadership of INA's Rani of Jhansi regiment in Burma when she was just 18 years old.



Nikhil Sheth with Captain Lakshmi Sahgal



Neven Thyne Collection  
Courtesy of National Archives of Singapore



### INA Monument, Singapore

Bose built in 1945, Mountbatten destroyed it

Restored in 1995 with diaspora donations

*"The future generations of Indians who will be born, not as slaves but as free men, because of your colossal sacrifice, will bless your names and proudly proclaim to the world that you, their forbears, fought and suffered reverses in the battle of Manipur, Assam and Burma. But through temporary failure you paved the way to ultimate success and glory."*

—Subhas Chandra Bose while paying homage to the martyrs of the INA while laying foundation stone of the Former INA Monument at Singapore on 8 July 1945.

**GS Foundation 2024: Modern India**  
**Handout 42: The Post-war Upsurge (1945-46)**

Nikhil Sheth

With the end of the Second World War in April 1945, India's freedom struggle entered the final phase. When the government lifted the ban on the Congress and released the Congress leaders in June 1945, they expected to find a demoralised people. Instead, they found tumultuous crowds impatient to do something. Indian people were now ready to launch the penultimate phase of their struggle. Popular energy resurfaced after three years of repression. People's expectations were heightened by the release of their leaders.

**Red Fort Trials (Nov 45 – May 46)**

*"Laal quile se aayi aawaz, Sahgal, Dhillon, Shahnawaaz".*

*"[the trials] gave form to the old contest: England vs India...a trial of strength between the will of the Indian people and the will of those who hold power in India". – Nehru*

- The political impact of Subhas Bose's effort was felt in India after his journey was over. The 20,000 INA soldiers who surrendered were interrogated and sent back to India.
- There were **ten trials in total**; the most celebrated one was that of the three INA commanders—**P. K. Sehgal, G. S. Dhillon and Shah Nawaz Khan**—in the Red Fort in Delhi. Sehgal, Dhillon and Khan were charged with **treason, murder and abatement of murder**. It was followed by the trials of Abdul Rashid, Shinghara Singh, Fateh Khan and Captain Malik Munawar Khan Awan.
- The government planned the **Public Trial**, but this **created a big stir in the politics of the country**. The government's idea behind the public trial was to appraise the public of the 'horrors' committed by INA and ruthlessly penalize the army officers for treason. The exact opposite came to pass.
- The **Congress leadership** spontaneously supported the INA and criticised the British Government.
  - Congress leaders, sensitive to public opinion, decided to defend the accused of the INA trial and the AICC announced the formation of a Defence Committee for these 'misguided patriots'. The Indian National Congress made the release of the three defendants an important political issue during the agitation for independence of 1945-6.
  - Both Jawaharlal Nehru and Jinnah joined the team of defence lawyers with Bhulabhai Desai and Tej Bahadur Sapru in defending the INA prisoners.
  - The Indian National Congress passed a resolution in September 1945 in their support.
  - Soon an INA relief committee was set up for fund mobilisation. The people liberally contributed to this fund.
  - An INA week was observed from 5 to 11 November and large number of meetings were held all over the country in which every political party participated, including the Muslim League.
- **Student Movement** in Calcutta (21-23 Nov 1945)



- The students in Calcutta organized massive protests and demonstrations in the city. There was a popular outburst in Calcutta which set a pattern of periodic upheavals in the city. A large procession was taken out, consisting of students as well as people, led by different political groups. A series of strikes in schools, colleges, offices, factories swept over the city. Several students were killed in this agitation which further spread in the subsequent days as it was joined by the working class and taximen.

- Communal harmony**

- This movement marked the **last major campaign in which the forces of the Congress and the Muslim League aligned together**; the Congress tricolor and the green flag of the League were flown together at protests. The **remarkable communal harmony** demonstrated in the riots unnerved the colonial administration.

- The INA trial had evoked a strong protest in the Indian army.**

- What disturbed the British the most was the impact of the INA trials on the loyalty of the army. Even though a majority of Indian army personnel remained loyal, there was great empathy and admiration for INA commanders.
- Several men in uniform not only contributed to the fund being raised for supporting the INA men, but they also attended in uniform the reception being extended to the released INA prisoners.

- Successful outcome**

- Despite this aggressive and widespread opposition, the court martial was carried out and all three defendants were sentenced to deportation for life. This sentence, however, was never carried out, as the immense public pressure of the demonstrations forced **Claude Auchinleck**, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, to release all three defendants.
- This was followed by a remission of sentences for the first batch of INA undertrials. Soon this was followed by the gradual withdrawal of Indian soldiers from Indo-China and Indonesia, which was one the major demands of the people.

- Rashid Ali and Calcutta Riots (Feb 1946)**

- But that was not the end of the matter. When **Abdul Rashid of the INA was sentenced to 7-years rigorous imprisonment**, Calcutta once again exploded, once again firing took place in which a number of people were killed.
- Both the Hindus and the Muslims participated in those demonstrations. Quite a few students died when the police opened fire on the demonstrations.



The INA Defence Committee: Katju, Sapru, Nehru, Asaf Ali, Bhulabhai Desai



Captain Ram Singh, who had composed the patriotic song 'Kadam Kadam Badhaye Ja' plays the violin for Gandhiji at the Harijan Colony, 1945



The number of demonstrations and hartals in the country during 1945-46 was very high. There was not a single industry which was not affected by working class unrest. Discontent was widespread even among the Indian members of the Indian Air Force, Police, Post and Telegraph etc. This discontent found manifestation in the Royal Indian Navy uprising in 1946.

### **The Revolt of the Royal Indian Navy (1946) (RIN Mutiny)**

*INA might less successful directly but the army, main pillar of the Raj, was infected with nationalism due the activities of INA. Now it directed its guns against British themselves.*

Sunil Khilnani

*'the gulf that separated the people from the armed forces had once for all been bridged. The janata and soldier have come very close to each other.' – Nehru*

*"The discipline of the army cannot be tampered with since we will want an army even in free India." – Patel*

The naval mutiny, which occurred in Bombay and other harbours of India, was one of the most heroic episodes in India's struggle for freedom.

- **Background**

- The R.I.N. was the most colonial of all colonial institutions. Racial discrimination in the crudest form continued unabated in the institution.
- To meet the war-time requirements there was a recruitment drive to enlarge the Royal Indian Navy which brought in men from all parts of the country.
- Their recent exposure to the wider world while serving the empire during the Second World War, excitement due to INA trial and the ongoing country-wide popular upsurge had a growing impact on the RIN.

- **Beginning and spread of Mutiny:**

- On **February 18, 1946**, the ratings of the naval ship **Talwar at the Bombay Port** went on hunger-strike against bad food and racial insults.
- They took control of the ships and with mounted guns, they were willing to open fire. The rebels jointly raised on the mastheads of the rebel fleet the tricolour, crescent and hammer-and-sickle. The ratings renamed the Royal Indian Navy as the Indian National Navy and announced that hereafter they would take orders only from the national leaders.
- A **Naval Central Strike Committee** headed by **M.S. Khan** was set up. They put forward five major demands.
  - Better food
  - Equal pay for both Indian and white sailors
  - Release of INA and other political prisoners
  - Indianization of the Navy
  - Withdrawal of British troops from Indonesia

- **Soon, the strike spread to other naval establishments:**

- The revolt quickly spread to Calcutta, Madras, Karachi and other ports. By 22 February, the strike virtually engulfed all the naval bases of the country involving 78 ships, 20 shore establishments and 20,000 Ratings.

- Mutiny in the city of Bombay**

- The rebel soldiers in Bombay organised demonstrations on the streets carrying the flags of the Congress, the League and the communists. They looted the armoury in Bombay. Admiral Godfrey asked the rebels to surrender. He threatened them to destroy the navy. The Maratha artillery refused to open fire on the vessels when they were ordered to do so.
- The rebels enjoyed the support of the common people. They were joined by the working class of Bombay, which struck work and joined demonstrations in their favour. Thus, the **R.I.N uprising took a mass character** in which thousands of people participated.
- On February 21, when the British forces opened fire on the sailors, the movement took a violent turn. The movement went on spontaneously until February 24. In several clashes between the army and the people more than 300 people were killed and 2,000 injured.

- Reaction by the National leadership**

- The rebels expected that the nationalist leaders would offer their support to the revolt. Nehru, Patel and Azad condemned the actions of the ratings.
  - Jinnah advised the ratings to surrender.
  - Gandhi suggested that if the British officials misbehaved with the Indian sailors, the latter had the right to resign from their jobs.
  - Even the communist leaders did not show much sympathy for the rebels.
- Finally, when Admiral Godfrey threatened to destroy the city of Bombay by repeated shelling, Patel managed to persuade the ratings to surrender on **February 23, 1946**, giving an assurance that the national parties would do whatever was necessary to prevent any victimization of the rebels.
- It is true that the RIN revolt had a short span of life. But it clearly demonstrated that the British could no longer take the loyalty of the Indian soldiers for granted. Besides, a stern message also went home to them that in future the people and the army might join hands to throw them out from the Indian soil. All this, perhaps, hastened the process of the British decision to end their occupation of India at their earliest.



HMIS Talwar, Bombay



**C Rajaji Formula and Gandhi-Jinnah Talks (1944)**

It was the plan prepared by C. Rajagopalachari with instruction from Gandhiji to settle the differences prevailing between Congress and ML in March 1944.

It proposed Congress-League cooperation on the following terms:

**1. Immediately**

- a. Muslim League to endorse Congress demand for independence. Both Congress and Muslim League should work together for the attainment of independence from British Rule.
- b. League to cooperate with Congress in forming a provisional government at centre.



**2. Long Term**

- a. The issue of partition will be decided *after* independence by holding a *plebiscite* in Muslim majority areas.
- b. Even in case of partition, both units shall maintain co-operation on essential matters such as defense, foreign affairs, communication, and currency.

**3. The above terms to be operative only if England transferred full powers to India.**

**It was a tacit acceptance of the League's demand for Pakistan.** Gandhi supported the formula. It was discussed by Gandhiji and Jinnah at Bombay in June 1944, after his release from jail.

The talks failed and the formula could not resolve the prevailing deadlock because Jinnah insisted that the issue of partition should be decided at *before* independence and only then he would co-operate for the attainment off independence. His points of objection were:

- Jinnah wanted the Congress to accept the two-nation theory.
- He wanted only the Muslims of North-West and North-East to vote in the plebiscite and not the entire population.
- He also opposed the idea of a common centre.

While the Congress was ready to cooperate with the League for the independence of the Indian Union, the League did not care for independence of the Union. It was only interested in a separate nation.

## Desai Liaqat Pact

Bhulabhai Desai was a Congress leader in central legislative assembly and Liyaqat Ali Khan was deputy leader of ML in the same house. With the blessings of Gandhiji in Jan 1945 they held talks to find solution for the political deadlock prevailing in India due to differences between Congress and Muslim League. They came up with the draft proposal for the formation of an interim government at the centre:

1. Both Congress and ML should have equal places in the interim government.
2. Both Congress and ML should work together for the attainment of Independence

These talks failed to find a solution for the prevailing political deadlock because when Jinnah came to know about it, he immediately repudiated the talks. No settlement could be reached between the Congress and the League on these lines, but the fact that a sort of parity between the Congress and the League was decided upon had far-reaching consequences.

### The Wavell Plan and Shimla Conference (1945)

**The Second World War came to an end** in May 1945. Various international developments and developments within India, **convinced Britain, that, Indian independence could not be delayed**. The Plan was an **interim measure or a stop-gap arrangement**, basically to meet with some of the **commitments made in the Cripps proposal**, because:

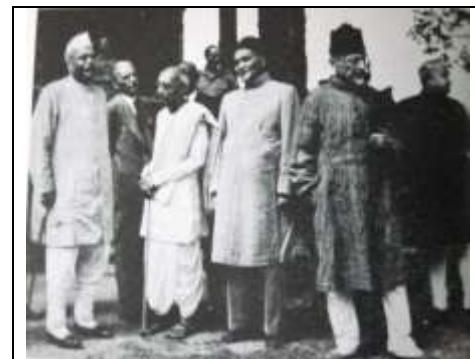
- The war with Japan in the Pacific was still going on.
- General elections were soon to take place in Britain and any long-term decision could be taken only by the new government.

In this context, the real problem at this stage was to establish a transitional government acceptable to both the Congress and the Muslim League.

In June 1945, Wavell announced a scheme to ease the political situation and to push India forward towards her goal of full-scale self-government. This is known as the '**Wavell Plan**'.

The Wavell Plan offered **reconstitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council**:

- All the members of this executive council barring the Viceroy and the commander-in-chief would be Indians. The vital department of external affairs would be in the hands of an Indian member.



- The Executive Council was already predominantly of Indians at this time, but the members were non-political. So, Viceroy was now to pick members of the Executive Council out of persons nominated by the political parties.
- Different communities were to get a share in the Council and parity was to be ensured between Hindus and Muslims.

Most of the Congress leaders were **released in June 1945 to enable them to participate in the Shimla conference** (June 1945) called by the Viceroy to discuss the proposals and find a way out of the political deadlock, in order to setup a new executive council.

However, this conference ended in a failure because

- League demanded that Muslims not belonging to the League could not be appointed to the Executive Council. Jinnah insisted that the Muslim League should be taken as the sole representative of the Muslim masses.
- The Congress was not prepared to accept such demands of the Muslim League. Maulana Azad, as the leader of Congress delegation, maintained that Congress represented all the communities of India, and thus had the right to nominate Muslim members as well, and that it would not accept to be labelled as a Hindu party.

It was becoming gradually clear that **nothing less than Pakistan was acceptable to the Muslim League and Jinnah.**

Since the deadlock could not be resolved, the Viceroy dropped the proposal.

**Wavell's Mistake:** Wavell announced a breakdown of talks. It gave the League a virtual veto and strengthened its position. It came as a great encouragement for ML because Jinnah got convinced that no effort towards constitutional advancement in India would succeed without the consent of ML. It boosted ML's position, as was evident from the elections in 1945-46. Thus, the real character of the Conservative government of Churchill was exposed.

## Cabinet Mission (1946)

It was the last attempt towards a negotiated settlement for Indian independence, while keeping its unity intact.

### **Background:**

- In July 1945, the **general elections were held in Great Britain**. In this election the conservatives were defeated, and the **Labour Party under the leadership of Atlee** came to power. The Labour Party which assumed office was in favour of acceding to the Indian demands. In August 1945, Japan also surrendered, putting the final end to the World War 2.
- As a first step, Atlee announced
  - **General elections** would be held in India for the Central and the Provincial assemblies. It was also declared that an Executive Council would be formed and a constitution making body would be called after the elections.
  - He said that the high-power delegation would include three members of the British Parliament. This is known as the **Cabinet Mission**. It comprised of **Pethick-Lawrence**, the Secretary of State for India and two members of the British Cabinet **Sir Stafford Cripps** and **A.V. Alexander**. It was **to work out the details of transfer of power**.

### Central and Provincial Elections (Dec 1945 – Feb 1946):

The election results showed communal polarization.

- **Central Assembly**
  - Congress won all the 59 general seats but none of the Muslim seats.
  - Muslim League won all the 30 seats reserved for Muslims.
- **Provincial Assemblies**
  - Congress won 90% of the general non-Muslim seats, including almost all the seats reserved for Scheduled Castes, and formed governments in 8 provinces.
  - ML got 446 (or 423) out 495 (or 491) Muslim seats and formed governments in Bengal and Sindh.
  - In **Punjab**, it had tremendously improved its position by winning 79 seats as against the Unionist Party getting only 10 seats. The result of the Punjab Assembly was more dramatic as in the 1937 election the League had acquired only one seat. A coalition government of Congress, Unionist Party and the Akalis was formed in Punjab.
  - Congress had fielded only 94 candidates for the 491 Muslim seats and won 34 – about 30/34 were in **NWFP** largely due to the influence of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan – the Frontier Gandhi'.

The results showed that while Congress had fully retained its hold over the Hindu electorate, Muslim League had been the biggest gainer since the elections of 1937. This was due to Jinnah's organisational activities as well as due to his vicious propaganda campaign. Thus, the

real significance of the 1945 elections was that the League boldly started claiming that it solely represented the voice of the Muslim masses in India.

### **Cabinet Mission in India:**

- On March 24, 1946, the Cabinet Mission arrived in India.
- The members of the Mission held intensive discussion with all concerned, viz., leaders of the Congress, the League, Sikhs, the Scheduled castes and a host of other groups.
- The delegation rejected the demand for Pakistan forthwith and proposed for a weak Union of India consisting of British India provinces and the Princely States. Its proposals included:
  - A **Federation** comprising the British Indian territories and the Princely states.
    - **Central Government** in-charge of defence, foreign policy, communication. An **interim government** to govern until the new constitution was implemented.
    - In all other matters the **provinces** would enjoy complete self-government. To satisfy the Muslim League the plan provided for extensive powers for the provinces.
  - **Constituent Assembly**
    - The **provinces** would be classified into three **groups**,
      - A Category: six Hindu-dominated provinces
      - B Category: Muslim-dominated provinces in West
      - C Category: Muslim majority provinces in East
    - The representatives of the provinces or the three different categories would constitute the **Constituent Assembly** which would prepare a new constitution.
    - Each category would be **free, if they so desired, to form a separate group** of provinces. The provinces could secede from the groups but not from the Union of India. This was supposed to satisfy the Congress.



### **Concerns**

The scheme was initially accepted by both the Congress and the Muslim League, but later differences arose regarding the **interpretation of the proposals**.

	<b>League</b>	<b>Congress</b>
<b>Long Term Problems</b>	Ruled out the idea of an independent Pakistan	No immediate independence
<b>Weak Centre</b>	Provided considerable autonomy to the provinces, two of which it now governed.	Not the kind of federation it envisaged. There were apprehensions that with a weak centre, the provinces might secede in future.

		Congress was also disagreeable to the concept that in the Princely States, it would be the potentates and not the people who would decide about accession.
<b>Grouping clause</b>	All the six provinces, which the League wanted Pakistan to comprise, were put in Groups B and C which, in any case, would remain under the dominance of the League. Thus, as against six provinces under the Congress dominance, the League got six provinces almost bringing a kind of parity with the former. Thus, <b>League accepted the Plan.</b>	<p>Congress accepted the proposals but at the same time expressed reservations about grouping.</p> <p>It tried to wriggle out of the situation by putting its own interpretation on the grouping of the provinces that it would be <b>optional and not compulsory</b>, which was <b>rejected by the Mission</b>.</p> <p>The <b>Congress accepted it partially</b> because it was not happy with the system of grouping of provinces. Congress accepted those provisions of CMP which were related to establishment of Constituent Assembly.</p>

Note: The **Sikhs** were also against the prospect of being ruled by Muslims in case Punjab was grouped with Muslim majority provinces.

#### **Wavell's "Breakdown Plan"**

Wavell presented his plan to the Cabinet Mission in May 1946. This plan envisaged the withdrawal of the British Army and officials to the Muslim provinces of North-West and North-East and handing over the rest of the country to the Congress.

Though superseded by the Cabinet Mission Plan, Wavell's plan was evidence of

- British recognition of the impossibility of suppressing any future Congress-led rebellion.
- Desire in some high official circles to make a "Northern Ireland" of Pakistan.

#### **First Attempt to form an Interim government (June):**

The short-term objective of the Cabinet Mission Plan was the installation of an interim government, comprising all major Indian political groups. But the formation of the interim government became cause of friction.

In June 1946, the Viceroy made an abortive bid for the installation of an Interim Government. But he failed in his attempt because:

- Jinnah again claimed to be the sole representative of Muslims and would not let Congress nominate Muslims in the cabinet. He also insisted on the League's parity with the Congress as well as its exclusive right to nominate all Muslim members – an idea which was not acceptable to the Congress.

**The Cabinet Mission left India for England on 29 June 1946**, after having obtained the consent of two major groups but unable to form an interim government. It had failed basically because it was too late in the day to provide a practicable and acceptable solution and implementing its plan was sure to lead to fragmentation instead of mere partition.

## Constituent Assembly Formation:

### **Elections (July 1946)**

The elections to the Constituent Assembly were held in July, 1946. Members of the body were elected by the provincial assemblies through a system of proportional representation.

- The Congress won the elections by a huge margin. It won 208 seats – 199/210 general category seats, and 3 of the 78 reserved for Muslims.
- The Muslim League got 73 out of the 78 seats reserved for Muslims, which now confirmed it as the sole representative of the Muslims.

### **Nehru's statement:**

Barely two weeks after the acceptance by the two major groups, **a statement by Jawaharlal Nehru on 10 July 1946** about the Congress interpretation of the plan threw a spanner in its scheme of implementation. Nehru declared that Congress was not bound by any restrictions of the proposals; he was only agreeing to join the constituent assembly, and it was for the constituent assembly to decide upon all the issues.

### **League's rejection of the Plan:**

Nehru's statement raised a hue and cry on the part of the **League**, which ultimately led to **its rejection of the plan on 29-30 July 1946**. The League was apprehensive about the whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly in view of the overwhelming majority of the Congress. Thus, the **League backed**. It claimed that Congress was 'bent upon setting up a caste-Hindu Raj' in India with the connivance of the British and demanded the immediate establishment of Pakistan.

### **Second Attempt to form an Interim government (6 August):**

On 12 August 1946, the Viceroy invited Nehru to form the interim government. The situation took a turn for the worse when Nehru offered 5 seats to Jinnah which was rejected by the latter. This again sparked off the demand for Pakistan.

### **Direct Action (16 August)**

Jinnah now called on the 'Muslim nation' to resort to 'direct action'. August 16 was fixed as 'Direct Action Day' with a clearly stated objective of achieving Pakistan. The League's direct action was directed against the Hindus and not against the Government.

- In Calcutta, encouraged and protected by the local Muslim League government, League volunteers went on a rampage of arson, rape and murder. Hindus resorted to counter-violence and for several days riot ruled the streets. Thousands were killed and injured. This terrible episode is known as the **Great Calcutta Killing**.



- Soon the League-inspired riots spread to the other parts of the country, including eastern Bengal, Bihar and Assam as well. It entirely vitiated the whole atmosphere.

### **Finally, formation of Interim Government (2 September 1946)**

On 24 August 1946, the Viceroy declared that an interim government comprising 12 members (6 Hindus, 3 Muslim and 3 from other minorities) would soon be installed. It was also announced that two more Muslim members would be subsequently added, taking its total strength to 14.

While communal violence continued to ravage the country, the interim government led by Nehru was sworn in on September 2, 1946.

### **League Joins Interim Government (13 October 1946)**

The League was now persuaded by Wavell to join in. The League accepted Nehru's leadership and accepted portfolio (13 October).

But the League joined the interim government virtually on its own terms: it had neither withdrawn its resolution of 29-30 July 1946, rejecting the long-term component of the Mission plan, nor was it willing to join the Constituent Assembly.

In fact, with the League's joining the interim government, the situation took a turn for the worse, so far as the issue of governance was concerned. **Jinnah's intention was to sabotage** the working of interim government from within, because smooth working of the government only meant increase of Congress power, and dilution of the issue of partition. He wanted to paralyse the whole system till his demand for Pakistan was met.

- It continued to obstruct the functioning of the government to create a deadlock. Muslim League members of the cabinet would obstruct every decision of Congress ministers: Liaquat Ali as the finance minister would reject every proposal of Nehru making a mockery of the interim government.
- To further destabilise the whole administrative system Muslim League started a series of communal riots all over the country.
- Even the hopes that it would also soon join the Constituent Assembly were soon belied.

The whole situation appeared to be grim in the face of roaring communal violence all over the country.

### **Constituent Assembly (9 December 1946)**

The Muslim League boycotted the Constituent Assembly when it ultimately met on 9 December 1946. There were in all 15 women members.

- 11 Dec: President Appointed: Rajendra Prasad, vice-chairman Harendra Coomar Mookerjee and constitutional legal adviser B. N. Rau
- 13 Dec: An '**Objective Resolution**' was presented by Jawaharlal Nehru, laying down the underlying principles of the constitution, which later became the Preamble of the constitution.

- Nehru declared the resolve of the Constituent Assembly to proclaim India an Independent Sovereign Republic – as a Union constituting of territories that comprised British India and the Princely States – as well as other territories willing to join the Union.
- The Muslim League retaliated by more street violence and law and order situation worsened, creating conditions of near anarchy.
- Thus, it adjourned till 20 January 1947, in the hope that the Muslim League members might join it by that time.

The Congress raised the demand that either the League members should join the Constituent Assembly or leave the interim government. **The League would neither leave the interim government nor would join the Constituent Assembly.**

When the Constituent Assembly reassembled on 20 January 1947, the Objective resolution unanimously adopted. But the Muslim member continued to boycott it.

Soon the League denounced the composition of the Constituent Assembly, which made the Congress demand the League's resignation from the interim government. But the **Viceroy hardly took any concrete steps to seek the resignation of the League** members from the Interim government or to make them join the Constituent Assembly.

**The stalemate continued and all attempts to work out the Cabinet Mission Plan in its entirety had come to a naught by the beginning of 1947.** Thus, the die was cast for the non-implementation of the Cabinet Mission Plan in its entirety. Thus, the **Cabinet Mission Plan, in its original form, was virtually dead.** The last attempt to keep India as a united country ended in a fiasco.

- **20 February 1947:** PM Attlee declared in the parliament, that the British would be leaving India by June 1948.
  - The historic declaration surprised many. The declaration, however, put it plain, that, the Indians would have to settle their differences within the stipulated period.
  - In the wake of Attlee's statement another series of bloody communal riots, fomented by the Muslim League, swept over the Punjab and Bengal. The country was moving towards a civil war situation.
- **Mar 1947:** Lord Mountbatten came to India as the Viceroy with a clear mandate to hasten the process of the British withdrawal from India.
  - Wavell who had favoured the continuation of the British rule for a few years more was replaced by Lord Mountbatten.
  - He was given a clear mandate to arrange for the transfer of power to the Indian hands as soon as possible.

Thus, new ideas for a constitutional settlement and the British withdrawal started being explored, leading to the Mountbatten Plan.

## Freedom with Partition (1947)

*I shall perhaps not be alive to witness it (the partition) but should the evil I apprehend overtake India and her independence be imperilled, let posterity know what agony this old soul went through thinking of it. Let it not be said that Gandhiji was a party to India's vivisection. But everybody today is impatient for independence. Therefore, there is no other help.*

Mahatma Gandhi

### **Mountbatten**

Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten, the new Viceroy reached India on March 22, 1947 and took charge on 24<sup>th</sup> March.

Mountbatten had one year's time and was given "plenipotentiary powers" to complete the transition. Soon after arrival in India, he plunged into a serious discussion with all Indian leaders including the princes. He found the situation too explosive for a gradual transfer of power. He concluded that partition was the only practicable and feasible solution.



Mountbatten had initially proposed that all provinces would be independent successors. Each province would be allowed to choose whether to join constituent assembly or not. Punjab and Bengal would be partitioned by simple majority. This plan was the '**Plan Balkan' (Dickie Bird Plan)**' as it could have led to the balkanisation of India. It was presented in mid-April by General Sir Hastings Ismay to assembly of provincial governors in Delhi. This, this plan was also called "**Ismay Plan.**" But in view of Nehru's strong opposition to the plan, it was abandoned at an initial stage.

### **June 3<sup>rd</sup> Plan (Mountbatten Plan) and Partition of India:**

An alternative plan, in which V P Menon had a hand (as constitutional advisor), was prepared which came to be known as the **Mountbatten Plan**. It had the following components:

- (1) India was to be partitioned and a new state of **Pakistan** was to be created along with a free India. The Muslim dominated provinces such as Sindh, Baluchistan, Northwestern Frontier Province, Western Punjab and East Bengal would constitute Pakistan.
- (2) **The Constituent Assembly** would go ahead with the task of framing the Constitution. The dissident group of the Muslim league would have its own Constituent Assembly. (Each dominion would be free to frame its constitution.)
- (3) **Partition**

- a. The provinces of Punjab and Bengal would be partitioned based on majority of population at the district level.
- b. In the NWFP and Sylhet, the people would exercise their choice of joining one or the other Constituent Assembly through referendum.

- (4) There would be a **negotiated settlement between the successor government and the British Government** about the matters arising out of the transfer of power.
- (5) The **British paramountcy** over the princely states would come to an end with the transfer of power. They would be absolutely free to decide their fate, they might join any one of the dominions or retain their autonomy.

This was followed by Lord Mountbatten's declaration on 4 June that the transfer of power would take place by **15 August 1947**.

**Finally came the acceptance of the partition plan** both by the Congress and the League.

- An AICC meeting during 14-15 June 1947 endorsed the plan with some opposition. As a consolation, the AICC, while accepting the partition plan, expressed the hope that ultimately, the doctrine of two nations would be discarded by all.
- This was soon followed by the acceptance of the plan by the Muslim league though it

Now, the plan was approved by the House of Commons and enacted as the **Indian Independence Act of 1947**. It received the royal assent on **18th July 1947**.

At the same time the **Radcliff Boundary Commission** was appointed to draw the borders separating India and Pakistan. Radcliff hurriedly drew the maps-some 8000 kilometres of border line-in just about 5 weeks' time.

On **15 August 1947**, two dominions of India and Pakistan came into being. Mountbatten released the Boundary Award on August 16/17, 1947.

**The Constituent Assembly of India** met on 14 August 1947 and as the midnight approached **Jawaharlal Nehru** delivered his memorable speech on India's '**tryst with destiny**'. He expressed the joy of millions of men and women in the following words: "*Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny, and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially*". The Congress President J.B. Kripalani, himself a man of Sind, said that it was "*a day of sorrow and destruction for India*." **Lord Mountbatten** was appointed as the first Governor-General of India and a new cabinet headed by Jawaharlal Nehru was sworn in by him.

Similarly, on the same, i.e., 15 August, came into being, the Dominion of Pakistan with **Jinnah** as the Governor-General and **Liaquat Ali Khan** as the Prime Minister. It was a special day for Jinnah who had singlehandedly succeeded in carving out a Muslim State by getting India partitioned. But he was far from happy with the Pakistan he got and he described it as "*truncated and moth-eaten*."

By an irony of fate, **Mahatma Gandhi**, who had spearheaded the movement for independence of India, was not present to participate in these celebrations. He was far away, fighting almost singlehandedly, the entire army of marauders maddened by communal frenzy.

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